

WORKERS OF THE  
WORLD UNITE!

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## Stalinists Put To Flight By UAW Board

Frankenstein-Browder Combination Collapses  
Completely; Union Errs, However, In  
Supporting Governor Murphy

### PROGRAM GETS UNANIMOUS VOTE

DETROIT, May 16.—Not since the collapse of the frame-up campaign in the Minneapolis Corcoran case have the Stalinists been put to so complete a rout as at the current Executive Board sessions of the United Automobile Workers of America.

The report of President Homer Martin and his twenty-point program was accepted without a dissenting vote.

The grand strategy of Richard T. Frankenstein, supported by his Communist Party allies, to outlaw the democratic rights of groups and caucuses went a-begging for supporters, without a single soul daunt enough—not even Frankenstein—to present it to the Executive Board for consideration and action.

To cap the climax, every member of the Executive Board, including those previously associated with the Unity Group, acting voluntarily and with no compulsion or coercion of any kind brought to bear upon them, affixed their signatures to the program presented by Martin.

On Factionalism

In his report to the Executive Board, covering numerous topics ranging from contractual relations with the employers to the internal condition in the union, Martin struck a fighting note in his discussion of the mooted issue of factionalism:

"Our union," he declared, "is and must remain a democratic organization. Just as all members should participate in making decisions, so all members should participate in carrying out these decisions once they are made. There should be freedom of discussion and opinion in our ranks. This is as it should be. However, democracy is not confined merely to freedom of discussion. Democracy also means that out of this discussion and an exchange of opinion, a cause, a program and a policy is agreed upon, which all unitedly support. This is the real meaning of unity. This is the only way for democracy to function and the only basis upon which an enduring organization can be built.

Real Democracy

"Let us state again that there can be no danger to our union when free discussion is not only permitted but encouraged. The danger to the union lies in the degeneration of healthful differences of opinion on the basis of real issues into chronic opposition for the sake of opposition itself. Real democracy in a union demands the rights of minorities to freedom of discussion and expression and their protection from arbitrary repression. Factions and factionalism cannot be eliminated by decree. Factionalism can be eliminated only through the adoption and execution of a constructive program and policies which every active union man and woman will support."

Economic Crisis

Further on in Martin's report there is another very thinly veiled slam at the mythical "sit-down strike of capital" theory advanced by the Communist Party. In discussing contractual relations with the corporations Martin declared:

"Some of the criticism directed against the union has been based on a false estimate of the economic situation. These people would cry that there was no economic crisis (only a "sit-down strike of capital"—Ed.) and hence the union could adopt exactly the same tactics which it followed in the spring of 1937. Later, when forced to admit that the crisis was a reality, they turned the tables and argued that the union was going down to defeat

## PROGRESSIVES SHOW GAINS IN PAINTERS' POLL

Get Majority In Three  
Locals In Union  
Referendum

NEW YORK.—Awakening opposition to the Weinstock regime in the New York Painters Union resulted in important gains for progressives as voting on the maintenance proposition proceeded in the locals this week.

The proposition, with a "flexible wage scale" that means undermining the standard scale of the regular painters, met with serious resistance in all locals and was defeated in several.

Close In Local 51  
In Local 51, Frank Carey, backed by the Progressive Club, rode into office over the Weinstock-backed candidate, Carl Lawson, in the by-election to fill the office of financial secretary. In this local, a member of the Stalinist "club" was slugged two weeks ago when he dared differ with the "party line." This brutal attack split the ranks of the Stalinist-controlled "Unity Club."

Where Stalinists Scored  
Where the open ballot was used, as in Locals 848,892, 905 and 442, the Stalinists were able to roll up big majorities for Weinstock's proposition. On the other hand, in the locals where the secret ballot was used, the opposition was able to score victories over the administration.

The contrast reveals the reasons behind the desperate fight against the secret ballot in the last referendum. It is clear that in a secret ballot, free from intimidations and gangster methods, the membership would make short shrift of such misleaders.

Paper Appears

The first issue of *The Progressive Painter*, organ of the progressive clubs in the various Locals in the New York District, is off the press this week. Formerly relying on mimeographed bulletins, the consolidation of the clubs into an inter-local conference has made possible a printed newspaper.

The paper is edited under the supervision of the Action Committee of the inter-local conference, and promises to play a real role in exposing the reactionary policies and methods of the Stalinist regime in control of District Council 9.

## "NO RIDERS!"



## U.S. Imperialism Shows Aerial Might Over N. Y.

Japan Envisioned In Maneuvers As Actual Enemy  
In Coming War; Air-fleet Defects To Be Used  
As Lever For More War Appropriations

NEW YORK.—The aerial might of American imperialism was put on display here this week as the maneuvers of the Army's General Headquarters Air Force ended exercises which extended over a week, following closely the navy exercises in the Pacific.

Bearing witness to the fact that the Roosevelt government considers U.S. involvement in war nearer than at any time during the past 20 years, every endeavor was made in the air force maneuvers to simulate, as closely as possible, actual wartime conditions.

Farmingdale Blacked Out  
On Monday night, the village of Farmingdale, L. I. and all territory within a five-mile radius was "blacked out" while pursuit planes and anti-aircraft artillery, aided by airplane detectors and powerful searchlights, beat off a simulated bombing attack on the Seversky airfield. Next morning all the planes assembled in the east for the maneuvers gathered at West Point, flew to Mitchell Field for an aerial review, and then passed in formation over New York prior to returning to their bases in various parts of the country.

Headed for War  
It is thus obvious that, in the first place, the aerial maneuvers and their results are to be used as justification for voting additional huge air force appropriations—in other words, to accelerate the war preparations program of the Roosevelt administration.

Roosevelt has no doubts, even if the pacifists have, that U. S. imperialism is headed for war—not a simple war of defense in which operations would be restricted to preventing "aggressors" from invading the continental United States—but a war of imperialist aggrandisement.

Wrote Baldwin of the air maneuvers: "The present problem... supposes that a 'Black' coalition of European powers is attacking our Northeastern states while the

methods, is exposed; the views of the "Neuer Weg," a German emigre group; "Common Sense," the American publication of pseudo-liberals; Max Eastman's views; the pragmatists, et al.

Trotsky's article demonstrates how, once a certain aim is accepted, certain means are unavoidable. For instance, there are those people who object to "lying," but these same people justify the Spanish Government for hiding the date and place of the meeting of the Cortes, both from the press and the people, in order to avoid bombardment by Franco.

Not An Abstraction  
But actually, Trotsky's review demonstrates, it is not a question in the abstract of the end justifying the means, but rather of one and the other flowing into each other and changing places, as illustrated in the drama "Franz von Sickingen" by the German, Frederick La Salle.

Methods, Aims Discussed  
The attitude of various groups and individuals who reject the Bolshevik position on the question of methods and aims by a vulgar misconception of the actual Bolshevik attitude, but who actually practise impermissible

## COAST SAILORS VOTING ON AFL ENTRY PROPOSAL

Stalinist Wrecking Drive  
in CIO Forces Seamen  
To Seek Support

SAN FRANCISCO.—Faced with the onslaught of the combined Stalinized C.I.O. maritime groups, the Sailors Union of the Pacific voted last week to place the question of affiliation to the American Federation of Labor before the rank and file for action and decision in the coming weeks.

The question will be placed before the membership for four consecutive meetings of all branches. The first week's voting resulted in overwhelming support for affiliation in all branches on the West Coast.

On the West Coast, where the strongest section of organized labor is in the A. F. of L., the militant seamen seeking to maintain their unions against the "splitting" drives of the C.I.O. unions under the domination of Harry Bridges have consistently received support from the major A. F. of L. unions.

The move for affiliation comes as the tactics of the Stalinist union-busters have reached the stage of open warfare. Picket lines of the S.U.P. are being broken by force, as Bridges &

(Continued on page 2)

## In the June 'New International'

### Trotsky on "Their Morals and Ours"

The June issue of *The New Internationalist* will feature a special and important article by Leon Trotsky, entitled "Their Morals and Ours." Trotsky reviews in an exhaustive manner the problem of aims and methods of the labor and revolutionary movements and, in defining revolutionary morals and ethics, polemizes with various tendencies of the labor movement.

The article, which will take up more than one-third of the space in the June issue, concerns itself also in good part with the philosophical aspect of this question as well as with the political and other aspects. Dealt with is the so-called Jesuit principle that the end justifies the means, as supposedly "unscrupulously" employed by the Bolsheviks.

Methods, Aims Discussed  
The attitude of various groups and individuals who reject the Bolshevik position on the question of methods and aims by a vulgar misconception of the actual Bolshevik attitude, but who actually practise impermissible

methods, is exposed; the views of the "Neuer Weg," a German emigre group; "Common Sense," the American publication of pseudo-liberals; Max Eastman's views; the pragmatists, et al.

On earth are path and goal that each with the other Their places ever change, and other paths Forthwith another goal set up."

