

What Good Work, Mr. President?

An Editorial

In his Labor Day speech delivered at Denton, Md., President Roosevelt appealed to "all who labor in field and factory" to support him in carrying on "the good work to a just and successful conclusion."

The thinking American workers and farmers will not be fooled by fine phrases; they will not be taken in by the fact that Roosevelt "invaded" Maryland to oppose Senator Tydings, one of the arch reactionaries in the Senate. They will ask some very simple but pointed questions.

What good work are you referring to, Mr. President? How do you propose to carry out this good work? What is the just and successful conclusion that you have in mind?

Were Roosevelt not a demagogue angling for the votes of workers and farmers his speech would have been much shorter but a thousand times more truthful. He would have stated the following: "After six years of my administration we are back to the same point where we started, and to tell you the truth I don't know what to do about the whole matter."

For what other conclusion could an honest man draw?

Anywhere from twelve to fourteen million workers are now unemployed, almost as many as were unemployed when Roosevelt entered the White House. A vivid demonstration of the extent of unemployment was given in New York when over five thousand workers applied for a few jobs as municipal porters, and in the rush to fill out applications three unemployed were injured. Is that part of the good work to which Roosevelt referred?

One third of the consuming units of the nation earned an average of less than nine dollars a week during 1936, according to the report of the National Resources Committee. Roosevelt did not include that among the list of things which he characterized as "good work."

The price of wheat has gone down to a little over sixty cents a bushel, the lowest price in history if one takes into consideration the devalued dollar. The President forgot to mention that as part of the good work.

What then constitutes the good work? The Social Security Bill, the Wages and Hours law, and the Wagner Labor Relations Act? Granting that these laws are to be considered as favorable to the workers of what benefit are they to the fourteen million who are unemployed and to the farmers who must sell their wheat at less than the cost of production?

That leaves the W.P.A. as the only thing that Roosevelt can boast about. What a miserable record to use as justification for the term "good work"!

If we assume that the Republican party would have permitted all those who are now on W.P.A. to starve, then Roosevelt can claim credit for giving just enough work to about three million people to prevent actual starvation. What an achievement to be proud of!

It is true that the big capitalists are attacking Roosevelt viciously and would stop at nothing to defeat him. They are ready to tear anyone to pieces who makes the slightest concession to the exploited masses; they are too stupid to see that Roosevelt is actually doing more to save their property than an open reactionary could possibly do. But it would be utter folly for the workers to be satisfied with a government simply because the reactionaries are bitterly opposed to it.

The fact that the reactionaries would starve the masses completely is no reason for being satisfied with semi-starvation.

Add together all the legislation for which Roosevelt claims credit and it all fades into insignificance in comparison with the fact of fourteen million unemployed workers. So long as there are millions of unemployed at the same time that factories are idle, so long as greater produc-

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World Unite!

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POWERS PREPARE WAR

Unions Back Clerks!

BOSS OFFENSIVE MET BY UNITED LABORMOVEMENT

Strikers Picket 27 Dep't. Stores; In Militant Mood

SAN FRANCISCO.—San Francisco's unions, both A. F. of L. and C.I.O., rallied behind the A. F. of L. retail clerks in their strike against the 27 major department stores of this city.

On the waterfront, where C.I.O. warehousemen are locked out and employers have not yet renewed the longshoremen's agreement, Harry Lundeborg, leader of the powerful Sailors' Union of the Pacific, issued a statement declaring that the S.U.P. stood ready to back the longshoremen and warehousemen in any disputes with the employers.

Employers Admit Aims
The retail clerks called the strike against the department stores after weeks of fruitless negotiations—during which the employers banded together in the San Francisco Retailers' Council—made clear that they were not interested in reaching an agreement, but only in smashing the union. After union leadership had made numerous concessions to no avail, 5,000 clerks began picketing the stores.

With the workers grimly determined to protect their union, formed little more than a year ago, the shopping district on Market Street, San Francisco's main thoroughfare, became a huge picket line jammed with pickets and sympathizers. Through the crowd rode mounted police, doing their best to keep store entrances free and protecting scabs going through the picket line, but pickets always quickly reformed their lines.

Unions In Solidarity
The strike is endorsed by the Central Labor Council and 24 A. F. of L. unions have agreed not to pass the picket lines. Deliveries to the stores must be made through the mails or by the American Railway Express as the teamsters' union refuses to handle goods for the struck stores.

Supplementing the pickets from the Retail Clerks' Union are union men from the waterfront, both C.I.O. and A. F. of L. Among the unions offering full support, both men and money, are the S.U.P. and the Marine Firemen. Realizing that the drive against the clerks is only part of the whole open-shop campaign unleashed by the employers, the maritime unions are in the forefront of the struggle.

Leadership Conciliatory
While the rank and file of the striking union is filled with a militant spirit and willing to fight bitterly to protect their organization, the leadership is playing a conciliatory role that threatens the success of the strike. The bosses, enraged by the effectiveness of the picketing, fabricate atrocity stories of brutality on the part of the pickets, the union officials give them credence by appealing for "peaceful" picketing. The bosses will not be satisfied until the union is broken.

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Sailors Back Longshoremen; Blast C. P. Slanders

(Reprinted from the WEST COAST SAILORS)

The Sailors' Union of the Pacific wishes to inform the longshoremen-warehousemen that it is now, and always has been, the policy of the S.U.P. membership to back up any section of the maritime workers, or other workers, should attacks be made on them by the employers.

We now publish this statement for the simple reason that the comrat-controlled slander machine is busily circulating rumors and filthy lies among the longshoremen-warehousemen that the S.U.P. will not back these men up in their disputes with their employer. Anybody who knows the policy of the S.U.P. membership knows that these are just a bunch of filthy lies, put out to serve only the interests of the comrat-slander machine.

Maritime workers on the Coast do not have to worry about the SAILORS' UNION OF THE PACIFIC crashing any picket lines. And just because our picket lines against the Shepard Line in its open-shop drive were crashed at the instigation of a few finicky commissars this doesn't mean that we are holding this against the bona fide longshoremen-warehousemen.

The SAILORS' UNION has always backed up legitimate, bona fide maritime workers in their conflicts with employers; it has never changed its policy and does not intend to do so now. This policy is that if attempts are made by employers to crush any section of the maritime workers, and these workers decide they are forced to strike to protect their status, the SAILORS' UNION OF THE PACIFIC stands now, as always, to back them up at all times! That does not mean, however, that we are going to take any orders from the "Top Fraction" boys!

HARRY LUNDEBERG, Sec'y-Treas.

Union Defense Guards Formed By Local 544

SEAMEN PICKET FINK HALL, GOV'T TRAINING SCHOOL

Pickets Meet Gov't Ship, NMU Officials Aid Commission

NEW YORK.—Picketing, in progress for several weeks against the Maritime Commission hiring halls, last week was extended to the piers by members of the Sailors' Union of the Pacific, the Marine Firemen and Marine Transport Workers' Union (I.W.W.), when the government-owned ship Southern Cross and the Coast Guard station were surrounded by picketing seamen.

Replacements to the Southern Cross were shipped through the government fleet hall and about 20 pickets met them at the docks in Hoboken. While the pickets were present, the new men refused to board the ship and several of the deck crew left the ship, but later the same men from the fleet hall boarded the ship. Seamen continued to picket, protesting the government usurpation of union hiring control.

Around the Coast Guard station more seamen kept watch, warning prospective recruits for the training ships against the true purposes of the school—to turn out "trained" flunks and strikebreakers. Under direction of the Coast Guard the government is putting into operation the training ships, a government plan to load an industry already plagued with unemployment with a fresh supply of seamen.

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Group Prepares to Defend Union Hall From Thugs

MINNEAPOLIS.—Formation of a Union Defense Guard was the answer of Local 544, militant teamsters' union of Minneapolis, to the open threats of the Silver Shirts and other employer-sponsored groups to conduct armed raids against union halls. Confronted with one of the strongest and most determined labor movements in the country, Minneapolis employers have been extremely active recently in attempting to organize bands of hoodlums and thugs, primed to use strong-arm methods against the unions. Chief object of their attack is Local 544, whose militant example and leadership has led to a resurgence of organized labor throughout the Northwest.

The spectacle of unprepared workers being mercilessly beaten and, in some cases, driven from their homes by armed vigilantes and hired thugs, a sight becoming more and more prevalent throughout the U. S., led the executive board of the union to confer with groups of union members to seek a way to combat any such tactics on the part of the bosses here. From these meetings evolved the defense groups, formed of men willing and determined to guard the union from attack.

Lessons From '34

In 1934, during the two great strikes which firmly established the teamsters' union in Minneapolis, the strikers were forced to battle, in addition to the police and National Guard, the volunteer troops called out by the Citizens Alliance. This motley crowd, composed largely of small business men and hangers-on of

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LATIN AMERICANS HIT 'DEMOCRATIC' U.S. IMPERIALISM

Congress in Uproar; Dissident Voices Suppressed

(Special to the Socialist Appeal)
MEXICO, D. F., Sept. 13.—The so-called "World Congress Against War and Fascism" was thrown into an uproar here yesterday when the Mexican and Puerto Rican delegates declared that "democratic" imperialist nations like Great Britain and the United States were war-makers as well as the Fascist powers.

The incident gave striking proof of the real nature of this Stalinist-inspired demonstration. The Congress was nothing but a recruiting agency for British, French, and American imperialism.

Against U. S. Imperialism
The Puerto Rican delegate, Juan Juarbe, was almost physically ejected from the congress when he demanded that the United States be included in the list of aggressor nations. A representative of the C.T.M., the Mexican Workers Federation, also declared that Mexico and Latin America as a whole were engaged in a struggle not only against Fascist imperialism but against British and American imperialism, which were, he said, equally responsible for war.

The French delegate, P. Richard, was immediately on his feet, demanding that the Mexican and Puerto Rican proposal be given no consideration "in order not to break the world unity of pacifist elements against the Fascist aggressor." Marguerite Nelkin, Stalinist, presiding as the delegate of Loyalist Spain, refused to entertain these unseemly dissident motions from the floor. Whereupon the representative of the Peruvian delegation threatened to walk out if the proposal were not considered. Juarbe insisted on his right to speak and the chair continued her efforts to silence him. Aliaga, another Spanish delegate then made the remarkably "democratic" proposal to eject Juarbe with whom he almost came to blows.

Ramon Gonzalez Pena, Spanish Loyalist Minister of Justice, representative of the government that repressed the Spanish revolutionary movement at the behest of Anglo-French imperialism, was so infuriated at the audacity of the Puerto Rican delegate, that he rushed at him fists flying. This is the gentleman who a few days ago warned against "secret" Fascists!

Whitewash "Democracies"
In the end the defenders of "democratic" imperialism won the day with a "compromise" resolution which amounted, in effect, to a statement that the "democratic" imperialists are not guilty of seeking war.

Thus at the slightest touch the deceptive cloak of pacifism falls away from these demonstration-congresses "against war and fascism." The congress was an attempt to dull the edge of Latin America's struggle against British and American imperialism, the main "aggressors" against Mexico and all Latin-American countries. But the workers in the mines, fields and factories have had too much experience with gringo imperialism to be taken in by the transparent fraud.

Czechs Pawns in Conflict as Crisis of System Drives to Disaster

HISTORY REPEATS!

