

Hitler Seeks To Mend Axis By Rome Visit

Britain Anticipates His Move By Concluding French Alliance

Surrounded by all the pomp of modern Caesars and by thousands of guards watching hawk-eyed for assassins, Fuehrer Hitler and Duce Mussolini met again in Rome this week to make a new series of moves across the checkerboard of European imperialist politics.

Despite all the fulsome froth about the solidity of the Rome-Berlin axis, the two Fascist dictators were meeting more for purposes of sparring than for hugging each other in an affectionate clench.

Mussolini has secured in the Anglo-Italian pact a counterfoil to the pressure of Hitler on Italy's spheres of influence in Central Europe. This together with the new Anglo-French military alliance, was certain to play an important role in the deliberations of the Fascist warlords.

The Anglo-French military alliance was concluded last week when Premier Daladier and Foreign Minister Bonnet went to London to meet Prime Minister Chamberlain and Lord Halifax.

The agreements concerning naval, military and aerial co-operation surpass by far the extent of military co-ordination reached between France and England during the last World War. A French officer will, in the event of war, head the combined troops of the two countries, a British admiral, the united fleet, and a British officer, the joint air forces.

To Pool Resources

At the same time, both countries will pool their purchases of war materials. In France, great stores of food, oil and munitions are to be established, purchased with British credits. France intends to buy mainly from Czechoslovakia, Rumania, Yugoslavia, Hungary, etc., in an attempt to stop German penetration into Central and South-eastern Europe.

Daladier and Bonnet went to London with full powers granted by unanimous vote of the People's Front which they had just deserted. They answered this vote by definitely abandoning the foreign policy of the People's Front. No more talk about collective security, indivisible peace, defense of democracy against fascism, etc. Without the slightest resistance, the French missionaries submitted to John Bull's conditions.

They not only accepted the plan to recognize Mussolini's rape of Ethiopia; they even agreed to legalize it with the seals of the League of Nations.

Hasten Franco's Victory

While the Italian legions assail Catalonia and Madrid, the representatives of the People's Front, being at the same time the mandataries of the French bourgeoisie, assumed the obligation to complete Franco's sea blockade with an effective land blockade along the French-Spanish border. The London correspondent of the New York Times correctly interprets this shameless delivery of Loyalist Spain to Franco and Mussolini: "Now the British and French have agreed (Mussolini) should complete his victory in Spain."

Faced with the military collapse of the Loyalists, Britain is forcing France to facilitate her attempt to divide the Spanish booty with Mussolini at the expense of Germany.

England has taken the lead in the negotiations with Italy. Without doubt she will, in the near future, also dictate to France the conditions for an "understanding" with Germany. The question of Russia will be decisive in the barter.

Czechoslovakia Deserted

All the French efforts to induce Chamberlain to accept obligations in regard to Czechoslovakia were in vain. The agreed-upon diplomatic representations to Berlin will only be bombs in a pail of water. Chamberlain's flat

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Indians Given New Taste of Democracy

Thirty-two persons were reported killed and 48 gravely wounded April 26 when British police opened fire on a throng of 10,000 persons attending an Indian Congress Party rally in the village of Vidurawatham, in the Kolar region, 150 miles east of Bangalore.

The rally had been organized to protest the ban issued by the Mysore state government against hoisting of the Congress flag.

In subjecting the demonstrators to a blood-bath, the "democratic" British imperialist masters of India achieved a new high point in their ruthless suppression of the downtrodden victims of their rule. Intermittently during the past two years, the British slave-drivers have been carrying out aerial bombing operations against Northwest frontier tribesmen and spreading death and devastation through Indian villages.

SEEK TO OUST SAILORS FROM MARITIME BODY

Bridges Moves To Expel S.U.P. From Coast Federation

SAN FRANCISCO. — Driving hard for a split in the Maritime Federation of the Pacific, spokesman for Harry Bridges' C.I.O. longshoremen's union demanded last week that the militant Sailors' Union of Pacific be expelled from the Federation.

Appearing before the meeting of the executive committee of the federation last week, Bridges' right-hand man Henry Schmidt demanded that the S.U.P. accept the Stalinist program and be absorbed into the National Maritime Union or face a showdown fight with the Stalinist-controlled unions in the federation.

Attacks on Lundeberg

To back this move, which will mean bitter internal warfare within the federation, the Stalinists in control of the International Longshoremen and Warehousemen Union are issuing a bulletin devoted entirely to slanderous attacks on the S.U.P. and Harry Lundeberg, secretary-treasurer of the union.

Declaring decisions of the National Labor Relations Board to be sacrosanct and reviving the old cry "you can't fight the government," the Stalinists see every picket line as a shipowners plot. The militant determination of the S.U.P. to force the Shepard line to live up to their

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Palestine Communist Party Members Denounce Frame-up

A vehement denunciation of the Stalinist frame-up system and an appeal to all true revolutionaries to unite against the "hangmen of the October Revolution" and "for the revolutionary struggle of the international working class," is contained in the leaflet, just received here, issued by members of the Communist Party of Palestine who resigned from its ranks.

This leaflet seems to have formed at least part of the basis for the report telegraphed from Palestine several weeks ago to the effect that the Communist Party of that country had withdrawn from the Moscow International and affiliated to the Fourth International. This report has not yet been confirmed, but it is clear that the "monolithic unity" of the Stalinist ranks in Palestine has been unable to withstand the shock of the third big Moscow trial.

Stalin Befouls Movement

"Were bourgeois reaction to procure an agent provocateur and place him at the head of the labor movement with the object of besmirching it, paralyzing it and destroying it from the inside," reads the stirring leaflet, "it could not succeed any better than Stalin with his trials and his extermination of the party."

Pointing to the disastrous consequences of the trials, the

LaFollette Third Party Movement Would Check Workers' Independence

National Progressive Party, Launched By Scion Of Wisconsin Dynasty, Seeks To Head Off Labor's Own Political Action

To a crowd of 5,000 gathered in the Wisconsin state capital last week Governor Philip LaFollette announced the launching of a new third party, the National Progressives of America.

Apart from the LaFollettes, a few of their immediate followers and a number of comparatively obscure individuals who came from other states to attend the meeting, the sponsors of the new party do not include a single figure prominent in recent middle class reform movements. Especially significant was the fact that no well-known labor leaders or organizations were invited to attend the formal launching of the new party, or if they were, they must have turned down the invitation, for none of them was present.

The absence of labor in the new LaFollette movement is supplemented and emphasized by the fact that the first move made by the Wisconsin Governor to expand his organization was towards the farmers of the agrarian west—Iowa and Minnesota. Even there, however, as in virtually every part of the country the reception accorded the new party has been anything but cordial and enthusiastic.

Cool Reception

New York's Mayor LaGuardia, who has been engaged in some political exploration on his own hook, both in the East and the Middle and South West, failed to endorse the LaFollette Party and expressed himself on it in the most reserved manner. The leaders of the American Labor Party in New York, like the leaders of the Minnesota Farmer-Labor Party, who are wedded to the Roosevelt New Deal, have made very critical statements against the Wisconsin enterprise on the ground that it is "splitting the progressive forces" which should, in their opinion, stand firmly behind the President.

The Communist Party, which is among the loudest drum-beaters of Roosevelt at a time when the bankruptcy of his course becomes increasingly plain, has taken a similarly hostile attitude towards the LaFollette organization, that is, it is criticizing "from the standpoint of conservatism," of the right, of maintaining the old political line-up.

Windy Words

Although the collapse of the New Deal and the growing reactionism of the Democratic Party compelled LaFollette to assail the old parties in his keynote speech, and to point out their inability to produce a progressive solution of the raging crisis or even to prevent it from deepening, the "Platform" put out by the National Progressives is one of the most futile and windy-worded political documents of our time.

The platform does not advance a single concrete step that the new party proposes to take in order to change the present unbearable situation in the United

BOSS HAGUE'S POLICE KIDNAP NORMAN THOMAS

Workers' Own Action Is Needed To Combat Jersey Fuehrer

The Jersey City police committed a typical act of violence during the May Days by brutally assaulting, kidnapping, and deporting Norman Thomas when he attempted to speak in Journal Square on Saturday night, April 30, against Boss Hague's personal dictatorship.

The leader of the Socialist Party declared that at least half a dozen people in the crowd had been struck on the base of the neck from the rear by police night sticks, a blow which paralyzes without leaving a mark. Among them was Louis Freader, Hoboken Secretary of the Workers Defense League. The secretary of the League, Morris Milgram, said that at least fifteen persons had been expelled from the city with Thomas, including residents of Jersey City.

Vicious Assaults

One of them was Ashley Garrick, Jersey City lawyer, whose arms, according to eye-witnesses, were held by two cops while a detective punched his face so brutally that he had to be treated by a physician.

So frenzied was the melee around the seizure of Norman Thomas that the uniformed men failed to recognize the plain-clothes cops of their own force. As a result one uniformed patrolman struck a detective.

The Jersey City police chiefs declared that Thomas had been put out of the city "for his own personal safety." Safety, presumably, against even more serious manhandling by Hague's guardians of law and order! Thomas himself branded the whole police report as fiction, "doubtless as false as the evidence against Jeff Burditt," who is serving a six-month sentence for trying to make a speech on the same spot.

Thomas has demanded that the LaFollette Civil Rights Senatorial Committee investigate Hague's dictatorship, and has asked various Federal authorities to intervene. But Hague has been sufficiently exposed in the eyes of the people by his own actions in the past period. What is needed is not further investigation but further action against this petty satrap and staunch pillar of the Democratic Party.

Workers' Initiative Needed

The organized workers of New Jersey should take the initiative in launching a movement of self-defense against the unabated and ever more vicious attacks of Hague's gangsters - in uniform. They can secure the sympathy and support of every militant force in the labor ranks, who are already aroused to the menace represented by Hague and his regime. The independent action of the militant and organized workers is the best way to restore their democratic rights to the people of Jersey City.