Importance of Aim  
The conclusion drawn in Trotsky's article: what is important is revolutionary aim; revolutionary aim involves revolutionary means; and above all the dialectical approach rather than mechanical separation which, in actuality leads to more "lying," etc. by the so-called moralists.

In this connection, Trotsky shows the justification in certain circumstances of so-called conspirative work in trade unions dominated by red-baiters and reactionaries. The philistine attitudes of persons like H. G. Wells are dealt with, likewise the views of groups such as the Belgian Socialists, on this decisive question.

The foregoing remarks indicate in fragmentary manner the subject matter of this significant article.

## Chamberlain Seeking New Status Quo

Wants Understanding  
With Germany At The  
Cheapest Price

Great Britain's drive for a new "status quo" is being conducted with irresistible vigor. In Geneva Lord Halifax emerged as victor—though with little glory. The cases of Ethiopia and Spain have been dropped, according to the dictates of British and French diplomacy.

The course of the session of the League of Nations Council proved, if such proof was still needed, that treachery and violation of the weak is far from being the prerogative only of "fascist" imperialists. Ethiopia, China and Spain demonstrated irrefutably that not only the "ideals" but also the legal stipulations of the League demand their defense.

"Democrats" vs. Aggressors

The cold rejection of the appeals from these victims of imperialist aggression by the representatives of democratic England and France proves only that the latter's real conceptions of "law" are not at all different from those of Mussolini, Hitler and the Mikado.

Only through the miserable deception of the masses perpetrated by the Second and Third Internationals can it be pretended that collective security is anything but a cover for the maintenance of the world autocracy of the Versailles imperialists. If the latter preserve the bankrupt League, it is only to use it in case of war as a means of social patriotic mobilization.

Without losing any time, Britain continues to change the map of Europe. Now she is preparing to break the back-bone of another League member, Czechoslovakia, whose president was one of the outstanding lackeys of Geneva. No doubt, once everything is settled, London will once again demand post factum sanction from the League.

Hold Secret Talks

Over the head of official Czech diplomacy, London has started secret discussions with Konrad Henlein, leader of the Sudeten German Nazis and uncrowned ruler of Czechoslovakia. As far as Jan Masaryk, the Czechoslovakian ambassador to London, is concerned, the bourgeois press reports, as a kind of consolation, that he has at his disposal in London the "best organized intelligence service," which keeps him informed of the latest moves of Chamberlain and Henlein.

The aim of British diplomacy is to pay the cheapest possible price for a transitional understanding with Germany. More precisely, Britain wants to build "peace" on the broken backs of others. What she desires, above all, is to prevent Germany from being forced to subdue Czechoslovakia with violence.

To be sure, Chamberlain hopes (Continued on page 3)

## Mexico Ends Its Relations With Britain

Action Follows Insolent Demands By Britain;  
American Unions Must Give Strongest  
Support To Mexican Workers

### FASCIST REBELLION FOMENTED

Following the reception of an insolent note from the British government, in which the latter dared to dictate the domestic affairs of Mexico as it does to countries under its own colonial administration, the Cardenas government last week severed diplomatic relations with Britain. Great Britain was compelled to recall its minister from Mexico City.

Thus the conflict with private oil companies now assumes the form of an open conflict between states. The U. S. State Department, which so far has attempted to remain in the background, will now have to take a more straight-forward position.

Many symptoms indicate that there was a division of labor between Washington and London in the offensive against Mexico's attempt to gain greater independence from imperialism. While Britain tries to encourage the audacity of the Mexican reaction through provocative diplomatic acts, the American imperialists have chosen the method of economic strangulation.

Naturally, the last word lies with the United States. To be sure, Britain is her most dangerous competitor in Latin America, and the Anglo-Mexican tension can become a splendid opportunity for American imperialists to shut the door to the British in the name of the Monroe Doctrine and the "good neighbor" policy, as well as to subdue Mexico still further under the pretense of saving her.

Broader Considerations  
But elements of broader international policy might as well enter into the picture. The secret dealing between London and Washington, in respect to the Far East and joint "defense" of the Atlantic, plus the added pressure of Standard Oil, might well force Roosevelt to postpone the Latin American "strife" and to make common cause with Britain against Mexico, at least for the time being.

In this case the main line of action would most likely be the policing of Mexico in the internal conflicts which threaten. The economic situation of the country is rapidly worsening. The reserves of the state bank are dwindling. The peasantry is in dire need. The employers, who would like to see a more reliable representatives of their own class at the helm of government, are closing factories and reducing wages. In answer, the workers' organizations have threatened to break the truce forced upon them by Cardenas.

Concentrating Against Cedillo  
Among the students, who are always an important thermometer in gauging the political temperature of a country, riots have broken out at the University of Mexico City. In San Luis Potosi, the seat of the reactionary General Cedillo, who has at his disposal a strong private army and upon whom the hopes of Mexican reaction are pinned, strong concentrations of government troops are taking place. The reactionary press publishes rumors about the impending resignation of Cardenas, and speculates about his possible successors.

Too many internal and external factors are involved to allow a certain prediction of coming events. The possibility of sudden and violent turns, generally characteristic of our imperialist epoch, now applies with especial force to Mexico. The Mexican workers are vigorously determined to defend the expropriation which they forced. Any retreat on this point would lead to civil war. So would the continuation (Continued on page 3)

The Integralistas

Like the Nazis in Austria, the Integralistas considered themselves robbed of the fruits of their own counter-revolutionary activity. Up until his coup d'etat of November, 1937, Vargas had used the Integralistas as a shock brigade against his presidential rival, A. de Salles Oliveira, an exponent of British imperialism who played the democratic tune. But the influence of the Integralistas became too dangerous for Vargas' own power. Having expropriated their essential program in promulgating a corporatist state, Vargas was able to attack his erstwhile allies all the more energetically. The Integralistas were soon driven into illegality.

The hostility became sharper when Vargas frustrated the premature hopes of the German backers of the Integralistas, and strengthened his ties with Washington—naturally, for good American dollars.

The Brazilian ambassador in Washington has taken this strife between two species of fascist counter-revolution as proof-by-example of the "democratic character" of the Vargas regime.

## UAW Head Supports Mexican Strikers

DETROIT.—Support for striking workers in Henry Ford's Mexican assembly plant was wired to the Confederation of Mexican Workers last week by President Homer Martin of the United Automobile Workers of America.

"Ours is a common struggle to insure higher wages and better working conditions in the industry and to bring industrial democracy and freedom to the machine-driven, boss-ridden unprotected Ford workers," Martin wired to Mexican labor leaders.

# Stalinists Routed At UAW Executive Meet

### Browder-Frankensteen Combination Flops Completely

(Continued from page 1)

by accepting certain agreements because prosperity was "right around the corner."

The stand of the auto union against the danger of imperialism was found prominently in the report of the president. Here again the advocates of collective security took a sound drubbing:

#### Opposes War

"Our struggle against the reactionary legislation of the type of the Sheppard-Hill Bill or the May Bill has been based on the fact that Labor sees in such plans the danger of bringing Fascism into our country, which will lead to the destruction of our unions and the undermining of our standards of living. Labor has learned that it must struggle against the industrial and financial plutocrats in order to earn better wages and to work under decent conditions. Labor is not deceived by propaganda to the effect that it must go to war to protect the money bags of these same interests who are trying to undermine American working conditions by employing coolie labor in far-off Asiatic countries."

Two points of the program concretize these remarks by stating definite opposition to the Sheppard-Hill and May bills and favoring the passage of the Ludlow amendment. As on the other points of the program, no articulate opposition was heard from the known sponsors of Roosevelt's quarantine program. In other words, Wyndham Mortimer is now committed to go before the workers with a program he took public exception to in the "United Auto Workers" about two months ago. He stated in a letter to the paper that his vote on the war resolution, adopted at the last Executive Board meeting, was falsely reported in the paper. In this letter, among other things, he opposed that section in the resolution which called for the withdrawal of U. S. armed forces from the war-torn waters of the Far East. Let them remain there, he wrote, as long as Japan keeps her gunboats in the same area. This meeting of the Executive Board was Mortimer's opportunity to correct false impressions. He failed to take it. Apparently principles are not the strong point with these people.

#### Reasons For Retreat

What accounts for the helter-skelter retreat of the fake "union saviors" who were going to rescue the U.A.W. from a "crisis deeper than that of the current economic recession"? One month ago they were adopting resolutions for the "removal of Martin and his gang" and the calling of a special convention for this purpose. One week ago, the Detroit District Council of the U.A.W. was presented with a resolution from a Toledo local calling on the local to cease paying per capita to the International if Frankensteen's anti-democracy proposals were not adopted at the Executive Board. After all this preparation and campaign, it was only logical to expect at least a little fireworks. Instead, the Executive Board sessions found the "crusaders" stricken utterly speechless. Your correspondent can venture two reasons for this change of heart. In due time, no doubt, their full strategy will come to light.

