

Workers Of The
World Unite!

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Stalinist Union Wreckers Hit Hard By NMU Elections; 20,000 L.A. Workers Quit Bridges' C.I.O. Council

Labor in Northwest Rallies To Local 544 in Court Defy

Militant Stand of Drivers Union Wins Thirty-Day Stay of Court Order to Open Books for Bosses

By FELIX MORROW

MINNEAPOLIS—On Thursday, July 28, District Court Judge Frank E. Reed ordered General Drivers Union Local 544 to surrender all its records for inspection, photographing, etc. to five finks who, having brought suit against the union, petitioned the court to enable them to examine all records the better to prepare their case.

On Friday, August 5, Minnesota Supreme Court Justice Andrew Holt signed a writ of certiorari, automatically holding up execution of Judge Reed's order for thirty days. At the end of that time, the Supreme Court will decide whether or not it will review Judge Reed's order.

Judge Holt is one of the most reactionary figures on the Minnesota Supreme Court. That he signed the writ is to be explained by what happened in the eight days after Judge Reed's order was issued.

JAPAN SEARCHES FOR RETREAT IN SOVIET IMPASSE

Provocations Earn Reprisals From Soviet Army

Despite continuing hostilities on the Siberian frontier, there was every indication this week that Japan intended to climb down and make peace as best it could with Moscow.

Japan twice came with peace proposals and was twice rebuffed because it refused to accept the 1886 Russo-Chinese treaty as the basis for fixing the disputed border line.

Meanwhile in the disputed zone itself intermittent hostilities continued throughout the week, both sides claiming possession of the little strip of hills that has been the nominal although insignificant cause of all the trouble.

Germany Key
The key to Japan's shift to a conciliatory attitude was the fact that Germany apparently advised its Tokyo ally that it was still too early to proceed with their common plans for an attack on the Soviet Union.

The well-informed correspondent in Tokyo of the New York Herald Tribune wrote that Major Eugen Ott, the German ambassador there, had urged a moderate course, and that his advice had been seconded by the Italian ambassador. On Aug. 8 in Berlin the Japanese ambassador conferred with Foreign Minister Joachim von Ribbentrop and apparently asked for German assurances of support against Russia. What he got was cautious advice to proceed slowly.

Thus if the Japanese militarists who started the fighting calculated on hastening a general con-

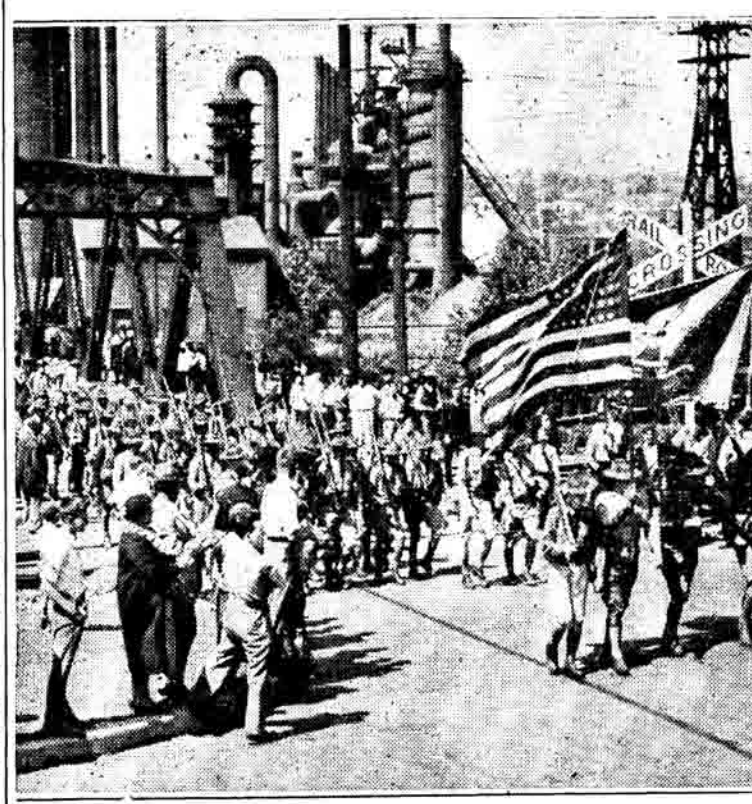
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"Peace" Parade Expels Pacifist

In typical Moscow fashion, the Stalinist "peace" parade in New York last Saturday started with a "purge."

Dr. Harry Elmer Barnes, noted liberal pacifist, was scheduled to speak. Before the parade, Dr. Barnes was asked to show his speech to the Stalinist officials of the American League for Peace and Democracy. The speech contained, even according to Dr. Barnes, nothing new, but it did contain the usual condemnation of war mongers.

The C. P., however, could not tolerate this. Barnes was excluded from the "broad" united front for peace, while the Stalinists marched down the streets singing Roosevelt's war song "Quarantine the Aggressors."



National Guard -- Strikebreaker!

The breaking of the strike against the Maytag Company of Newton, Iowa, by the National Guard should convince every American worker that to rely on the National Guard, called out by a "friendly" governor, to win a strike is utter folly.

Governor Kraschel called out the guards ostensibly to prevent violence. He ordered the plant closed, and this maneuver fooled some workers who had an idea that the Governor would win the strike for them.

The same thing happened in the Little Steel Strike of last year when the governors of Ohio and Indiana called out the troops and at first ordered the mills closed. At that time the leaders of the C.I.O. were jubilant at the action of the governors. But they reckoned without their host. Not long after the Guard came on the scene, the steel mills were opened and scabs worked under the protection of bayonets.

It should be clear to every worker that the tactic of ordering the troops to close a factory and disperse the picket line is only a preparatory step to breaking the strike. The governors want to show how "fair and impartial" they are. They order the factories closed for a few days; they prohibit picketing on the pretext that no picketing is necessary when the factories are closed. And then they are in an excellent position to command the workers to accept a settlement or see the factories opened under protection of the Guards.

The strikers trusting the governor and his National Guard relax their vigilance, call off the picket line and are left helpless when the order comes that the terms worked out by the company with the assistance of the governor must be accepted.

That is what happened in the Little Steel Strike and that is what happened in Newton, Iowa.

One of the leaders of the strike advised the workers to accept the terms offered by the company because "the union could not fight bayonets."

That is absolutely false. It has been proved many times that a union can fight and win against the bayonets of the National Guard. It was proved in the famous Toledo Auto-Lite strike. It was proved in the strike of the Truck Drivers of Minneapolis in 1934. The militant leaders of that strike refused to give up picketing when the state troops were called out by the late Governor Olson, who was a Farmer-Labor governor and not a mere New Deal Democrat. Both Olson and the officers of the National Guard knew that the truck drivers would not submit to any order against the interests of the union without putting up the fiercest kind of struggle. A favorable settlement for the union was the result.

No reliance on "friendly" governors; no illusions on the role of the National Guard!

Reliance only upon the solidarity, the strength, the militancy of the workers themselves!

Political Refugees Face Hunger In All Europe

Regulations Deny Worker-Refugees Right to Work

By JAMES BURNHAM

In spite of all that has been said and written during the past few years, I do not think that we in this country yet comprehend the condition of the political refugees in Europe. There has been nothing comparable to it in the whole history of mankind.

A friend of mine, recently returned from two years in Switzerland, last week described to me what was happening in that country. Since the 16th Century, Switzerland has had the glory of offering hospitality and freedom to un-

told thousands of religious and political exiles from all nations. Today, under the pressure of fear of Hitler and of its own internal reaction, that hospitality is drying up, and the freedom has already disappeared.

In Switzerland, as every European country, every inhabitant is required to have dozens of "permits"—Federal, Cantonal, District, Municipal residence permits; corresponding "work permits," professional permits, etc., all in addition to the usual passports. But the refugees are more and more being refused any and all of these permits.

Deprived of work permits, they are forbidden by law to undertake any kind of remunerative employment.

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RANK & FILE WIN CONTROL IN FIRST N. M. U. ELECTION

Get 5 to 4 Majority On New Executive Committee

NEW YORK.—The rising tide of revolt against Stalinism in the National Maritime Union, apparent in recent events on the waterfront, showed its true strength last week when results of the first general election gave rank-and-file candidates five out of nine posts on the national executive council.

Jerry King, rank-and-file leader of the engine department and principal figure in the fight against the Stalinists, decisively defeated Jack Lawrenson for the post of secretary-treasurer. Lawrenson, dubbed "Rasputin, the Mad Monk" by the seamen, is a Communist party stooge active in union affairs since the union's founding more than a year ago.

Curran Elected

Rank and file won the majority of offices in all districts, and the old officials, who held their jobs through appointment, are in a decided minority. Joe Curran and Ferdinand Smith were elected president and vice-president, respectively, as they were unopposed.

One of the first acts of the incoming officers was to clean out the office staff and the editorial offices of the Pilot, the union's newspaper. These technical jobs had been filled almost exclusively by members of the Communist Party.

The victory of the progressives over the Stalinists, who have had complete control of the union since its founding in the spring of 1937, came after a campaign of several months. While many elements in the union have opposed the wrecking policies of the Stalinists, the group around the Rank-and-File Pilot, an opposition newspaper, played the leading role in the fight.

Program Incomplete

Despite the fact that their program has dodged important issues facing the union, notably the issue of government interference in union affairs, the group secured the backing of seamen in building a union capable and willing to fight the shipowners.

The chief charge of the Stalinists against King and his followers were that they were tools of Joseph P. Ryan, longshoremen's head, and were backed by A. F. of L. reactionaries. This tale, concocted to frighten the seamen with the bugaboo of William Green, has been denied by King, and none of his actions point in the direction.

The whole picture on the A. F. of L. question has been changed by another development of last week, when Green agreed to issue a national charter for union-

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Appeal Refused In Russell Case

In an obvious attempt to avoid trying the case on its merits the District Judge of Omaha before whom the appeal of Al Russell was to be heard, dismissed the appeal on the ground that Russell's sentence had been suspended and consequently there was nothing to appeal from.

Russell was arrested at the headquarters of the Omaha Local of the Truck Drivers where he had been working for the last eight months. He was charged with vagrancy and given a suspended sentence of 90 days, with orders to get out of town.

According to the ruling of the honorable Judge of Omaha a man can be convicted as a vagrant without the right of appealing the sentence if it was suspended. In other words, brand a man a vagrant and give him no chance to defend himself.

An appeal to a higher court has been authorized by the local union.

A Welcome Sign!

An Editorial

A fresh wind is blowing through the American Labor Movement.

Within the past week, its invigorating force has been felt in three major trade union centers and the results should be an occasion for rejoicing among militant and progressive workers the country over.

In Los Angeles, four major C.I.O. unions, representing 20,000 workers, bolted the Bridges-dominated C.I.O. Council.

In New York, the rank-and-file slate in the National Maritime Union swept the Stalinist majority out of office.

In Detroit, three of the suspended officers—stooges of the Communist Party—of the United Automobile Workers were expelled from the union.

With these actions, the labor movement is beginning the long delayed but much needed job of cleansing its system of the Stalinist virus that was poisoning its entire body and driving it to certain doom.