Government Tax Program Hits Labor

Roosevelt Measure Gives Relief Only To The Exploiters

By DAVID COWLES

On the same day in which the Roosevelt tax bill was licked into final shape, sixteen of the outstanding representatives of monopoly capitalism promised him their cooperation in his "recovery" program. The reason for the close connection becomes obvious if we examine the tax bill. The \$5,300,000,000 tax program, which emerged from the conference between leading House and Senate politicians last week, indicates a complete dropping of such direct taxes on big business as the undistributed profits tax, capital gains tax, the tax on government bonds. It also disregarded any tax on the incomes of the government bureaucracy. It shunted aside any proposal that would substantially tax the rich or their minions in the state apparatus. The meaning of the bill was summed up by the Democratic Senator Harrison: "The tax bill gives real relief to business."

Relieve Capitalists

On giving relief to the capitalists, Democrats joined Republicans, the House joined the Senate, and all worked together in perfect harmony. Along with the Democrat Harrison, the Republican Senators Vandenberg and Capper thought the tax bill "a long step toward a restoration of tax sanity." In the conference between House and Senate, the N. Y. Times reported that "on matters of direct concern to business, where there was a difference of opinion between the House and Senate, the conferees inclined to the alternative that favored business."

At all times the tax bill is a political document of first importance. This is especially true today, when the critical condition of American capitalism finds its sharpest reflection in the budget policies of the Roosevelt government.

The budget contains two sides, expenditures and revenue. As was shown in a recent article in the Appeal, the expenditures are to go almost entirely to aid big business. The revenue side is shown in the tax bill. It shows who is to pay for the spending. The expenditure side of the budget distributes government monies between classes in the state, favoring some and discriminating against others. To that extent, the budget is a reflection of the use of the state by a class or groups in a class. Who is to pay the bills?—this question is determined by the class control of the state, with its power to re-distribute wealth and income, to take away from some and give to others. In acting thus, the class which controls the state further accentuates and aggravates class divisions.

Role of the State

The present tax bill resulted because big business controls the state. The bill "gives real relief to business." To see why and how it does so and at whose expense, is to see at one and the same time the decline of American capitalism and the use of the state machine by big business to pass on the burden of its decline to the workers.

At all times the capitalists pay their taxes, when they do pay them, reluctantly and with much chiselling. But now, when according to the Federal Reserve Board production is at the level it was in 1933, when the stock market is falling and profits are lower, the capitalists are especially opposed to paying taxes. They want to keep profits up and they can do so in two ways: first, by cutting costs of production; second, by reducing their tax bills.

They can cut down costs of production in three ways. One way is to fire workers, thereby reducing the number of wage-earners and the amount of wages paid out. Within the last seven months of unprecedentedly sharp depression at least 5,000,000 workers have been thrown out of work. While this cut the costs of production and kept up profits for the capitalists, it also

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Stalinists Start Drive To Capture Or Smash United Auto Workers

Faces Fight



HOMER MARTIN

Frankenstein, Browder's Candidate To Replace Homer Martin, Issues Open Challenge; Board Meets This Week

WOULD CRUSH UNION DEMOCRACY

DETROIT.—Richard T. Frankenstein, Earl Browder's candidate for the presidency of the United Automobile Workers of America, this week made his open bid for power. The internal struggle in the union, reported in the Socialist Appeal more than a month ago (April 2), entered a new phase with Frankenstein's challenge to the leadership of Homer Martin, president of the union.

Fresh from the ante-chambers of the Communist Party, Frankenstein rushed into the public prints with a program carefully drawn and doctored by Michigan's Stalinist high priests, William Weinstone and William Gebert. This program—a letter addressed to International Board members—will be brought into the session of the International Executive board of the union at its meeting on May 9 in Detroit. This will be the next move of the Stalinist gang to capture or smash the powerful union of the auto workers.

One month ago, the C.P.-inspired Unity Group launched its struggle for power in opposition to "the alarming trend... towards bureaucracy." We pointed out then the "new program of the Unity Group is shot through and through with hypocrisy, deceit and lies." Now Frankenstein has confirmed our analysis to the hilt.

Would Crush Groups

The first and only real point in his pronouncement is the abolition and prohibition of all factional groups within the U.A.W. But let us give the "floor" to Brother Frankenstein who, together with Weinstone or Gebert, or whoever drafted this program, is no slouch in the vocabulary of bureaucracy and dictatorship:

"1. Agreement to take disciplinary action against any party, group or section of the membership which does not go down the line with the program." No half-measures for the firm of Weinstone and Frankenstein! Discipline, suspend, expel, kick out everyone, entire locals, entire districts, the whole international union if they refuse to be regimented into hollering "ja" for the would-be dictators and their so-called program. Bill Green and his pals must be green with envy.

2. All caucuses to be abandoned immediately, specifically the Progressive and Unity Caucuses will no longer exist and the program advocated is to be the program of the International Union. To enforce this we abolish and prohibit all factional groups within the U.A.W."

Frankenstein Switches

Frankenstein is now cast in a new role. Eight months ago at the Milwaukee convention of the U.A.W. it was Frankenstein who denounced a motion of Victor Reuther to abolish all caucuses. He correctly stated then that the right to groups and caucuses was the pre-condition for inner-union democracy. Now the abolition of democracy

in the U.A.W. is the solution of a "crisis beyond that of the recession." If the truth were told, Frankenstein is only now approaching a semblance of sincerity.

He championed the rights of groups at the convention, not in the cause of democracy but in the cause of Frankenstein. He coveted the post of first vice-president and he needed a caucus to see him through. Now the forces behind him are strong enough to dispense with a caucus. But don't think a minute that they mean "all caucuses." They mean "open caucuses—and that's all!"

On the day that the right to groups and caucuses is abolished, the most powerful caucus in the union will begin to "exercise unchallenged power within the organization. That caucus is the Communist Party. Does anyone imagine that members of the Communist Party in the union will stop meeting and making decisions because a motion is passed to eliminate caucuses? In practical effect, this decision will hog-tie every militant worker and progressive unionist in the U.A.W. Only the Communist Party and its stooges will have a free hand.

Seeks Dictatorship

This means the return of the Francis Dillon regime to the helm of the auto union. But where Francis Dillon failed to saddle his dictatorship on the auto workers because the progressives were able to organize a caucus, Frankenstein wants to succeed by prohibiting all caucuses. The democratic right of union members to get together for a specific object or program is in the final analysis the only real guarantee that the rank-and-file will control its own union and keep the bureaucrats in their place. That is why, in the guise of democracy, the program of the Unity Group, espoused by its latest convert, is the most sinister danger confronting the auto union.

Undoubtedly, the demand for the abolition of the Unity and Progressive caucuses will strike a favorable chord with a large section of the rank-and-file. The workers have become disgusted with the dog-eat-dog fight between these groups only on the "program" of who is to get the job. The differences between these groups were never very great. The danger—now an actuality—which we pointed out on many occasions was that a rank-and-file weary of this squabble would lend an ear to the first demagogue who called for peace. Even if this peace means the loss of the most precious of union rights. Once again we repeat: only that group organized on a program of democracy and militancy can smash the unprincipled cliques and demagogues and open a new page for the union.

Code of Servility

If this part of Frankenstein's program is not revolting enough, then follow through to point 3, which wants to carry over big

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AFL USES DUAL UNION TACTICS TO FIGHT CIO

Charters Reactionary Miners' Union In Illinois

The A. F. of L. executive council pulled a series of strategic moves last week at its quarterly meeting that will place it in a stronger bargaining position in any unity negotiations with the C.I.O.

Charters of six C.I.O. unions were revoked by the council, leaving only David Dubinsky's International Ladies Garment Workers Union with its A.F. of L. charter untouched. This attempt to conciliate Dubinsky had an immediate effect.

Dubinsky announced his rejection of the post of chairman of the important C.I.O. housing committee to which he had been elected at the recent C.I.O. conference.

Dual Union Moves

The A.F. of L. council also announced that it had granted a charter to the reactionary Progressive Miners union of Illinois and that it has planned a dual union drive in the mine fields against the United Mine Workers of America.

William Green's threats in this direction are a "pressure" move against John L. Lewis and

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Rank and File Committee Brings In NMU Agreement

A rank and file committee elected from the floor of the National Maritime Union last week brought in a tentative agreement for ratification by the membership. The terms of the new agreement came as a great surprise to Stalinist forces in the Union whose appointed committees had twice before failed to secure any concessions from the steamship operators.

This agreement covers all companies in which the N.M.U. has won elections under auspices of the N.L.R.B. Working rules and wages are in conformity with agreements prevailing on the West Coast. While the seamen were able to gain recognition of the N.M.U. as the sole collective bargaining agent, they did not get a closed shop agreement. However, members of the N.M.U. have "preference of emp-

loyment," and negotiators for the union predict that ships' crews will be able to force all seamen signing on any ship covered by the agreement to ship through the Union hall.

Although the agreement for East Coast shipping is not on a par with the West Coast standard where closed shop conditions prevail, it marks a great stride forward for the rank-and-file seamen here. They have provided that given an opportunity to function as a group of Union men without Communist Party domination, important concessions can be wrested from the operators. In contrast to the now infamous "Tanker Agreement" recently drawn up by the Standard Oil Company with "Rasputin" Lawrensen, Stalinist agent in the N.M.U. as salesman, the new agreement is a masterpiece.

Stalinists Start Drive To Capture Or Smash U. A. W.

CAMPAIGN OPENED BY FRANKENSTEIN

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and baggage the most obnoxious ceremony of servility and humiliation from Stalin's totalitarian regime in the Soviet Union and in the Communist parties of the world:

"3. Public pronouncements, pledging loyalty, and allegiance to the duly elected officers."