1. The Stalinists and Frankensteen were banking on a split between Homer Martin and John L. Lewis. They believed that Martin's critical and independent position on the question of C.I.O.-A.F.L. unity would push Lewis on the war-path against him. Here they thought was the perfect set-up for the little crucifixion party they had been planning since Martin's campaign against their violently pro-war policy.

2. With Frankensteen a respectable front and peace and an end-to-factionalism the tender theme song, the Stalinists had hoped to capture control of the union with as little publicity as possible. The membership was to be treated to the spectacle of a very quiet and very orderly revolt against the "factionalist" Martin.

#### Both Miffed

In both cases their calculations went awry. Firstly, for various reasons which space does not permit dealing with in this article, Lewis refused to throw his influence on the Frankensteen scales. Instead, the two representatives he sent to the Board meeting showed a strong pro-

## UAW Adopts 20 Point Program of Activity

The following 20-point program, submitted by President Homer Martin, was unanimously adopted by the International Executive Board of the United Automobile Workers of America.

1. Recognition by all members of the International Union of the responsibility and authority of the International Executive Board and the International officers, subject to the Constitution, which is the basic law of the Union between conventions.
2. The guarantee of democratic rights of local unions, consistency with the Constitution and the welfare of the membership of the International Union as a whole.
3. Maximum responsibility in carrying out joint agreements with employers.
4. Cooperation of all officers and members of the Union in the prevention and elimination of wild-cat stoppages and strikes.
5. Continued effort to elevate standards of living, improvement of working conditions, and reduced hours of work.
6. Mobilization of the entire union against wage reductions and undermining of the gains already achieved.
7. Vigorous drive to obtain closed shop contracts in all plants within the industry.
8. Launching of comprehensive drive to organize competitive plants.
9. Full mobilization of the Union in support of all legitimate authorized strikes.
10. Intensive activities in behalf of federal and state legislation in the interests of Labor.
  - a. Federal Wage and Hour Bill.
  - b. The Wagner-Healy Act.
  - c. Federal housing legislation.
  - d. Federal appropriations for relief.
11. Opposition to anti-union legislation such as
  - a. Sheppard-Hill Bill or May Bills.
  - b. Amendment of National Labor Relations Act.
12. Strengthening of drive to organize aircraft workers of the nation.
13. Active prosecution of Ford organization drive on nationwide scale.
14. Intensification of campaign to organize W.P.A. workers.
15. Building of strong local and International treasuries as a reserve of strength to the Union, by avoidance of all unnecessary expenditures, to provide maximum available funds to carry on organizational activities.
16. Maximum participation of all local unions in Labor's Non-Partisan League. In Michigan, support of Governor Murphy for re-election.
17. Pledge of continued whole-hearted support to the policies and principles of the Committee for Industrial Organization, including regular and prompt payment of per capita tax as a fixed obligation of the International Union.
18. Constant resistance to war propaganda, and cooperation with all sincere efforts to keep America out of war. Support of LaFollette-Ludlow Amendment as a guarantee of Labor's democratic right to determine whether or not it will wage a war of aggression abroad.
19. Program of close cooperation between organized industrial workers and organized farmers. Encouragement of bona fide cooperative movements.
20. Assumption by all International officers of full responsibility for carrying out the program and policies of the International Union.

Martin bias. Secondly, the glaring searchlight of publicity on the fact that an alliance did exist between Frankensteen and the Communist Party combined with the exposure of the anti-democratic nature of the program, sent these peaceful gentlemen flying for cover. The Socialist Appeal played an important role in unmasking the real situation to the rank and file of the union.

The twenty-point program (printed elsewhere in this issue) is a comprehensive plan of action and with one important exception it by-and-large fills the bill. It calls for a mobilization of the entire union against wage reductions and undermining of the gains already achieved and for all full mobilization of the union in support of all legitimate strikes.

2. It calls for a drive to organize competitive plants, the aircraft industry and an active continuation of the Ford Drive.

#### No Support for Murphy!

However, approval of the union program must be accompanied by unambiguous opposition to the political plank which calls for the support of Governor Murphy, a capitalist candidate, for re-election in Michigan. This support undoubtedly coincides with the views of the top C.I.O. and Labor's Non-Partisan League leadership and reflects the sentiment of large numbers of Michigan's auto workers. But that does not make it right. Support of a capitalist candidate led to a catastrophe for the C.I.O. steel union in Ohio. The workers of Michigan will have to learn from their own bitter experience that they can rely only on their own independent action in politics as well as on the picket line.

It must also be noted that Martin's strictures and reasons for the non-ratification of the membership of the supplementary agreement with General Motors miss the mark entirely. The fact that the union was in a tough spot with General Motors, that the previous supplementary agreement had not been ratified either, and that John L. Lewis approved the procedure is no explanation for circumventing the most vital democratic process in the union. The assurance of

## Vigilantes Attack WPA Picket Lines

CAMDEN, N. J. — Vigilantes, armed with shotguns, rifles and clubs, last week, drove striking W.P.A. workers from the municipal gravel pits at Lindenwood, twelve miles southeast of this city, as the strikers attempted to pull W.P.A. gravel workers off the job.

The vigilantes, about 160 strong were summoned to the gravel pits by a pre-arranged siren blast, sounded when the strikers appeared. Fifty special officers were sworn in and borough officials said 60 others were available.

About 3,500 workers are on strike in the Camden area, protesting against a staggered work week that needlessly forces men to work Saturdays on W.P.A. projects.

## COAST SAILORS VOTING ON AFL

(Continued from page 1)

Co. resort to "goon squad" measures against the West Coast sailors.

Conditions and terms laid down by the S.U.P. in seeking affiliation will guarantee full autonomy and rank and file control. democratic rights will be meaningless unless this procedure is drastically revised in the future. Basically, however, in its significant and important features the program is progressive and probably the most thoroughgoing in the entire C.I.O. The Stalinists are now definitely in retreat. But the big job of isolating and destroying their pernicious influence in the ranks is still ahead. This can be done—and more important the union can get a big push forward—if the program is pressed vigorously throughout the union.

## STALINIST THUGS BUSY IN AKRON

AKRON.—Taking a page from the book of Mayor Hague's police and the Ford Service Department, a crowd of 30 Stalinist hooligans descended upon three S.W.P. handbill distributors last night as they were passing out the Open Letter to Communist Party Members in front of a C. P. state convention mass meeting here, and tore up 400 leaflets condemning the gangster murders of the Russian Old Bolsheviks.

The hoodlums, shouting "Don't read the Trotskyist poison" and even going so far as to snatch leaflets out of the hands of their own party members, threatened to beat up our young comrades while shoving them around in the gathering crowd.

The Akron-Times Press the next morning carried a front page story on the Stalinists' vicious attack, quoting partially from a S.W.P. statement that "this is a good commentary on the type of democracy in which the Communist Party believes." While the hooligans were doing their anti-working class work outside, the C.P. orator inside was calling for immediate severance of diplomatic relations with Germany and Japan—i.e., for the immediate launching of imperialist war!

## N. Y. Teachers' Union Fights Council Edict

### Unionists Have Duty To Back Move For Reinstatement

NEW YORK. — Recently the Executive Board of the Central Trades and Labor Council, meeting in executive sessions, suspended Teachers Union, Loc. 5, with a membership of over 6,000, from that body on the ground that the local had "usurped" the power of the Central Trades and Labor Council and overstepped its authority in calling a conference of A. F. L. locals for the purpose of discussing ways and means of attaining unity between the A. F. L. and the C.I.O. The Teachers Union was not informed of the action pending against it and hence had no opportunity to present a defense. Furthermore, the Council's Executive Board action was ratified at a meeting of the Council, when only a handful of local delegates were present, in the form of a motion to accept the minutes of the Executive Board—without debate and without an opportunity for the defense to be heard.

#### Reinstatement Sought

At present, the question of the locals' reinstatement is pending before that body, and it is important for all trades unionists to realize what issues are involved. First of all is the question of the right of local bodies to discuss the unity question, the most important question before the trade union movement. Secondly, the right of local bodies to call unofficial conferences for the purpose of attaining worthy objectives is being jeopardized.

It has become a tradition in the labor movement for unions to call unofficial conferences on unemployment, relief, housing, school construction, defense of strikers and strike relief, defense of political prisoners, aid to labor victims of fascism, etc. If a local trade union body can be suspended for initiating a call to a conference, then no unofficial conference to promote any cause can be called without incurring the threat of suspension.

It goes without saying that it becomes the simple duty of all trades unionists, regardless of differences, to place the question of the reinstatement of Local 5 upon the agenda of their next membership meeting and to obtain the passage of resolutions calling upon the Central Trades and Labor Council to rescind its action. In doing so they will not only defend a traditional right, but will assist the Teachers Union, which at the present is also under attack by reactionary school supervisors and their political associates because of this suspension.