In each case the union wreckers had sorely tried the patience of the honest and progressive workers who constitute the great majority of organized labor until the only solution was a ruthless severing of all ties. The blow delivered took different forms in the three cities, but in each case the unions involved parted company with this unsavory gang tearing the vitals out of the unions.

The grievances and charges leveled against the war-mongering Stalinist clique graphically depict the sickness which has gripped the trade unions for years and especially since the Stalinists have risen to prominence in the C.I.O.; arbitrary and dictatorial methods; the appointment of all important officials; packing conventions with paper unions; disrupting strikes; walking through picket lines; using the unions as a foil for Stalinist propaganda and draining the treasuries for a million-and-one "good causes"—all the crimes in the book and done far more thoroughly than any Chamber of Commerce could deliberately plan to do.

The coup de grace to Harry Bridges on the West Coast marks the beginning of the end to a dictatorial regime modeled after the fashion of Stalin's own totalitarian state. Auto workers, rubber workers, steel workers, the I.L.G.W.U. have quit his concentration camp and have set out on the road of democratic and progressive unionism. This is only a sequel to the actions recently taken by the militant Sailors Union of the Pacific and other unionized maritime crafts. Only the longshoremen still remain under the thumb of Bridges, and trouble is undoubtedly brewing in that camp as well. Now the West Coast labor movement can free itself of the turmoil and the terror and take a huge leap forward.

But let no one get intoxicated with this victory. It is only a beginning. The Stalinist danger is far from eliminated.

In the National Maritime Union, the rank-and-file slate

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Auto Union Strikes As Boss Moves Machinery

Will Force Company to Keep Work In Detroit

DETROIT, Aug. 9.—Detroit and Wyandotte plants of the McCord Radiator and Manufacturing Co. have been shut down tight by a strike call from Local 210, United Automobile Workers of America, in an effort to block the removal of machinery and equipment to London, Ohio.

N. J. Moskun, President of Local 210, announced that plans had been drawn to close down the Plymouth, Indiana, division of the McCord Company and that an appeal had been sent to the U.A.W. local unions at the Hudson, Packard and Studebaker Motor Companies, requesting them to refuse to work on McCord radiators and gaskets for the duration of the strike.

Hostility Year Old

The current effort of the McCord management to evade union conditions and ultimately to smash the powerful automobile workers union in their plants is merely the culmination of a series of hostile actions begun more than a year ago.

With the establishment of union conditions and the signing of a contract with the management, the company from the very first day undertook to undermine the union. Minimum rates set by the agreement were probably the highest in the industry. They ranged from a minimum of 67 cents for women and 75 cents for men per hour. A strict seniority system was installed among other significant improvements of plant conditions.

Wages Slashed

Three months later, the McCord management removed part of its equipment to London, Ohio, where it began the fabrication of

radiators through a dummy corporation called Thomas & Armstrong. Wage rates were scaled down in the London plant to 25 cents for women and 35-40 cents for men per hour with no provision for any upward revision. Hours were hiked upwards accordingly.

Thugs, foremen and managers of the McCord plant acting in collusion with city officials arrested and slugged Moskun when he arrived in London for organizational purposes. A carload of these plug-uglies carried Moskun over the county line and threatened his life if he ventured to return.

Two months ago the local union served notice on the company for revisions of the agreement and the inclusion of the newly organized Plymouth plant into the agreement. The company stalled and played for time while it prepared to remove machinery to London.

Halt Removal

On at least two occasions militant actions of the local union thwarted steps to remove equipment in the past. The present picket line at the gates of the Wyandotte and McCord plants is determined to keep the plants down until A. C. ("Scotchman") McCord gets accustomed to the idea that if he wants to produce radiators, he'll have to produce them in Detroit under U.A.W. conditions.

Local 210 feels that it is justly entitled to the cooperation of the local unions now working on McCord products. The appeal to their brothers in the Hudson, Packard and Studebaker plants is based on those splendid precepts of union solidarity on which the U.A.W. was founded and on which it will stand or fall in the present depression. Local 210 itself gave an example of what this solidarity means in practice

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FIVE BIG UNIONS DENOUNCE C.P. WRECKING POLICY

Form New Central Body to Build Labor Unity

LOS ANGELES.—Union wreckers on the West Coast, led by Harry Bridges, West Coast C.I.O. director, received a smashing setback last week, when five major C.I.O. unions, representing 20,000 workers in the Los Angeles area, voted to withdraw from the Bridges-controlled Industrial Union Council and to set up their own central body.

After a week-end conference of the International Ladies Garment Workers, the United Automobile Workers, the United Rubber Workers, the United Shoe Workers and several locals of the Steel Workers Organizing Committee, a statement enumerating the grievances of organized labor against Bridges and the Communist Party leadership in the West Coast C.I.O. was issued.

Six-Point Program

At the same time the conference laid down a program to be followed by the new central body. In brief, it covers the following six points:

1. Solidarity between employed and unemployed, and aid to any union, whether C.I.O., A. F. of L. or independent, in any struggle to better the conditions of the workers.
2. Continue the drive to organize the unorganized.
3. Strong defense of industrial unionism, but no raids on existing unions.
4. For trade union democracy in practice as well as in words.
5. Opposition to anti-labor legislation and government interference, "whether through the courts, the National Guard, the police or otherwise."
6. For independent political action to supplement trade union activity on the economic front.

Opposition Howled Down

Two recent incidents served to set the spark to the smoldering resentment in the ranks of the Los Angeles C.I.O. Tommy Lawrence, I.L.G.W.U. business agent, wrote an article in Justice, national organ of the I.L.G.W.U., criticizing Bridges' policies. For this he was continually attacked in the Bridges council and howled down whenever he attempted to defend himself.

The other was Bridges' plan to call a state convention to set up a state C.I.O. body, a body sure to be another Communist Party puppet, as the votes of innumerable "paper" unions assured the Stalinists of a packed convention.

But while these incidents are the most recent provocations, behind them lies a year of defeats and "do-nothing" wrangling, inaugurated when the Communists were put in power by the appointment of Bridges as West Coast C.I.O. director. This deal, put through by John Brophy, liaison man for the Stalinists on John L. Lewis' general staff, was made against the wishes of Los Angeles C.I.O. leaders, who had already seen the bad effects of Bridges' wrecking policies in the ranks of West Coast maritime unions.

C.I.O. Isolated

Faced with the onslaught of the bosses, who kept Los Angeles for twenty years an "open shop" town, the C.I.O. unions find themselves isolated from the

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Poster Shop Open

Opening of the APPEAL POSTER SHOP, operated by the party, will make it possible for locals and branches to obtain poster work at a minimum price. Using the silk-screen process, large numbers of colored posters can be turned out cheaply and speedily. Single hand-made posters will also be made at the shop.

Locals and branches are asked to give adequate time for their orders to be filled. Address all inquiries and orders to S. Stanley, 116 University Place, New York City.

CALL STRIKE OF L.A. STEEL PLANT TO WIN DEMANDS

Chiseling Company Find Union Ready To Fight

LOS ANGELES.—Workers of the Dura Steel Products Co. last week voted unanimously to strike in answer to rejection of their demands by the company management, notorious chisellers in the steel fabricating industry in the Los Angeles area.

The strike decision was made after a whirlwind organizational campaign carried on by the United Electrical and Radio Workers of America, under the leadership of Bob Ontell and Rudy Garcia, militant leaders of the strike committee. Within the period of one month the company union set-up was broken and replaced by a fighting outfit capable of challenging the slave-driving conditions existing in the shop.

List Demands

Demands of the union are for a closed shop, seniority rights, the reinstatement of four men fired for overtime, over 8 hours in any one day, and a minimum wage standard of 50c per hour.

At a final conference Thursday, August 4th, between the management, represented by William Brownstein, plant manager, Ed Black, sales manager, and Louis Brown, attorney for the company, negotiations were dropped by a curt refusal to recognize the union, claiming that a previous company union contract was still in effect.

As the union bargaining committee rose to leave, Brownstein blunderingly blurted out, "Why not wait a month or six weeks so that we can iron this thing out? We're busy now, and need time to think it over." This revealed that the company fears a strike at the present rising seasonal production, with orders flowing in rapidly.

Record of Discrimination

The company's consistent efforts to intimidate workers for union activity served as a fuse to ignite the sputtering discontent with open shop conditions. Even the provisions of the company union agreement have been violated and ignored. Three union members have been fired, and the shop chairman, Bob Ontell, has been transferred to another plant operated by the company. Three charges have been filed by the union attorney, Marshall Ross, with the National Labor Relations Board, charging the company with intimidation of union organization. Last week a charge was filed for refusal to bargain with the duly elected representatives of the workers.

Promises of support were delivered at the strike-vote meeting by representatives of several Los Angeles unions.

Progressives Win At CUCOM Meet

LOS ANGELES.—Progressives in the C.U.C.O.M., Mexican agricultural workers union, scored a victory at the union's annual convention, held recently in Los Angeles. The old conservative "do-nothing" bureaucracy was replaced by a young progressive leadership that may be capable of supplying the militant policies necessary to the building of a strong union movement in most unorganized industry in California.

A resolution to permit all workers in the industry to join the C.U.C.O.M., hitherto an exclusive Mexican union, marked an important step in breaking down the strong nationalistic sentiment in the union. In addition, a resolution was passed to form a pact with the Federated Filipino Workers Union, another agricultural union, and to act together in all dealings with the employers.

Through the agricultural section of the C.I.O. the Stalinists tried their usual attempt to capture the union. Despite the fulsome promise of money, organizers, etc., the delegates tabled the resolution calling for affiliation to the C.I.O.

Auto Union in Detroit Strike

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When workers at the McCord plant refused to work on scab materials produced at the American Brass Company during the recent strike there and forced the driver to return with the load.

Crucial Test

The strike at McCord's is a crucial test for the entire auto union. It is one of the major attempts of the U.A.W. to resist the union-shattering decentralization moves of the motor corporations. Workers everywhere in the auto union, harried by similar attempts of their own bosses—losing their jobs because of the exodus of plants and faced with wage cuts because of competitive non-union prices—are watching the McCord battle with intense interest. It is expected they will lend every support to the McCord men.

And once again the International is face to face with its big unaccomplished task, set out in the twenty-point program: organize the competitive plants. The strike at McCord's is a warning signal. Had the International acted six months ago—instead of passing the buck and giving local officers the run-around—the strike might never have been necessary. But the strike is here now. The International will be expected to support it every inch of the way.

Above all, it must immediately begin a serious and well-planned campaign with competent organizers and a qualified director for the organization of the competitive plants.

UNION OFFICIALS AID BOSS DRIVE ON FOODWORKERS

Union Fails to Back Up Fight Against Speed-up

By A CAFETERIA WORKER
NEW YORK.—The drive now being conducted by the reactionary-Stalinist clique in control of Local 302, Cafeteria Workers Union, to frame-up and remove from their jobs militant, progressive workers, took the form last week of a physical attack on a worker by the manager of his store and was followed by an attempt of a union business agent to remove the worker for defending himself.

Christ Cordista, former shop chairman in Foltis Fischer, at 42 St. and 3rd Ave., and financial secretary of the Progressive group, has always defended union conditions in the shop and naturally excited the hostile prejudice of the manager of the store.