An Editorial

The historic collapse of the Second International occurred at the outbreak of the European war in 1914. In each of the belligerent countries the labor and socialist organizations which stood committed to a program of opposition to imperialist war capitulated to the demands of the bourgeoisie and helped send millions of the working youth to their deaths for the greater glory of British, French, German, Italian, and Russian imperialism.

Out of that treachery came the historic split in the Second International and, after the epochal revolution in Russia, the creation of the Third or Communist International, dedicated to a program of militant revolutionary internationalism. In this program the firmest resistance to imperialist war stood as the keystone of all revolutionary activity.

Today the world labor movement is confronted with a spectacle infinitely more revolting than that of 1914. On the eve of war, while the capitalist masters hesitate, fearful of the upheavals that war must surely bring in its wake, the so-called "leaders" of labor are the loudest, most violent, most insistent supporters of the policies that call for "direct action" against aggressors, for "collective security"—in short, for war, for capitalist-imperialist war in which the workers have no more stake than they did in the holocaust of 1914-1918.

In 1914 the misleaders of British and French labor sent the workers out to fight under the lying legend of "the fight to save democracy from Kaiserism." Three years later the leaders of American labor followed their patriotic example. The result everyone knows. Twenty million of the finest youth of all lands were left dead on foul battlefields and over their bodies the capitalists of all lands groveled for the spoils. "Democracy" remained the myth it has always been under capitalism. It is that same myth which the misleaders of labor today are once more calling on the workers to die for in the name of the "struggle against Hitlerism."

At Blackpool, England, last week the Trades Union Congress, national body of the British trades unions, and the Labor Party, took an open stand for war. "The British Government," it was proclaimed, "must leave no doubt in the mind of the German government that they will unite with the French and Soviet governments to resist any attacks on Czechoslovakia. . . . Whatever risks Britain must take, it must make its stand against aggression. There is no room for doubt or hesitation."

In France the ruling class cleverly utilized the war crisis to sweep away at one blow the remnants of the gains made by the workers in their magnificent mass strikes of June, 1936. Premier Edouard Daladier's "People's Front" government decreed the termination of the 40-hour week and sent Senegalese soldiers

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Shipyard Union Convenes; Maps Drive on Bethlehem

By BILL MORGAN

CAMDEN, N. J.—Fifty-two delegates representing 20,000 members of the Industrial Union of Marine and Shipbuilding Workers of America, a C.I.O. affiliate, met here over the past weekend to prepare for the biggest and most important battle this young and militant union has faced in its struggle to organize all the shipyard workers of America into one powerful union. "We must win where 'Little Steel' failed!" became the slogan of the convention as report after report of the field organizers stressed the need for a determined, uncompromising fight against that citadel of reaction, the Bethlehem Steel Corporation.

In preparation for this decisive offensive against Bethlehem Steel the delegates proceeded to adopt their union to the current situation on the economic and political field. The mood of the rank and file was expressed clearly in the resolutions presented to the convention. First on the order of business was the question of raising a "war chest" for the National Office so that immediate action can be taken when the time is ripe. Second was the question of political action, and here the sentiment of the membership was expressed by delegate after delegate taking the floor to demand independent political action by

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The Crisis in the Auto Workers Union

Martin, Waging Fight Against Wreckers, Is Hampered by Bureaucratic Tactics, Reactionary Allies

By GEO. CLARKE

The crisis in the auto workers' union moves rapidly to a final showdown. With Sidney Hillman and Philip Murray, armed with a ukase from John L. Lewis, attempting to force an odious decision on the U.A.W. Executive Board in Detroit, it is only a matter of time before the crisis is resolved and a split rends the union, or what is the same or worse—the Stalinists grab control. A third possibility is a compromise which will postpone a solution of the faction fight at least until the next convention.

Whatever the outcome, the auto workers' union faces a difficult and trying future. The new Roosevelt depression has turned a large section of the member-

ship out of the plants, reduced the union rolls, emptied the union treasury. The motor magnates are obviously biding their time for a major onslaught to slash wages, re-introduce the vicious open-shop practices—in a word, smash the auto workers' union. And in the meantime they are transferring, wherever economically feasible, all work to open shop centers. The powerful fighting reserves in the rank and file make the union more than able to cope with the new attack. But the debilitating effects of disruption from within are paralyzing the hands of the union and exposing it to untold dangers. The labor movement is by this time well acquainted with the source of that disruption: Stalinism.

Crimes of Stalinism
Few unions have escaped the disastrous activities carried on by this wrecking crew whose aim

is to harness the labor movement to the war machine of the Roosevelt administration. The auto workers' union has been singled out for the full brunt of their campaign. U.A.W. locals have been kept in constant turmoil; every opportunity has been utilized to keep a constant fire of disunion burning; real issues have been distorted and unimportant ones magnified; real sentiments of the rank and file have been dogmatically exploited and betrayed; organization drives were sabotaged if the glory did not fall on some Communist Party idol, and the W.P.A. auxiliary was almost wrecked because it did not serve their treacherous political aims. A catalogue of the crimes

Internal Struggle Exposes Stalinism as Major Threat to Labor Movement; Socialist Party Only C. P. Shadow

of the Stalinists in the auto union would fill a book.

The worst possible outcome of the present conflict will produce at least one salutary result. A large section of the workers will have learned "what the score is" as far as the Communist Party is concerned. The scourge of the labor movement, the Stalinists deliberately set out to wreck the U.A.W. after they failed to capture it. Unionism means a constant struggle against the boss for better living conditions—it is a weapon for the workers. Sta-

linism on the other hand serves not the workers but the interests of the dictator of the Soviet workers. It uses the unions for over-the-counter trading with the crooked diplomats who are only agents of the duPonts, Fords and Chryslers. The Stalinists have no allegiance to the union. They are responsible only to Stalin and his G.P.U. Stalinism and unionism are mortal enemies. To know this is the beginning of wisdom for every good union man.

The major bid for power made

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Workers Sold to War Machine by Patriotic Leaders

FIGHT THE WAR-PLANS!

Führer Hitler finally spoke his anxiously-awaited piece at Nuremberg last Monday and left the Central European war crisis exactly where it was before—on the edge of a general explosion.

The deadly parallel between Czechoslovakia and Austria became more marked immediately after his speech. In that arrogant and bellicose declaration Hitler announced that Germany stood behind the Nazi Sudetens in Czechoslovakia and in effect made it clear that the Reich would be satisfied only with the ultimate annexation of the Sudeten-territories.

Hitler Mocks Self-Determination
In Hitler's mouth the demand for "self-determination" for the 3,500,000 Germans in Czechoslovakia was like an ironic jest on the slogan which the Versailles Treaty converted into a hypocritical deception 20 years ago. Self-determination, the elementary right of all races and all peoples, can become a reality only under socialism, a truly free commonwealth of nations. The world had a brief glimpse of what self-determination can mean in the first years of the Soviet Union. There too it was extinguished as the Stalin bureaucracy crippled and deformed almost all the progressive features of the isolated Soviet State.

Hitler's speech was naturally taken by the Sudetens in Czechoslovakia as a virtual call to revolt. Bloody clashes filled the night that followed the Nuremberg orator's pronouncement. As the Nazi demonstrations assumed the character of a rebellion, martial law was proclaimed. Europe still waited on its now familiar tenterhooks for the further evolution of the crisis.

World Clash Inevitable
What this evolution will be, few any longer doubt. The intolerable tension that now holds Europe paralyzed will inevitably crack. The feverish and hysterical war preparations by all the imperialist powers, "democratic" and Fascist alike will reach before long their culminating point. An answer to the problems that were left unanswered in 1918 will be sought again in the horrible futility of a new imperialist war. There are few left in the chancelleries and counting houses of the continent who believe that the clash can or will be postponed much later than next Spring or Summer. That is the most optimistic position. There are many who believe, not without good cause, that the crisis may come to a head in the course of the next few months, if not weeks.

But if this is a respite to the war-makers to complete their preparations, it is also a respite which the revolutionary militants in the international labor movement can utilize. The war psychology has already been sown throughout the ranks of labor by the treacherous advocates of "collective security," by the Stalinists, the foremost of the war-mongers. This psychology can be combated only by the most resolute efforts to awaken the working class to the mortal danger that confronts it.

"France Is the Key"
In a perspicacious editorial a few days ago the New York Times said "France is the key," explaining that the issue in Europe would be decided not so much by the whims of Hitler as by the ability of the French "Leftist" government to keep the workers in subjection. In its drastic militarization of the Marseilles dockworkers the People's Front government reached the logical point of development of the whole People's Front betrayal.

Should the French workers be won to a policy of intransigent resistance to the war plans of French imperialism, the threat of imperialist war would give way to the sharpening lines of

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Shipyard Workers To Launch Huge Organizing Drive

AIM AT "LITTLE STEEL" YARDS

IUMSWA Meet Hits Fink Halls; Defends Fred Beal

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Labor's Non-Partisan League. "We must get into the L.N.P.L. to fight for real labor candidates—union book members—so we can control their actions in office," said several delegates.

Urge Independent Candidates
The resolution to "give unwavering support to Roosevelt and his Administration" and to urge him to run for a third term was referred back to the resolutions committee for reconsideration and when the committee reported back it recommended non-concurrence. It was amusing to watch the Stalinists and the 100% Democrats vie with each other in praise of the man who organized the notorious Maritime Commission which is attempting to smash union hiring halls and set up "Fink Halls" in their place. The resolution urging entrance into the L.N.P.L. "in order to fight for labor candidates and against supporting liberal Democrats and Republicans" and to give support to the L.N.P.L. candidates in the meantime, carried almost unanimously.

The convention then turned its attention to the underhanded, double-dealing attempts of the Stalinists to split the union and capture jurisdiction over the Navy Yard workers. The delegate from San Francisco reported that the Bridges machine on the West Coast had denied recognition to the I.U.M.S.W.A. in preference to a C.P.-controlled dual union. One delegate gave a full account of the attempts of the Stalinists to capture the Navy Yard locals by rule or ruin tactics. One Harry Kelner had attempted to swing the Navy Yard membership into the United Federal Workers, a Communist Party controlled C. I. O. union of white-collar workers, in order to get the jurisdiction. Fortunately these wreckers were exposed in time and they failed to gain a foothold in this important section of the union.

And while the question was on the floor, a call came through to John Green, president of the I.U.M.S.W.A., from the central office of the C.I.O., saying that the United Federal Workers wanted to discuss the question of jurisdiction with the I.U.M.S.W.A. This was the last straw and the convention immediately appointed a special committee to draw up a clear and sharp statement on this vital matter. There was no doubt in the minds of many delegates as to the motive of the Stalinists in this attempt to hog-tie the navy yard workers on the verge of another imperialist slaughter. The resolution, which was carried with but one dissenting Stalinist vote, pointed out that the C.I.O. had given the union a charter to organize all shipbuilders in every yard in America and that changes in jurisdiction would not be discussed with anybody.

Hit Maritime Commission
Following this the delegates expressed themselves on the matter of "fink hiring halls" as proposed by the Maritime Commission and declared its solidarity with all the progressive maritime unions in the fight to establish and maintain union hiring halls. This was a dig at the officials of the N.M.U. who refuse to come out in the open on this question while following a policy of tacit consent to Roosevelt's anti-union campaign on the waterfront.