**SUBSCRIBE NOW TO THE SOCIALIST APPEAL**

## Ford 'Union' Refuses To Leave Scene

### Workers Vote Affiliation To U.A.W. But Company Union Lives On

DETROIT.—Wm. S. McDowell, Sr., attorney for the Ford Brotherhood of America, company-controlled union, announced recently that the brotherhood had proposed to the Ford Motor Co. a \$1,500 minimum wage for Ford workers. Several weeks previously, the "brotherhood" held the only meeting since its inception, where a motion for affiliation to the United Automobile Workers was carried and incorporation—controlled officers removed. The National Labor Relations Board in its "cease and desist" order to Henry Ford, condemned the F.B.A. as a company-dominated union.

But the F.B.A. has not faded from the picture. Neither motions for U.A.W. affiliation, nor N.L.R.B. decisions, nor removal of officers have made the original officers veer from their planned course.

McDowell Contradicted McDowell's contention that his union "was recognized as a bona fide labor organization in the decision of the National Labor Relations Board on the Ford Motor Co. case" last December is emphatically contradicted by Harold R. Cranefield, regional attorney for the N.L.R.B. Says Mr. Cranefield, "Mr. McDowell's remarks are directly contrary to" and "he distorts the language of the decision... The Board's order was to condemn the F.B.A. as not representative of the employees because it was dominated by the Ford Motor Co."

A worker in the Ford plant has little trouble deciding whether the F.B.A. is company-controlled or not. Last summer, leaflets of the brotherhood were distributed on Ford property—at the gates of the company. No riots or beatings occurred. There was no attempt to hinder the distribution. No unusual number of service men were present. The company expected no trouble. On May 26, however, U.A.W. men came to distribute literature.

#### Slugged and Beaten

The distributors were slugged and beaten. Pictures taken by reporters were, where possible, destroyed by service men. And yet the distributors, as well as those who came with them—person, N. L. R. B. officials, leading U.A.W. people—had every interest in preserving order. But the company expected trouble. They expected to provoke trouble in the hope that the U.W.A. Ford drive would thus be stopped in its tracks.

Within the plant, it is common knowledge that pro-U.A.W. talk is not healthy. But during the summer F.B.A. members wore their buttons openly and membership solicitation went on during working hours. Today this is not the case only because the Liberty Legion has taken the F.B.A.'s place. A Ford worker knows that the bosses are not interested in him. But what can he do about it? The F.B.A. has done nothing for the Ford worker. Neither has the U.A.W. He knows the F.B.A. is a company union. But is the U.A.W. a workers' Union? Only this lies unanswered in his mind.

Ford would like to confuse both the N.L.R.B. and the worker in order all the easier to quash the board's decision and to continue the same oppressive regime within his plant. This is the only reason for McDowell's statements and proposals.

#### Wages and Markets

McDowell, however, pulled a boner when he asked for a \$1,500 annual minimum wage. Harry Bennett, service department head, tried to cover up by saying: "An annual wage would be a very fine thing, but who is going to guarantee the company an annual market to support employment for any specific period? It is the market which determines employment." Henry Ford, too, is forced to defend himself: "You can't have an annual wage until you have an annual market." These gentlemen are telling the worker that they cannot guarantee him \$29.00 per week. And what does Ford offer as a solution? "All we need to do is to continue the way we are going." With higher prices, lower wages, more lay-offs and neglect of "duty"? With intimidation of workers and beating of union organizers? With company unions and scabs? But even Ford does not want to continue exactly the same way: "If Government will get out of the way and give natural American enterprise a free swing it will do the job." He wants, we

## CLEVELAND RELIEF CLIENTS SIT DOWN

CLEVELAND. — The relief crisis in this industrial center took a new turn this week when the unemployed staged a sit-down in the Council chambers at City Hall in an effort to force the city and state administration to alleviate the misery and starvation facing 75,000 unemployed.

Thousands of people have been cut out from the rolls and have been storming relief headquarters demanding the right to live. Failure of the Ohio legislature and the Democratic and Republican politicians in this state to provide funds to give adequate relief caused the crisis.

Already the pressure of the industrial workers in Cleveland, Akron, and Toledo has forced Governor Davey to call a special session of the legislature to consider the problem.

## AMALGAMATED URGES UNITY OF C.I.O., A.F.L.

### Clothing Workers Hear Pleas For Peace Among Unions

ATLANTIC CITY.—The convention of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America meeting here voted this week to give renewed aid to the C.I.O. and to seek peace with the A.F. of L. when a satisfactory basis could be found.

The resolution on C. I. O.-A. F. of L. unity was adopted unanimously. It said: "The needs of the labor movement demand unity. However, unity to be of real service to the labor movement must be based on the perpetuation of the gains which the C.I.O. has so brilliantly secured."

Backed by convention decision, Sidney Hillman, president of the Amalgamated, is in a good position to proceed in pressing for labor unity. The approval that John L. Lewis gave to Hillman's approach to the unity question when Lewis spoke at the convention, indicates that the C.I.O. will continue making efforts to achieve unity.

Hillman made a bid for White House favor when he introduced a resolution giving complete support to Roosevelt's policies. It was passed unanimously.

## Philadelphia SWP Activists Confer

PHILADELPHIA, Pa.—Delegates from seven Socialist Workers Party branches in this area attended an active workers' conference held here last Sunday to set up a provisional district organization.

B. J. Widick, labor secretary of the S.W.P., reported on the plenum of the national committee, and the discussion on trade union work also was featured on the agenda.

Branches represented included: Philadelphia, Allentown, Quakertown, Sellersville, Baltimore, Reading and Williamsport. Thirty-five persons attended, including special youth representatives.

## ANNOUNCEMENTS

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

### NEW YORK

PINS AND NEEDLES! A theater party for the SWP and Pins and Needles will be held on Wed. eve. June 1, and Tuesday eve. June 7. Tickets, all at \$1.65, can be secured from Miller or Paine by leaving an order at the City Office, 116 University Place.

SONGS AND BEER IN AN OUTDOOR GARDEN! The party has taken over the Terrace Beer Garden with its dance floor, orchestra and outdoor garden for festivities on Saturday eve. June 4 from 8 P.M. on. Admission at the door 25c. 1110 2nd Ave. (50th St.)

### LOS ANGELES

SPECIAL FOR THIS WEEK ONLY. SUPPRESSED TESTAMENT OF LENIN, notes by Leon Trotsky. 10 cents. Orders filled promptly. 5 cents extra for postage. Modern Book Shop, 509 1/2 W 4th St., Los Angeles

### WANT ADS

SINGLE ROOM for rent on Riverside Drive, near 125th St. Very Reasonable. See S. Stanley at City Headquarters for Details.

presume, to go back to the days of Hoover. But the workers even chose the paltry relief of Roosevelt rather than the "prosperity around the corner" of Hoover. You can't live on promises forever. And now it is Roosevelt's turn to become as unpopular as Hoover, and for the same reasons.

## Toledo Unions Move To Aid Struggle of Jobless

### Growing Crisis Puts Organization Of Unemployed On Agenda Of Industrial Council

TOLEDO, Ohio.—The past few months in Toledo have demonstrated the truth of the contention of the Socialist Workers Party that it is the fundamental obligation of the trade union movement itself to organize the unemployed and W.P.A. workers, in whose ranks are hundreds of thousands of unionists, if millions of American workers in the months to come are to be saved from the worst features of misery and starvation which characterized the Hoover regime.

Already the Toledo Industrial Union Council has taken certain initial steps in this direction, but in a hesitant and loose fashion.

Pressure on the leaders of the C.I.O. from thousands of unemployed and desperate members has brought a certain recognition of the problem and a sincere attempt on the part of most of the leaders to do something about the situation.

#### Crisis Deepening

Despite their efforts, however, the unemployment crisis becomes more acute each day, and the unemployed are being subjected to increasing indignities and abuses, both from the W.P.A. officials and the local relief authorities.

On W.P.A., lost time, pay cuts for the office workers, dismissals on the flimsiest excuses, tyrannical abuses on the jobs by petty bosses, all make life a hell for the project workers. Relief is just a slow freight to starvation, ringed round by so many red-tape obstacles that a worker is lucky if he can hop it at all.

There are two fundamental reasons why the C.I.O. has been unable adequately to cope with the problem. The first is that except for one poorly devised effort, no genuine attempt has been made to organize the unemployed and W.P.A. workers themselves, and to direct in co-ordinated, disciplined fashion the militant pressure of the sufferers. Secondly, the penetration of Stalinists and their reactionary ideas into the top ranks of the C.I.O. has put a crimp into the natural militancy of the workers and has tamed fighting leaders who have risen from the ranks, but who have little experience with unemployment problems.

#### Militancy Curbed

Several demonstrations have been called, but in each instance

the obvious desire of the workers to put on an aggressive display was curbed. A demonstration was held recently at the County Court House in conjunction with the now thoroughly discredited Workers Alliance. Scarcely 800 workers attended, although thousands of unionists, with records as fighters, are suffering from abject poverty and eager for a show-down scrap.