On Friday, July 29th, a disagreement developed between Cordista and the manager over an attempt at speed-up, which is being instituted throughout the city with the consent of the union leadership since the installation of the 8-hour day in May. When Cordista refused to be speeded up, the manager assaulted him. In the scuffle that ensued, the manager came out a sadder but wiser man. Infuriated at the successful self-defense by Cordista, the manager phoned the union and demanded his removal from the job.

Quickly the business agent, Al Steinberg, appeared and obliged the manager. He was ready to do the manager's bidding because of Cordista's progressive record. "The manager doesn't want you," he informed him, "and I don't want you, so you'll have to get out."

On Thursday, August 4th, Cordista appealed to the executive board and, by bringing down all the workers in his store as witnesses, forced his reinstatement. But not until considerable heat had been generated and Steinberg, in his impatience, had in his turn assaulted Cordista.

The fight against frame-ups continues, with several progressive workers appealing removals from their jobs. This drive of frame-ups and removals is being conducted by the corrupt clique in control in an attempt to terrorize the membership in advance of the local elections to be held next December.

RANK and FILE WIN CONTROL IN NMU

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censed seamen to the Sailors Union of the Pacific. At a meeting of Harry Lundberg, secretary-treasurer of the S.U.P. and Green, with other persons from the A. F. of L. seamen's unions on the East Coast, the West Coast union was authorized to organize the unlicensed personnel on both Coasts, the Gulf and the great Lakes into one unified union.

Assures Support

Plans were laid down to establish a maritime department within the A. F. of L. to assure support of teamsters and longshoremen to the seamen in case of strikes. On the vital question of government hiring halls, Green promised support to the West Coast union's declaration to call a general strike anytime the government attempts to ship West Coast men through the fink halls.

The main obstacle to unity between the two coasts has been the unwillingness of the Communist Party leaders of the N.M.U. to launch a serious campaign against the shipowners and their ally, the government. With the Stalinists out of the way in the N.M.U., the new leadership should find it possible to form a common front with all unions, regardless of affiliation, against the common enemy, the Maritime Commission.

Fight Fink Halls

With the militant unions of the West Coast now playing the leading role in the A. F. of L., there remains no reason to delay joining hands in the fight to close down the government fink halls.

The question of the fink halls is still a burning one among the ranks of the N.M.U., and pickets still parade in front of the Maritime Commission offices in New York. So far the new administration in the N.M.U. has not taken any steps to bring the union into joint action on the picket line. As we go to press, this question is being discussed at a meeting of the N.M.U.

Guild Wins Strike

The American Newspaper Guild's strike of 11 weeks against the Hollywood Citizen News has ended with a victory for the union. The strike was marked by police attacks on strikers and arrests for the distribution of strike leaflets. Publisher Harlan Palmer has signed a standard Guild shop contract.

Labor In Northwest Rallies Behind 544

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action, the "Associated Council of Independent Unions," known to be financed not only by the local Associated Industries but by national manufacturers' groups, maintains a considerable and well-financed apparatus warring against the bona fide unions. Having failed in its attack on Drivers Local 544, the "independent unions" appear to be concentrating their fire at present on the building trades unions. Among other moves, it is now attempting a frameup against Walter Frank, leader of the lathers, against whom a fink swore out a warrant charging burglary.

It was in this atmosphere of desperate reaction that Judge Reed struck at the most powerful and most militant of Minneapolis unions, the General Drivers Local 544.

It was clear to all except cowards and traitors that if Local 544 obeyed Judge Reed's order, it would mean the decisive turn in the battle. Four years of onward marching of the unions since the great 1934 strikes would be turned into a disorderly retreat. Judge Reed had to be challenged in a head-on collision.

Union Defies Judge

And that is just what was done! After the most careful preparation, the Executive Board of Local 544, on Tuesday morning, August 2, handed to the press a 3,000 word statement challenging Reed's order. The statement exposed the plaintiffs who had secured the order as agents of the Associated Industries. It sharply attacked the judge for not sending alleged union members back to the tribunals of the trade unions to hear their cases first, as even the settled law of the land requires. Finally, it pointed out the irreparable damage to the union which would result from surrendering its innermost secrets to agents of the employers and made clear that the union stood ready to fight Judge Reed's order.

With Local 544 the outstanding union, not only of Minneapolis, but also leader of the North Central Area drivers' movement, that statement was news! All three Minneapolis dailies carried the full text and gave it the day's headlines. Wherever one went that day, there was only one subject of conversation uppermost—544's case against Judge Reed.

Labor Movement Rallies

Meanwhile, the trade union movement was being mobilized. The Teamsters Joint Council, constituted by ten drivers' unions and the direct superior of Local 544, backed it in its stand and its organ, the Northwest Organizer, made that abundantly clear. The Minneapolis Labor Review, organ of the central body, came out on Thursday with flaming headlines in defense of 544 and a slashing editorial attack on Judge Reed. Across the river, the organ of the St. Paul unions, the Union Advocate, ordinarily none too friendly to the "radical Minneapolis drivers," gave its headlines and full space to the complete text of the 544 statement.

With the unions so aroused, even the timid Minnesota Leader, organ of the Farmer-Labor party, felt called upon to publish a favorable story, though there were many sighs and groans on Capitol Hill about what the fight might do to Governor Benson's chances of election.

So far as the purely legal aspects of the case went, Judge Reed's order was an "interlocutory decree" and if so defined, not appealable. Nor need one doubt that, in the ordinary course of events, any attempt to bring Reed's order before the Supreme

FIVE BIG UNIONS DENOUNCE C.P.

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main body of organized labor on the West Coast, the A. F. of L. Under Stalinist leadership, the C.I.O. here has dissipated its energies in setting up "paper" unions without membership or power, in alienating itself by raids on established unions. Again and again the C.I.O. unions have been forced to capitulate to the bosses.

Coupled with this is a complete lack of democracy, with the Stalinists crushing all attempts to oppose the policies of Bridges. In many cases, Bridges has personally intervened in local union affairs, always with disastrous consequences.

The program of the new central body, to be known as the Los Angeles Trade Union Conference, provides a basis for the revival of the C.I.O. movement, and, at the same time makes possible working unity with local A. F. of L. unions. Promising no raids on established unions and offering aid to all unions in the fight against the bosses, the new group should do much to bring organized labor in Los Angeles into a common fighting front.

Relief Pickets Break Injunction

A militant picket line, staged in front of the central relief office, 902 Broadway, put to an end the vicious injunction restraining Will Lubin, unemployed worker, from entering a relief bureau to demand his relief.

Lubin was arrested recently when he staged a sit-down strike in the relief bureau after repeated failures to have his case heard. The judge forbade Lubin to return to the bureau because of the sit-in. More than 50 members of the Y.P.S.L. joined the picket line together with members of Locals 4, 15, and 17 of the Workers Alliance to demand that Lubin be allowed to return to the bureau. The picket line was successful. The injunction was lifted.

Court would have been refused by the august judges.

But in the eight days after Reed's order had been published, the entire labor movement had been aroused. If nothing else intervened, there would be an immediate showdown: Judge Reed would have to try by force and jails to enforce his order against 544. And with an aroused and organized movement, that would mean a gigantic collision of the opposing class camps.

What to do? How far can the reactionaries go? They probably haven't decided, and much of their decision will depend on whether the labor movement remains aroused to the danger. Meanwhile, however, a reactionary judge has stayed execution of Judge Reed's order. The ensuing thirty days can be turned to good advantage by the labor movement in mobilizing its forces for future eventualities.

REFUGEES FACE HOSTILE EUROPE

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employment. Deprived of residence permits, they are permanently subject to arrest and imprisonment, for no cause whatsoever, at the whim of any authority.

Forbidden to take jobs, thousands of the refugees can only wander the streets, or huddle in the cellar of a decaying slum, slowly starving to death. Seeing not the slightest way out, hundreds are driven to insanity or suicide.

In addition, tens of thousands of the refugees are deprived of citizenship before expulsion. Naturally, none of the pious "democracies" grant new citizenship, except in a very few instances. "Men without countries," these refugees are in the most terrible sense outcasts on the face of the earth.

Though many of the refugees are professionals or intellectuals, the fate of the worker-refugees, above all of those who have been active in working-class politics, is the most appalling of all.

The professionals are more likely to have relatives or connections of some sort, or to have retained some small percentage of former property, so that they can get at least bread. The workers have nothing, and no chance of getting anything. The big bourgeois and liberal relief organizations are not interested in them. They can, some of them, take a few scraps from the Stalinist table: at the price, it goes without saying, of one hundred percent allegiance to Stalinism, not seldom as unofficial agents for the G.P.U. For the non-Stalinists, that door is likewise shut.

These refugees include genuine heroes in the fight for socialism, authentic martyrs in the anti-fascist struggle. Their defense and aid is not at all a mere act of charity. It is part and parcel of the world-wide battle for freedom.

The work of the American Fund for Political Prisoners and Refugees, though modest in its beginnings, is a crucial sector of this battle. The American Fund duplicates none of the existing agencies. Every dollar given to it yields concrete results in the lives of the most desperately situated of the refugees. It deserves the support of every serious anti-fascist.

(EDITOR'S NOTE: Contributions and statements of support should be sent to the American Fund for Political Prisoners and Refugees, Room 1609, 100 Fifth Ave., New York, N. Y.)

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Charge of 'Trotskyist Spies' in Steel Lodges Exposed As Lies

Organizer Answers Daily Worker Calumny

By BOB STILER

The Stalinist G.P.U. in America attempted last week to link up a self-confessed stool-pigeon of Tom Girdler with the Trotskyite movement.

In its customary manner and with the usual clumsiness the Daily Worker recently reported that Harold Vargo, alias Richard Brooks, alias Ira Alberts, who had confessed before the LaFollette Civil Liberties Committee that he had been paid by Tom Girdler's police to give information about the Republic Steel Lodge of which he was financial secretary, had been smuggled into the union by myself while I was secretary to Elmer Cope, sub-regional director.

C. P. "Scoop"

The information was supplied by John Steuben, a former S.W.O.C. organizer in Youngstown, in a "special interview" with the Daily Worker's staff correspondent.

The only evidence offered that Vargo, who used the name Alberts in Youngstown, was a Trotskyite was that I had signed him up in the union. According to Steuben he had seen Alberts several times in the company of Sam Frank, whom Steuben believed to be a Trotskyite.

First let us dispose of this amalgam, and the we will deal with Steuben himself. I do not remember Alberts at all. The name doesn't even sound familiar.

As secretary to Elmer Cope most of my work was done at the office of the S.W.O.C. From time to time steel workers would enter the office, wanting to join the union and asking for application cards. Generally, I signed them up and gave them a few extra application cards to sign up their friends and co-workers. It was the policy of the staff that any member who gave out cards should sign his name to them. Consequently almost every staff member has his name on cards of applicants whom he has never seen, or whom he has not directly signed up.

Ordinary Procedure

I do not know whether or not my name actually appears on Alberts' application card. If it does, it is because Alberts probably got into the union by coming to the office and asking for an application card. Anyone who was there would have given him one. This is simple ordinary procedure.

The fact that my name appears on Alberts' card, if it does, does not make him a Trotskyite. If we were to accept the reasoning of the G.P.U. agents we would have to accuse the Communist Party of being in league with the McGuffin fink agency in Youngstown. Upon the recommendation of Steuben, the S.W.O.C. hired as an organizer Chick Welsher. Welsher was actually a member of the Communist Party. Later it was discovered that he was a spy in the pay of McGuffin. He was promptly fired from the S.W.O.C. Several months later the Daily Worker carried a story about his expulsion from the C. P.