The whole question of the role played by the Stalinists was discussed by the convention when a resolution was introduced from the floor by one local which had suffered from the wrecking tactics of the Communist Party. This resolution, which was discussed at length and defeated overwhelmingly, called for the disaffiliation from the executive board of members of any political party not accepting the American form of government. John Green, president of the I.U.M.S.W.A., pointed out that the union would never discriminate against any member who was a good union man and that political affiliation was no grounds for creating a class "B" membership. It was decided, however not to strike from the record this discussion on the Communist Party in order to warn the Stalinists that their actions were the cause of this resolution. (Incidentally, this resolution was introduced by the very same delegates who were so enthusiastic about supporting the Stalinist line on Roosevelt.)

The convention then went on record against the proposed amending of the Wagner Act, backed by the National Chamber of Commerce and William Green of the A. F. of L. and at the same time demanded that the National Labor Relations Board be granted additional funds by Congress to carry on its work in a speedier

Progressives Gain In N. Y. Painters' Union

Referendum on Tax Goes Against C.P. Administration

NEW YORK.—Less than three months after a stupid maneuver by the General Executive Board, offered as gratuitous "aid" to the opposition, helped to swing the elections for the Stalinist administration of the New York Painters Union, the mass of the militants in this union are rising with far greater force and in even greater numbers than before against the union-busting machine under Weinstein's leadership.

The latter's expulsion by the G.E.B. two days before the elections last June provided the Thirteenth Street gang with their only issue in the campaign. Presented with a last minute halo of martyrdom, the bureaucrats appealed to the membership against an act of bureaucracy. The members of the union, of course, have never had any more use for the bureaucracy of the G.E.B. than for that of the Stalinists. The suddenness of the move made deliberation difficult for them. Taking advantage of this difficulty, the Stalinists were able to squeeze out a majority of some 650 votes among a total of nearly 8,000 cast.

Machine Majority Accidental
That this majority was entirely accidental, that it was more a demonstration of disapproval of the G.E.B. than approval of the Weinstein machine, that it saved Weinstein's neck from the bureaucrats of the Brotherhood only because the rank and file wanted to settle accounts with the Stalinists in their own fashion—all this is borne out anew every day by events themselves.

Unmindful of the warning manifested by the membership throughout the election campaign as well as at the polls, Weinstein and Co. continued with their criminal class collaboration policies in the infamous "Industry Control Committee", concluded an agreement containing a "yellow dog" arbitration plan and put over this agreement in typical Stalinist

fashion. Anthony Wayne Smith of the legal staff of the C.I.O. made clear that the bosses were able to throw monkey wrenches into the machinery of the board wherever it rendered a favorable decision to labor. The convention made clear that the union could not rely on the N.L.R.B. to win its strikes or organize shipbuilding workers, but insofar as the Board rendered decisions favorable to the union, it must be given the opportunity to function unhindered. "Strikes are won on the picket line and not in a lawyer's office," was the attitude taken by the delegates.

Organizers Fight Reaction
The reports of the field organizers of the union drew an all too familiar picture of the reaction of the bosses and the government to any and all attempts to organize. In Baltimore, for instance, a company union called the Baltimore Maritime Committee charges white workers in the yards a dollar a month dues and Negro workers a dollar thirty-seven. High wire fences about the property, which in many cases have been extended for miles behind the actual shipyards, and company police are the answer to union organizers. From San Francisco to Hoboken, from Mobile, Alabama to Bath, Maine the story was the same. Terror, discrimination, company unionism is the answer of the National Manufacturers while the Government, through the Maritime Commission, assists union-busting with all its official power.

The whole spirit of the convention was animated by the desire of the delegates to do away with the old, hidebound attitude of the A. F. of L. toward militant economic and political action. Many of the delegates were veterans of the labor movement and many were young workers, new to the labor movement. And the leadership of the union are men who have established a reputation in the four years of the union's existence for militancy and honesty.

Before the sessions came to a close a resolution calling for the immediate release of Tom Mooney, Fred Beal and Ray Becker was passed unanimously, and the recommendation of a special committee to uphold the one year suspension of a Stalinist, who had "directed union funds to channels other than legal ones" was voted with but one Stalinist dissent.

John Brown, an honorary member and a veteran of many years in the labor movement, closed the convention with a speech in which he said in ringing terms, "... the revolution is coming and we must be prepared ... we must be consistent and not change our line like some people we know ... we must be victorious!"

fashion, that is, with the membership entirely uninformed as to its contents. Appealing insult to injury, they then proceeded to ask for a \$5 "organizing drive" tax.

Tax Washed Out
According to the laws of the union, they had to institute a referendum on this tax. This offered the membership an opportunity to express its real views for the first time since the elections.

The results of the referendum, still not completed, spell calamity for the G.P.U.'s boys in the Painters union.

Of the 11 locals in District Council No. 9, the New York organization of the Painters Union, 10 have already cast their vote in the referendum.

EIGHT OUT OF THE TEN LOCALS RETURNED SOLID MAJORITIES AGAINST THE TAX!

At the present count, the opposition vote is running some 750 ahead of the administration. A defeat for the proposition is inevitable.

In coming articles, the Socialist Appeal will give an analysis of the new situation in the union, the problems of the industry as well as the policy of the progressive opposition group.

N. Y. FUND RAISES \$150 COLLECTION

The New York Committee of the American Fund for Political Prisoners and Refugees reports a total of \$150.22 turned in so far to the office as a result of the Collection Can Drive recently held on the streets of this city. The size of the collection, made up mostly of pennies, nickels and dimes, is a tribute, not only to the work of the comrades who took this drive seriously, but to the interest of the mass of workers on the streets in the fate of their fellow fighters against Fascist terror and oppression.

Highest honors for the largest collection go to Sam Portnoy of the Young Peoples Socialist League, who turned in \$15.21. This record indicates that large sums can be secured for the work of the American Fund by this means if members and friends of the local committee take their lead from Portnoy.

The New York Committee is planning another Collection Can Drive on the streets within the next month, and has made application for the necessary permit. With the return of members from vacations, the Committee hopes to be able to throw a much larger group on the streets than the hundred and forty who participated in the last drive. A goal of \$300 has been set. A daily mounting pile of appeals from refugees in Europe for even the barest necessities makes the attainment of this goal imperative.

POLICE PROTECT FASCIST MEETING

Arrest Four S.W.P. Members; Leaflets Banned

ALLENTOWN, Pa. — Arrested for distributing leaflets denouncing a meeting of the "League of Forgotten Men," a fascist organization in Eastern Pennsylvania, four members of the Socialist Workers Party were taken to the Allentown police station and held without charges being placed against them. Fearful of protest from Allentown workers, Chief of Police Mensinger released the four, but ordered them to appear the next day.

The meeting which the S.W.P. covered with warning leaflets was addressed by Maj. Gen. Smedley Butler, retired U. S. marine officer, whose speech was entitled "Un-American Policies Be Hanged." The League of Forgotten Men, who sponsored the meeting at the fairgrounds, has worked in close collaboration with the Silver Shirts and under the guise of "Americanism" preaches a home-spun brand of anti-labor, anti-semitic fascism.

Weekly Backs Fascists
Most vociferous backer of the League is the Lehigh County Courier, reactionary weekly newspaper published in Allentown. Much space is given to activities of the League. In addition the paper applauds efforts of League members to break up the weekly open-air meetings held each Tuesday evening by the Socialist Workers Party.

The Socialist Workers Party plans to continue its Tuesday evening meetings in front of the courthouse, and to continue to denounce and expose all organizations opposed to the workers.

2 MORE LOCALS LEAVE ALLIANCE

Eight Delegates, 35 Observers Attend Conference

By GEORGE MILTON
NEW YORK.—Throwing their forces in with the two powerful W.P.A. Mechanics and Chauffeurs Locals, 3 and 43A, which withdrew from the Workers Alliance last week because of Stalinist dictatorship in that organization, two more locals, 10 in Manhattan and 60 in Brooklyn, both of the unemployed division, broke with the Alliance this week, and sent delegates to the conference called by Locals 3 and 43A, to set up a new W.P.A. and unemployed organization.

The conference, held here last Saturday, September 10, at the Mechanics and Chauffeurs Union headquarters, was attended, in addition to the eight delegates from these four locals, by more than 35 observers, coming mainly from W. A. unemployed locals and a few W.P.A. white collar projects.

Secretary Weeks of the Mechanics Union, a structural iron worker by trade, who presided, struck the keynote of the conference when he said: "The time is ripe for a new W.P.A. and unemployed union, which would include the 200,000 families on relief (in New York City) and the millions on W.P.A. and relief throughout the country. The Alliance has failed miserably in their attempt to organize the unemployed, mainly because they have given up the struggle for the unemployed and W.P.A. workers in favor of playing around with the politicians."

Cite Stalinist Wreckers
Henry Rourke, general organizer for the Mechanics and Chauffeurs Union supporting Weeks said: "The Communist Party has completely wrecked the Workers Alliance. In the past year every action initiated by the Alliance leadership was lost. The W.P.A. white collar workers still have their wage cut and the leadership and their stooges are still parading around shouting 'victory.'"

"Conditions in the relief bureaus are getting worse. We proposed a demonstration of all the school children for a demonstration around City Hall because no clothing was forthcoming for the kids, and Brother Morgan (Willis Morgan, president of the N. Y. Alliance) turned it down." Rourke threw the lie into the faces of the Alliance skeptics who characterized the 24-hour picketing of the "empty" City Hall as "stupid," when he announced at the Saturday conference, that "last night, \$700,000 more than the previous month was appropriated for materials," the issue around which the mechanics staged the picket line.

To Meet Again
"The Alliance hasn't 8,000 all told, here in New York City, and little more throughout the country. With the right kind of program we can get to the millions of unemployed and W.P.A. workers, which the Alliance could not do, because of their abandoning the fight. This new organization must be both militant and democratic—the exact opposite of what the Alliance has degenerated to today," Rourke concluded in urging the setting up of the new organization. The delegates left the question of a new organization undecided but elected a committee to call another conference on October 1.

A curious twist developed when two leading members of the Mechanics Union, Brothers Clifton and Moore, crawled back to the Stalinists, and issued a statement repudiating Rourke. Both, according to Rourke, who described their action as "scandalous," were the prime movers in the two W. P. A. locals' withdrawal from the Alliance.

The Alliance threw a picket line in front of the Alliance City Office at the time the W. A. leadership called a "re-organization" meeting of the two locals, bearing signs asking: "CLIFTON AND MOORE, HOW MUCH DID THE COMMUNIST PARTY PAY YOU TO SELL OUT THE MECHANICS?"

Records Stolen
Larry Selman, progressive organizer of the strong W. A. unemployed Local 19, in Brownsville, announced that all the records of his local had been stolen from the local's headquarters, including the complete membership lists, and financial records. All progressive locals in the Alliance have been warned to be on guard against replications of this familiar method employed by the Stalinists and their agents.

When members of Local 10 arrived at their usual meeting place, in the basement of the neighborhood public library, for their regular Wednesday night meeting, they were accosted by the police, who, acting under instructions of the W. A. city of-

fice, attempted to prevent the meeting. Local 10 held its meeting regardless of this, unexpected development, and then voted to quit the Alliance.

A bad case of jitters was demonstrated by the leaders of the Alliance when delegates from the W. A. Joint Board paid visits to most of the progressive locals to urge "unity," and pleaded to the members not to send observers to the September 10 conference.