Not the passivity of the workers, as the Stalinists would have us believe, but the passivity and timidity of the leaders, and the Stalinist attempt to sell-out the workers to the Roosevelt share-the-poverty program have made the C.I.O. unemployed members disgusted.

While thousands of workers suffer, precious weeks go by, and the Stalinists in the C. I. O. hamper the real job of organizing the unemployed, by directing the C.I.O. into expending funds and energy to rehabilitate the Workers Alliance, which the Stalinists have dragged from a peak membership of almost 2,000 dues paying members less than a year ago to no more than 300 today.

#### Organize the Unemployed!

It is the job of the C.I.O. to boldly proceed to charter in its own ranks and under its own direction the W.P.A. workers, making arrangements at the same time to keep the present C.I.O. unemployed members within the ranks of their international by a required system of exempt stamps. Secondly, it must recognize that support of Roosevelt's program can lead only to defeats and further misery for the workers.

For it is clear to the workers who suffer the miseries of unemployment, if not to their leaders, that Roosevelt's program is primarily one of subsidizing big business by taxes indirectly levied on the workers, giving the workers only crumbs and a pat on the back. A militant, organized mass fight, aimed directly at the national administration, is the only possible way of securing immediate W. P. A. jobs, adequate wages and working conditions, and higher relief.

**ASK FOR THE APPEAL AT YOUR NEWSSTAND**

## Appeal Army

No sooner said than done! Last week we asked why the weekly sub-rate could not be raised above 30¢. And here comes the answer this week: It can! If this keeps up, the business manager won't be having those traditional headaches because of the summer let-down. Here's the total score for last week:

NEW YORK CITY	15
Minneapolis	9
California	4
Missouri	2
Massachusetts	2
Michigan	2
Connecticut	2
Ohio	2
New Jersey	1
Texas	1
Kansas	1
Chicago	1
Pittsburgh	1
Miscellaneous	4
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>47</b>

#### By the way, before we forget,

Sam Friedman won first prize in the last Appeal sub drive, with Freddie (Tom-Boy) Drake running him a close second. Both of them are in New York City. Sam collected a total of 27 subs which netted him a copy of "60 Families." Freddie still hasn't made up her mind what she wants. She says she's read them all!

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**THE NEW INTERNATIONAL Monthly Marxist Magazine — SUBSCRIBE NOW! —**

# U.S. Workers Must Give Strong Support to Mexican People

## Powers Foment Fascist Revolt

### Insolent British Notes Get Sharp Reply From Mexico

(Continued from page 1) of the present silent but effective economic blockade of Mexico by the British and American imperialists.

#### Revolutionary Position

In this issue there can be no doubt about the position of revolutionary Marxists. Without renouncing for a moment their principled opposition to all capitalist governments, they stand firmly behind the concrete anti-imperialist moves of the Cardenas government, ready to defend them with the methods of independent proletarian mass action. Each step forward in shaking off the imperialist yoke, every inch of retreat on the part of the imperialist conquerors, is an aid to the emancipation of the proletarian and peasant masses.

The enemy is powerful. Neither the Mexican government nor the Mexican working masses can win the battle if they remain isolated and without aid. The task of organized labor in America is to forge a fighting solidarity with the Mexican drive toward liberation.

Every trade union must protest against the arrogant provocations of British diplomacy!

Every trade union must invite labor organizations throughout the world, and especially in England, to organize demonstrations in favor of Mexico!

#### Cease the Blockade!

Every trade union must call for the immediate sending of a broad labor commission to Mexico by the Trade Union International, to unmask the actions of the imperialist exploiters of Mexico labor!

Every trade union must call for immediate dropping of the demands for "compensation" of the foreign oil and agrarian magnates who have plundered Mexican soil for decades! Hands off Mexico!

## Chamberlain Works For Cheap Deal With Hitler

(Continued from page 1) that "there would be either no resistance or such ineffectual resistance that France would be faced with a fait accompli before she could mobilize." But since this hope is too uncertain, everything must be done to permit German conquest of Czechoslovakia "without force at all—either by a treaty of agreement or slow economic strangulation." To assure this course, Chamberlain, heading a government devoted to the League, now favors a surgical operation which would give Germany the rich and fortified regions of Sudeten Bohemia. However, this dictatorial behavior of Britain on the Continent only flows from her steady retreat within her own empire and the shaky situation in her internal social life.

#### Empire Cracking Up

Britain's dominions, above all Canada, Australia, South Africa and Egypt, manifest increasing tendencies towards independence in matters of foreign policy. In China and Latin America the British lion is under heavy attack. Even after the Anglo-Italian agreement, the Arabian movement in Palestine—apparently directed against the Jews, but in essence a revolt against the imperialist yoke—continues to operate in full force. In India, civilizing British bombs rain heavily upon the heads of the colonial slaves. To gain a free hand within its empire, the British bourgeoisie throws to its competitors the bones of Ethiopia, Spain and Czechoslovakia.

It must be added that Britain's material as well as "moral" rearmament lags far behind. The productivity of the armament industries, despite a gigantic propaganda machine, develops only at a straggling pace. Even the collaboration of the trade unions in the augmentation of exploitation meets with no enthusiastic response from the workers.

Numerous attempts to launch a voluntary mass recruitment for the army, navy and civil

aerial protection, as a preparation for obligatory military service has yielded meager results. The British masses are fired with a spirit of resistance to the imperialist war preparations, although they have not yet gone beyond the stage of militant, reformist pacifism.

#### Elections Show Trend

In all the bye-elections of recent date the Conservatives lost out against the Labor candidates. So far as the latter are concerned, they serve to transform the reformist pacifism of the masses into the imperialist pacifism which strives for "armed peace." They have adopted as their guiding spirit none other than Anthony Eden, former foreign secretary who for his part scrupulously avoids any active opposition to Chamberlain's new course.

Thus, for the present, there exists a perfect division of labor between the right and "left" conservatives, the liberals, the laborites, and the insignificant but noisy Stalinists. But even this clever scheme does not suffice to check the vague, heterogeneous but powerful mass resentment against the approaching imperialist war.

## SHACHTMAN TALKS AT BOSTON MEET

BOSTON.—Two well-attended meetings, one held in Roxbury and the other in Boston, with Max Shachtman as the principal speaker, climaxed an energetic anti-war campaign conducted by the Boston local of the Socialist Workers Party during the past three months.

During the campaign, several thousand copies of the party's anti-war manifesto were distributed to workers at forums and trade union meetings. Regular Sunday night forums of the party were devoted to the fight against imperialist war, and anti-war pamphlets and copies of the anti-war issue of the Socialist Appeal were widely sold and distributed.

## World Bank Hits Myths Of New Deal

### Reports Shows Futility Of Planning Under Capitalism

The Marxist contentions that economic planning is impossible under capitalism, that national economic self-sufficiency is an illusory utopia in the modern world, and that the current "recession" is in actuality a major down-swing in the economic cycle, received authoritative recognition in the annual report of the Bank for International Settlements (the "World Bank") issued last week by its new president, J. W. Beyen.

The report deals at length with the United States, and stresses particularly the close economic and financial relationship between the U.S. and the rest of the world. "The interdependence of modern countries is so great," the report states, "that economic nationalism... does not make them free to move independently of each other."

#### Upswing Fails

The 1937 depression, according to the report, "originated in the United States." "A parallel" to features of the new depression "can be found only in the most acute depression ever known." Capitalist government planning and spending, attempted on an unprecedented scale by the Roosevelt Administration, did not provide a durable basis for an upswing. "It has proved to be infinitely more difficult to direct the trend of economic life" than might have been anticipated before the New Deal experience.

In its own way recording the appalling bankruptcy of declining capitalism, the report warns of the formidable "threat" that a few large or even normal crops may endanger the stability of the market, and suggests that only drought conditions can "save" the price structure. That is, the report points out that capitalist economy would today be thrown into chaos if there were sufficient food to eat; it cannot permit enough food to be grown.

#### Stalinists Deny It

The Daily Worker, interestingly enough, was compelled to claim that accounts of this report published in the N. Y. Times were a fraud and forgery. The World Bank's cold and impersonal conclusions, written up for the benefit and guidance of international finance-capital—and therefore scientific and accurate without the assumptions of a continuing capitalism—contradict flatly the major theoretical props of Stalinism: the theory of socialism in one country, which denies the interrelationship of modern world economy; and the theory of planning and progress under democratic capitalism which is the necessary foundation for the tactics of the Popular or Democratic Front.

are bringing action against Weinstock's henchmen in that local for the alleged stealing of votes during a referendum conducted there last Friday night. That the membership is up in arms against this type of "democracy" may be ascertained from the vote on a referendum for the use of the secret ballot on all questions, sponsored by several locals recently. With all its job favoritism, with all of its control of the union machinery, the Stalinist administration managed to defeat the use of the secret ballot by a majority of only about 400-500 votes among a membership which they claim has reached the 15,000 mark!