The "crime" of signing Alberts up is not quite as heinous as making him an officer of the union. Let us see who is responsible for this. When I left the S.W.O.C.

ANNOUNCEMENTS

Insertions in this column are 25 cents for five lines. Copy must be in at the APPEAL office before 6 o'clock Monday evening.

NEW YORK

POLISH WORKERS CLUB and S.W.P. COMBINE to offer you an evening at the Terrace Beer Garden, 1110 Second Ave. (59th St.). Band, Beer, Entertainment. Proceeds to be used to publish a Polish pamphlet, outlining a class-struggle program for the Polish workers' movement. Saturday eve, Aug. 13. Admission 25 cents.

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toward the middle of January, 1937 no Republic lodge had as yet been formed. This was done after I left.

Who Appointed Alberts?

Robert Burke, a member of the Communist Party, who took orders from Steuben, was in charge of the organization work of Republic. It was customary for the organizer in charge to make recommendations for the various posts whenever a lodge was set up. Consequently, it was probably Burke, working under the direction of Steuben, or possibly Steuben himself, who made the recommendation that Alberts be financial secretary of Republic Steel Lodge.

Now a word about Steuben. Who is he and what is his role in this frame-up? Steuben is an old G.P.U. agent. He worked for several years for the G.P.U. in China. He boasted of this to the S.W.O.C. regional director, Elmer Cope, in a moment of confidences.

Undoubtedly the G.P.U. in America has assigned him the task of concocting this frame-up to discredit the Trotskyite movement, and to bolster up the fasces of the trials in the Soviet Union.

Present the Facts!

If Steuben has proof that Alberts is a Trotskyite, why is this information confined to the Daily Worker? Why was this information withheld from the Civil Liberties Committees. If Steuben has proof that the Trotskyites are smuggling stool pigeons into the unions, it is his duty to present this proof and demand an investigation.

But such testimony is not forthcoming because no facts, no evidence, can be adduced to prove this Stalinist calumny. Alberts' connection with the Trotskyites exists only in the minds of the G.P.U. agents. There is no connection and there it will die.

It was my intention to write a complete expose of the role of the Stalinist G.P.U. in the S.W.

O.C. They have been active not only in Youngstown but in New England and several other localities. Several of my co-workers are investigating to establish facts, exact dates, etc., and to secure affidavits. This will be published in the forthcoming issue of the Appeal.

Alliance Member Frame-up Victim

NEW YORK. — Frame-ups against militants in Workers Alliance Local 22 found a victim last week when Max Weinberg was suspended on charges of attacking the Stalinist leadership. Only two weeks before Harry Shepherd was acquitted by the membership on the same charges, but by packing the meeting with non-members the Stalinists swung the vote against Weinberg.

George Renon, whose self-out tactics earned the "slander," brought the charges against Weinberg, served on the trial committee and, as the local organizer, led the frame-up drive.

Another member of the progressives, Sol Berkowitz, was refused reinstatement when his year's suspension reached its close. During the early stages of the LaGuardia campaign last year, Berkowitz insisted on reminding members of the W. A. of LaGuardia's record of breaking strikes and coercing the unemployed. For this the Stalinists suspended him for one year.

As the time for his reinstatement approached, Local 22 voted that Berkowitz be reinstated. Only after considerable pressure had been put on the Adjustment Committee was Berkowitz able to obtain a hearing. The committee, composed of four members of the Communist Party, including Renon, refused to reinstate Berkowitz because of his membership in the Progressive Group and the Socialist Workers Party.

Appeal Army

First Anniversary of the Socialist Appeal

The appearance of this issue will mark one complete year of the regular publication of our paper as the only revolutionary socialist paper in America. We can point with pride to the fact that our total circulation in that period has increased by more than 50%; that our revolutionary message is reaching more workers than ever before in the history of the American Trotskyist movement and that the Appeal has firmly established itself as a solid and going institution.

But we are well aware of our numerous shortcomings. Our paper is too small to cover the flood of events transpiring each week. Branches really do not do all in their power to increase our weekly circulation and there are far too many readers (especially our own comrades!) who are not subscribers. As we enter the second year of publication we have set before us the following goals:

- (1) A weekly 8-page Socialist Appeal.
 - (2) A total net circulation of 10,000 per week.
 - (3) Doubling the present number of subscribers.
- In the past year we have made a beginning in making the Socialist Appeal the paper of the American workers. From this base and with the three aims in mind, we can take another great step forward in the second year of our publication.

For special mention this week we want to cite comrade Ruth Querlo of Allentown, Penna., who led her entire branch in house-to-house sales of the Appeal last week and sold a total of 85 papers within one hour! Splendid work, Ruth! A special bouquet of orchids to you. Let other branches sit up and take notice—it can be done!

Here's the sub list for this past week:	
CALIFORNIA	7
New York City	5
Minneapolis	5
Chicago	4
Missouri	3
Massachusetts	3
Oregon	2
Washington, D. C.	2
Philadelphia	1
New York State	1
New Jersey	1
New Hampshire	1
Cleveland	1
Connecticut	1
Youngstown	1
TOTAL	38

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A Welcome Sign!

An Editorial

(Continued from page 1)

took a majority of posts on the national council, but Joseph Curran, kingpin of the Stalinist clique, remains president. Between sabotage and bribery, the Stalinists will leave no stone unturned to disrupt or domesticate the new board. Every effort will be made to plunge the N.M.U. into a fratricidal warfare with the S.U.P., newly chartered into the A. F. of L. Here again the struggle against the Stalinists must be a struggle for labor unity.

The explosion of Mortimer, Frankenstein and Hall from the auto union will hardly compose the differences in the auto union or put an end to the factional conflict. On the contrary, the suspended officers have already announced the calling of a conference of union presidents to challenge the expulsions. Above all, in the auto union the fight against the Stalinist wreckers must be waged in the ranks and not in the sheltered sessions of the Executive Board, and must coincide with the fulfillment of the 20-point program.

Other unions are not exempt from the perfidious activities of the Communist Party. The shipbuilders union which has successfully resisted all attempts of the Stalinists to seize control is now experiencing an organized raid on its membership with the purpose of pulling out locals and affiliating them with some paper creations of the Communist Party. Rumors have been quite persistent that steps of this nature were being planned in the auto

Peace & Plenty

"Then there's the Gem of the Caribbean, Jamaica . . . lovely mountains, deep canyons, broad fertile plantations . . . Jamaica, now a peaceful British colony, once was the stronghold of those swashbuckling pirates who roamed the Spanish Main." (Travel section of the August Forum.)

In May and June a strike of almost general proportions in Kingston, Jamaica, spread to rural districts, involving thousands of laborers on the "broad fertile plantations." British soldiers, island militia, volunteers and police brutally suppressed the strikes, killing twelve workers, injuring hundreds, and arresting countless others. On August 1, hundredth anniversary of freeing the slaves, the authorities were trembling before the threat of a general insurrection, with hundreds of special police and militia stationed at strategic points and the British cruiser Orion waiting in port with 600 men aboard.

An orchid for every woman and a gardenia for every man who visits Puerto Rico (the flowers to be grown by prisoners in the penitentiary gardens) was the plan announced by Governor Winship last winter.

It is to be hoped the origin of the flowers would not remind the tourists of Puerto Rico's political prisoners. The fragrance of gardenias, however, might keep the tourists' nostrils from being assailed by the stench of the Island slums—some of the worst in the world. Eyes feasting on orchids might overlook the starving natives, infested with hookworm for lack of shoes. The average wage for men employed in the Island's largest industry, sugar (the profits go to absentee owners in U.S.), was \$3.85 a week for 1936-37. Food costs more than in New York City. The grateful natives have just shivered their flower-loving governor not with blossoms, but bullets.

Paul V. McNutt, U. S. High Commissioner in the Philippines, is to have a summer palace in the mountains in addition to the one now being built in Manila.

Congress appropriated \$750,000 for the palaces. The Philippines must not be left in doubt, despite illusions of independence, as to whose is the power and the glory.

Cuba has expressed her willingness to do her bit towards solving the refugee problem. A State Department communiqué announced she was ready to receive capitalists, and favored "the eventual admittance of capitalists who might contribute to the improvement of our national economy." The refugee-making countries refuse to allow emigrants to take out any capital.

Czechoslovakia displays a similarly touching generosity. A Prague dispatch states, "The authorities recently have shown sympathy for the position of these fugitives from Nazi Austria and have considered establishing a concentration camp for them at Svatoborlez in Moravia."

Brazil is checking up on the 4,800 European refugees who have arrived on tourist passports good for six months, but have remained. The means of support of each refugee will be investigated, and they will be placed under police supervision until the authorities decide what to do with them.

On his seventy-fifth birthday, Henry Ford received the Grand Cross of the German Eagle, awarded by Hitler for the first time in this country. It was officially given for Mr. Ford's services in making "automobiles available to the masses." But Hitler has no reason to be displeased with Mr. Ford either for his anti-Jewish activities or his treatment of labor.

Reminder of the Anniversary of the World War: "A manufacturer of steel for shells, who had been allotted troops to work in his factory, remarks to me: 'At last I shall discover what is the working man's maximum output. For if they don't work I shall send them back to the trenches.'" Diary of Michel Corday, "The Paris Front," 1914-1918.

"November 14, 1917. Steeg strongly advises me against Clemenceau (to form a cabinet). He believes it necessary to associate the socialists with governmental action and the repressions which, he says, are indispensable. Otherwise they will form an opposition that would very quickly become pacifist." Poincaré's Memoirs, Vol. IX.

Was Leon Sedoff Murdered?

Trotsky Presses Question In Letter to French Court; Finds Inquiry Avoids Essential Facts

On February 16th, Leon Sedoff, son of Leon Trotsky, died in a Paris hospital following an abdominal operation. The suspicious circumstances attending his death, combined with persistent persecution by Stalin's agents in France, pointed an accusing finger at the G.P.U. Friends of Leon Sedoff requested an investigation by the public authorities into the causes of Sedoff's death. We print below a letter addressed by Leon Trotsky to the court concerning documents submitted to it by police and medical authorities.—Ed.

To M. Penegal, Examining Magistrate of the Inferior Court—Department of the Seine.
Monsieur le Juge, Sir:

This morning I received from my attorneys, Maitres Rosenthal and Rous, materials relating to the preliminary investigation and the medical findings on the death of my son, Leon Sedoff. In so important and tragic a case I deem it my right to speak with complete frankness, without any diplomatic subterfuges. The transmitted documents have astonished me by their reticences. The police investigation, as well as the medical experts' report, is obviously pursuing the line of least resistance. In this way the truth cannot be revealed.

Messrs. medical experts arrive at the conclusion that Sedoff's death may be explained by natural causes. This conclusion, in the given circumstances, is almost void of meaning. Any sickness may under certain conditions lead to death. On the other hand, there is no sickness or almost none that must necessarily result in death exactly at a given moment. The judicial investigation is not faced with a theoretical question of whether a given sickness could of itself have resulted in death but rather with a practical question of whether somebody had deliberately aggravated the sickness in order to do away with Sedoff as quickly as possible.