Charge Bureaucratic Rule
A delegation, headed by Willis Morgan, appeared at the Wednesday night membership meeting of Local 4, where they were told what the Communist Party had done to further this unity. Among other things the members of Local 4 charged that the Stalinist leadership had indulged in: wholesale expulsions of opposition members; suspensions where they couldn't get away with outright expulsions; framing and jailing of W. A. members who disagreed with them; completely stifling the opposition; disrupting and breaking up of progressive locals, etc.

At one of the best attended meetings of Local 4 the membership voted unanimously to approve the recommendation of its executive committee to send observers to the September 10 conference at the Mechanics' hall.

What took place at Local 4's meeting was virtually duplicated in most of the progressive locals, with the membership throwing the false cry of "unity" back into the hypocritical faces of the Stalinists.

MCCORD STRIKE RANKS HOLD FIRM

Other Locals Must Act in Solidarity With Strikers

DETROIT, Sept. 13. — Local 210's ranks are firm and morale high as the strike of this plucky local of the United Automobile Workers to prevent movement of machinery from the McCord Radiator Co. to a scab plant enters its sixth week.

The temper of the strikers in the Detroit and Wyandotte plant reveals a determination to "fight 'til hell freezes over." But the key to a successful termination of the present battle with the company now rests outside of their immediate control or influence. The only force that can now bring the McCord corporation to heel is strong and immediate action taken by other locals now building automobiles with McCord radiators.

The question of whether the McCord local can beat the company's union-crushing game and save the entire union from another invasion of the open shop is now squarely up to the Hudson and Packard locals in Detroit and the Studebaker local at South Bend. The Executive Board must face its responsibility by compelling these locals to meet the obligation of elementary union solidarity and meet it at once.

Up to the present writing, the Hudson and Packard motor companies have been unable to obtain any new supplies of McCord radiators, but there is strong indication that they have been using McCord radiators already on hand. The laxity of the leaderships of these locals in taking sympathetic action is one of the important reasons for the prolonging of the strike at McCord's and the consequent hardships imposed upon the men and women on strike. Instructions sent to these locals by President Homer early in the strike brought results, but no follow-up action was taken and a bad situation is reappearing.

Martin announced to the press prior to the present meeting of the Int'l Executive Board that the two chief matters on its order of business would be the McCord strike and the Lewis "peace" plan. Board members have been in town for almost a week without being called into session because of conferences being held between Martin and Hillman and Murray, Lewis' representatives.

In the meanwhile, Local 210 has wired a strong plea to Homer Martin advising that only quick and decisive steps could win the

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
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HELLISH BUSINESS! That's what's coming off at 159 Rivington St. on Sept. 24. We can't reveal the FA CTS now, but you'll be amazed as the DEVIL about it, so be prepared for a HELLUVA good time!

11-STATE PACT IS NOW IN EFFECT

Unions Ratify Plan; Establish Area Committee

INDIANAPOLIS, Ind. — Representatives of 175 local unions of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, meeting here last week, unanimously ratified the North Central Area drivers agreement, signed the week before by employers in Chicago, thus putting into effect the contract covering an 11-state area.

Thomas L. Hughes, secretary-treasurer of the International, addressed the meeting and pledged the support of the International in enforcing the agreement, even to the extent of revoking charters of locals flouting its provisions.

After the ratification of the agreement, a Permanent Area Committee was elected to direct enforcement. Farrell Dobbs of Minneapolis was elected secretary and Joseph Scislowski chairman of the committee. Other committee members are: Jack Wirth for North Dakota; Kenneth McCreery for South Dakota; Karl Kuehl for Iowa; Tom Smith for Nebraska; T. T. Neal for Kansas City, Mo.; John Ray of St. Louis, Mo.; John T. O'Brien for Illinois; E. J. Williams for Indiana; B. V. Griff for Ohio; and J. M. O'Laughlin for Michigan.

On the Permanent Area Committee falls the task of coordinating strike action to enforce fulfillment of the agreement's provisions. With 70 per cent of the operators already signed up local unions will present the contract to the operators who have not yet signed. In such instances where the operator refuses to sign the local union will report back to the area committee, and if strike action is necessary the operator will find his trucks stopped throughout the whole area.

Each member of the Permanent Area Committee will form a sub-committee in the state he represents, this sub-committee to see that the agreement is carried out in each state.

Large delegations of visitors were present at the Indianapolis meeting, representing unions in Western Pennsylvania, New York State and the territory around Highway 66 to Oklahoma City. They expressed themselves in favor of the program and pledged cooperation in its execution. One of the first tasks of the Permanent Area Committee will be to seek extension of the agreement to the areas from which these visitors come.

McCord strike. The telegram went on to state that unless immediate measures were taken, the strikers would consider that they had been deliberately left in the lurch by the Executive Board. They requested an immediate session of the Board, so that N. J. Moskun, President of the local union might lay the facts before it and suggest the needed action.

Members of the striking local have effectively prevented the operation of the plants and brilliantly thwarted the running in of scabs. This, however, in a strike to prevent the removal of machinery, has not been sufficient to win. So long as McCord radiators can be obtained from the open shop in London, Ohio, the strike is doomed to defeat. The strict company-vigilante control of this town places any early organization of the London plant out of the realm of possibility. Only direct cooperation of organized plants using McCord radiators will now pull the strike through. The Executive Board can force these locals into line. Their failure to act is jeopardizing the jobs of the McCord workers and the conditions of all organized auto workers. It is playing into the hands of the bosses. The fate of the strike is now in the hands of the Executive Board. The workers will hold them strictly accountable.

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Union Defense Guards Formed By Local 544

(Continued from page 1)
the big business men, was soon routed by the striking workers. The paunchy men from the country clubs had no stomach for the rough business of breaking up picket lines.

Now the employers make a pretense of accepting unions and the right of workers to organize to fight for better wages and conditions. But secretly they inspire and finance organizations with but one purpose: to ruthlessly suppress and destroy the labor movement. Only a few weeks ago it became known that George K. Belden, head of the Associated Industries, participated in meetings of the Silver Shirts, a fascist gang which has threatened many times to raid union headquarters, arms in hand.

Against these threats the Union Defense Guard is being built. The function of the guards is to defend the union's picket lines, union headquarters and union

members against anti-labor violence. Realizing that the onslaught of the bosses is directed against all unions, officers of Local 544 are interested in helping other unions to establish their own defense guards, and are willing to acquaint other unions with the steps they have taken in forming the organization.

WANT ADS
ROOM WANTED in Manhattan with use of telephone, rent not more than \$5.00 weekly. Write Liston M. Oak, 166 E. 111th St., New York City.
CAMP SEVEN OAKS, Eaton-town, N.J. (Red Bank Station). Capacity 25, swimming pool, tennis court and other sports facilities, good food, comfortable housing. Daily \$2.25, weekly \$13.00. Further information, phone BRyant 9-7620 or Eaton-town 515.

Appeal Army

Appeal Needs Immediate Financial Aid

We want to state frankly to all comrades and friends the really serious financial position of the Appeal. Despite the fact that summer is over and Labor Day has passed, our regular income has steadily declined. Even the number of new subs coming in each week has fallen off!

The result is that the Appeal again faces grave danger of missing an issue! The Business Manager and even the editorial staff spend altogether too much of their time rushing around and trying to raise funds! This seriously handicaps the paper—in addition to giving all concerned a case of the well-known jitters. The fault rests entirely with certain branches throughout the country which insist upon running up large debts and endlessly delaying payment of their bills.

We emphatically warn these branches that our situation no longer permits this, and that further extension of credit is impossible. We must have payments on all our bundle-orders immediately! That means this week if there is to be an Appeal next week!

We also urge any Appeal reader who can make a contribution to rush it to us and help tide us over these difficult times. Literature-agents should now be laying plans for local winter-fall campaigns. Subs have fallen off far too much to be excused. And don't forget to place your special order for the 8-page World Congress issue!

Here's the list of new subscribers. Note that this covers a two-week period. We hope all comrades and especially literature-agents will try to do something at once about this sharp falling-off.

CHICAGO 10
Minneapolis 4
New York City 3
California 3
Illinois 2
Ohio 2
Connecticut 2
Massachusetts 2
Detroit 2
Pittsburgh 2
New Jersey 1
Total 33

The Needle-Trades Branch of New York City has already placed an order for 500 extra copies of the World Congress issue! We have also received extra orders from Kansas and Cleveland, Ohio. Where are the other branches?

New bundle orders this week are from:
A friend in Providence, R. I.
An agent in Tel-Aviv, Palestine, who starts out with an order of 50!

And an increase of 10 from Cleveland's new literature-agent, Paul Scott.

Special Request. Only a few Appeal readers responded to our request for Vol. I, No. 5 of the Appeal. We really need this issue badly for purposes of binding and once again urge all those who have it to mail it in to us.

Reminders: (1) Place your special order for the World Congress issue. (2) Order your bound volumes of the Appeal now. Not many left!

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Kulak Danger In Soviet Reappears

New Tax Decree, Aimed at Wealthy Peasants, Reveals Grave Situation; Collectives Being Undermined

By J. G. WRIGHT

The Supreme Council of the Soviet Union, when in session in August, transacted what appears on the surface to have been a minor piece of business, which received little publicity in Russia and was given a routine paragraph in the world press. It issued a new tax.

Stalin found it indispensable to place a special tax on horses owned by peasants not members of the collective farms. In the territories of Great Russia, the Ukraine and White Russia this tax has been set at 500 roubles for the first horse, and 800 roubles for the second and third. In other regions the tax ranges from 400-700 roubles. The deadline for payment is October 15, but those peasants who enroll in the collectives prior to this date are exempt from payment of the tax.

Decree of Sweeping Nature

The decree is so worded as to give the impression that this tax is aimed only at a section of those individual peasant proprietors who are still outside the collectives. It affects peasants who not only possess horses but also hire them out to collective farms. There can be no doubt, however, regarding the sweeping nature of this decree because the long-standing shortage of horses following the mass slaughter of cattle by peasants during the period of enforced "wholesale" collectivization has made it necessary for the collectives to hire horses from individual peasant proprietors.

Moreover, the competition between the various collectives to assure themselves of the indispensable supply has made this hiring very lucrative. So widespread and important has the practice become that the press has from time to time made mention of "abuses" in this sphere, and directives have periodically been issued against "discriminative practices" in favor of the individual peasant proprietors. Translated into the language of economic reality it means that the individual peasant proprietors have been able to compete very successfully with the collectives, and grow at their expense. So successfully, in fact, that drastic measures, of which the tax decree is the first, have finally been resolved upon to cope with the growing danger.

The size of the tax itself, the brief period of less than sixty days set for its collection, as well as the "exemption" proviso indicate graphically the real import and intent of this decree. The kulak danger is abroad again.

For some time now references to "agents of the kulak" have dotted the Soviet press. Obviously, a grave situation exists in agriculture. The decree is an avowal of this fact. It is an avowal that the system of collective farms is being undermined by the automatic interplay of the contradictions in Russian economic life. While milder in form, it is nevertheless a resumption of the policy of enforced collectivization pursued so disastrously in the course of the first Five-Year Plan. Stalin proposes to save the collective farms by driving the peasants into them against their will.

The problem that Stalin has so confidently declared as resolved "forever" has confronted him again under new conditions and in far more aggravated form.