A large section of the rank and file of the Painters Union thus expressed its distrust of and opposition to Stalinist "trade union democracy." And no wonder. Two years of Weinstock rule has completely disillusioned them.

#### Union Divided

From the unanimity that prevailed in 1936, the situation in the union has developed into one that sees the membership divided over serious questions affecting their every-day life. Normally a healthy discussion could easily re-establish unity in the ranks and bring about an acceptable solution to the problems facing the painters. With the Stalinist leeches on their backs, the members of the Painters Union have a far more difficult task. By bureaucratic methods, that have seeped into the union like a vicious poison, by suppression of democracy, by inti-

## Is Bluecher the Next On Stalin Death List?

### Purge Hits Closest Aides and New Batch Of High Officers; Judicial System Found Filled With Criminals

Stalin's purge has put its clammy hand on Marshal Vassily Bluecher, commander of the Red Army in the Far East and long heralded as a solid bulwark against the threat of Japanese imperialist aggression against the Soviet Union.

Bluecher himself has not been brought under direct attack. But—and this is almost equally as ominous—his entire top staff has been "liquidated" and replaced by new men.

It was learned in Moscow on May 17 that Bluecher was being provided with a new chief of staff, Army Commander Stern replacing General Vassentsovitch, a new political commissar, Chulga replacing Mazepov, and a new commander for the Maritime Siberian district, Gen. Podlask replacing Gen. Levandovsky.

#### New Army Changes

This was the same process followed prior to the liquidation and shooting of Marshal Tukhachevsky last June. Since that shooting many of the generals and admirals who formed the court martial for Tukhachevsky and the seven generals shot with him have since trod the same path. Will it now be Bluecher's turn?

Sweeping changes have once more been announced in the commands of key military districts throughout the Soviet Union. These posts have changed hands three or four times during the past year and even during the past few months.

Generals Khozine, Kovalev, Katchelov, Tomulenev and Apansenko were appointed to replace Generals Pavel Dybenko, Bielow, Gribov, Kuibichev and Petrovsky, in the Leningrad, White Russia, North Caucasia, Transcaucasia, and Central Asia military districts. The purge of Dybenko and Bielow has been known for some time.

At the same time a sweeping judicial department, the same department which, together with the G.P.U., has been in charge of the thousands of arrests, trials, and executions, during the past two years.

#### Soviet "Justice"

Those now named as "enemies of the people" included Pruss, assistant prosecutor of the U.S.S.R. in charge of special cases, i.e., treason, counter-revolution, espionage, and other crimes against the State. In the Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic alone 1,000 new appointees to the judicial offices have been made. More than 500 judicial officials were denounced as perverts, criminals, drunkards and embezzlers. Among the districts affected were Azov, Strivedlovsk, and Transcaucasia.

These facts must throw the apologists for the Moscow Trials into a deeper dilemma, if that were possible.

If we are to accept the official Stalinist version, the following conclusion would seem inescapable:

The trials of the Old Bolsheviks were organized by the former head of the G.P.U., later designed as a fascist agent, Yagoda.

The purges were conducted "legally" by prosecutors, of whom 500 are now designated as former White Guards, perverts, criminals, embezzlers or drunkards.

The executions were carried out by firing squads commanded by military chiefs who are now designated as fascist spies.

In a word, according to the Stalinists, the Old Bolsheviks and other blood-purge victims were framed, tried, sentenced, and executed by arrangement among Hitlerites, Japanese spies, perverts, thieves, drunkards... and the Beloved Leader!

## On Mothers' Day C. P. Corrals Sons For War

CLEVELAND.—With bands playing "Over There" and the national colors flying in profusion, the American League for Peace and Democracy paid its tribute to the mothers of America in a super-patriotic "Peace Parade" on May 8.

The main slogan carried by the 3,000 marchers was "Quarantine the Aggressor—F.D.R." Other slogans were "Christians Demand Peace," "Masaryk and Wilson Created a free Czechoslovakia—Help Defend It."

The parade was marked by a complete absence of any trade union groups, except for a pitifully small group from the International Ladies Garment Workers Union. This despite the fact that the Stalinists completely control the Cleveland Industrial Council, local C.I.O. central labor body.

#### The Marchers

Such organizations as the Cedar-Central Sewing Club, the Albanian Workers' Literature Society, and the Inter-settlement Mothers' League were present in profusion. The color for the parade was supplied by the Negro Elks Band, which put on a show as it cake-walked down Euclid Avenue to the delight of small children. The inevitable Boy Scout division was also present in full regalia. Add the Spanish Popular Front Clubs of Cleveland and vicinity, the Chinese benevolent protective Association (in Cadillac V12's) and the picture is complete.

The only bright spot in the day's proceedings was the distribution to the paraders and watchers of the anti-war manifesto of the Socialist Workers' Party. Surprisingly enough, the leaflet distributors were not molested, although there was a bit of under-the-breath cursing.

## AFL Takes Unions Out Of Labor Party

NEW YORK CITY.—The cause of labor unity was dealt a blow recently when the Central Trades and Labor Council was forced to withdraw support from the American Labor Party, by order of George Meany, president of the state federation of labor.

Charging that the A.L.P. was the New York version of Labor's Non-Partisan League elsewhere, and that it was the political instrument "which is trying to destroy the American Federation of Labor," Meany ordered the council to instruct all affiliates to withdraw from the A.L.P.

#### 600,000 Affected

This action affects approximately 600,000 members of A.F. of L. unions. Little militant opposition to these reactionary moves developed at the Council meeting attended by over 250 delegates. Opposition forces failed to call for a teller vote when the voice vote showed the body equally divided on the motion sustaining Meany's orders.

The attitude of the A.F. of L. bureaucrats in seeking to smash the A.L.P. is thoroughly reactionary, since it comes as a blow from the "right." Militant unionists have consistently fought to turn the A.L.P. into an instrument of independent political action for the workers.

The future course of the American Labor Party will be determined partly by this withdrawal of A.F. of L. support, and the forthcoming action of the I.L.G.W.U. towards the C.I.O. generally.

ASK FOR THE APPEAL AT YOUR NEWSSTAND

## ANTI-WAR MOTION GETS NEW SUPPORT

COLUMBUS, Ohio.—The anti-war resolution passed by the Central Labor Union of Minneapolis, representing 50,000 organized workers, has acquired a new supporter in the Columbus local (No. 27) of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, representing some 100 workers, which has unanimously endorsed the resolution.

The resolution was introduced by a militant worker who spoke before the union on "Roosevelt Heads for War." After pointing out the logical trend of Roosevelt's foreign policy, the speaker analyzed the slogan of "collective security," showing its real significance as the mask for imperialist war preparations. To the slogan of "collective security," he counterposed independent working-class action as outlined in the Minneapolis resolution.

Endorsement of the resolution took place at the following meeting of the local, with the president of the local urging its adoption. There was a brief discussion, followed by a unanimously favorable vote.

## Lewis Conceals Anti-Labor Acts Behind Left Talk

### Speech At A. C. W. Meet Designed To Keep His Influence

In a speech paralleling in many respects his recent radio message to England, John L. Lewis last week addressed the Amalgamated Clothing Workers' convention on the subject of the current depression and the perspectives of labor.

What is remarkable about both of these speeches is the extraordinary contrast between Lewis' analysis of conditions in this country, on the one hand, and his proposals for action on the other.

#### Reflects Workers' Mood

In tone and content, his analysis reflects the bitter and radical mood of the workers feeling the full brunt of the depression. "The 13,000,000 (unemployed) will not always be content to take the crumbs from Lazarus' table and watch their children die because some politician, some industrial leader who gets \$200,000 a year, or some banker, who is stoop-shouldered from clipping coupons, pronounces vengeance...."

Lewis described the ravages of the depression and openly expressed the revolutionary or near-revolutionary tendencies which these stimulate. In the radio address, he spoke of the workers and farmers being inclined to take over the government if things did not improve.

But when it comes to his own proposals, Lewis speaks not with the voice of the workers, whose moods he reflects only to keep his influence among them, but in the name of the masters he ultimately serves: in the name of the bourgeoisie. The New Deal again, all trust in Roosevelt, a little relief; the same Roosevelt and the same New Deal which led the nation during its depression against which, in words, he inveighs so sharply.

#### Pseudo-radical Oratory

Lewis likewise advocates Phillip Murray's proposal for a meeting, to be called by Roosevelt, at which spokesmen for industry, government, and labor would get together to cooperate on "a rational program."

With the help of his pseudo-radical oratory, Lewis is trying desperately to prevent the workers of this country from learning from the new depression that their only "rational program" is not to get together with "industry and government" for the sake of "cooperation," but to rely on their own strength to fight against industry and the government for their own class aims.

## GAS WORKERS GAIN IN NEW CONTRACT

MINNEAPOLIS.—Over 400 workers of the Minneapolis Gas Light company made important gains in the new two-year contract signed last week between the company and the Gas Workers Union Local 20490.