Should this program carry, not only will militant union workers and leaders be forbidden to have disagreements and criticisms of the leadership, but they will be forced to beat their breasts in public. Instead of a union fighting the tyrants of the motor industry, the U. A. W. will become the scene of revolting spectacles of confessional to the Stalinist tyrants over the auto union.

"4. Agreement to take disciplinary action against any member or group of members who are found guilty on trial through regular procedure of spreading rumors or untrue charges against any officer or member of the Executive Board. These things to be done on the basis of the program of the International Union."

Muzzle for Union

This power in the hands of the unprincipled clique that wants it will slap the muzzle over the mouth of the union. Anyone who criticizes or differs will be charged with making "untrue charges" or "spreading rumors," brought before a court martial and properly "disciplined." The Stalinists don't want control over the union. They want a stranglehold over it.

Summed up, here is the oracle Frankenstein found by gazing in the crystal bowl of Stalin and Browder:

1. Grease the guillotine for the opposition even if the heads that roll count up in the thousands;

2. Smash democracy by abolishing all groups and caucuses except the Communist Party caucus;

3. Put the heretics and the infidels through the paces of belly-scraping and breast-benting;

4. Frame-up and Moscow Trial anyone caught standing on his own feet and expressing his own point of view.

Sugar Coated Pill

This is the real program. The rest of Frankenstein's letter is only the sugar-coating to make the pill go down easier. All the chatter about organizing competitive plants, fighting wage-cuts, improving working conditions, organizing the unemployed, bringing efficiency into the International office and cutting down on expenses, etc., is just a hypocritical promise when it comes from a crowd which demands as a price that the rank-and-file become a pack of goose-stepping soldiers.

Goose-stepping is good for men who are fighting someone else's battle, fighting the battles of their enemies. It is no good for union men. They must have their own union, run their own affairs, make their own policies. A big struggle with the corporations lies right ahead of the union. The strike at Federal Screw and the series of smaller strikes which followed it are straws in the wind. The entire membership must be mobilized; 350,000 workers will have to do the fighting. That is why—although there are a million other reasons—democracy and not bureaucracy must be the yardstick of the internal union regime. Whoever like Frankenstein

U. A. W. LAUNCHES DRAMATIC SECTION

DETROIT.—With the production of "The Lonely Man," a pro-labor play by Howard Koch, the educational department of the United Automobile Workers will launch its newly-formed dramatic group May 19 at Detroit, it was announced here today by the educational department of the union.

Less than a year ago the U. A. W. set up its educational department, primarily concerned with the forming of classes in trade union subjects. Since then it has made strides in the use of the radio in union work, using a Detroit station, WJKB, for 15 minute daily broadcasts.

From the talent developed on the radio programs, drawn from the ranks of the 250,000 auto workers in the Detroit area, the dramatic director has chosen the cast of the forth-coming play.

and his new-found allies preaches bureaucracy, preaches capitulation and defeat in these coming struggles.

Backing for Murphy

We cannot refrain from referring to two other points of this program. One is the pledge for full and active support for the re-election of Murphy as Governor. With one hand the workers are to be deprived of their independent rights within the union and with the other they are to be deprived of the right to independent participation in politics. A Stalin regime in the union and a capitalist regime in the State. These things march hand in hand!

The other point reeks with hypocrisy. We shall have occasion to return to it in the not too distant future. It pledges the International Union to combat discrimination against union members because of race, creed, color, nationality or political affiliation. Some of the records of the people advocating this program smell to high heaven!

Warning Given

On April 2 we warned the auto workers: "Look at the internal regime in the Communist Party," we advised, warning against the Stalinist campaign in the auto union. "There is no more democracy in that party than you can stick in the corner of your eye. Look at the record of the Communist Party in the unions where it has control: the furriers, painters, food workers, maritime union. Gangsterism, unity with racketeers, suppression of minorities, dictatorial practices . . ."

We repeat that warning today with Frankenstein's open threat a dagger aimed right at the heart of the auto union. No doubt, as is their practice, the Communist Party will charge us with red-baiting. They charge anyone who criticizes them with red-baiting. The truth of the matter is that we are not baiting reds but denouncing reactionaries—from the Frankenstein crowd right down to the Stalinist party. Real "reds" are those who fight for democracy and class struggle policies within the unions. That is our fight. We shall carry it on to the very end.

Roosevelt Tax Program Falls Hardest On Labor

Threats To Load Major Crisis Burdens On Bosses Evaporate In Congress Bill Slashing

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saddled the burden of the depression on the backs of the workers in the form of unemployment.

Wage-cuts, Speed-up

Another way is to cut the wages of those employed. This also keeps up profits, but it also cuts the purchasing power of the workers and smashes their living standards. A third way is to increase the speed-up for those on the job. This increases the output of each worker, cuts the costs of production for the capitalists and increases their profits.

Cutting down the bosses' share of the tax bill, can also only be done at the expense of the workers. The permanent decline of American capitalism has created a standing army of unemployed. There were 9,000,000 unemployed before the current "recession" began. There are at least 5,000,000 more now, making a total of at least 14,000,000.

These are all debared from employment and deprived of the purchasing power which employment gives them. They have only two alternatives: starvation or government aid. Rather than starve, they will overthrow the capitalist system which dooms them to starvation. And so the capitalist government, which still finds democracy useful, gives out miserly relief to the unemployed in order to keep them quiet.

Taxes and Spending

Government aid requires government spending. Money for spending must be gotten through taxes. The question arises: Who shall pay the major burden of the taxes? Is it the workers and unemployed? But the crisis of ca-

Rochester Unemployed Win Payments in Cash

ROCHESTER, N. Y. — Plans of Rochester city and county relief officials to substitute cash payments to unemployed on home relief in place of the present commodity vouchers received the support of the Federal Workers Section of A. F. of L. Laborer's Union last week.

Fred Struble, president of the Federal Workers Section, pointed out that cash payment to relief clients had long been a demand of the unemployed, but warned the administrators that any attempt to reduce the present relief allotments would be opposed.

The Federal Workers Section is taking the lead in swinging organized labor behind the progressive features of the plan and it is expected that the Central Trades Council will endorse cash payments. The Railroad Brotherhoods and A. F. of L. affiliates are being contacted in an effort to secure their endorsements.

WAA Frustrates Plot To Expel Rasmussen

SOUTH BEND, Ind.—Efforts of Stalinist bureaucrats in control of the Workers Alliance local in South Bend to expel Hugo Rasmussen, active militant in the unemployed movement, failed when the membership rejected the charges of disruptive action against Rasmussen.

Rasmussen, one of the organizers of the Indiana W. A. and a former member of the W. A. A. national executive board, has consistently criticized Labor's Non-Partisan League and advocated a policy of independent working class action rather than placing any support behind candidates of the capitalist parties.

The Stalinists, determined to permit no opposition to their campaign to line up the workers in support of their capitalist masters, sought in a resolution to the W. A. A. assembly for the expulsion of Rasmussen, charging that his position on the L. N. P. L. was "disruptive." This action, taken at the close of the meeting when a number of members had left, and preceded by a limited discussion, was passed.

When Rasmussen appealed to the St. Joseph county executive board, the local was instructed to bring written charges before the membership and hold a trial. At the trial the rank-and-file upheld Rasmussen by a three to one vote.

SWP Holds Enthusiastic May Day Meeting In N. Y.

More Than 500 Cheer Demands For Class Struggle Policy; YPSLs Hold Outdoor Rally

NEW YORK.—In sharp contrast to all the fanfare about "democratic" and "people's" fronts and submission to imperialist war plans under the mask of "collective security" the Socialist Workers Party gave to its May Day celebration the sharp tone of the class struggle, the pitting of the real forces of peace, the working class, against the war-makers and exploiters, the capitalists.

More than 500 workers attended an enthusiastic rally at Germania Hall where the keynote of militant class struggle brought forth a cheering response.

The meeting was preceded by a parade of 300 members and sympathizers of the Young People's Socialist League, shouting slogans against the preparations for the coming war and carrying banners calling for resolute workers' action against the war-makers.

Workers Will Struggle

Recalling the birth of May Day in the fires of the great struggle for the eight-hour day and its development into international labor day, the speakers declared that the workers, mobilized the day before under the banner of Roosevelt by the Stalinists, would again unfurl the red flag and march forth to battle their oppressors.

"Never before," said Maurice Spector, co-editor of the New International and main speaker of the evening, "has the American working class been more militant, more aggressively on the march. Never before have the appalling results of class-collaboration, or People's Frontism, been more clear to the masses."

The crowd cheered again and

again as Spector declared that only workers' action could solve rican capitalism; that to the bankrupt schemes of the capitalist ten-year-old crisis of America and their allies the workers must counterpose the revolutionary class struggle.

What Happened Before

Max Shachtman, editor of the Socialist Appeal, told the audience how the social-democrats in Germany forbade May Day demonstrations in the early days of the World War, only to have the proletariat, within a few brief years, rise and send thirty crowns rolling into the dust.

"Despite the betrayal of the Second International," Shachtman declared, "the workers of Europe rose in revolt and in Russia founded the Soviet Union and the Third International. Despite the betrayal of the Third International the international proletariat will rise under the banner of the Fourth International, the banner of Lenin and Trotsky."

C.P. Celebrates May Day With Patriotic Parades

Militant Traditions of Labor's Day Continue Under Banner of Fourth International

May Day this year found the forces of labor split throughout the United States, as in many other countries. Despite the deepening crisis of capitalism, the demonstrations were on a far smaller scale than last year. The most alarming feature from the point of view of the labor movement was the corraling of large numbers of workers behind the patriotic banners of the Stalinist parties in demonstrations which did violence to the fighting, proletarian class traditions of May Day.