Within the scope of this article it is impossible to deal with all the aspects of the new situation. There are two important factors of profound bearing on future developments that must be stressed.

Differences in Collectives

The struggle against the kulak must be resumed at a time when within the collectives themselves a process of differentiation is occurring very swiftly. As against 118 collective farms with an income of over a million dollars annually in 1935, there were 561 such "millionaire" collectives in 1937. (*Pravda*, July 28, 1938). If this were a normal consequence of the growing prosperity of the collective system as a whole, there would be no need for artificial measures to force peasants into the collectives. They would have been automatically absorbed in the extension of the collectives. But we are not witnessing any such process of healthy growth and expansion. Instead the collectives are being ripped apart internally, while being endangered from the outside by the stabilization and growth of the individual peasant proprietors. Within the collectives there is a growth of one pole of "prosperous" farmers (i. e. none other than the kulak himself) while at the other there is an expanding mass of collectivized peasants reduced to the status of agricultural laborers.

The second new factor is equally grave in its implications. One of the reasons for Stalin's past "success" in temporarily resolving the problem of the kulak was the ability of Russian industry to absorb a vast army of raw agricultural labor. The peasants were driven not only into the collectives but also into the urban centers, where conditions, bad as they were, nevertheless provided by and large an "improvement" over the bestial and the predominantly feudal routine of rural existence. This safety valve no longer functions. In fact, the monstrous disproportions from which Soviet economy suffers—and which the regime instead of mitigating can only aggravate—have not only reduced the flow of man power from rural regions but have actually acted to reverse it.

Return to Village

The peasant no sooner acquaints himself with prevailing conditions in industry than he seeks to return to the village, even as an agricultural laborer. The trend is so marked that *Pravda* itself has had to publicize it. Thus, in commenting on the critical situation in the Donbas coal mining area, *Pravda* openly warned the management of the mines as follows: "Let them bear in mind that spring and summer are approaching — seasons when in past years, as a consequence of inattention to housing and living conditions of the workers, sections of them returned to the village to work in the fields." (*Pravda*, Feb. 8, 1938). It goes without saying that this phenomenon is not limited to the Donbas region.

Only the future will tell precisely what scope and form the struggle against the kulak will assume. But it is already apparent that the class struggle in the village will shortly enter into its sharpest and most open phase.

LABOR SHOWS STRENGTH IN SOUTH

HOUSTON, Sept. 6. — Without disturbing the tranquility of the slow South, labor has begun to move into offensive positions. The potent undercurrent could be felt as organized labor at Houston mobilized 14,000 rollicking, shouting Labor Day paraders and marched them down Main Street yesterday.

In some respects it was much like any other parade that has passed city pavements in years past. There was a motorcycle escort, a few official cars, a dozen bands and a procession of marching men three miles long.

A People's Parade

But there the similarity ended. There was nothing formal about these hatless, coatless, happy workers who were having a better time than the shouting, cheering onlookers. This was a people's parade and underneath was the humming power of organized labor in a city growing industrially by leaps and bounds.

In the ranks were youngsters carrying placards reading, "Trade Unionists of Tomorrow." Came a gap in the ranks as the marchers were standing back from an unclear object—a tall, gaunt, black-headed and shrouded figure stalking, humping along and bearing a sign "Parker Unfair."

A little further along a small but defiant band was causing applause whenever they hoisted it. It was the striking Coca-Cola employees.

Negro Dockers March

But the most significant from the standpoint of the South were the 14 locals of the longshoremen's union. Approximately 5,000 strong of whom 4,000 were Negroes. All of them were dressed in their blue denim uniforms. The Negroes had three bands, a bible class, ball team and Ladies' Auxiliary.

The reactionary leaders, A. J. Bannon and George A. Wilson of the A. F. of L. Trades Council, turned thumbs down on an offer of the C.I.O. for a joint parade with a minimum of 5,000 C.I.O. workers marching. Bannon even refused permission to H. A. Rasmussen, S.W.O.C. organizer, to carry a sign showing C.I.O. support of the Coca-Cola strike.

Less than thirty miles away, however, in the Tri-Cities (Goosecreek, Pelly, Baytown) area, a very different attitude was apparent. There a joint parade of over 5,000 C.I.O. and A. F. of L. marchers was followed by a joint picnic where tons of free barbecue was distributed to a crowd of 10,000.

A rather unusual feature for the labor movement of the South was the militancy of some of the speeches. Every mention of rank-and-file unity brought loud applause from every quarter of the grounds reached by the loudspeakers.

SEAMEN PICKET TRAINING SCHOOL

(Continued from page 1)

That these men will be used to man the ships when the bona fide seamen strike is obvious to union marine workers.

N.M.U. "Cooperates"

While the pickets, most of whom belong to West Coast unions, continue fighting against the government agencies bent on destroying all maritime unions, the National Maritime Union still follows its course of "cooperating" with the Maritime Commission. Picketing ships such as the Southern Cross works for the direct benefit of the N.M.U., for when the Commission is forced to call union men to fill crew vacancies, it is the N.M.U. hiring hall that is called. Yet the new officials persist in aiding the Maritime Commission by advocating the slogan "Pack the Fink Halls."

Militant rank-and-file seamen, disgusted with the Communist Party policy of "going along" with all government agencies, hoped that the election that swept the Stalinists from control of the N.M.U. would put the union alongside the West Coast unions in the fight against the fink halls. But in the fight against the Stalinists only succeeded in putting in a few new officers with the same fink policy.

Even on the *Pilot*, the union's newspaper, the Stalinists have ridden the wave of revolt. The long-awaited house cleaning finds, out of a staff of three, two old Communist Party stooges. Corby Paxton, formerly business manager and now editor, edited the *Voice of Labor*, a C. P.-controlled sheet published in Honolulu, and is well known on the West Coast as a devoted follower of the "party line." Assistant Editor A. L. Hennessey is the only one connected with the defunct *Rank and File Pilot*.

Look Who's Here!

Prize specimen on the staff is Managing Editor Jim O'Neill, one-time editor of the *Voice of the Federation*, organ of the Maritime Federation of the Pacific. Early in 1937 O'Neill was slipped into the *Voice* by the C. P. machine after a bitter factional fight that threatened to disrupt the Federation. After promising to keep the policy of the *Voice* non-partisan, within six weeks O'Neill trumpeted the C. P. line exclusively. The pages of the Federation's newspaper were open to publicity writers of every stooge organization of the C. P. from the International Workers Order to the League of American Writers, but union men attempting to protest against the ruinous policies of Bridges and Co. were denied a voice.

Under the direction of this "journalist" the *Voice of the Federation* declined from a fighting maritime newspaper with a national circulation to a Stalinist rag that not even members of the Federation would read. The paper has not yet got out of the financial hole into which it plunged under his editorship. At the 1937 convention of the M.F.P.C. the delegates removed O'Neill from his job. Now the whole game is being played again on the East Coast, with O'Neill prepared once more to do the Stalinists' dirty work—with a fine air of impartiality.

S.U.P. Charter Delayed

Meanwhile, issuance of a national charter to the S.U.P. by the A. F. of L. is being delayed. The discredited fakers of the old International Seamen's Union, who hold a charter but no union, have prevented the Executive Council from granting the charter as planned. These men, Scharenberg, Hunter, Ross, etc., after crippling and betraying the seamen for years, now stand in the way of the militant S.U.P. These men, controlling a handful of seamen in the Gulf and on the Great Lakes, demand autonomy on a district basis. Encouraged by this, Chapdelaine is trying to retain control of the A. F. of L. Seamen's Union, operating under a federal charter for the East Coast.

The Sailors' Union of the Pacific has agreed to accept a charter only if they retain full autonomy on a national scale, and they have made clear that they intend to have nothing to do with the fakers of the I.S.U. At the coming national convention of the A. F. of L. the fight for a national charter will be pushed to a conclusion.

Just received for rental:

James T. Farrell's latest novel:

No Star Is Lost

Reservations still being received on

CELINE — *Death on the Installment Plan*.

BALABANOFF — *My Life as a Rebel*.

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"In Stalin's Realm" "The Russian Workers' Own Story"

Reviewed by JOE HANSEN

(Continued from last issue)

In the very educational system the school teachers attempt to circumvent the systematic propaganda of Stalin. This is explained by a local secretary of the Communist Party—inclined an ardent defender of Stalin: "You see even though Stalin's book on Leninism is to form a part of Lenin's work and is now made a compulsory possession of every library and a textbook in every school, very few grown-up intelligent people in Russia take Stalin as anything more than a joke so far as education is concerned."

THE YOUTH KNOW

This is more concretely shown in a surprise visit paid by a high official—of course a Stalinite—to a class in which is taught the history of the Communist Party. The school teacher recounts the visit as follows:

The Stalinite official begins questioning one of the pupils: "Who organized the proletariat to overthrow Czarism and capitalism in the Soviet Union?"

"Various parties for the overthrow of Czarism; only the Bolshevik Party was against capitalism."

"Who was the leader of the Bolsheviks?"

"Comrade Vladimir Ilyitch Lenin."

"Who were his chief assistants?"

"Many Bolsheviks. I can only name Comrades Krupskaya, Zinoviev, and Kamenev."

"What did the party do in 1905?"

"It tried to organize armed risings, but succeeded only on a small scale."

"What was Trotsky doing in 1905?"

"You will excuse me, comrade inspector. Trotsky was not a member of the party at that time."

The government official questions the next boy. "What part did Comrade Stalin take in preparing the party for the October Revolution?"

"He was always a member of some committee and occasionally a secretary."

"Was his a leading part?"

"It depended whether the part played by his committee was an important one."

"How did Comrade Stalin mainly distinguish himself as a leader?"

No answer was forthcoming. The official asked if any other member of the class could answer the question. A girl rose and said: "He always carried a book under his arm in order to show that he was a learned man."

"And was Comrade Stalin not a learned man?"

"He must have been more learned than the workers of his time, because they did not even know how to read."

"What made you say that Comrade Stalin carried a book under his arm?"

"I saw a photograph in the library."

The official questioned the class generally: "Who was Comrade Lenin's chief assistant in the October Revolution and civil wars?"

"Trotsky," came the loud answer.

"And who else?"

"The proletarian soldiers."

The official turned to the top girl: "Have you read any book by Comrade Stalin or have you ever been told about Leninism?"

"I have seen the book in the library, tried to read it, but could not make out what Leninism was."

"And how would you connect Lenin with Marx?"

"In the same way as I would connect a great Shakespearean actor with Shakespeare—because Lenin first studied then acted Marx."

The class applauded the answer. The official left hastily, commenting that this wasn't the standard system of education in Russia, a remark which the school teacher took as a compliment.

That not even the writings of Trotsky have been completely suppressed in Russia is shown by the following incident: In one of the workers' libraries in the Ukraine, Silver noticed a student studying a book by Trotsky. The student happened to be the daughter of the secretary of the Communist Club. Silver asked if Trotsky's books aren't "illegal" in Russia. "No," came the answer, "they're not illegal; they've merely disappeared from Russian libraries."