During the Bukharin-Rykov trial this year in Moscow, it was revealed with cynical frankness that one of the methods of the G.P.U. is to assist a disease in expediting death. The former head of the G.P.U., Menzhinsky, and the writer Gorky were not young and were ill; their death, consequently, might have been readily explained by "natural causes." That is what the official findings of the physicians originally declared. However, from the Moscow judicial trials mankind learned that the shining lights of the Moscow medical world under the guidance of the former head of the secret police, Yagoda, had hastened the death of sick people by means of methods that either are not subject to or are very difficult of detection. From the standpoint of the question that concerns us it is almost a matter of indifference whether the testimony of the accused was truthful or false in the particular concrete instances. It suffices that secret methods of poisoning, spreading infection, causing chills, and generally expediting death are included in the arsenal of the G.P.U. Without going into further

NEXT ISSUE OF N.I. PREVIEWED

The September issue of The New Internationalist will contain new features to add to an already highly-attractive and substantial organ of revolutionary Marxism. The management announces a partial list of articles for the September number.

1. Canada and World Politics, by E. Robertson.
2. Diplomatic Origins of the Stalinist People's Front Policy, by Max Shachtman.
3. Anniversary article on the Murder of Ignatz Reiss by the Stalinist G.P.U., by Elsa Reiss, his widow.
4. An extensive omnibus review by Dwight Macdonald of books on economics and kindred subjects, issued recently by the Harvard University Department of Business Administration; the Brookings Institute of Economics; and "Save America First" by Jerome Frank of the Roosevelt Administration.
5. Articles on problems now being discussed in the S.W.P. and Youth organizations.
6. The regular features: Editorial Comments; Dwight Macdonald's "They, the People"; Archives; besides numerous other articles and features to be announced shortly.

The August issue of The New Internationalist, out last week, has met with a very enthusiastic reception. The variety of contents and the high quality of the articles have resulted in increased demands for the current issue. Orders for the current and forthcoming issues may yet be placed. The price per single copy is 20 cents; and the subscription rate is \$2.00 per year. Address:

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details, I take the liberty of calling your attention to the verbatim report of the Bukharin-Rykov trial published by the Soviet Commissariat of Justice.

Messrs. experts declare that death "might have" also resulted from natural causes. Of course, it might have. However, as is evident from all the circumstances of the case none of the physicians expected Sedoff's death. It is clear that the G.P.U. itself, trailing every step of Sedoff's, could not have pinned its hopes on the possibility that "natural causes" would accomplish their work of destruction without extraneous assistance. Meanwhile, Sedoff's illness and his surgical operation offered exceptionally favorable conditions for an intervention of the G.P.U.

My attorneys have placed at your disposal, Monsieur le Juge, all the necessary data proving that the G.P.U. considered the extermination of Sedoff as one of its most important tasks. Generally speaking, French judicial authorities can hardly entertain any doubts on this score, following the three Moscow trials and especially after the revelations made by the Swiss and French police in connection with the murder of Ignatz Reiss. For a long period of time, and especially for the last two years, Sedoff lived in a constant state of siege by a G.P.U. gang which operates on Parisian territory almost as freely as in Moscow. Hired assassins had prepared a trap for Sedoff at Mulhouse similar in all respects to the trap to which Reiss fell victim. Only chance saved Sedoff on that occasion. The names of the criminals and their roles are known to you Monsieur le Juge, and I do not need to dwell on this point.

On February 4, 1937, Sedoff published an article in the French periodical, *Confessions*, in which he warned that he was in excellent health; that his spirit had not been broken by the persecutions; that he inclined neither to despair nor suicide and should death suddenly strike him, those responsible for it must be sought in Stalin's camp. This issue of *Confessions* I forwarded to Paris to be placed in your hands, Monsieur le Juge, and that is why I am quoting from memory. Sedoff's prophetic warning, flowing from unimpeachable and universally known facts of a historic magnitude, should, in my opinion, have determined the course and character of the judicial investigation. The conspiracy of the G.P.U. to shoot, strangle, drown, poison or infect Sedoff was a constant and basic fact in the last two years of his life. His sickness was only an episode. Even in the hospital, Sedoff was compelled to register under a fictitious name of Martin, in order thus to render more difficult, if only partially, the work of the bandits who were dogging his steps. In these conditions justice has no right to mollify itself with an abstract formula: "Sedoff might have died from natural causes," so long as the contrary has not been established, namely that the powerful G.P.U. had let slip a favorable opportunity to aid the "natural causes."

No Ordinary Case
It may be argued that the above-developed considerations, however weighty in themselves, cannot alter the negative results of expert medical examination. I reserve the right to return to this question in a special document, after a consultation with competent physicians. That no traces of poison were found does not imply that no poisoning took place, and in any case it does not imply that the G.P.U. did not resort to some other measures to prevent the organism, after an operation, from overcoming the illness. If in question here were an ordinary case, under normal living conditions, then the findings of medical experts, while not exhausting the question, would have preserved their full force of conviction. But we have before us a case quite out of the ordinary, namely, a death, unexpected by the physicians themselves, of an isolated exile, following a prolonged duel between him and a mighty state machine armed with inexhaustible material, technical and scientific resources.

The formal medical examination is all the more inadequate because it stubbornly overlooks the central moment in the history of the illness. The first four days after the operation were days of obvious improvement in the health of the operated patient, whose condition was considered so favorable that the hospital administration discharged the spe-



cial nurse. Yet on the night of February 14, the patient, left to himself, was found wandering nude and in a state of wild delirium through the corridors and premises of the hospital. Doesn't this monstrous fact merit the attention of the experts?

Left Unattended

If natural causes must have, must have, not might have) led to the tragic denouement, then by what and how explain the optimism of the physicians, owing to which the patient was left completely unattended at the most critical moment? It is of course possible to try to reduce the whole case to an error of prognosis and poor medical care. However, in the materials of the investigation there is not even a mention of it. If there was inadequate supervision, then does not the conclusion force itself automatically that his enemies, who never lost sight of Sedoff, could have utilized this favorable situation for their criminal ends?

The staff of the clinic made an attempt, it is true, to list those who had come in contact with the sick man. But what value have these testimonies, if the patient had the opportunity, unknown to the staff, of leaving his bed and room, and wandering without hindrance on anybody's part, through the hospital building in a condition of delirious exaltation.

Turn Unexpected

At all events, M. Theilheimer, the surgeon who operated on Sedoff, was taken unawares by the events of the fatal night. He asked Sedoff's wife, Jeanne Martin de Palieres: "Hasn't the patient tried to commit suicide?" To this question, which cannot be deleted from the general history of the sickness, Sedoff himself had sup-

Trotsky Tells of 'Letter' from Victim of G.P.U.

By LEON TROTSKY

This morning, August 1, I received a letter apparently in the handwriting of Rudolf Klement, in German. The letter is dated July 14 and presumably went via Paris and New York. The handwriting is undoubtedly similar to the handwriting of Klement but bears an extremely uneven, sickly and feverish character. The letter peculiarly is signed, "Frederic." As to its contents it is one of the most fantastic documents that I have ever held in my hands. To start with, the salutation—all the preceding letters of Klement, including those written just a few days before, begin with the words: "Dear Comrade" or "Dear L. D." (my initials). This last letter begins with the words, "Mr. Trotsky." From beginning to end the letter presents an incoherent piling up of accusations against the Fourth International, against me personally, and against my deceased son.

The accusations are of two kinds: the first—clearly dictated by the G. P. U.—the inevitable "bloc" with fascism and connection with the Gestapo; the second—a series of accusations concerning single episodes from the internal life of the Fourth International which seem to make an attempt at explaining the sudden change in Klement's position.

Past History Forgotten

What is most striking is that the content of the letter in all its details stands in direct and clear contradiction to hundreds of letters written by the same Klement up until a very short time ago to me personally and to mutual friends. The letter is written as if the past had not existed at all. Only a person tied hand and foot physically and morally could write like this and then only under the dictation of other people absolutely unfamiliar with Klement's past but who wanted to make use of him for their purposes.

Theoretically it could still be assumed that Klement has lost his mind. But in this case the puzzle remains as to why his de-

Medical Men Find Death Mysterious, But Authorities Fail to Investigate Work of G.P.U. Assassins

plied an answer in advance in the above cited article, a year prior to his death. The turn for the worse in the patient's condition was so sudden and unexpected, that the surgeon who was acquainted neither with the identity of the sick man nor with the conditions of his life, found himself compelled to resort to the hypothesis of suicide. This fact, I repeat, cannot be deleted from the general picture of the illness and death of my son! One might, if one were inclined, say that the suspicions of Sedoff's relatives and intimates arise from their apprehensiveness. But we have before us a physician, for whom Sedoff was an ordinary patient, an unknown engineer by the name of Martin. Consequently the surgeon could not have been infected with either apprehensiveness or political bias. He guided himself solely by those symptoms which came from the organism of the sick man. And the first reaction of this eminent and experienced physician to the unexpected, i.e., unaccounted for by any "natural causes," turn in the case was to suspect an attempt at suicide on the part of the patient. Isn't it clear, isn't it most palpably evident that had the surgeon known at that moment the identity of his patient and the conditions of his life he would instantly have asked: "Couldn't this be the work of assassins?"

This is precisely the question that is posed in all its force before the judicial investigation. The question is formulated, Monsieur le Juge, not by myself but by the surgeon Theilheimer, even if involuntarily. And to this question I find no answer at all in the materials of the preliminary investigation forwarded to me. I do not find even an attempt to seek an answer. I find no interest in the very question itself.

Truly astonishing is the fact that the enigma of the crucial night has remained thus far not only unexplained but even unprobed. That time is allowed to lapse, rendering extremely difficult the work of any subsequent investigation, cannot be explained away as an accident. The administration of the clinic has naturally tried to avoid any investigation of this point, for it could not fail to bring to light gross negligence owing to which a gravely sick man was left without any attendance and could have committed acts fatal to himself or could have been subjected to such acts. The doctors-experts, for their part, did not at all insist upon clarifying the events of the tragic night. The police investigation was confined to superficial depositions of individuals who were guilty at least of negli-

gence and therefore interested in covering it up. Yet behind the negligence of some might have easily lurked the criminal will of others.

X Is Known
French jurisprudence follows the formula of investigation "against X." Under this very formula the investigation is now being conducted into the death of Sedoff. But X in this case does not at all remain an "unknown," in the literal sense of the term. It is not a question of a chance cut-throat who murders a wayfarer on a highway, and vanishes after the murder. It is a question of a very definite international gang which has already committed more than one crime on the territory of France, and which makes use of and cloaks itself with friendly diplomatic relations. That is the real reason why the investigation of the theft of my archives, of the persecutions of Sedoff, of the attempt to kill him at Mulhouse, and, finally, why the present investigation of Sedoff's death, which has already lasted five months, have brought and are bringing no results. Seeking to avoid being involved in the completely real and powerful political factors and forces behind the crime, the investigation proceeds from a fiction that in question here is a simple episode of a private life; it labels the criminal X and fails to find him.