Patriotic Parade

In New York City, some 50,000 paraded under the auspices of the Stalinist-dominated "United May Day Committee" to the accompaniment of patriotic songs. Replacing the militant rallying cries of former years, the dominating slogans were for "jobs, peace and democracy." Placards were carried denouncing the "fascist aggressors."

The speeches were in line with the rest. Not a word about the preparations for a new imperialist war, which was hardly surprising in view of the fact that the Stalinists, with their sponsorship of "collective security," are the foremost proponents of war.

The Socialist Workers Party, refusing to take part in this patriotic demonstration, which violated not only the spirit of May Day but ran counter to the vital interests of the workers, held its own parade and rally, reported elsewhere in this issue. The Stalinists, however, did not have things entirely their way. The New York locals of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union declined to take part in the Stalinist flag-waving parade and held their own separate rally. Norman Thomas, Socialist Party and youth organization likewise declined to associate themselves with the Stalinists.

In Philadelphia

In Philadelphia, however, the S.P. and its Clarityite wing tagged along, content to become a vestigial appendage of the Stalinist machine. Our comrades participated to the extent of being present on Reburn Plaza, where they distributed hundreds of anti-war manifestos and sold many copies of the Socialist Appeal. They followed this up with a May Day meeting held in conjunction with the United Libertarian Organizations. More than 100 workers attended this meeting, at which Manny Garrett spoke for the Socialist Workers Party and the Young Peoples Socialist League.

The California comrades scored a great May Day success in Los Angeles, where they succeeded in attracting an audience of 750 to the Music Arts Hall to hear May Day speeches by S.W.P. and Y.P.S.L. representatives and to see the film "Tzar to Lenin," a pictorial history of the Russian Revolution. In the audience were Mexican agricultural workers, auto-workers, members of the I.L.G.W.U. and many other active unionists. A number of Stalinists forsook a Communist Party meeting in

Mob Attacks Y.P.S.L. Speakers in Jamaica

NEW YORK.—One member of the Young Peoples Socialist League was thrown into a lake and chased a number of blocks last week by a mob of several hundred students of Jamaica high school who had been whipped into a patriotic frenzy.

The attack was organized by the reactionary Varsity club, with the aid of the athletic director, when the Y.P.S.L. announced their plans to hold an anti-war meeting. Police, newspapermen and a large store of rotten eggs and tomatoes were on hand at the beginning of the meeting.

Attempts by members of the Y.P.S.L. to speak were fruitless, as boeing drowned out the speakers. Eggs and tomatoes began to fly, landing on the speakers, the crowd and the police in equal proportion.

A large number of students rushed the platform and seized Mike Bartell, student director of the Y.P.S.L. He was dragged to a pond in the park adjacent to the high school and thrown in. The mob then turned on the other speakers and stoned them for several blocks. Two were injured and required medical attention.

Coast Office Workers Fight Bridges' Blackmail

He Threatens To Withdraw C. I. O. Support From Union Unless It Knuckles Under

By KATHLEEN WALKER

SAN FRANCISCO.—Faced with increasing opposition to his policies in West Coast unions, Harry Bridges, West Coast Director for the C. I. O., is making a desperate attempt to discredit the progressive leadership of Local 34 of the United Office & Professional Workers of America.

At the last membership meeting of this union he charged the present leadership with conspiring to withdraw from the C. I. O. and seek affiliation with the A. F. of L.

Bridges Threatens

He threatened that if this leadership was not removed, the Warehousemen's Union and the C. I. O. would withdraw their support. As a majority of the membership is employed in warehouse offices and dependent upon the support of the warehousemen, this was in effect an ultimatum to the membership to accept Stalinist control or see their union smashed.

At its previous meeting the membership voted to request the national office to remove Leo Allen, international representative and a Stalinist, from San Francisco. The charges brought against Allen were:

Three Charges Listed

1. Failure to cooperate with the organizers and officers of the union or to produce organizational results.
2. Withholding communication and instructions received by him from the National Office which affected the work of the Local.

3. Stating to a member of the union that this puny little local of 250 members was not so important as the national organization and, if necessary, he was willing to smash this local and start over again.

By the action taken to request Allen's removal the membership demonstrated again its desire and need to rid itself of the Stalinist bureaucrats. This was first demonstrated in the union elections in January, when the Stalinists were overwhelmingly defeated after they had been in control for several months.

Bridges Packs Meeting

In typical Moscow Trial fashion, Bridges packed the meeting with his stooges and presented affidavits which stated that a number of the leaders of the local had conspired with Harry Lundeberg, secretary of the Sailors Union of the Pacific,

to take the local out of the C. I. O. He then attempted to link Lundeberg with the shipowners, the San Francisco Industrial Association, Senator Copeland, etc., etc. The affidavits also accused officials of the local of carrying on a red-baiting campaign against Allen.

The affidavits were signed by persons who have proven by their past actions that they were only interested in feathering their own nests. Two of these persons left the local when it affiliated with the C. I. O. and took a group of bank employees with them into the A. F. of L. When they discovered the A. F. of L. was not interested in furthering their ambitions, they requested readmittance into the C. I. O. Another "confession" signer dropped out of the union several months ago when the progressives refused to support him in the election as delegate to the C. I. O. Council because he was irresponsible. He openly stated at that time that his only interest in the union was to obtain a pie card.

Snatch Majority

Having packed the meeting, the Stalinists were able to get a majority on the investigating committee which was elected to investigate the charges. They immediately proceeded to hold hearings at which the accusers were asked to appear at one time and the accused at another! Neither will have an opportunity to hear the other's testimony or to question one another! A petition signed by 150 rank-and-file members requesting that the investigating committee be elected by a referendum and the decision at a special executive board meeting to hold such a referendum on the basis of the petition, have been ignored by the investigating committee. Going far beyond the powers granted it at the meeting at which it was elected, this committee has practically set itself up as a dual power to the present leadership, calling itself a rank-and-file "policy" committee.

The militants in the union are exposing this Bridges-Stalinist union wrecking attack and are making every effort to rally the support of progressives in other unions to defeat it. They are working to unite all labor progressives in both the A. F. of L. and C. I. O. around a campaign to rid the unions of this wrecking band of labor fakers by exposing the real role of the Stalinists and their front man, Bridges, in the West Coast unions.

Appeal Army

The following subscriptions have come in during the past two weeks:

NEW YORK CITY	33
California	5
Philadelphia	4
Minneapolis	4
Newark	2
Pittsburgh	1
Akron, Ohio	1
Rochester, N. Y.	1
Toledo, Ohio	1
Chicago, Ill.	1
Canton, Ohio	1
Boston, Mass.	1
Colorado	1
Michigan	1
Miscellaneous	3
TOTAL	60

Now, with summer more or less here, many comrades and sympathizers will start traveling around the country from place to place. We urge every comrade to take a handful of sub blanks with him. Also, those who are going away for the summer are requested to notify us of their new address. We need more traveling salesmen for the Appeal like John Boulds of Montana!

Subs are picking up nicely, with New York City far in advance once again. On increased bundle orders we have to report a definite slowing-up. Plans are under way for a new and even

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Hitler Seeks To Mend Axis By Rome Visit

(Continued from page 1)

refusal to take more efficacious action was not only a confirmation of Great Britain's present conception that her interests end at the Rhine. It was also an order to France not to stick her nose beyond the Rhine. Nobody takes seriously France's pledge to defend Czechoslovakia by force.

The French proposal to gain time for the maturing war crisis by taking measures of economic aggression against Germany in Central and Southeastern Europe also fell upon deaf ears in London. The British categorically refused to complicate England's situation by extending their trade with France's former vassals. The skillful British traders are ready to grant commercial credits; not to Czechoslovakia, Rumania and the others, however, but exclusively to France, who will have to assume by herself the risk of doubtful capital investments in doubtful states.

France Loses

However, the time has passed when it was possible to fight imperialist competition in Europe with trade and credits. Behind the Chinese wall of fortifications on both banks of the Rhine, France will have passively to watch the disappearance of her post-war conquests throughout Europe. She will have to wait until Great Britain gives the signal for battle.

The London military agreements, despite their technical thoroughness, do not bind British imperialism as to the conditions under which they are to be put into operation. The bourgeois press is unanimous in saying "that the whole decision is open to Britain at the moment something happens, and that she is not bound to any definitive action."

The profits of the London deals accrue above all to Britain. After the war, France was for a long time not only the "gendarme of Europe" but also, very often, a danger to British interests on the continent. Now France seeks protection under the wings of the British Empire, at a price which makes her a kind of new dominion, a dominion which, unlike the others, is ready to fire the first shot in a new war at a moment's notice.

AFL USES DUAL UNION TACTICS TO FIGHT CIO

(Continued from page 1)

are calculated to "carry the fight in the enemy's battlefield." The actual chances of the A.F. of L. cracking the powerful U.M.W.A. are next to nothing and the Green bureaucracy knows it.

Progressive workers in both the C.I.O. and the A.F. of L. can only condemn this latest Green maneuver which carries the implication of raiding and open warfare between the two organizations that can bring only defeat to both sides.

I.L.G.W.U. Position

Dubinsky's refusal to serve on the C.I.O. committee verifies often repeated rumors that the I.L.G.W.U. is not going to participate in the coming C.I.O. convention but rather expects to seek a course of "neutrality" in the C.I.O.-A.F. of L. dispute. The defection of the I.L.G.W.U. union from the active ranks of the C.I.O. will weaken the industrial unionists in future unity negotiations and jeopardize the position of the C.I.O. unions.

The C.I.O. unions whose A.F. of L. charters were revoked include: the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, the Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel and Tin Workers, the United Textile Workers of America, the United Rubber Workers of America, the United Automobile Workers of America, and the International Union of Oilfield, Gas and Petroleum Workers.