TELLS WHO SUPPORTS STALIN

Stalin's power rests upon a very unstable base. His followers are shot from being so numerous as the one-ticket far-gone elections would indicate. Grisha, the old Bolshevik friend of Silver, estimates the number of Stalin's supporters as follows:

"As a member of the party with unbroken service and a delegate to nearly all the conferences, I have had it driven home to me how the circus character of the conferences has been gradually and systematically developed, in the same tempo as the number of delegates of the Black Hundred and international crook type has increased at conference after conference; I don't think I'm wrong in estimating that 90 per

cent of the delegates represented 80 per cent of members of the same type as themselves. We can therefore assume that fully a million and a half members are supporters of Stalin."

"We will call that the 'dynamo.' The 'fly-wheel' is the G.P.U., three-quarters of a million of them well paid, strictly disciplined and ready to kill anyone but themselves, as long as they are given all the privileges that a subject of Stalin can get. The 'machine' is the three to four million bureaucrats. Add to these about a million young people who have never had a chance to look upon anything except through the eyes of very skillful propagandists, and a similar number of workers who believe that 'quack's pills are best' because they hear it and see it everywhere. Add all these together and you have the sum total of Stalin's supporters. The total may not be quite as big as the figures would indicate, for people are apt to discard pills when they find they don't give the results expected, and not all the bureaucrats are Stalin's supporters. Remember, in Czarist days we had many good Socialists among the Czar's civil servants. Who is against? Nobody can tell that with any measure of certainty. That can only become more or less clear at a real crisis. But I am not far wrong when I say that in the south Stalin has very few admirers and is very little feared."

"THEY'RE A NEW ARISTOCRACY!"

Boris Silver's observations confirm entirely the reports of the Tchernavins, of Lyons, of Fred Beal, of Cliga, etc., as to the inhuman repression of the Stalin bureaucracy, its increasing strangulation of the productive forces, the tragic and farcical nature of the trials staged with no other intention but to tighten the grip of Stalin's gang upon the workers' state.

On Stalin's course as a whole a school teacher comments: "Stalin is also responsible for the discovery that Socialism is possible in one country alone and that permanent revolution means permanent dictatorship of the proletariat. It didn't take genius to discover such absurdities which are both meaningless and contradictory, because over whom would a dictatorship rule if socialism turned everybody into proletarians? And if the present unprecedented advertising boost of him as the great leader succeeds, we may yet see for the first time mediocrity destroying the work of genius, unless, of course, there are still enough people left in Russia able to form a party such as Lenin had in his mind at an historical moment when Stalin and his bureaucracy are at death grips either with ambitious rivals or ambitious foreign powers."

As for the intensity of feeling against the bureaucracy this is ably expressed by an old worker—a boot maker. "They are our masters; they make us work! They're a new aristocracy! . . . There will never be equality in Russia until every one of these new aristocrats is strangled."

HOW OPPRESSION WILL END

A class-mate of Silver's in the days before 1905 outlined his idea of how Stalin will be overthrown: "Today leadership, political as well as military, has gradually come to mean personal power over the workers and peasants; membership of the Communist Party is now just a sound investment in a gigantic commercial trust, and even the Red Army is becoming more and more saturated with snobbishness and other petty bourgeois motives. Take it from me, Stalin will not only have his stuck-up proletarian generals like Voroshiloff and Budyenny; he may also have means to corrupt men as capable as Tukhachevsky and Egorov, and to purge the army of all true Socialists who cannot possibly accept him as they accepted Lenin and Trotsky."

"If will, of course, take a very long time to convert the Red Army into a national army, because the reserve is still international and so too ready to fight tyranny at home as well as abroad. There is only one comfort—Russia can never be wholly conquered, it is too vast for that, and the Russian people had tasted freedom for nearly ten years before Stalin succeeded in becoming a tyrant. They will make good use of a war situation to get rid of their oppressors at home first, and afterwards of the invaders by teaching their soldiers how to get rid of their oppressors."

"That's the way I—a lifelong Socialist—and very many like me—feel about it."

Boris Silver leaves Russia not as an embittered pessimist ready to review the fundamentals of a Marxism he never understood—but as one hopeful for the future, convinced that Stalin and his bureaucracy are a temporary phenomenon.

This book is worthy of a place in the library of every one interested in knowing what is happening in the U.S.S.R.

THE RUSSIAN WORKERS' OWN STORY, By Boris Silver, 251 pp. London, George Allen & Unwin, Ltd. 7s. 6d. 1938.

BOSS OFFENSIVE MET BY LABOR

(Continued from page 1)

issed until scabs can "peacefully" pass the lines.

In preliminary negotiations the union representatives gave up demands for the 35-hour week and store-wide seniority and, although they demanded them again when the strike was called, already they have agreed to drop the demands. But the owners are adamant in their determination to control absolutely the hiring and firing of all employees. It is seniority rights that the clerks are most insistent on obtaining, for the constant turnover and layoffs in the retail trade makes impossible any security for the workers. Yet this is the very question that the negotiators seem willing to bargain away.

Major Anti-Union Offensive

It is anti to San Francisco's union movement, 100,000 strong, that the employers have launched

a major offensive against the unions, and that the lockout of the 3,000 warehousemen and the forcing of the strike of the retail clerks is part and parcel of a planned campaign. If the employers were counting on the split in labor's ranks, caused by the disruptive actions of Harry Bridges, West Coast director of the C.I.O., the response of the unions to the clerks' strike should give them pause.

Spikes Bridges' Slander

On the waterfront, where resentment against Bridges' union-busting tactics is highest, the S.U.P. made clear in a published statement that the seamen stood firmly behind the longshoremen and warehousemen. Declaring that the statement only reiterated the long-standing policy of the S.U.P., Lundberg said, publication of the statement at this time because "the comrat-controlled slandering machine is busily circulating rumors and filthy lies among the longshoremen-warehousemen that the Sailors' Union of the Pacific will not back up these men in their disputes with their employers."

Thus Lundberg and the S.U.P. spiked the lies of the Communist Party, who attempted to cover the disgraceful role of Bridges by accusing the S.U.P. of being a shipowners' tool, and served notice on the bosses that, regardless of the fight against the Stalinist union-busters, a fighting unity would meet the open-shop drive on the waterfront.

L. A. Unions Pledge Aid

In Los Angeles, too, where five major C.I.O. unions left the Bridges-controlled Industrial Council in protest against the disruption of the Communist Party stooges, the bosses' threat met united ranks. In a letter to all maritime unions the newly-formed Trade Union Conference pledged support to all maritime unions, regardless of affiliation, in their approaching struggle with the employers.

The West Coast labor movement, plagued as it is by the Stalinists, in time of danger is still capable of closing its ranks, ready to do battle against the employers.

The Crisis in the Auto Workers Union Today

(Continued from page 1)

by the Stalinists in the U.A.W. has placed all groups before the acid test. Fine speeches and wordy resolutions could not remove the unavoidable necessity of taking a stand. A combination of circumstances made the Socialist Party an influential force in the union. Throughout they have performed a wretched role—the shadow of the Stalinists.

Left to their own, they fumbled the ball consistently. But the intensity of the fight did not permit them this luxury for long. The cowardliness of the party leaders and shabbiness of the party program made them an easy prey for the cynical and unprincipled careerist, Walter Reuther. His personal ambitions dominated the party policy. Norman Thomas fumed and even made public declarations but Walter Reuther continued to put the party through the paces. With Reuther at the helm, the difference between the C. P. and S. P. was not decisive. The S. P. whined and even protested but in the end it always tagged along behind the Stalinists. Undoubtedly, Reuther will repay the S. P. one of these days for their tolerant treatment, just as David Lasser of the Workers Alliance did—by leaving the party when he is done with it and kicking it in the face on the way out. That is of little importance, however, to American workers who are having demonstrated for them once again in the U.A.W. the utter bankruptcy of the Socialist Party as a force for progressive unionism.

Martin Fights the C. P.

Only a blind man or a fool would deny that Homer Martin has waged a persistent and courageous struggle against the union busters. He has refused to make any rotten compromise with the Stalinists, resisted their blackmail and spurned their repeated attempts to buy him off. Where countless C.I.O. leaders from Lewis down have taken the easy road and become fronts for the Communist Party in the unions, it is to Martin's credit that he refused to sell out.

But good intentions never made a good fighter. Especially in a political fight are skill and principles of paramount importance. Martin's skill in the struggle against the Stalinists has always at best been questionable, and the principles of the administration group allied with him have been open to serious criticism by progressive unionists. Under these conditions, the Stalinist game was tremendously facilitated. As long as Martin fought them with bureaucratic weapons, they could shout "democracy" to the high heaven although secretly they planned a dictatorship. As long as Martin allied himself with reactionaries, the Stalinists could pose as "progressives" although their real policies differed not an iota from those of Martin's right-wing allies. The auto workers rightly jealous of their democratic rights and desiring a progressive union left victim to the Stalinist demagog.

A Record of Blunders

Let us cite the record to make the point clear:

1. Martin's chief lieutenants are men like Fred Pieper and Loren Houser. Notorious for their incompetence, they liberally indulge in red-baiting of the good old-fashioned variety. Hatred for them and their like turned considerable sections of the auto workers against Martin.

2. Martin's appointments of organizers, whose only quality is their loyalty to the machine and the payroll, alienated progressive workers in nearly all the auto centers. Militant workers, who had grown suspicious and distrustful of Stalinist organizers, were held in line when Martin replaced the Stalinists by arrogant chair-warriors.

3. Martin's campaign against unauthorized strikes very often had a demoralizing effect on the union and weakened his support among the militant elements. In enforcing the agreement, fighting hostile foremen and managements and beating down provocations, the workers in the plant were forced to resort to a sudden sit-down or slow-down. Some of the unauthorized actions were undoubtedly the work of company agents, but most of them were clearly a manner of settling legitimate grievances on the part of the workers. Instead of Martin pursuing an aggressive policy towards the motor companies for the enforcement of the agreement, he granted General Motors a letter giving them the right to discipline union men engaged in unauthorized actions. This did not help the union in negotiations, it did not discipline the union, it did not help Martin with the militants.

WEAK with G. M.

4. Negotiations with General Motors were handled in a very timid and conservative manner. Lacking boldness and decision, Martin lost opportunity after opportunity to wrest concessions from the corporation, then he lost the moment to maintain the status quo and finally when de-

pression struck with full force, he was forced to retreat. Then he bungled all over again by signing the agreement without consulting the membership. The Stalinists, originators of this type of high-handed action, unscrupulously exploited Martin's bureaucratic action and lined up the membership against him.

5. For months Martin sailed along with no program whatever, at least with none visible. C. P. demagoguery about militancy and democracy found ready listeners in this period. Their demagoguery went up in smoke when Martin championed and carried the 20-point program at the Executive Board last May. But the program was carried out in the most dilatory fashion. The membership remained uninformed about the union busters. Then Martin started the entire union by his suspension of five of the leading officers. This terrible mistake consisted not in the innocence of the careerist and stooge officers. No! Their crimes were heavy enough to warrant expulsion ten times over. But no educational campaign had prepared the membership for these disciplinary measures. The bureaucratic suspension put the Stalinists back on the map of the auto union and gave them their strongest talking point. Martin has never fully recovered from the irresponsible manner in which he carried out the suspensions.

Stays Among Friends

6. With no other road open Martin finally began an open campaign. While the campaign lacked the effectiveness it would have had before the suspensions, it was a step in the right direction. But here again he bungled. Instead of going into hostile territory to convince opposition locals of the correctness of his action, Martin remained among his friends and kept repeating his story to locals already lined up for him.