The new contract grants paid vacations of two weeks each year. The former pact gave only one week. Formerly employees had only five days paid sick leave; under the new agreement they are given ten days.

Wage increases, amounting to 5 1/2 per cent in the lower brackets and tapering off in the higher brackets, were also won.

## Hague Rule Is 'Local Police Matter'—F.D.R.

### Roosevelt Skirts Pleas For Action Against Jersey Fuehrer

Last week Boss Hague followed up his cheap victory at Journal Square on May 7 with fresh blows at his adversaries. His chief victim was the liberal Rabbi Benjamin Plotkin, whose congregation was evicted from its meeting place at the Jewish Community Center through the pressure of the Hague machine upon its officers.

The president of the Community Center, Judge Morris E. Barison of the Hudson County Juvenile Court, and the treasurer, Louis W. Jacobs of the Jersey City Board of Education, are both Hague office-holders.

#### He Criticized Hague

Rabbi Plotkin has been one of the most outspoken opponents of the Hague regime in Jersey City. He has criticized Hague's despotism at numerous meetings and last year publicly denounced him for his ban on picketing during the seamen's strike. His recent appearance in court as a character witness for John Longo, convicted last week on a trumped-up charge of filing "fraudulent" nominating petitions for the anti-Hague ticket at the primary elections last fall, was the immediate cause of his eviction.

Norman Thomas was again denied a permit to speak at Journal Square and signified his intention of testing the ruling of the Jersey City "Director of Safety" in the courts. At the same time the effectiveness of court action was tested when Federal Grand Jury in Newark voted "no indictment" on the complaint of the American Civil Liberties Union that their letters had been illegally opened and photostated by Hague's police.

#### Roosevelt Declines To Act

Judge William Clark of Newark denied Jeff Burkitt's application for a review of his six-months' sentence for attempting to speak without a permit in Hagueville.

Meanwhile President Roosevelt, petitioned by the liberal press, the Stalinist Vito Marcantonio, and Norman Thomas, to intervene against Hague, washed his hands of responsibility for the national vice-chairman of his own party. Queried whether he would take any action either as chief executive or as head of the Democratic Party, he replied that Hague's actions were purely a local police matter, and that Postmaster-General Farley, National Democratic Committee chairman, would answer for the second. Farley, it was later reported, answered that he was powerless to act on the technical ground that Hague had been legally elected by the Democratic Convention. Thus do these watchdogs of "democracy" display their vigilance in guarding the democratic rights of the American people!

Brave, bold, representative Bernard, who failed to show up in Journal Square on May 7, announced that he intended to speak in Jersey City on May 19 under the auspices of the Stalinist American League for Peace and Democracy, but in a hall, not in the street!

#### Call To Labor

Carl Holderman, state chairman of the New Jersey Labor Non-Partisan League, declared over Station WEVD last week that "organized labor must be in the forefront of the battle to save America from the Hitler of Hudson County. I mean organized labor, and not the leaders of the Hudson County Central Labor Union, who, through paralyzing fear or rank corruption, have sold several misguided workers for a mess of Hague's pottage."

This clarion call of the C.I.O. leader ought to be translated immediately into action. The organized workers of New Jersey should unite against Hague. They should hold their own mass meetings in defiance of his bans and in defense of their democratic rights. They should form Workers' Defense Committees to protect themselves against the attacks of his gangsters in uniform.

The united ranks of labor are powerful enough to overthrow the Hudson County Hitler, once they spring into vigorous direct action against him.

## Inside the N. Y. Painters' Union

### 3. Stalinist Wreckers Move In

This is the third of a series of articles on the real situation in the Painters' Union of New York.—Ed.

On February 29, 1936, Louis Weinstock was elected Secretary-Treasurer of District Council No. 9 without any substantial opposition and thus the Stalinists came into control of the New York Painters Union as smoothly as in probably no other trade union in the country.

Weinstock and Co. had a clean sweep of the field. The membership clearly was behind them. Now let us look at their record and compare it with their promises.

#### Machine Control

While the Weinstock faction was in the opposition, their platform voiced many of the sentiments and desires of the membership. Once they came into office, the platform became pretty much forgotten, the Stalinists concentrated on control of the union machinery.

One of the Stalinists' major demands when they were fighting Zauser was, "strict enforcement of the seven-hour day, the (official) wage scale and union conditions." How does the matter of strict enforcement stand today? Ask any ordinary painter and he will tell you that "strict enforcement" is further off than ever, that "kick-back" flourishes under the Weinstock administration as never before.

Another plank was, "immediate adjustment of complaints and grievances." Hundreds of painters will tell you that, in spite of the big machinery installed by the Weinstock administration, with all its appointed officials, action on complaints is harder to get than under any previous administration.

#### In Cahoots With Bosses

Weinstock's original election platform accused the previous administration of collaborating with the bosses in the calling of fake "strikes." The Stalinist administration has been no less obliging, entirely in line with the "People's Front" policy of the Communist Party, in cooperating harmoniously with the Master Painters. The general

strikes called by the Weinstock administration resulted in "victories," according to the Stalinists. According to the rank and file union members, the "victories" consisted in filling the coffers of the administration with a huge sum of money extracted from the membership in two \$10 strike assessments. The last "general strike," the demands of which were an increase from \$9 to \$11.20 per six-hour day and the closed shop, lasted only 3 weeks. Its "gains" are a deep secret. But the assessment levied, it may safely be said, more than covered the expense of the short-lived strike.

Where did the money go to? —Weinstock also accused the previous administrations of extravagance. Now the assessments and the increased per capita tax raised recently from \$1.50 to \$1.75 go to maintaining an office staff of some 60 appointed job holders, as against the dozen or so in pre-Weinstock days. Weinstock, in his election campaign, called for a monthly budget of \$3,000. The current weekly expense of the District Council is \$4,000 to \$5,000. The appointed jobholders consume a major share of the income. What is their purpose? Anyone who knows anything about Stalinist methods of control in the unions knows the answer: to entrench the Communist Party machine in the Painters Union so as to make it a complete appendage of that party with all of its anti-working class policies.

#### Unemployed Problem

Another—perhaps the most pressing—demand of the supporters of Weinstock before his election was action for the unemployed painters. What is the attitude of Weinstock in office to this problem? "Blame it on capitalism and the crisis!" One would assume that a union leadership is elected precisely to combat "capitalism and the crisis," even if they cannot abolish it. But not one effective proposal has been forthcoming from the Stalinist administration for union methods of improving the lot of the unemployed painter. The unemployed painter does not even get the odd job he would ordinarily get under a fair rotation system. Instead, he is

entirely dependent upon the "good will" of the administration.

Weinstock opposed job favoritism in another of his planks. Today it flourishes not only on the part of the bosses through lack of enforcement of the union standards, but has become an instrument of control in the hands of the Weinstock administration itself, which takes advantage of a clause in the agreement giving the union the right to fill 25 per cent of the jobs in every union shop from the District Council office, discriminating in favor of obedient followers of the Stalinist "line."

#### Union Democracy

The very first, and consequently, the most important plank in Weinstock's original election platform called for:

"1. Trade union democracy in District Council and Local Unions. (The full rights of every member to discuss, criticize and suggest, without intimidation.) Recognition of these rights is the basic principle of trade unionism."

That plank has become a scrap of paper for the Stalinists, with Weinstock in control. In one of the ten locals alone—Local No. 51—Stalinist henchmen have assaulted opponents by main force on three different occasions in as short a period as three months for daring to differ with them on the floor! The only difference between these methods and those of other gangsters is that the Stalinists do not even wait until they get out of the union hall.

In locals where voting is carried on by open ballot, the galleries are filled with appointed officials in charge of distributing jobs under the 25 per cent quota whose very presence constitutes intimidation. What number of union members will risk their opportunity of getting a rare enough chance to be sent to work by the District Council, by voting openly against Stalinist proposals?

#### Vote-Stealing

How the Stalinists intend further to develop this odd conception of "trade union democracy" in the Painters Union in New York is indicated by the fact that members of Local 905

**HOW TO FIGHT WAR**  
Isolation?  
Collective Security?  
Relentless Class Struggle?  
by  
**JAMES BURNHAM**  
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**MAX SHACHTMAN**  
Editor.  
**HAROLD ROBERTS** **FRANK GRAVES**  
Associate Editors.  
**S. STANLEY**  
Business Manager.

**The Wages and Hours Bill**

The victory of the Roosevelt yes-man, Claude Pepper, in the Florida primaries, has suddenly reminded large numbers of Congressmen of their social consciences. The reminder becomes especially poignant when the Congressmen contemplate the billions of dollars which the new Relief Bill will give the President for irrigation purposes in next autumn's electoral fields.

Three days after Pepper's triumph, hundreds of Representatives nearly trampled each other to death in their scramble to sign a petition to lift the Wages and Hours Bill out of the asphalted chamber of the Rules Committee, where it was being painlessly suffocated, and on to the floor of the House.