Workers Of All Races Must Unite Against Fascism In Czechoslovakia

Following consultations this week with the French ministers in London, Lord Halifax informed the Czechoslovakian ambassador in the firmest manner that Prague will have to submit, without resistance, to the ultimatum, delivered recently by the Czechoslovakian Nazi leader, Konrad Henlein.

This ultimatum, in its practical implications, means nothing less than the establishment of a totalitarian Nazi dictatorship on Czechoslovakian territory by means of a plebiscite, the result of which is a foregone conclusion.

Whereas France, still reluctant, had been trying to rescue the Czechoslovakian child of its post-war policy, Britain, in an effort to gain time, is determined to write off Czechoslovakia as an independent state in Hitler's favor, as she has already written off Loyalist Spain in Mussolini's favor. Under the mask of impartiality, Lord Halifax, the representative of democratic Britain and with the acquiescence of the French government, is acting in this matter as an auxiliary ambassador of Nazi Germany in London. Yielding on the continent, Britain hopes to gain greater freedom of action for her empire.

AN IRONIC OUTCOME

The situation is all the more ironic in that the crimes of Czech policy, domestic as well as foreign, were only the faithful and slavish reflection of Franco-British post-war policy on the continent.

Leaning upon the Wilsonian principle of national "self-determination, the Versailles victors forced five nations into an artificial state formation under the domination of a Czech bourgeois minority. At present only 40 per cent of the 15,000,000 inhabitants of the Czechoslovakian republic are Czechs. In 1919 the imperialist peace-makers, through their own self-determination, forced two and one-half million Slovaks, who consider themselves a separate nation, into one joint and arbitrary "nation" with the Czechs, in order to justify the hegemony of their Czech gendarmes in Central Europe.

Since the formation of the republic, these Slovaks, along with 600,000 Ruthenians (a Ukrainian national group), 100,000 Poles, 800,000 Hungarians and three and one-half million Germans, have claimed the right of national autonomy against the brutal Czech central power.

COMMUNIST PARTY FAILURE

So long as a strong Communist Party, comprising workers and peasants of all six nations, pursued a revolutionary policy and actively defended the right of self-determination for the oppressed nations, the chauvinistic, reactionary and fascist tendencies remained unimportant minorities. But as a consequence of the degeneration of the Third International, the Communist Party lost its principal positions to the Czech and German Social Democracy, which since 1929 has been using its newly gained influence to back the Czech bourgeoisie through a coalition government.

The Stalinist Third Period policy transformed the Communist Party into an impotent sect, at a time when the Social-Democratic policy of class collaboration pushed the workers and middle classes of the oppressed nations into the arms of fascism and national chauvinism. Thus it was possible for Henlein's Nazi party to become, even before the taking of power, a real mass movement of the German workers in Czechoslovakia.

The turn of the Communist Party toward a People's Front occurred at the most unfortunate moment. The German workers, in the main, had already made their choice as between National Socialism and Czechoslovakian democracy. On the other hand, the bulk of the Czech workers, disillusioned by the Stalinist brand of communism, had already rallied to their own "People's Front" in the form of Social-Democratic participation in the government.

CLASS STRUGGLE ABANDONED

The only result of the vain Stalinist attempts to become a respectable democratic movement was the stifling of any proletarian attempts to cast off the chains of class collaboration. Thus questions of class struggle were more

and more relegated to the background, while the problems of national conflicts became the vital issue. Here too reformist and Stalinist complicity in the policy of national oppression and exploitation by the Czech bourgeoisie spurred the separatist and fascist tendencies among the non-Czech nations to the extreme.

Now Henlein not only claims independence for the Germans in Czechoslovakia. He becomes the self-styled champion of national liberation for all the other oppressed peoples. In the absence of a revolutionary proletarian movement, which would take the lead in the fight against Czech imperialism within the republic, Henlein's demagoguery gains wide popularity.

It is hardly necessary to point out that behind Henlein stands Hitler. With war approaching, Czechoslovakia has become a vital stepping-stone for German expansion. If Hitler succeeds in capturing Czechoslovakia before the outbreak of war, alliance with the still wavering Poland becomes almost a certainty. The carving up of Czechoslovakian territory at the proper time might well enable Germany to regain the Polish Corridor which, since 1918 has cut off Eastern Prussia from the Reich.

GERMANY'S STAKE IS VAST

As master of Austria and ruler or "protector" of a federated Czechoslovakia, definitely isolated from France and Russia, and with the Czech bourgeoisie deprived of its privileges, Hitler could easily gain domination over Hungary, Rumania and Yugoslavia. Germany's basis of operation would be significantly broadened from the very beginning of the war.

Further, with the subduing of Czechoslovakia, Hitler would come into possession of an invaluable economic hinterland for his war economy. Czechoslovakia possesses 70 per cent of the industry of the former Austrian-Hungarian monarchy, a rich agriculture, abundant sources of coal and metals, and the famous Skoda munitions plants, a serious competitor of German war industry on the continent.

Last but far from least, Hitler's demands for German autonomy ring with military urgency. In the last three years the Czech government has been heavily fortifying the extended German border, controlling the border regions by virtual martial law which concentrated all power in the hands of the military authorities. This military dictatorship of Czech democracy is directed primarily against the German population, overwhelmingly pro-Nazi. In establishing Nazi rule over Czechoslovakia, Hitler would naturally gain command of the Czech fortifications, and thus eliminate any possibility of military resistance from Prague.

MILITARY RESISTANCE IDLE TREAT

Such military resistance is, at best, an idle threat. The Czech General Staff counts, at the most, on a feeble struggle of a few weeks' duration. Along with this technical estimate one must take into account the mortal weakness of an army recruited from six warring nations.

The Czech bourgeoisie is desperately seeking a compromise with Hitler. There are strong "realistic" factions among the Czech capitalists ready to sacrifice the already restricted democratic rights of the broad masses and to join the anti-Soviet chorus. But they encounter serious resistance among the proletarian and middle class strata, who want to preserve their own national and democratic rights after 300 years of German absolutist rule.

The decision of the Czech masses to resist fascist intervention, in whatever form, can play a progressive role only if they are led to a decisive break with the Czech ruling class and its labor lieutenants, who together have made the approaching catastrophe possible.

A movement of resistance steadfastly opposed to the reactionary national policy of the bourgeoisie, under the independent leadership of the working class, would re-awaken the militancy of the masses. Regenerating the revolutionary traditions of the Czechoslovakian proletariat, it would prepare the unification of the workers and peasants of all nationalities, freed from the demagoguery of fascism.

Militant Students Hold Large Anti-War Rallies

Resistance To Patriotic Degeneration Of Annual Anti-War Strikes Is Widespread

NEW YORK—April 27, the traditional day of the student anti-war strikes, found the student movement split in New York City, as the Stalinist-controlled "United Student Peace Committee" held patriotic assemblies, whose function was to prepare the students ideologically for support of the United States government in the coming war.

The militant anti-war students, who were determined to express their firm opposition to the forthcoming imperialist war, denounced these meetings as pro-war mobilizations, and issued a call on the campuses throughout the city for militant, student controlled anti-war strikes, based on the Oxford pledge (no support to any war undertaken by the United States government), opposition to the war preparations of the Roosevelt government, and support of independent action of world labor against the war-makers.

Ready Response

The call found ready and widespread support everywhere. Approximately 5,000 students participated in the anti-war strikes in New York, and in many cases the opposing demonstrations were equal in size.

At Brooklyn college 300 students heard B. J. Widick, labor secretary of the Socialist Workers Party, proclaim the revolutionary struggle against capitalism the only road in struggle against war, while Earl Browder, speaking at the "peace strike" of the U.S.P.C., urged American imperialists to invest their surplus capital in China.

"One of the outstanding features of the economic crisis," Browder said, "is that we have a tremendous accumulation of capital which is lying idle because it cannot find profitable investment.... The only prospect for profitable investment of American capital is China. But if the United States really wanted to put our 13 million unemployed back to work, the United States government should invest about five billion dollars in building up Chinese industry...."

City College Strike

One of the most impressive strikes, took place at the main Day session of City College. Nearly a thousand students gathered at Lewisohn stadium to hear speakers who in general took the stand that students must support the working class in its fight against the war makers.

The U.S.P.C. meeting on the same campus was addressed by William E. Dodd, eminent American diplomat, who urged that America join with other democratic nations to defend democracy, and.... "our foreign trade." Dodd made a special trip from Washington for the tidy sum of \$100.

At the evening session of the same college, two opposing demonstrations were held. Some 800 students rallied to the strike held under the auspices of the "Committee for a Militant Anti-War Strike" to hear Carlo Tresca, editor of *Il Martello*, and Hal Draper, national secretary of the Young People's Socialist League. The Stalinists of the U.S.P.C. were greatly ruffled, and called the police to their

United Front Difficulties

Although in most cases the strikes were conducted by united front committees including all anti-war elements at the colleges, this was made difficult and in some cases impossible, by the facilitation of the Norman Thomas Socialists, who sought to reach "agreements" with the Stalinists.

In all but one college they were forced to break off negotiations in the end, but not due to any difficulty in finding a common programmatic basis, but because the Stalinists were unwilling to give them parity in speakers. Their constant negotiations, causing confusion and delay, hampered the preparations for the strikes greatly.

At the evening session of Brooklyn college the anti-war club, controlled by the Norman Thomas Socialists broke off negotiations with the Stalinists two days before the strike because they could not get speakers, and proceeded to issue an independent strike call. No mention of the Oxford pledge, opposition to Roosevelt's war preparations, or support of independent labor action against war was to be found.

Y. P. S. L. Meetings

The Y.P.S.L. pointed out in a leaflet to the students that there was no essential difference between the two strike calls and that neither could be considered an anti-war strike. An independent Y.P.S.L. meeting was held after school hours.