The criminals will be exposed, Monsieur le Juge! The radius of the crime is far too great, far too great a number of people and interests often contradictory to each other have been drawn into it; the revelations have already begun, and they will disclose that the threads of a series of crimes lead to the G.P.U. and, through the G.P.U., directly to Stalin. I cannot tell whether French justice will take an active part in these disclosures. I would heartily welcome it, and am prepared for my part to do everything in my power to assist. But, in one way or another, the truth will be discovered!

From the above it follows quite obviously that the investigation into the death of Sedoff has hardly begun as yet. In consideration of all the circumstances in the case and the prophetic words written by Sedoff himself on February 4, 1937, the investigation cannot but proceed from the assumption that the death was of a violent character. The organizers of the crime were G.P.U. agents, the fake functionaries of Soviet institutions in Paris. The perpetrators were the agents of these agents recruited from among the White emigres, French or foreign Stalinists and so on. The G.P.U. could not fail to have its agents in a Russian clinic in Paris or among circles closest to it. Such are the paths along which the investigation must proceed, if it, as I should like to hope, seeks to uncover the crime, and not to pursue the line of least resistance.

I remain, Monsieur le Juge, most sincerely yours,

July 19, 1938. Leon Trotsky.

Coyoacan, Mexico.

JAPAN SEARCHES FOR RETREAT

(Continued from page 1)
flagration in hopes of somehow pulling themselves out of their Chinese bog, these calculations were upset, at least temporarily. If Japan moved in the first instance at Hitler's advice to see what Moscow's reaction would be, both received a severe jolt because Moscow, confident that Japan's difficulties in China made Russia an easy master along of Siberian frontier, has assumed an aggressively defensive position and has indicated that it would be just as prepared to call a show down here and now if necessary.

Indications are not lacking, indeed, that Moscow was not displeased at having the opportunity to rehabilitate its diplomatic position in Europe by a show of strength on the Far Eastern frontier. The risk of war was present, obviously, but under conditions which could not but be favorable to Russia because Japan is so seriously weakened by the failure of its China adventure.

So when Shigemitsu came, hat in hand, he was virtually shown the door and 6,000 miles away the Soviet guns continued to shell Japanese positions on the disputed hills and Soviet aircraft engaged in threatening demonstrations which the Japanese did not dare reply to in kind. Nothing has more clearly evidenced Japan's desire to retreat from the fact that not a single Japanese plane has yet taken to the air.

There remains always the dangerous possibility that the border clashes will automatically extend and that both protagonists will find themselves in the midst of a war that neither has really desired at this time.

World At A Glance

Two items in the recent dispatches from Prague throw a piercing light on the true character of the capitalist democracies which are being touted by social reformists, Stalinists and so-called liberals as bulwarks in the fight against the Fascist dictatorships.

Item No. 1. A large group of Viennese Jews, after being deprived of all their possessions, were deported across the Czech border two weeks ago. Discovered by the police of that democratic republic, the Viennese Jews were rounded up and arrested. Unable to show entry permits or to explain by what means they intended to support themselves, they were re-deported over the Austrian border.

One of the most heinous cruelties of the Fascist dictatorships is their maniacal anti-Semitism. One of the "basic principles" of the democracies is the right of asylum to refugees. To the Jews who have to bear the actual brunt of Nazi atrocities, the "basic principles" of capitalist democracy have proved precious little, in action. No property—no right of asylum! That's how a democratic principle is interpreted under capitalism.

Item No. 2. The Czech Na-

tionalist Party, the organization of the Czech Fascists, which has six deputies in the Prague parliament, has rallied to the democratic government in its hour of danger. Faced with the threat of a Hitler invasion of the Sudeten German area to aid the cause of Henlein's Nazis, the Czech Fascists have decided to rewrite their constitution to include a clause in defense of democracy!

For the defense of the status quo, for the defense of predatory nationalist aims, the Czech Fascists have thus shown themselves just as facile as our Stalinists in bandying about the slogans of bourgeois democracy.

In raising the banner of the Socialist United States of Europe, in refusing to be encompassed by the wave of social-patriotism, in calling for an intensification of the class struggle, the Czech revolutionists prove themselves to be far more realistic fighters against Fascism than all the People's Fronters. The latter are only preparing the road for further Fascist victories by their super-nationalistic politics, both at home as well as over the border.

Sugar Companies Grab Lands in Puerto Rico

Editorial Note.—Recent events in the Caribbean have forcefully reminded the American people that Yankee imperialism holds sway in those islands to the south. Strikes and peasant revolts have forced the government to send troops against the oppressed colonials. The reception Governor Winthrop received at a "celebration" of the annexation of Puerto Rico by the United States was a rude shock to those who expected the islanders to meekly accept the most terrible exploitation.

The article below deals with the manipulations of the huge sugar corporations that own the island of Puerto Rico. This brief sketch depicts vividly the ruthless oppression practiced by the masters of the Caribbean.

By FRANCES MERRILL

The Puerto Rican Supreme Court on August 1 upheld a Congressional resolution passed in 1900 limiting the amount of land held by a corporation to 500 acres, but which has never been enforced. The land law was enacted by Congress in 1917 as part of the Island's Organic Act, but it was not implemented until 1935. The Supreme Court ordered the Rubert Hermanos sugar company, owner of the central San Vicente to dissolve, and fined it \$3,000. The small fine was explained by the long period during which the law was disregarded by the authorities. Cases against the Fajardo Sugar Company and the Central Cambaleche are pending, with further hearings to be held in the fall.

The big sugar companies, dominated by absentee capitalists in the United States, own or control the greater part of the sugar lands in the four chief cane sections that fringe the Puerto Rican coast. All of the most fertile soil is "the property of men who seldom or never see the Island and who have no interest in it except dividends." (Diffie: *Puerto Rico, A Broken Pledge*.) Rubert Hermanos, Inc., the company convicted under the act, is one of the smaller ones, owning 12,188 acres and producing 31,247 tons of sugar in 1935-6.

One of "Big Four"

The Central Cambaleche is about the same size, but the indicted Fajardo Sugar Company is one of the "big four" American corporations that dominate the industry. (The others are the South Puerto Rican Sugar Company, Central Aguirre Sugar Company, and Eastern Sugar Associates.) Together they produced nearly half of the total output for 1935-6; 399,207 tons out of 880,908. Fajardo's output was 104,207 tons. (Figures from Farr's *Manual of Sugar Companies, 1937*.) Many of the smaller companies are American or foreign owned. According to Diffie, about 60 per cent of the sugar crop in 1931 was ground by American and other absentee companies.

Fajardo owns 30,132 acres of cane land, leases an additional 20,011 acres, and controls through grinding contracts with small plantation owners another 16,096 acres. The South Puerto Rican Sugar Company owns 50,000 acres through a subsidiary, Russell and Company; Eastern Sugar Associates owns 31,000 acres and leases 17,000; and Aguirre owns 25,000 acres and leases 22,000. The "big four" also own railway, telephone and shipping lines. The South Puerto Rican Sugar Co. owns the Dominican Steamship Company and sugar centrals in Santo Domingo, and Aguirre has a controlling stock interest in the New England Alcohol Company.

Sugar Pays Dividends

The commanding position of these sugar corporations in Puerto Rican economy is obvious from the fact that the value of sugar and its products represents 70 per cent of the total value of all Puerto Rican products, and cane growing occupies 40 per cent of all land in crops. Cane land is

the Island's greatest source of wealth. The sugar companies have been highly profitable to their American stockholders. The principal companies by 1931 had paid dividends sufficient to replace their original investment many times over. Dividends exceeding 100 per cent a year have been known, and from 10 to 30 per cent is the rule.

How little American sugar imperialism has contributed to the Island's prosperity, however, is indicated by the wages paid the native workers on the plantations and in the centrals. For 1936-7, wages for men employed on the plantations averaged \$3.65 a week, or 12.8 cents an hour. In the sugar factories they averaged \$7.73 a week or 17½ cents an hour. The sugar companies have also contributed far less than their share of taxes, for their property has been scandalously under-assessed.

Land Pressing Problem

The ownership and use of the land is one of the most urgent Puerto Rican problems. Population density in Puerto Rico is more than 500 to the square mile. Only one-fourth of the total land area is cultivable, with the result that every square mile in cultivation must support over 1800 people. The State of S. Carolina is comparable to Puerto Rico in that it is 80 per cent rural, a similar proportion, but in South Carolina there are only 55 persons to a square mile and the per capita wealth is more than six times that of Puerto Rico.

The monopoly of the land by the sugar companies has reduced the land available for other crops with the result that the Island must import practically all its food from the United States—again paying tribute to American imperialism through both the costs of the food and American steamship lines. The land monopoly has also lessened the area available for housing to the point of distress.

The workers in the sugar industry cannot live on the cane lands. They must crowd into the seabor, malodorous slums that fringe the coastal towns. Every spot of waste land, no matter how unfit for decent living, is occupied by wretched shacks. They are built above several feet of stagnant water or over the tide flats. As many as ten people live in tiny one-room hovels. But the acreage in sugar has expanded ten-fold since 1900.

Although enforcement of the land laws may remedy some abuses, it will be no solution. It will make little difference whether the land is held by absentee corporations or individual Puerto Rican capitalists and landlords, whether it is held in immense tracts or 500 acre-lots, for 500 acres of valuable sugar land is no trifle. There is only one real solution: ownership of the land by those who work it. Until the Puerto Rican workers and agricultural laborers expropriate U. S. imperialism—and for this they need the help and solidarity of the workers in the United States—there will be no prosperity for the Puerto Rican masses.

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MAX SHACHTMAN

Editor

HAROLD ROBERTS GEORGE CLARKE

Associate Editors

S. STANLEY
Business Manager

A Judge Orders--But . . .

Unable to destroy the militant and successful Minneapolis Truck Drivers' Union by a direct attack, the Minneapolis bosses are now proceeding in an indirect manner to accomplish their most cherished aim, the complete destruction of Local 544 and with it, of the entire Minneapolis trade union movement.

Suffice it to say that the Minneapolis truck drivers who won brilliant strike victories in spite of thugs, gunmen and murderous police officers, will not permit their union to be destroyed by a legal maneuver ostensibly initiated by alleged members of the union, but actually, from the very beginning, the result of the initiative of the Employers' Association.

Five finks who claim to be members of the union filed a suit in the District Court of Minneapolis, alleging that the officials of 544 were dishonest, and demanded an accounting of the funds collected and expended. It was easily proved that those who complained to the capitalist court were not members in good standing, and that some of them were actually participating in the organization of an opposition union, recognized by all the workers of Minneapolis as a fink union. That alone should have convinced any impartial tribunal that the suit was not instituted in good faith, but Judge Frank E. Reed is a notoriously labor-hating judge and he did all that could be expected of him by the employers.

The complainants in the case filed a petition, asking for an order of the court permitting them to go through all the records of the union in order to prepare their case. When they made their false and malicious charges, they did not have a particle of evidence to support them; so they asked the judge for permission to look through the union records in order to find some evidence to support their charges. A travesty on justice if there ever was one.

Judge Reed granted the finks the order they asked for, but from what we know of the officers of Local 544 it will be a long, long time before the finks get to see the books and records of the union, order or no order.

There will be enemies of the union who will ask with an assumed air of innocence: Why shouldn't the union officials offer the union records for inspection? What have they to fear? No intelligent worker will be taken in by such questions.