Despite all his blunders, Martin's record—as the head of the most democratic of C.I.O. unions, of the union which had gained most for its membership through militant action, of the union which had organized unemployed workers on an unprecedented scale—gave every reason to expect that the fight could be taken into the camp of the enemy and the Stalinist opposition smashed. But Martin missed his boat once again. And now lines are drawn hard and fast to a point where at least for the present it is impossible to change anybody's mind.

Events in the auto union are dramatic proof on a large scale that there is only one way to defeat the Stalinists. Harry Lundberg and the West Coast Sailors gave the Stalinists the trouncing of their life because they fought the C. P. bureaucrats as champions of democracy; they fought the C. P. reactionaries not as conservatives but as progressive militant unionists. Democracy and militancy are the only weapons against Stalinist reaction and dictatorship. These methods are dictated not by expediency but by the needs of the unions, by the true relation of forces and the real role of the C. P.

The Compromise Proposals

The Socialist Appeal has already pointed out the hypocritical nature of the Lewis "peace plan." The plan is a clear attempt to destroy the autonomy of the union and to saddle the union with a Stalinist regime. Wiseacres have termed the plan a "compromise." Yes, something like the compromise Mussolini made with Haile Selassie! There is no other course for progressives but to fight the Lewis-Stalinist plan with every ounce of strength at their disposal.

Yet the danger of a split remains an imminent possibility. With union forces almost equally divided between Martin and the Stalinists a split would create untold damage. The rival unions would be thrown into immediate and bitter conflict. Between court actions and physical violence among workers, the manufacturers would have an open field for wrecking both organizations and re-establishing the open shop.

To avoid the eventuality of such a split, it is necessary that some compromise be made. The compromise cannot and must not surrender the union to the Communist Party, as Lewis proposes. But it must find some formula for composing the differences at least temporarily. Naturally, no one need have any illusions that peace will be achieved by any compromise whatever. The Stalinists will not lose a minute after the compromise is signed to resume their attempts to capture the union.

Peace within the auto union will come only after the union-wreckers are

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History Repeats!

(Continued from page 1)

into Marseille to break a strike of the dock workers there. Subsequently the government took the extreme measure of militarizing the port and mobilizing the workers for work under military rule. This was the advance notice in France of what war "for democracy" means to the working class. Far from protesting, the General Confederation of Labor, whose chief, Leon Jouhaux, was in Mexico this week, mouthing wordy threats "against Fascism" and whooping it up for war, issued a communique announcing its support of the government's drastic anti-labor stand. The Socialist Party has dutifully followed suit.

Most rabid of all the war-mongering traitors in the labor movement are the Stalinists, the once-revolutionary Third International which has now become, with the degeneration of the Soviet bureaucracy, the most reactionary force within the international labor movement. In France and Britain today they stand most openly for war against Hitler because that today serves the aims of the reactionary Soviet bureaucracy. In this country Earl Browder and his Communist Party have already announced their readiness to fight for American imperialism and have as the main core of their agitation the demand that this country join in the war alliances of Europe.

It is at this fateful, historic moment that a new voice is raised in the international labor movement, a voice that speaks for the community of workers' interests in all lands, for the real fight against war through the fight against capitalism, "democratic" or fascist, for the fight to free the world of helotry and starvation through the revolutionary overthrow of the capitalist order and the building of world socialism—the voice of the Fourth International! Small today, it shall be heard with increasing insistence, for it alone translates the burning desires of toilers everywhere for a real democratic peace, a workers' democratic peace, and an end to the false legends of capitalist democracy which are only a miserable, ragged cloak for the worst exploitation of the working masses over the entire world!

The great masses of workers today, ground under the heel of war-mongering Fascist rulers, will be inspired to rise against their masters only by the most militant working-class action of the workers in other countries against their own masters, not by a war of horror waged viciously against them.

The solution of the anguish that now rides the world lies not in turning the masses of toilers against each other in every land under false pretenses of "defending" democracy. That fight will be fought on a world-wide front by all workers against all the masters with whom they have nothing, no interests whatever, in common.

"Democratic" Britain rules nearly half a billion people in its empire with the harsh iron hand of a military dictatorship. "Democratic" France not only enslaves the blacks of equatorial Africa, but is already lashing its workers at home with the whips of military rule. "Democratic" United States has plans completed for the militarization of labor in the event of a war emergency.

Democracy is a lying myth under capitalism. Let us not be fooled into thinking otherwise. That myth took twenty million of our best working-class lives only two decades ago. Today under the shadow of war we must learn how to cram it down the throats of those who are trying to lead us into a new slaughter that shall be a hundred times more horrible and more costly than the last one.

Let us raise high the banner of the Fourth International, the standard of workers of all lands to follow to the destruction of capitalism, to a socialist peace, to the genuine democracy of free workers' rule. It alone leads away from barbarism. It alone speaks at this dark hour for the brave new world of the future.

Guard the Security of Trotsky!

It is no accident that another plot against the life of Leon Trotsky is laid by the American agents of the G.P.U. at this time. At a time when the nations of Europe, "democratic" and fascist, are teetering on the edge of a new war, and the organized labor movement and the Stalinists are doing their utmost to lead the workers to the slaughter of a new imperialist war, it is necessary to silence, if possible, the one voice that will speak loudest against this shameful treachery.

Agents of the G.P.U. are in Mexico today for the sole purpose of trying to kill Trotsky. Acting under orders from New York City, the

G.P.U. center in this hemisphere, they are trying to create a "favorable atmosphere" for a terrorist act against Trotsky. Hernan Laborde, leader of the Mexican Communist Party, returned to Mexico City from New York after an illegal visit here, with orders to hasten the accomplishment of this task, now a primary one in the eyes of the international Stalinist mafia whose list of victims is already so long.

Not all the persecution of his followers in the Soviet Union, the murder of his son Leon Sedoff and of his other three children, nor the murder of his closest aides and collaborators, like Erwin Wolfe, kidnapped in Spain, and Rudolf Klement, who "disappeared" from the heart of Paris, have been able to silence the firm voice of revolutionary Marxism in Leon Trotsky. The G.P.U. will seek now to do so directly.

Vigilance must be doubled and trebled. Revolutionary militants must throw a steel wall of protection around Trotsky. Guarding him with all the resources at our command, we answer the G.P.U. mafia with the creation of the Fourth International and the forging of the tempered revolutionary weapons which will know how to provide the antidote for the poison of Stalinism in the international labor movement.

At this critical time, more than ever before, vigilance around Trotsky! Vigilance and determination to put an end to the terrorism of Stalin's G.P.U. by arousing against it the fury of the workers it so shamefully betrays!

Minneapolis Leads the Way Again!

Once again General Drivers' Local 544 has gone to the front for the entire labor movement! The Executive Board has taken steps (reported elsewhere in this issue) for the organization of a union defense guard to protect it against boss class violence.

Continued and open threats against the Minneapolis union movement by vigilantes, fascist Silver Shirts and other employer-paid mobsters found a fitting retort in the organization of this fighting phalanx. If the workers of Minneapolis, admitted by the Department of Labor to be one of the best organized towns in the country, found it necessary to set up a defense corps, certainly the need is far more pressing in other sections.

The workers in New Jersey, harassed and terrorized by Mayor ("I am the Law") Hague's pensioned thugs cannot move a step forward without a defense organization to protect their strikes, their unions, their halls, their meetings and their leaders. Steel workers clubbed and murdered by Girdler's gang of jailbird deputies during the "little steel" strike, strikers driven from their homes by vigilantes in Westwood, California — over the wide expanse of the United States the labor movement faces annihilation at the hands of the fascist bands unless a wall of steel—of guards standing ready to exchange blow for blow in defense of their organizations—is built around the unions.

The progressive unions of Minneapolis in organizing the defense guards are again demonstrating that great self-reliance which made their existence possible and assured their success. They built the unions themselves—the workers did it on the picket lines—they did not beg the capitalist politicians or their boards to do the job for them. Now the very men who built the unions are being called upon to defend them. They alone can or will.

They have profited from the lessons of the steel strike: the leaders called on the Governor and the National Guard for protection. The Governor and the National Guard smashed the strike. They profited from the lessons of Jersey City: the wind-jamming liberals invoked their constitutional rights and pleaded with Roosevelt to do something about Hague. Hague knocked the constitution into a cocked hat, and Roosevelt's Department of Justice gave him a clean bill of health.

Minneapolis is not waiting on mayors and governors and laws and begging with outstretched hand. A concentration camp lies at the end of that road, as the workers of Germany and Italy so tragically discovered. They are acting. The rest of the labor movement cannot afford to ignore their example. The unions cannot postpone the organization of workers' defense guards for a single day!

The New Deal Speaks On Hague

The Department of Justice's G-men have made quite a reputation for themselves chasing kidnappers of wealthy children and spying out radicals.

In their files they have more than 8,000,000 U. S. fingerprints neatly catalogued, and they add many thousands daily. Their ample quarters in the imposing new Department of Justice Building feature the very latest in chemical, X-Ray, and microscopic equipment.

But, somehow, all of this fancy apparatus seems to have developed a simultaneous blind spot.

For the last five months it has been submitting the Principality of Hague to examination. The report of the examination has just been issued: No evidence of violation of civil liberties or infringements of Federal statutes in Jersey City.

This verdict will certainly be a relief to the C.I.O. organizers who have been thrown out of Jersey City, to the Hague opponents who have been jailed, to the candidates counted out of office by stuffed ballot boxes, to Norman

Company Unionism In New York Primaries

A.L.P. Is Tail To Kite of Boss Parties

By JAMES BURNHAM

Recent developments in the New York state primary campaign are serving to bring out the futility of the coalition policy adopted by the leadership of the American Labor Party. The result of the coalition policy, originally argued for as giving the A.L.P. the key position in New York politics, has been to send the A.L.P. further and further into the background, and to leave the field of the current elections under the clear domination of the two bourgeois parties.

The outstanding contest for those nominations to be decided in the direct primary, September 20, is occurring in the Democratic struggle in the Sixteenth Congressional District between Representative O'Connor, incumbent chairman of the House Rules Committee, and the Administration-backed James H. Fay. In this fight the A.L.P. acts only as an obedient war heeler for Farley. The A.L.P. meekly forbore putting up an independent candidate of its own, and is running Fay, unopposed, on its ticket.

Fay Machine Politician Farley, as is to be expected, gave the A.L.P. absolutely nothing in return for this capitulation. The A.L.P. had not the slightest voice in naming Fay. Fay himself is an old-time machine politician, a Tammany stalwart, and one of the chief links between Tammany and the national Administration. From the point of view of the workers, there is not two cents' worth of difference between O'Connor and Fay.

The humiliating consequences of the coalition policy, of the failure to launch resolutely into one hundred per cent independent working-class politics, are, however, to be seen even more strikingly in the case of the state-wide offices (governor, short-term and long-term Senators), nominations for which are to be decided at the party conventions following the primaries.

In the case of these offices, the A.L.P. leaders have made not one single move toward the naming of independent candidates, and the organization of a genuine independent campaign. From the beginning, they have let it be known that they will make a deal with one or the other of the old parties.

A.L.P. Trails Alone The illusion was spread that in this way the A.L.P. would have the deciding voice in picking the nominees of at least one of the old parties. Naturally, nothing of the sort is happening.