At New York University the Stalinists and the Norman Thomas Socialists affected a compromise and held a joint meeting with a minimum program—pro-war. The Y.P.S.L. refused to participate and called an independent strike at noon. It was addressed by Bob Stiler, industrial director of the Y.P.S.L. and James Rorty, prominent author.

In the New York City high schools official "peace assemblies" were conducted by the administration, but in a number of the schools Y.P.S.L. circles held independent anti-war meetings.

MASS MEETING ON SPAIN

The crushing of the revolutionary workers of Barcelona in May, 1937, and the present situation in Spain will be the subject of a New York meeting, to be held at Germania Hall, 16th St. and 3rd Ave., at 8 p. m. Sunday, May 15. Speakers will include Harry Milton, an active participant in the Barcelona events, and Max Shachtman, editor of the *Socialist Appeal*.

HOW TO FIGHT WAR

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

OF INTEREST TO "APPEAL" READERS!

What is "the Workers' State"? (see *Sidney Hook's* article on *Semantics* in the April number of the *Partisan Review*.)

What do the Moscow Trials mean to the American intellectual? (see *Philip Rahv's* "Trials of the Mind" in the April *Partisan Review*.)

What is the political significance of Thomas Mann's humanism? (see *William Phillips's* "Humanism in Exile" in the May *Partisan Review*.)

Also in the May issue (just out): Max Brod on "The Boyhood of Franz Kafka," Mary McCarthy on the W.P.A. Theater, stories by Delmore Schwartz and Eleanor Clark.

PARTISAN REVIEW
22 East 17th Street
New York City

SOVIET UNION NOTES

Election Call For R.S.F.S.R. Seen As Move For Extension Of Purge; Shortage of Primary Goods Still Prevails

By JOHN G. WRIGHT

STALIN'S "ELECTIONS"—A COVER FOR WILDER PURGES

The Praesidium of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee has set June as the date for the elections to the Supreme Council of the R.S.F.S.R. These Soviet "elections" will follow immediately upon the termination of party elections now in progress. Their task, like that of all of Stalin's elections, is to extend the purge. The instructions issued in connection with the coming elections are very explicit. We cite a key paragraph from the decree issued by the joint plenum of the Moscow Central Committee and Moscow Regional Committee:

"The conduct and preparation of the elections to the Supreme Council of the R.S.F.S.R. must aid in the successful solution of all political and economic tasks confronting the toilers of the city of Moscow and of the Moscow region, in raising the revolutionary vigilance of all the toilers in the struggle against the rabid enemies of the people, the Trotskyite-Bukharinite agents of foreign espionage services." (Pravda, April 22.)

The meaning of these ominous words is plain enough. More arrests. More executions. More trials—both secret and "public." Judging from the past procedure, it can be stated with virtual certainty that the present wave of arrests will reach its crest early in June, in the days immediately preceding the elections, and that shortly after the elections the next trials will be staged.

THE PARTY PURGE

Meanwhile, the purge of the party continues its course in Krasnoyarsk, in the 15 party organizations that have reported the result of the elections, nine have elected "young Communists" who are holding party posts for the first time." In Leningrad, 370 units have thus far reported new party committees, new secretaries and organizers. In Stalino out of 578 functionaries elected "about one half" are reported as holding posts for the first time; out of 407 secretaries and organizers just elected, 134 are reported as newcomers.

The campaign around this latest party purge is identical in tone with the preparations for the coming "Soviet elections." Pravda boasts that an enormous interest is being evinced in the party elections by "non-party workers and peasants, by millions of non-party Bolsheviks who are firmly united with the party in the joint struggle for communism." Nor does Pravda mince words as to the actual significance of what is taking place:

"The questions occupying the center of attention are the questions of vigilance, of the struggle against the Trotskyite-Bukharinite scum, of the ideological arming of the communists.... All efforts of the party organizations must be directed toward liquidating the consequences of wrecking, rooting out the enemy remnants, and fighting to fulfill the state plans." (Pravda, April 19.)

Appointment of new deputies indicates a purge in the following departments: Commissariat of Justice (under Vyshinsky); Commissariat of Water Transport (under Yezhov); Commissariat of Heavy Industry (under L. Kaganovich); Commissariat of Agriculture (under Eike).

SHORTAGE OF NECESSITIES

(While the Trial of 21 was in progress, and almost at the same time as Zelenski was testifying (and confessing) how he had kept the shelves of Soviet stores empty of such necessities as butter, salt, sugar, soap etc., the Stalinist authorities were conducting an investigation of the trade network. Toward the end of April, Pravda carried a carefully worded report of this investigation, a section of which we reproduce:

"In March 1938 the investigation covered 5,000 stores of the state trade network. About 10 per cent had no soap, and no makhorka (low grade tobacco); 4 per cent were suffering from lapses in the sale of matches; 5 per cent of the stores were without salt. The conditions in the stores of the consumers' co-operatives were even worse. Out of 2,150 stores investigated in March, 11.4 per cent suffered from lapses in the trade with salt; from 3 to 7 per cent of the stores were not always able to satisfy the demand for matches, sugar, makhorka and soap." (Pravda, April 21.)

The "wreckers" had been shot but the population is still without primary necessities. Who is responsible? You know the answer. Pravda insists that this condition is obviously due to fact that the trade network has not been completely purged of "wreckers."

LaFollette Third Party Movement Would Check Workers' Independence

(Continued from page 1)

pense of the standard of living—the hours and the wages—of the working class.

Reactionary Policy

In so far as the Platform deals with foreign policy, its tendency is strongly imperialistic and reactionary, expressing the thought that the American continents, "from the Arctic to Cape Horn" are to be kept under U.S. domination on a direct mandate from the "Creator" who so "ordained" it.

Like the spokesmen of so many of the middle-headed middle class movements launched in recent times by capitalist politicians for the purpose of exploiting and canalizing popular discontent, LaFollette did not forget to criticize the "old" capitalism and to take his stand, presumably, for a "renovated"

capitalist exploitation of the masses. He warned his audience against socialism, communism and fascism, and assured them that he was absolutely opposed to class struggle.

It is already clear that the aim of the LaFollette party is to exploit the disillusionment of the masses over the collapse of the New Deal myth for its own ends. The emphasis placed by its sponsors on their opposition to any class party—that is, a party of the workers, the producers of wealth—is significant indication that the purpose of this party is to prevent the successful development of the movement for independent political action of the American workers which is beginning to take hold in the ranks of labor and which threatens the domination of the old capitalist parties and their satellites.

(See Editorial, Page 4)

Hear
MAX SHACHTMAN

Editor, *Socialist Appeal*

Can A People's Front Stop Fascism?

Manhattan Opera House

34 St. Between 8 & 9 Aves.
Auspices, Socialist Workers Party (Needle Trade Branch)

Monday
MAY 9, 1938
7 P. M.

Questions, Discussion

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LaFollette's New Party

Whatever its immediate prospects may be—and they do not now look particularly bright—the National Progressives of America, the new party launched by the LaFollette dynasty, has great significance.

The deepening social crisis in the United States is breaking down the old party machines and lines, by means of which capitalism has been able to dominate the country for decades. The old Democratic party is breaking up before our eyes under the impact of the crisis. New political alignments are on the order of the day. In these new alignments, the American working class is destined to play a tremendously important part; if it develops in the right direction, its part will be decisive.

Up to the present, the working class of this country has not yet taken the bold and imperatively needed step of independent working class political action, of developing a mass political party of its own, upon which it can rely to fight militantly for its class interests. The unprecedented crisis, the bankruptcy of even the most advanced of the capitalist panacea-mongers—the New Dealers—the organization of the basic industries into powerful unions—these and other new factors are creating the premises for such working class political developments.

Once the American workers have a militant political party of their own—not a piddling party of reformists pleading for mercy on their knees, but a robust party of struggle—they are invincible. No capitalist power could effectively resist them.

Conscious of this danger to their continued dominance, the capitalist politicians and their good servants in the labor movement are pondering the problem of how to head off the independent political movement of the workers, how to canalize it back into the old ruts, how to keep it in harness and in check. On all sides, the feelers and plans and proposals for the formation of a "third party"—that is, another capitalist party that does not have quite the same reactionary stigma that the two old ones have—are calculated to head off the movement for class political action.

The "National Progressives of America"—the party without a program—is one such heading-off movement. Its bosses know that the discontent of the masses is rising; they know that there is a growing disillusionment with Roosevelt and the New Deal. Their aim is to exploit this discontent and disillusionment, not for the workers—they vigorously deny that they will be a party of the workers, and not for a socialist reorganization of rotten capitalist society—for they hate the thought of socialism more than they hate anything else, but for their own narrow political purposes.

It is interesting that Roosevelt, who feels the ground beginning to slip from under him, has not denounced the LaFollette party. He too is not unaware that a new political set-up is required for him and his bankrupt crew to win the coming presidential elections. Last time, for example, it was necessary to corral the New York labor vote under the banner of the pro-Roosevelt (that is, pro-capitalist) American Labor Party, because it couldn't be done, at least not

so easily, under the banner of the malodorous Democratic Party. Next time, in 1940 or even in 1938, the "democratic" capitalist politicians may find it necessary to use a "third party" set-up similar to that of the LaFollettes towards the same end. In turn, the LaFollettes and their blood-brothers elsewhere hope to organize sufficient of a movement to have as a bargaining force, as so many voting cattle to be traded off in the behind-the-doors negotiations in which the capitalist politicians settle their affairs.

The National Progressives have nothing progressive about them. They reflect a genuinely progressive current that is growing among the masses, but they reflect it in a distorted manner. They express this progressive current, but in a reactionary manner. Their aim is to dam and drain off this current so that it does not pour stormily over the crumbling bulwarks of a rotting, bankrupt social order—and there is nothing progressive about that.