In the first place if the Union should yield in this one case, what will prevent the bosses from sending in other stool-pigeons with instructions to file another suit for accounting? One can see how easily it would be for the enemies of the union to tie up the books and records in court actions and paralyze the efficient functioning of the organization.

In the second instance every intelligent worker understands full well that there are many things which a union cannot possibly divulge. A union is an organization not only for peace time but for militant strike activity. It has its secrets which the bosses would like to acquire regardless of price. Under no circumstances can a union account for every penny to a capitalist court.

Does that mean that union officials are free to do anything they please with union funds and then use the pretext that those funds were expended for the good of the union, without furnishing an accounting? By no means.

Union officials must be ready at all times to give a strict accounting of all union funds before proper committees. In case of any question, they must be ready to show all their records to any committee of loyal members of the union or to any committee of the general labor movement.

The books of Local 544 have been audited by accountants of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters. The officials of Local 544 have proclaimed their readiness to give a full and complete accounting to any responsible body of organized labor. Under the circumstances anyone who wants any more and suggests that the Local officers open their records to finks and a capitalist court is either a fool or a knave.

The whole organized labor movement of Minneapolis is solidly behind the officials of the Truck Drivers in their fight against the employers and their court. If the labor movement of the whole country will regard its true interests, it will come wholeheartedly to the support of Local 544.

There is danger that the militant leaders of 544 will be held in "contempt of court" and sentenced to jail. Undoubtedly the truck drivers of Minneapolis have a very healthy contempt

for the bosses' court that co-operates so enthusiastically in the work of attempting to destroy the union, and they will show their contempt by fighting to the last ditch to preserve their organization and the wonderful gains that came to them through that organization.

Mexican People Speaks

To the insolent and provocative note of Cordell Hull, President Lazaro Cardenas of Mexico last week addressed a reply which spoke with the authentic voice of the Mexican people uniting in their determination to resist the exactions of imperialism.

Rejecting Hull's thesis that expropriations could be carried out only when full and immediate cash payment was made for the properties expropriated, Cardenas asserted the right of the Mexican people to take whatever steps in relation to property that they themselves found just and necessary for their own welfare and freedom.

Cardenas' note pointed out, furthermore, that it was also for the Mexican people to decide how and when payment was to be made. He exposed the hypocrisy of Great Britain and the United States by showing that through the boycott they have set up against Mexico, they make entirely impossible any payment at the same time that they demand complete and immediate payment.

Cardenas' courageous action will, we are confident, meet with the support not merely of every revolutionary socialist, but of all militant workers and anti-imperialists.

The issues now being raised by the Washington Administration's offensive against Mexico are of crucial importance to the labor movement in this country. Here is no "foreign fascism" or foreign capitalism about which it is easy to pass resolutions. Here is the hand of the enemy at home, of the great democrat and Good Neighbor, Roosevelt himself, being raised aloft in order to strike down, if possible, the hopes and aspirations of our Mexican brothers and comrades.

The demand of American labor must be directed more firmly and loudly against the Roosevelt-Hull policy of imperialist intervention into the affairs of Mexico. American workers must make clear their support of and solidarity with the Mexican people in their struggle to achieve their own full social, economic and political freedom by shaking off the incubus of the exploiting imperialisms.

More concretely, we return again to the proposal previously put forward in these columns: Why cannot the cooperatives, some of them of considerable size, now engaged in refining and distributing gasoline and other petroleum products, begin the breaking of the unofficial boycott, in line with their own statutes and principles, by purchasing Mexican petroleum? At this stage, when Mexico is fighting against tremendous odds for economic life, even comparatively small purchases would be of incalculable value, not less because of the splendid demonstration they would give of anti-imperialist internationalism.

Stalinist Thievery

We have stated many times before and shall continue to assert that there is no crime on the books which the G.P.U. and other Stalinist agents will hesitate to commit in order to destroy their opponents. Persons seriously interested in the labor movement will by this time take it for granted that the G.P.U. has practically no other purpose than to guard Stalinism against its opponents from the left.

Lovestonites have been close to the top circles of the administration of the United Automobile Workers. The Stalinists, desperately in need of creating a diversion during the trial of some of their members and stooges in the U.A.W. saw a grand opportunity to do so if they could get hold of the private correspondence of Jay Lovestone. For the G.P.U., skilled in kidnapping and murder, to break into a private home is a simple job. Who else could have possibly been interested in breaking into Lovestone's home and stealing his private letters?

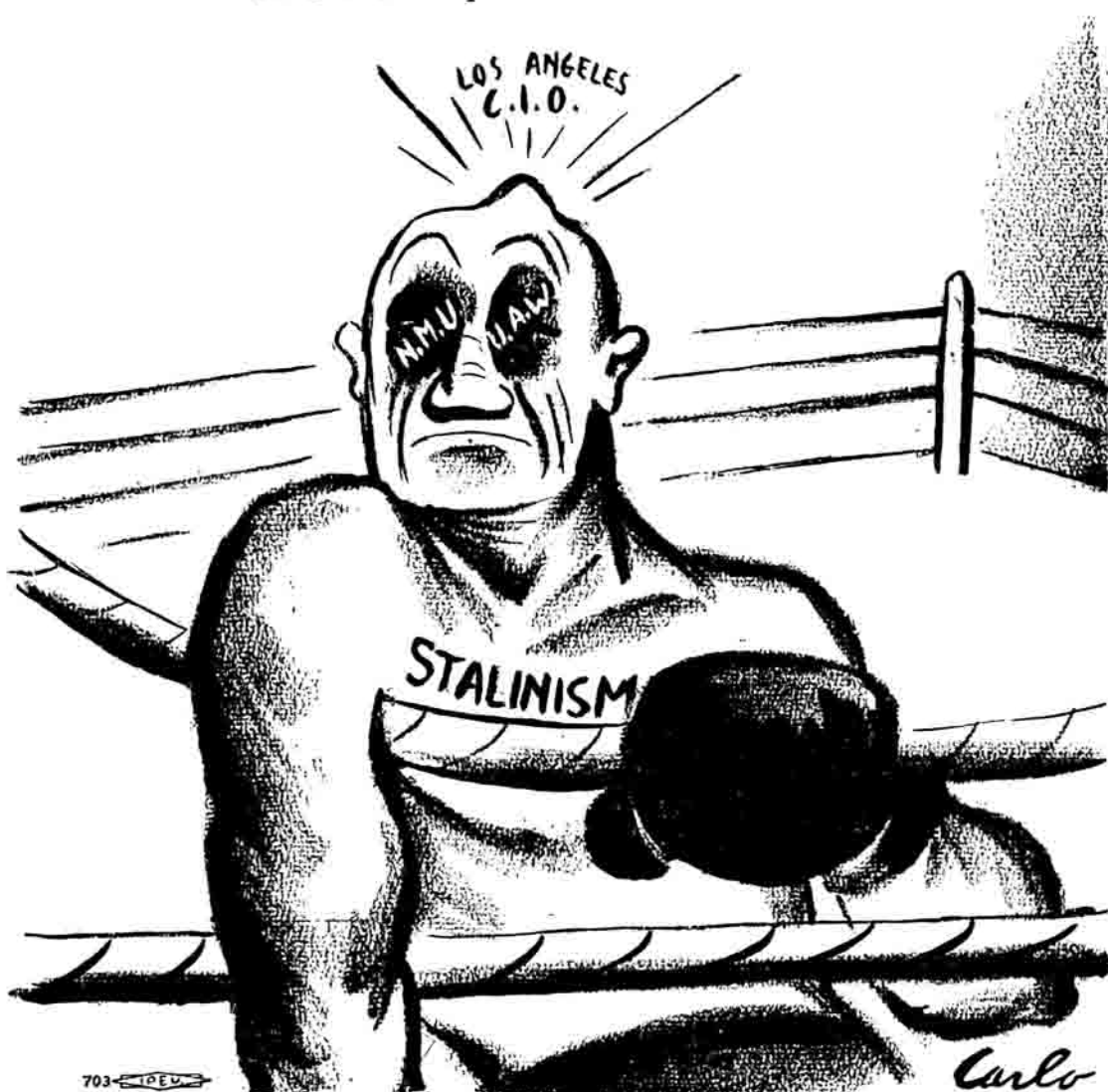
The *Daily Worker* published some of the letters stolen before Maurice Sugar, Stalinist attorney, indicated that they would be offered as evidence on behalf of the expelled officials of the U.A.W. This will not help the officials but proves conclusively that the Stalinist agents were responsible for the theft.

In the Soviet Union the G.P.U. openly raids the living quarters of suspected oppositionists; political opponents are murdered with or without a farcical judicial proceeding. In other countries the Stalinists have to do their work by stealth but because of their immense resources, they are not greatly handicapped by that necessity.

No opponent of Stalinism is safe. The only effective weapon is an open, united and remorseless struggle against the Stalinist criminals. It goes without saying that we do not include amongst them the thousands of rank and filers who are devoted to the labor movement, but who have been hoodwinked by Stalinist propaganda.

Our political opposition to Jay Lovestone is well known. This will not deter us, however, from uniting with the Lovestonites and other political opponents for the purpose of cleaning the vile disease of Stalinism from the labor movement.

Made By Union Labor



AMERICA'S PERMANENT DEPRESSION - III

Roosevelt Smiles on the Unemployed When Elections Roll Around; But WPA Scales Are Lower Than Ever

By ART PREIS

Someone has said that man is the only animal who can convince himself that things are not what they are, but he would like them to be.

The history of the federal relief program from 1935 to the present demonstrates this fact. Much of the cheering for Roosevelt is based on the completely false idea that there has been a substantial improvement in the conditions of the unemployed during the past three years. Actual facts and figures prove there has been a gradual and subtle decline in the living standards of the unemployed as a whole during the period of the W. P. A.

A story is related of the scientist who experimented with frogs. He placed them alive in a pan of water over a very low flame. The pan was sufficiently shallow to permit the frogs to hop out. But so low was the flame that it took days for the water to heat. The rise in temperature was so gradual that the frogs failed to notice it. Eventually, they boiled alive. If the pan had been near a radio with the assuring tones of F. D. R. gushing forth, the frogs might have boiled to death with a smile.

This story demonstrates the distinction between the Hoover and Roosevelt methods of treating the unemployed. Hoover threw the unemployed into a red-hot pan of outright starvation. Roosevelt supplies just enough relief jobs to keep the unemployed from "jumping out of the pan", that is, pacified by a gradual process of becoming accustomed to lower standards and by a form of stabilized poverty.

STARVATION IN F. D. R. PROGRAM

Not that Roosevelt has scrupled to discontinue relief and jobs altogether when it suited his purposes. Five and a half million relief families, 22 million men, women and children, faced outright starvation between June and November, 1935, when the Roosevelt administration discontinued direct relief. Of these five and a half million unemployed breadwinners, over 1,750,000 never received employment on the W.P.A. They subsisted at best on meager allotments of state and local governments.

These millions, together with the additional five million more unemployed families estimated to have required relief in the past year of depression, today face a relief crisis unparalleled in the past six years. The breakdown of relief in Cleveland, Chicago and other centers has revealed conditions as rotten almost as anything known under Hoover. These crises flow from Roosevelt's direct relief policies.