When the old party bosses saw the tactic of the A.L.P., saw that the A.L.P. was subordinating itself wholly in these instances to capitalist politics, they realized that they no longer had to take the A.L.P. into account. They are simply going ahead to straighten out their own internal difficulties, knowing that when they have finished, the A.L.P. will have to trail along whatever has been the outcome.

Their difficulties are, it is true, embarrassing. The Republicans now plan to nominate Tom Dewey, riding high on the crest of his racket-busting wave, for the governorship. With Lehman already declared for the two remaining years of Copeland's unexpired term, and Senator Wagner a candidate to succeed himself for the six-year term, the Democrats feel they have no candidate for the governorship strong enough to put against Dewey. Strenuous efforts are being made to get Lehman to reconsider, and to run again for the governorship; but if these fail, they will doubtless have to fall back on Representative Mead of Buffalo.

Face Predicament If, however, Lehman runs against Dewey, the A.L.P. will be placed in an absurd predicament. Dewey was supported with great fanfare by the A.L.P. when he ran for the office of District Attorney. Lehman, during the last

two years, has publicly fought the New Deal bills such as the Executive Reorganization Plan and the Supreme Court revision—upon which the A.L.P. leaders have claimed the progress of the country depended. Nevertheless, the tie-up of the A.L.P. leadership with Roosevelt would in virtual certainty compel it to support Lehman.

The result of such backings and fillings can only be to disillusion workers about the whole conception of working-class politics. They see the party which they are trying to build as the expression of their own political interests being batted back and forth like a shuttlecock between the two old capitalist parties.

Bosses Pick Candidate

No trade unionist would ever stand for a situation in which, when choosing a business agent for his union, he was told to endorse one or another of two candidates named by committees of the bosses. This, however, is exactly comparable to what the A.L.P. leadership is proposing with respect to the state-wide offices. The Republicans and Democrats will name their candidates during the week following the primaries. The A.L.P. State Committee will then meet, and, according to present plans, will argue merely as to which of these sets shall be put on the A.L.P. ticket.

This outcome would not occur so placidly and automatically if, between now and that time the voice of the actual members of the A.L.P. and of the unions which adhere to it were heard to the effect that workers have as little use for company-unionism in political as in economic affairs. The time has come for New York workers to remind Alex. Rose that the American Labor Party is their property, not a blank check issued in his name. If the reminder is too long delayed, there will be nothing but a deficit left in the bank.

What Good Work, Mr. President?

(Continued from page 1)

tion of grain means a smaller income for the farmer without satisfying the millions of hungry, so long is it a mockery to boast about any improvement.

One need not go outside of Roosevelt's Labor Day speech to discover why the present administration has not been able and will not be able to achieve a real improvement in the condition of the masses. To Roosevelt the unity of all groups, excluding perhaps the few "economic royalists," is something worthwhile to strive for. To include only the workers, poor farmers and the lower urban middle class but also the "good" capitalists is his idea of unity.

Roosevelt wants to represent all classes; in fact he stated that he defends the capitalists to the farmers and workers and he defends the farmers and workers to the capitalists. And that is exactly why he has failed miserably in his attempts to get out of the economic morass in which this country has been immersed since 1929.

Unity is essential but a unity of those who are exploited, of the workers and poor farmers. How can the economic crisis be abated if the profits of the bosses are to be given consideration? When factories are idle and workers unemployed the most natural solution is for the government to take over the idle factories and put the unemployed to work. But since Roosevelt and his liberal followers believe in the sanctity

Hathaway 'Forgets' London But Doesn't Deny Murder

"Noah London was not a contributor to the Daily Worker; he was not a member of the Communist Party; I never heard of him; there never was such a person."

With these words Clarence Hathaway, editor of the Daily Worker, speaking in Lynn, Mass., for the Communist Party, last week, disavowed a leading Jewish militant and founder of the American Communist Party, now reported shot in Moscow.

Though Hathaway's memory conveniently failed, other members of the C. P. still remember that Noah London was a leading spirit in the foundation of the Freiheit, communist daily newspaper, and member of its editorial staff during the early years of its existence. Some will remember also that he was a member of the party's Educational Committee and director of the Workers' School since its foundation.

What the members of the C. P. would like to forget is that Noah London went to the Soviet Union with his wife, to place his technical talent at the disposal of the Soviet Union. Since then it has been reported that London has been executed by the Soviet bureaucracy. The complete silence of the Communist Party and London's old friends still in the Party is tacit proof of the report's truth. The shameful lies of Hathaway confirm the fears that another revolutionist has been murdered by Stalin's executioners.

of private property such a reasonable solution is impossible.

If workers are unemployed, the reasonable thing to do it to reduce the number of hours without reducing wages. But that is impossible for those who consider the interests of the employers.

Only those who suffer most from the present insane system, only the workers, supported by all middle-class elements, can actually put a program into effect which will be able to solve the problem of unemployment. And for that it is necessary first of all that the organized workers create their own party, separated from all capitalist elements whether liberal or reactionary.

Signal

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Thomas, run out of town when trying to make a speech, to unionists beaten up and terrorized, to workers slugged and arrested when trying to distribute leaflets or sell labor papers.

Some of these have felt in the past that their rights were being overthrown by Hague. Now they can take comfort. The New Deal itself has spoken. And the New Deal explains to them that Hague has acted exactly in accord with its own ideas of democracy and good government. Since—as everyone knows—the New Deal represents progress against reaction, all should now be willing to drop these petty complaints against Hague's bad manners, and should join hands for a sweeping vote in November for the Hague-Roosevelt Democratic Party.

There may, of course, be a few habitual grumblers who will not be satisfied with the verdict of the Department of Justice.

They might even be drawing rather sharp lessons from that verdict.

They might be deciding that the verdict shows that Hague and Hagueism are part and parcel of the New Deal, that Hague is simply Roosevelt without so charming a smile.

They might be concluding that the workers of New Jersey are going to get rid of Hague and Hagueism by themselves, through their own strength, or are not going to get rid of them at all. Not even the Great Liberal in the White House, sad to say, is going to do the workers' job for them.

Pinning 'em Down

By JAMES CASEY

A PROPHECY COME TRUE

Shortly after the last war, while covering a National Guard encampment for a duPont-owned newspaper, I attended a class session in anti-aircraft warfare. The instructor, an army captain, in discussing the possibilities of another world holocaust, "visioned" it as primarily a war of the air in which whole cities would be wiped out. At one point in his talk, he hinted of the probable use of germs to snuff out populations.

I quoted the officer in a story sent to the Wilmington (Del.) Morning News and when he read it on the following day, he waxed indignant. Such military classroom information was solely for those on the regimental grounds, he argued, and not for public consumption. In a word, the people must be kept in ignorance as regards the plans of the war-makers and of the fate that awaited them.

Developments of the last few weeks have stirred up memories of the army captain's lecture. It seems now, some eighteen years later, that he spoke as a prophet.

With the world on the verge of a new conflagration, two significant announcements have come from the War Department. The army's national air base is to be shifted to Illinois. From the military viewpoint this removal from the East to a central point in the land is calculated to better coordinate and facilitate warplane operations in the Atlantic and Pacific areas as well as in Mexico and the Latin-American countries.

Also, the army has awarded contracts for rapid fire anti-aircraft guns and carriages sufficient to equip thirty-two regiments for air battle. The magnitude of these war preparations become more apparent if one bears in mind that the anti-aircraft defenses at the present time comprise sixty or seventy guns for only six or seven regiments.

During the last year or so, our civilization was horror-stricken by the repeated barbarous attacks of Spanish fascists on defenseless men, women and children. No less are the world's peoples horrified by the ruthless Japanese raids on Chinese cities, with the killing of innocent and helpless human beings by the tens of thousands.

Yet, in spite of the unprecedented massacres, military men view the present slaughter of non-combatants as a feeble imitation of what will happen when the big war breaks out. It is pointed out that while the Spanish fascists are using 500 and 800-pound bombs, because they have no larger ones, the major powers will shower on city and countryside bombs weighing a ton each and more to wreak death and destruction.

The War Department's preparations dovetail perfectly with the elaborate plans of the New Deal administration for quick mobilization and nationalization of industries in the event of war. Success of the New Deal program would mean fascization of the nation the instant war was declared or hostilities begun without a formal declaration.

Needless to say, the nation's workers and farmers cannot and must not overlook this threat to their liberties. Militant workers must start intensive campaigns at once for unionization of all war industries. Trade unionists should call on the A. F. of L. and C.I.O. to cover every mill, mine, shop and office in the war-danger organization drives.

Only by strong, united ranks will the workers and farmers be in a position to fight off fascist war decrees and act in their own interests when the Wall Street imperialists begin to herd the masses for the new blood bath.

PROSECUTION GOES A-BEGGING

It is most amazing how prosecutors, who lay claim to alertness in weeding out crime and criminals and eagerness to swelling their records for convictions, affect an air of naivete on some matters of gravest concern to the masses of the people.

The circulation of petitions in New York City by the Nazis urging legislation to bar Jews from holding public office or civil service jobs is clearly a violation of a State law enacted more than fifteen years ago to end racial discrimination and attacks by secret societies and all other groups. At the time of its introduction, the measure was aimed at curbing the Ku Klux Klan. Today the Nazis are carrying on the depredations where the K.K.K. left off and with more vigor.

Their activities have brought protests from dozens of organizations, and newspapers have been flooded with letters by individuals against Nazi terrorism.

Many of the lawless actions of recent months were initiated in the little Brown House on Eighth-third Street, which is within the jurisdiction of Thomas E. Dewey, high-powered and ambitious prosecutor, who is ready to accept the nomination for governor by the Republican party. Why has Dewey closed his eyes to the much-needed inquiry into Nazi violence and general law-breaking? Why has he not moved for indictments against leaders of the German-American Bund in Yorkville, who are responsible for a long series of crimes ranging from cajoling retailers into buying German-made goods to kidnapping opponents of the Hitler organization?

Why is Attorney-General John J. Bennett silent? He, too, is ambitious, seeking the Democratic nomination for the governorship. Indeed, he has already appealed for support by the State Federation of Labor.

Evidence is abundant that the Nazis are spreading their anti-religious propaganda throughout the State and that open meetings fanning race hatred are being held regularly in violation of New York statute. Newspapers have published ample accounts of the lawless antics by Hitler's tools, and still the Attorney-General appears to be one of the very few unaware of the rotten mess.

Why doesn't United States Attorney Lamar Hardy get busy quite apart from the gesture of sending assistants to Germany for interviewing some one or other, who couldn't talk even if he wanted? Secret meetings of Nazi leaders have been held even if the German consulate in New York City. At least one prominent ship line official is known to be operating here as an agent for the Hitler government.

There may be many reasons for the astonishing display of naivete on the part of the prosecutors. None of these reasons, however, can be of any benefit to America's masses, who have demonstrated time and again that they abhor fascism and want every semblance of it eliminated.

Pressure on the recalcitrant district attorneys will no doubt put them on the spot and serve to further awaken the masses to the menace that surrounds them. But decisive action must not be expected by any legalized red tape. There can be no illusions about that. To exterminate the Nazi scourge, the workers and farmers themselves must organize and act.

MASS MEETING

"WAR CRISIS IN EUROPE"

PROMINENT SPEAKERS

FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 23 — 8 P. M.

Beethoven Hall, 5th St. and 3rd Avenue

Auspices: Socialist Workers Party
Local New York