The LaFollette party is a challenge—one of many to come in the next period, according to all indications—a challenge to the American working class. It is a demand that the workers, who are moving instinctively towards militant action, towards an aggressive political movement of their own class, should halt and turn back to the leadership of the capitalist class or the middle class—which comes to the same thing in the end. The only effective answer that the workers can give to these gentlemen is a reinforced drive to appear on the political scene under their own flag, in their own organization, with their own objectives, and with the unambiguous determination to war to the hilt against the system, and the parties supporting it, which bring them unemployment, wage-cuts, misery, and war—which cannot either feed, clothe or shelter them, and whose only solution for the "surplus" population is the graveyard of the battlefield.

China's Victories

With the Chinese victory at Taierchwang, in southern Shantung, still reverberating around the world, the invading armies of Japanese imperialism are experiencing new difficulties in their attempted drive toward the Lunghai Railway—difficulties which offer prospect of developing into a severe rout.

After the loss of Taierchwang a month ago, the Japanese command was compelled to withdraw troops from Shansi in the West in order to fill in their shattered lines in southern Shantung. The weakened Japanese fronts in Shansi are now reported to have been completely shattered, while difficulties continue to pile up on the Shantung front.

Chinese advances deal fresh blows to the false notion of Japanese military invincibility upon which the morale of the Japanese peasant soldiers is so largely sustained. They are also a stirring tribute to the fighting qualities of the Chinese soldiers, their matchless courage, their splendid spirit of opposition to conquest by the imperialist bandits of Dai Nippon.

The entire world of labor and especially the revolutionists will greet China's victories. But the war against the Japanese imperialists for China's freedom is far from over. We have pointed out before and we emphasize again that inspiration for final victory can only come from the unfolding of a far-reaching social program for the Chinese masses—a program which will give them a more vital interest in the war. Without this, the victories now being won will remain only episodes in a struggle whose end can only be defeat—if not by Japan alone, then by Japan's market-hungry rivals.

The scope of Japan's difficulties can be seen from the fact that the Japanese Government is already obliged to invoke the provisions of the Mobilization Law, which will place the country under a virtual military dictatorship.

More defeats for Japanese arms in China will inevitably stir revolt in Japan, where the masses are being saddled with the entire cost of Japan's imperialistic venture.

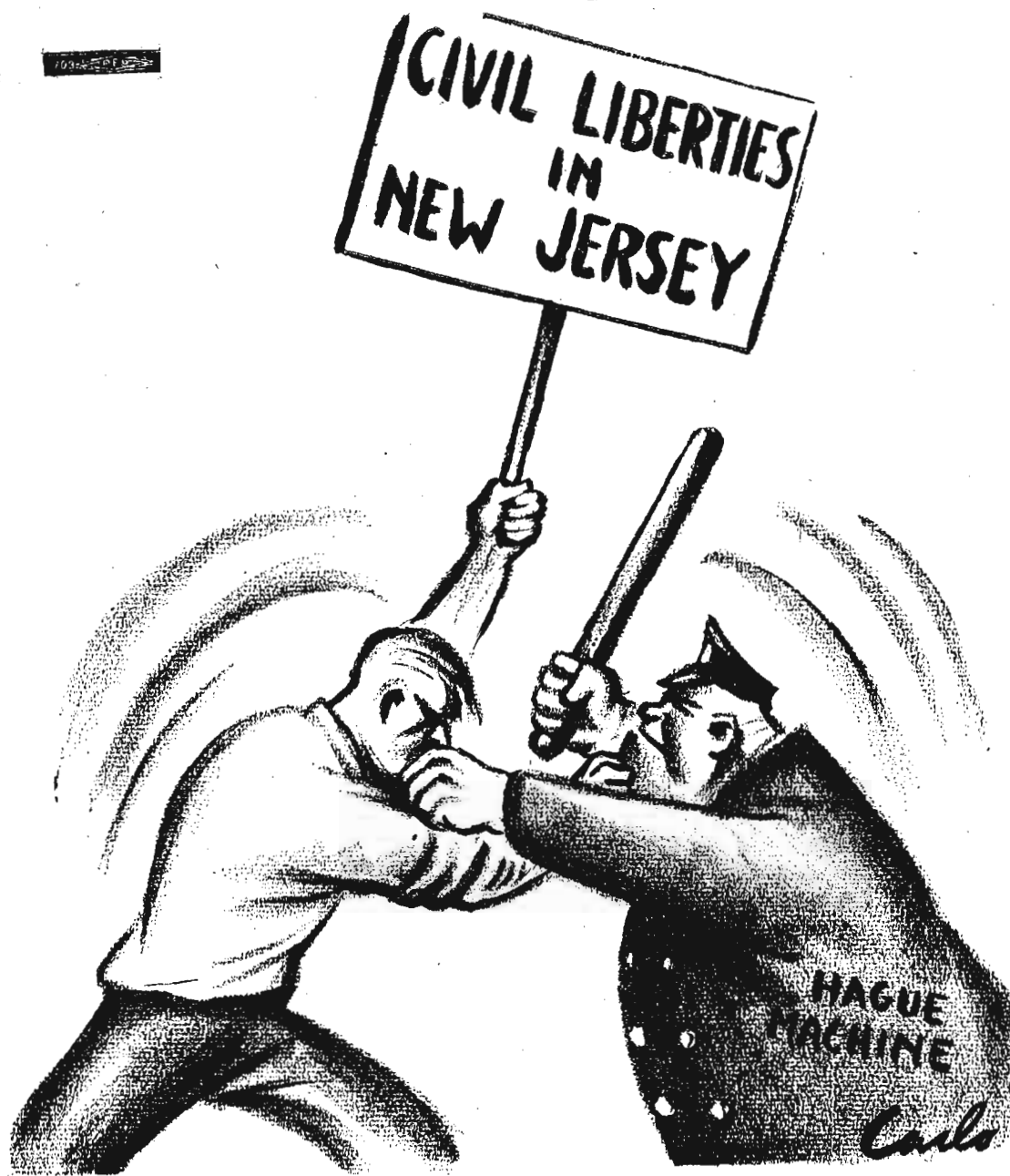
Rubber Union Considers New NLRB Project

AKRON—Most of the points in the proposed arbitration plan for the rubber industry advanced recently by James P. Miller, regional director of the National Labor Relations Board, have now become a subject of negotiations between the Goodrich Tire and Rubber Company and the Akron local of the United Rubber Workers of America. By far the most significant of the proposals is the one regard-

ing the arbitration board. In Miller's lengthy document much space is used to show how "democratic" such a board would be. For example: "There have been various attempts made in the past to establish such tribunals. Some have been most effective while others failed because they were wholly or in part sustained by some benevolent sponsor. Such tribunals could not function impartially because they became subsidized entities, or were so limited in scope they lost their forcefulness." This board, subsidized by "workers" (not by union) and

the employers, would consist of three men, who would hold office for five years. Besides a labor and a boss representative on the board, the third man would be chosen by the other two. As one militant unionist said, "the desubsidized" of the rubber workers would be finally decided by this third man—a non-union man, and his decision would be binding, as the proposal indicates. Moreover, even "individual workers" and the employers would have the right to appeal to the board, not to mention "independent unionists." No strike could be conducted pending the board's decision.

Labor Has Strong Arms, Too



Inside the N. Y. Painters' Union

1. The Painting Industry Today

The following is the first of a series on conditions among painters in New York and the problems of militants in the Painters Union.

Among the industries hardest hit by the economic crisis tearing at the vitals of the country since 1929 are those grouped under the general heading of building trades. The building booms of previous years which gave rise to an aristocracy of labor organized into job-trusts—better known as the building trades craft unions: bricklayers, carpenters, plumbers, painters, etc.—are gone, never to return again as long as capitalism exists. No amount of "pump-priming," no amount of artificial stimulation through paper housing schemes by the New Deal messiahs has in the slightest degree alleviated the sorry conditions in this field. Nor is there any prospect of genuine improvement—although the majority of the population lives in squalid hovels unfit for human existence—as long as the basis of economy remains the profit motive rather than the needs of the masses of the people.

Building trades unions, previously basing themselves upon new construction work, are now kept alive mainly by alteration and maintenance work—a field which had been left entirely unorganized before the depression. Although the unions have by and large ceased being "job trusts" and opened their books, this new field of operation still remains, in the main, unorganized.

Difficulties of Organization

Thus, for instance, in the painting industry, out of a total approximating 50,000 men employed, no more than 11,000 are members of the Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers in New York City. The character of the industry is such as to make organization extremely difficult. First, because there are no plants or areas—as in other industries—to concentrate on. Every building, every ship, every structure in the city is a potential shop for the painter. Secondly, painting contractors are so numerous that it is almost impossible to keep track of all of them. Anyone who has a small capital can invest it and become a painting boss.

Yet, the industry must be organized if even those meager union standards that exist in some shops are to be maintained. For, many hotels, banks, insurance companies, real estate firms—who control the largest share of maintenance and alteration work in the city—employ maintenance workers who for a monthly wage of anywhere from \$60 to \$90 do the painting in the buildings where they work. The Brotherhood, which has agreements with a number of contractors organized in the Master Painters Association and with

some independents, has practically no foothold in the field dominated by the hotels, banks, insurance companies etc.

Effect On Wages

Official union wages are set in the standard agreement at \$10.50 per 7-hour day. Actually, wages in union shops range from \$10.50 down to \$7 and the hours from seven up to eight or more per day, on the basis of a 5-day week. Non-union wages range anywhere from \$3 to \$6 per 8-to-10 hour day, on the basis of a 5½-to-6-day week. From these figures, it is not difficult to see the disastrous effect that conditions in the unorganized field have upon actual union standards.

Additional factors that make enforcement of union conditions possible only by means of the strictest union vigilance are: 1. The tremendous unemployment which—with its concomitant misery and desperation—makes for the keenest sort of competition for the available jobs; 2. The very short season in the trade, accentuated by unemployment, reducing the yearly income of the worker who must find other jobs at any price to supplement it; 3. Close contact with the employer, because of the smallness of the shops, fostering rivalry between the workers for the favor of the boss during the slack season—a condition in which the "kick-back" flourishes.