SLASHING RELIEF APPROPRIATIONS

The federal government is gradually liquidating its obligations to the unemployed. First, it slipped from under the responsibility for direct relief. Since then, it has slowly decreased the appropriations for work relief in relation to the total number of unemployed. The original appropriation

for W.P.A. was four billion dollars. Unemployment in the fall of 1935 was about 11 million. At its peak in February, 1936, W.P.A. employed 3,853,000 workers. From that date until July, 1937, although unemployment had declined less than 25 per cent according to the government's own census, the W.P.A. was reduced, through systematic and ruthless wholesale dismissals, by more than 50 per cent, to 1,800,000 workers.

Contrast the present one and a quarter billion dollars W.P.A. appropriation with the original four billion, and the maximum of 2,800,000 jobs provided under the present fund with the almost four million jobs at the 1936 peak. There are, variously estimated, two to five million more unemployed now than in February, 1936, but a million less W.P.A. jobs, and an appropriation that will last no further than January, 1939.

For anyone not blinded by personal or political considerations, the above figures, cited from government sources, reveal a startling fact. The total benefits for the unemployed as a group have been reduced in the past three years, particularly when contrasted with the actual number of unemployed at any given period.

WAGES GRADUALLY REDUCED

A further startling fact is that real work relief wages, on the average throughout the country, have suffered a gradual reduction from the C.W.A. program to the present W.P.A. set-up. C.W.A. paid an average weekly wage of \$15 for unskilled laborers, about \$65 monthly. The F.E.R.A. originally paid an average weekly wage to laborers of \$12, or \$50 monthly. The administration then reduced wages on F.E.R.A. to the equivalent of each worker's direct relief budget, the worst form of forced-labor for emergency relief orders. The discontinuance of this forced-labor policy was not effected by the administration without considerable mass persuasion from the unemployed. Hundreds of strikes ripped the F.E.R.A. work program wide open.

When the W.P.A. began, Roosevelt did not make the mistake attempted under the F.E.R.A. He quickly covered that one revealing glimpse of his actual ruthlessness with a great ballyhoo of "security" wages and "prevailing" hourly rates of pay under the W.P.A. The actual amount earned by most W.P.A. workers was more than could be secured on direct relief. But, as always, what the administration gave with one hand, it withdrew with the other.

By discontinuing direct relief, the federal government was able, with little additional cost, to give slightly higher benefits to a smaller group of workers.

Further, the W.P.A. established wide wage differentials for areas of varying populations within these regions. Thus, the \$55-\$80

per month paid unskilled workers in large industrial centers in the north-eastern states, where unionism and unemployed organizations and mass actions were most extensive, were offset by the incredible coolie wages paid in the South and the rural areas.

At its peak, W.P.A. wages, including the wages of the skilled and professional workers, averaged only \$45.91 per month. This is less than the highest averages for unskilled laborers alone during the C.W.A. and F.E.R.A. For three years, the W.P.A. paid workers in certain southern areas as little as \$19 per month. The "security" wage is a ghastly joke, unless it implies merely security from immediate starvation. It certainly cannot mean "freedom from anxiety, want or poverty" in the dictionary sense.

Recently, minimum wages on W.P.A. were raised to \$40 per month. This act has been pointed out as a great humanitarian deed by Roosevelt. Few have asked why this noble deed was not done three years ago, at a time when Roosevelt had the national legislature eating out of his hand, and why this concession was so comparatively easy for him to secure now from an increasingly hostile legislature.

ROOSEVELT'S 'NOBLE' SENTIMENTS

Just how much Roosevelt has been moved by political considerations as contrasted with nobler sentiments in his unemployed policies we can observe accurately. Both in the fall of 1934 and that of 1936, just prior to the general elections, a sharp increase was noted in federal work relief employment. This was particularly apparent in September and October, 1936, when Roosevelt reversed his policy of mass W.P.A. lay-offs while unemployment was declining, and packed the W.P.A. projects. Few new projects were started, but old ones were double and triple shifted.

Immediately following Roosevelt's re-election, 400,000 W.P.A. workers, most of them still displaying Roosevelt campaign buttons, were fired en masse. Within six months of the elections, almost three-quarters of a million W.P.A. workers had received the reward of blind political faith in the form of pink dismissal slips.

We are approaching another election. Again W.P.A. jobs are on the increase. A couple of hundred thousand workers will be advantageously placed on W.P.A. rolls for a few weeks prior to the first Tuesday following the first Monday in November. Then we can confidently predict that the W.P.A. will follow its time-hallowed custom of firing hundreds of thousands—after the votes have been safely recorded.

(The next article of this series will be a discussion of the New Deal unemployment policies in relation to the entire Roosevelt program of saving the capitalist system and preparing for imperialist war.)

Pinning 'em Down

By JAMES CASEY

MID-SUMMER MARRIAGE

The Communist and Republican parties of New York City have just been married, with the American Labor party officiating over the revolting, but not unexpected, ceremony. It is the very same Republican party which, according to the *Daily Worker* in the last election campaign, was inextricably tied to Hearst and the Liberty League and was mercilessly driving the nation to fascism.

Now, just a few short months later, Stalinists are firing their propaganda furnaces with new sophist fuel, and soon they will be telling New Yorkers that, to save civilization from the Democratic hordes of the South, they must unite for Republican candidates in Manhattan, Brooklyn, Queens and, possibly, the Bronx.

In return, the Republicans of the staid and respectable Topsy clans will peddle votes among Social Registerites for this happy collection of Stalinist-A.L.P. candidates:

Vito Marcantonio, president of the Stalinist International Labor Defense, for Congress. (We wonder if Marcantonio's nomination had anything in common with the telephone conversations over a long, long period between Mr. Earl Browder's stooge and Mayor "Little Flower" LaGuardia.)

Allan Taub, ambitious lawyer and activist in the A.L.P., for State Senator. (In 1931 Mr. Taub was assigned by his Communist Party unit to work in the L.L.D. After winning some distinction for losing cases, Taub was transferred to the United Front Supporters. When that fly-by-night mass organization passed out along with a half dozen others, he was shifted to the "innocent" League for Peace and Democracy. From there he went on to "fraction work" in the Labor party.)

Jacob Rosenberg, head of Local 802, Musicians Union, A. F. of L., for Congress. (Rosenberg is an old hand at carrying out the "party line," regardless of how often or how crazily it gyrates. He would be an ideal representative in Washington for the C. P. Polhuoro.)

Eugene Connolly, T.W.U. division leader, for Congress. (Connolly is an ardent follower of Michael J. Quill, Stalinists' trade union spokesman, and therefore safe for Mr. Browder.)

Quite appropriately, as part of the alliance vows, the Stalinists and Republicans will campaign for Tammanyite Congressman Samuel Dickstein, than whom there is no more rabid red-baiter with the possible exception of Earl Browder himself. Support has also been pledged by the Stalinists to Democratic Congressman Celler, protégé of the late (Boss) John J. McCooey of Brooklyn.

As has been noted, the People's Frontist nuptials of Stalinists with Republican and Democrats, too, come not as a surprise. They merely bear out Browder's testimony before the recent State Legislative Committee that the Communist Party is fighting to preserve the institutions of capitalist "democracy" and against "those who would undermine our government" and further, "that we must not be compared with the Trotskyites and Lovestonites, who proclaim the opposite opposite of those policies which I have described." So spoke Mr. Browder, Stalin's official mouthpiece, and it is in the record.

BROWDER'S SEVEREST CRITIC

But Moissaye J. Olgin, Browder's official biographer and the editor of the Communist Party's Jewish organ, has said in public print, also for the record, the following:

"The system we are living under in the United States can hardly be called a democracy even in name. Even the pretense of representative government has been abandoned. Congress has ceded the prerogatives of law-making to one man, Roosevelt, who is a virtual dictator, acting through a number of boards appointed by him."

Of those who would argue for a "working-class party joining with capitalist parties for progressive measures," Brother Olgin has said without equivocation:

"You will not be surprised if we call these reformists traitors to the working class. They are that. And there is no fundamental difference in this respect between reformists belonging to the Republican and Democratic parties and the reformists belonging to the Socialist Party" (or the Communist Party—J. C.). Olgin continued:

"William Green or John L. Lewis, Matthew Woll or David Dubinsky, Edward McGrady or Sidney Hillman—no matter how different their coloring may be, they are birds of a feather."

That is pretty plain speaking and, as if in reply to Browder's attack on the Trotskyites, Olgin roundly denounced the views of the C. P. general secretary, saying:

"The capitalist state is a glaring fact. It is flesh and blood of the capitalist system. It stands in the way of workers' progress toward a new, freer life. Can it be abolished by gradual transformation? Those who say it can are the staunchest supporters of the capitalist robbers and the most active promoters of imperialist wars."

Brother Olgin's climaxing lambast was this:

"Their theory is not harmless indeed. It is a poisonous theory. It is a smokescreen behind which cruel capitalist exploitation is hiding."

Of course, the foregoing attack on People's Frontism was written in "Why Communism" before orders arrived from Moscow to toe the new Stalinist line. Nevertheless, it is perhaps well for Brother Olgin that he has been denied a visa to the Soviet Union. After all, there is no firing squad at 50 East 13th Street, although frame-ups abound like mosquitoes in a Jersey swamp.

THE DARLING OF BIG BUSINESS

While on the subject of reformists and their oscillations, one cannot overlook Thomas E. Dewey, high-powered prosecutor of New York County and the national pride of the Republican Party, the A.L.P. and the Stalinist "progressives."

Within a few days Dewey will have on the witness stand "Jimmy" Hines, endeavoring to prove that the Tammany leader had given police and court protection to the late Dutch Schultz's policy racket. "Dixie" Davis, once counsel for the slain racketeer, has turned State's witness, is prepared to "spill the dirt" and, with the corroborating testimony of two other associates of Schultz, will help Dewey achieve a signal legal triumph.

There is every reason to believe that Hines will be convicted, and two or three Tammany judges decisively discredited. However, neither Davis nor the other witnesses will tell the story that the public should know.

What the people of New York and the nation should be told is: "Just what is behind the Hines trial?" That Hines has been associated with racketeers for many years is not news to anyone having even passing acquaintance with New York's political life. Back in the days of District Attorney Crane, the prosecutor's office had evidence (which later disappeared from the files) that Tammany district leaders were giving protection to racketeers who, in turn, received millions of dollars from New York's industrial interests for breaking strikes, engaging thugs to club pickets, disrupting union activities and attacking labor in sundry other ways.

It is quite probable that former District Attorney William H. Dodge, Dewey's predecessor, had similar evidence. The advent of the first capitalist crisis forced the business interests to rebel against the steadily rising and insolent demands of the racketeers. When the Tammany leaders were found to be so closely linked to the gangsters as to be unable to meet the appeals of merchants, manufacturers and others, a mighty civic crusade was launched for "clean government."

Thus LaGuardia and Fusion got hold of City Hall. The capitalist civic groups, with the aid of newspapers, also threatened by the racketeers, rallied the voters for more and more gains and, finally, found in Dewey an able and willing instrument to continue the clean-up started by the Seabury investigation.

Dewey will vanquish Tammany and ride to higher office over the political graves of Hines, Dodge and a number of others. But his victory will be the victory of Big Business, substituting one capitalist political wing for another to do its bidding.

Once again the masses of the people of New York will be left holding the bag.