Speed-Up Aggravated

The recession which is, of course, a basic problem for workers in general, is further aggravated for the painters by the human speed-up which increases in the industry as the crisis deepens. The mad scramble for profits and the indifference of the union leadership has resulted in a complete disregard for the health and safety of the painter on the job.

Among the many technological changes that have taken place in the trade, such as the introduction of new materials processed in the factory, patent paint products, etc., all of which multiply over and over again the hardship of unemployment, the most dangerous of all is the employment of the spray-gun. The use of the spray-gun not only reduces considerably the labor time required, but calls for practically no skill and moreover, constitutes a tremendous new health hazard in a notoriously hazardous trade. This serious threat to the very existence of the painters and especially, to union standards, has to date met only with a lax, do-nothing attitude on the part of the union leadership.

Job Competition

Among the union bosses, there is cut-throat competition on practically all jobs. The difference between the high bid and the low bid varies tremendously. Many factors enter into the bid-

ding, but the determining factor is the wages paid in the shop. Other factors are chiseling on the specifications such as applying two coats of paint where three are called for, the possibility of bribing agents, petty graft, political pull, etc. The boss therefore selects from the painters who come into his employ those who are willing to work at less than union conditions as a pliable, permanent nucleus for his shop.

These conditions created a body of men who, while members of the union, are forced by economic pressure to be dependent upon the "good will" of the boss. The failure on the part of the union administration to concern itself seriously with the question of protection for the man on the job brings about the following situation: the painter who is most union-conscious, most insistent that union standards be maintained, finds himself at the mercy of the more backward elements.

The influx into the trade during the depression of a great number of new men, some of whom have joined the union, and whose knowledge of the trade is limited, confronts the union with new problems. The bosses naturally attempt to use this influx as a labor reserve for the purpose of lowering wages in general. They stress the inadequate skill of the new men in order to club them into acceptance of sub-union standards, and not without effect.

Favoritism Practiced

The backward elements and a good section of the newer union men, who have many potential militants among them, not only seek the favor of the boss, but find it necessary to seek the favor of the union administration as well. How the Stalinist machine in control of the union, deliberately fosters violations by the bosses of the agreement, corrupting the newer union men through favoritism and vicious practices, on the one hand, and strengthening the reactionary, disintegrating tendencies, on the other hand—that will be dealt with in detail in articles to follow.

An examination of the record of the Stalinist administration in the union and of the background upon which it has arisen will reveal why the first step for the painters in solving their great difficulties is the removal of this scourge from its dominant position in the District Council of the Brotherhood.

YPSL Committees Will Slug It Out

What promises to be the battle royal of the imperialist epoch will take place this Sunday, May 8, at Tibbets Brook, when the Y.P.S.L. National Committee locks horns with the District Committee in a hot and heaving game of indoor baseball. For the National Committee:

S.W.P. Labor Secretary Gives Account of Tour

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

Traveling through the main industrial centers of America during the past two months, when the Hitler seizure of Austria, the third Moscow trial and the acute economic crisis weighed heavily on the minds of the people, we were afforded an excellent opportunity to study the reaction to these significant events.

In the New England area with its many "ghost towns," the main topic of conversation with union leaders was the critical situation in the newly-formed C. I. O. unions. The hammer blows of the depression, combined with the inexperience of the unionists, was creating havoc in the unions. Many were falling apart. Wage cuts, lay-offs and the miseries of unemployment and insecurity were facing most of the industrial workers, six years after they had backed Roosevelt and the New Deal as the hope of their salvation.

Attitude To Trials

A little incident in Philadelphia illustrated the reaction of the American workers to the third Moscow trial. Two workers were talking about Krestinsky's repudiation of his confession and his subsequent retraction the next day.

"Hell, what else would you expect after the guy spent another night in Stalin's jail. You'd talk plenty, too," one of the workers said. Skepticism was prevalent everywhere, but little real interest was found. The workers were too occupied with their own pressing economic problems to worry much about another trial.

The political situation in Pennsylvania, complicated by the C.I.O.-A.F. of L. fight, has one amusing aspect, a railroad porter told the writer. "Last summer Governor Earle was our leader, and now we are supposed to vote against him," he said. It was treason to the C.I.O. to criticize Earle's strike-breaking actions in the Bethlehem strike a year ago. Now it is treason if you praise him.

Fight for Existence

The depths of the present crisis reflect themselves in the contrast between the state of the C.I.O. union movement of one year ago and today in the Ohio region. In those earlier days the name C.I.O. sounded invincible. The spirit of the workers soared sky-high. Today the unions are having a grim fight for existence. The defeat of the Little Steel strike and the mass lay-offs in the Mahoning valley steel region have been heavy blows. In Salem, Ohio, one steel lodge has maintained its strength. Its leadership is militant and progressive. It is free from Stalinist influence.

In Akron the impression is gained that another Goodyear strike is on. Headlines scream of the dispute between the United Rubber Workers and the companies. The radio is filled with pro or anti-union speeches. Feeling is as tense as during the critical moments of the Goodyear strike. The class struggle rages furiously.

Goodrich threatens to abolish 5,000 jobs unless wage cuts are accepted. Businessmen demand that the unions take the cuts. The rubber workers stand pat. The bosses cannot understand why all the anti-union propaganda has not smashed the U.R.W.A. Unless one has been through the strike and sit-down struggles, it is impossible to know how unionism has been burned into the souls of the gamblers in the fires of picket lines.

Workers' Control Needed

The rubber workers want jobs, decent wages, and security. The industry is only operating at 30 per cent. If it were running full blast, thousands would still be unemployed because of technological advances. Unions alone cannot solve the problems. There is but one answer to the rubber workers' problems and most people are afraid to mention it: Workers' control of production.

In Akron as in Lynn and other branches where the party's main orientation is the trade union movement, one finds a different spirit among the comrades. They are working hard, they feel the

Drip Draper, Stinky Stiler, Droopy Demby, Swede Erber, Mugsy Krack, Gabby Gould, Oh Barsh, Popeye Palla, Gugu Garrett.

For the District Committee: Red White, Boopus Miller, Toots Jager, Stretch Forster, Yappy Mason, Milk Bottle, Rip Rader, Hebe Herman, and Label Becker.

Meet 10 A. M. at Woodlawn I.R.T. station. If weather is wet, save rainchecks. No rebates.

class struggle in their day to day activities, they drive forward despite many obstacles. They are confident of the future.

Republic Steel opened a new plant in Cleveland the week we were there; 2,000 men will do the work of 16,000 and the steel will be of a higher quality in this modern factory. This example illustrates the entire problem of technological unemployment facing the union movement.

Characteristics of Detroit

Detroit is the center of three things today: the auto industry, the largest number of unemployed industrial workers in proportion to population, and the most ambitious program of the Stalinist party in America. The C.P. is concentrating its leading forces here in an effort to rule or ruin the United Automobile Workers of America. That leading red-baiter, Richard Frankenstein, first vice-president, is their candidate in the battle against Homer Martin, whose blast against the C.P. pro-war line has had a telling effect in the ranks of the auto workers.

Our party contains some very fine auto union militants. It has a great task ahead in this C.I.O. center. The comrades are working hard to overcome numerical weakness. In Detroit, hundreds and not tens are necessary to give the working class powerful leadership.

It was a pleasure to see "new" faces at the anti-war meetings the branches held in the middle-west. A young rubber worker joined the Y.P.S.L. in Akron after the rally. Some auto workers attended the Cleveland meeting. A Stalinist militant listened attentively at the Toledo meeting.

Stalinists Applaud

Sixty steel workers came to the Indiana Harbor anti-war gathering. Plenty of rank-and-file Stalinists were in the audience. The C.P. organizer took the floor. It was an exciting evening. The C.P. members applauded our attacks on the C.P. line!

The entire area around Chicago, heart of industrial America, presented a tragic picture of the plight of workers under capitalism. We went to the scene of the "Little Steel" strike massacre. One of our comrades still suffers from wounds sustained in leading the workers' defense. The union never recovered from the defeat in that strike. Mass lay-offs were another blow. While the finest industrial plants in the world waste away, hundreds of thousands of workers exist in misery resulting from unemployment. The S.W.P. has its roots in a strong shop committee at a large plant. A young proletarian branch is active at Indiana Harbor.

The Stalinists in the United Electrical and Radio Workers in the Chicago region are having a tough time these days. Two locals adopted the anti-war resolution of the Minneapolis Central Labor Union. Young Chicago comrades are doing a good job there.

In Minneapolis

Minneapolis seemed different than the rest of the country. It is an exception. The Stalinists are conspicuous by their absence from the main stream of the labor movement. The unions are still on the march, while elsewhere in the country the unions are at best in strategic retreat. Watch Minneapolis for hot developments when many union contracts come up for renewal next month. The St. Paul branch did a real job in the recent primary and is an up-and-comer in party circles.

How did the workers and other people react to Hitler's Austrian coup? We watched them read the newspapers intently at the factory gates before ringing the clock card. In movie houses, dead silence except for our boo was maintained as newsreels showed the Nazi seizure. The nightmare of another world war loomed before them. Pacifism and isolationism are very strong, conversations with union militants revealed everywhere, in the Middle West.

While it is a bit early in the middle-west for political campaigning, Labor's Non-Partisan League has ambitious plans in Ohio and Michigan for the fall elections. The League is packed with Stalinists who fight viciously every attempt towards independent working-class political action. Advocacy of that slogan becomes "Trotskyism."

Our conclusion from the tour was a simple one: Even greater emphasis on and attention to the immediate problems of the American workers and concentration on activity within the unions will help build our party along proletarian lines.