The Bill has now a fair chance of passing, though its opponents in the Senate plan delays which might prevent completion at this Session.

Whether or not it will go through depends in large measure on the strength of the pressure brought by labor to demand favorable action.

All sections of the labor movement do, and must, support the Bill. Inadequate as it may be, if it improves conditions in even a single sweat-shop, if it stimulates even one move to wipe out sub-union standards, it will be that much to the good.

It would, however, be either a profound mistake or shameless hypocrisy to maintain that this present Bill is a model of its kind, or that any legislative measure can solve the problem of guaranteeing economic security for the workers. We leave such apologetics to the Stalinist union-busters and the other Roosevelt press-agents.

The present Bill provides, nominally, for a twenty-five cents an hour minimum wage and a forty-four hour maximum week, to be modified over a period of three years to a forty-cents an hour wage, forty-hour week. But even these miserable provisions apply to only a minority of workers. Only industries related to "interstate commerce" are affected. Dozens of fields—agriculture, fishing, domestic service, etc.—are specifically exempted; and general authority is granted to suspend the application of the Bill in the light of "specific circumstances."

An \$11.00 a week minimum, when the Government's own experts say that \$1500 to \$1600 a year (about \$30 a week) is the minimum wage to make possible health, let alone comfort and decent living; and when the most competent technicians estimate that the United States productive plant can today—even without improvement—provide a general minimum

income equivalent to from \$4,000 to \$5,000 a year to every family!

The present Bill makes no provision for the unemployed; and a forty-four hour week is not going to be such a great blessing to the millions of workers on ten to twenty hours part-time.

When a starving man gets a crust, it is sensible for him to eat it; but his aim should be to get a full meal—particularly when the table is loaded with food.

Let us take this Bill, put it under our belts, and then go on toward a real Wages and Hours standard.

The kind of Wages and Hours Bill which labor should demand in this country should include at the very least the following features:

1. It would apply to all industries and occupations without exception.
2. Its minimum must be at least as high as the Government estimates of a minimum adequate living wage: \$30 a week.
3. Its maximum hours provision must be low enough to give jobs to all those displaced by technological advance: 30 hours per week.
4. If it is actually to aid in maintaining and raising the standard of living of the masses, the minimum wage must apply to all workers over the entire 52 weeks of the year, whether they are employed, unemployed, or employed part-time. Supplementary relief to bring weekly income up at least to the minimum should operate automatically and immediately whenever regular employment slows up or stops. Only in this way will the bosses and not the workers carry the burden of unemployment; and only in this way will a wages and hours bill actually protect the standard of living of the workers.

There is nothing either "unreasonable" or utopian in these demands. They are in fact extremely modest when compared with this country's resources.

If U. S. labor fights for provisions of this kind, and fights not primarily through its fair-weather "friends" in Congress and the White House but above all through its own direct organized strength and its own class actions, it will find itself no longer giving thanks for the crumbs, but getting its teeth into the meat course.

**Untouchables**

The new constitution of the Communist Party, U.S.A., which is to be adopted unanimously at the forthcoming convention of that organization, provides that no party member shall have personal or political relationships with Trotskyists, Lovestoneites or "other known enemies of the party and the working class."

We can understand the disquietude of the Stalinist chieftains. They have been losing those members whom the monolithic party regime has not succeeded in shielding from "dangerous thoughts" provoked by the Moscow trials and the party's political renegeage.

But what a confession of bankruptcy—to write into the party constitution a decree quarantining the followers of Earl Browder against outside ideological influences!

The new constitution also provides that only American citizens, or those who have declared their intention of becoming citizens, shall be eligible for party membership. Next we may hearing that only Aryans—or those who have declared their intention of becoming Aryans—will be admitted to this party of has-been internationalists.

their line on this question. They must become the most militant advocates of a popular referendum on war. They must seek to have labor everywhere demand that the amendment be formulated to provide for a popular referendum on the undertaking of any war, be it allegedly "defensive" or "aggressive", and that all citizens from the age of 18 upward, since from that age they are liable to military service, have the right to vote in the referendum. They must take no responsibility for the pacifist illusions fostered in connection with the amendment and in particular must continue to expose the bourgeois politicians, including Ludlow, LaFollette and Co. themselves, who seek to exploit the honest anti-war sentiment of the masses by introducing a bill in Congress and then either dropping any serious fight for it or so diluting and circumscribing it as to nullify the will and longings of the masses. They must endeavor to extend the struggle beyond the confines of purely parliamentary debate, so that workers' pressure may be brought into play by means of organized mass action. In this way, the party will not only be able to correct its tactical error, but also to deepen and solidify its connections with the genuine and progressive movement of the masses.

**"Preparing the Shot!"**



Without apology, we reproduce this cartoon from the "Daily Worker" of three years ago. Readers of that Stalinist sheet will note that then, in contrast to the present, proclamation of Roosevelt's "peaceful" role was regarded by the Communist Party as grist to the imperialist war mill. It is not Roosevelt who has changed!

**One In Six Depend On Relief, Says Hopkins**

By DAVID COWLES

Harry L. Hopkins, Works Progress Administrator, testified recently before a House Appropriations sub-committee that six million families in the United States are dependent on some form of public relief. These families comprise 20,000,000 persons and make up one-sixth of the whole population. They are doomed to unemployment and poverty so long as capitalism continues. According to the New York Post "Hopkins said he believed the present economic system could never entirely correct the unemployment situation." The number of unemployed is already unbearably large. The W.P.A. alone is giving work relief to 2,600,000 now. But due to "the present economic system" unemployment is increasing so rapidly that, according to Hopkins, the number of W.P.A. jobs will have to be increased to at least 3,100,000 in the coming winter. He estimated that the Federal government would have to spend \$3,000,000,000 for its share of the year's relief expenditures.

**Drop In The Bucket**

This sum barely scratches the surface of the needs of the unemployed. And so long as "the present economic system" continues, the plight of the unemployed will grow increasingly worse. This is because the workers can have wages, and the purchasing power which wages gives them, only if they are needed in production. However, American capitalism is declining, its production is declining, and it is throwing workers into unemployment. Moreover, to keep up profits, capitalism introduces more efficient machinery, and this throws even more workers out of work. In addition, each year a half million youths come out of school and look for employment in industry. The three sources combine to create a large and ever-growing army of unemployed.

The relief appropriation for the unemployed will not solve their problem nor save the status quo. It is not intended to do the first and it cannot do the second. By Hopkins' own admission, the W.P.A. funds alone "will not by any means provide the total increase in private employment which is essential..." Private industry must be depended upon to give jobs. But private industry cannot give jobs. On the contrary, it is declining sharply, its profits are falling, and it is passing on the burden of its bankruptcy to the workers by cutting, not increasing, employment; by cutting, not increasing, wages; and by increasing speed-up. The alternatives face the workers

with increasing clarity: either poverty and demoralization under "the present economic system" or a struggle for a new economic system that will ensure a decent livelihood and will permit human dignity.

**Problem Intensified**

The numbers who face these alternatives grow as economic activity slumps down and unemployment goes up. At the peak of economic activity in 1937, there were still 9,000,000 whom private industry could not employ. The current depression has increased their number by more than 5,000,000. Hundreds of thousands of tenant farmers who have been expropriated from agriculture join millions of industrial workers who have been disinherited from production. Most of them depend upon government relief for a part of their livelihood if not all of it.

Their struggle for government aid has deep revolutionary significance. If the aid is not given, their inability to live within the framework of "the present economic system" becomes vivid with the pangs of starvation and real with all the reality of death. Their struggle becomes not only a struggle against the government which refuses to help them live, but also a struggle against "the present economic system" which dooms them to poverty, demoralization and death.

**Will Cut Relief**

If aid is given, it still does not ensure the permanence of the status quo. For the aid must be given in increasing amounts because of the increasing unemployment. If the relief appropriations are not increased, the government will resort to cutting the relief that each unemployed person gets, to stopping the distribution of clothes, and to inventing all sorts of schemes that will spread the misery. These actions will drive the unemployed to sit-ins and struggles against the relief administration. If the aid is given in increasing amounts, it will still not allay the growing discontent. The go-

vernment pays relief to the unemployed by taking the money from the workers in the form of sales taxes, etc., and from the middle class in the form of higher income taxes. It makes only half-hearted gestures to tax the monopoly capitalists. At the same time, the relief appropriations cannot keep up with the rapidly mounting unemployment.

**Menace of Fascism**

These conditions show that the United States is in transition. The workers and middle class are disoriented because increasing taxes cut their purchasing power. The unemployed are disoriented because their relief is inadequate for a decent living and because permanent unemployment stares them in the face. The big capitalists are disoriented because they fear the half-hearted gestures at making them pay higher taxes may become a reality. Therefore, they fight continuously to cut down relief to the unemployed, on the one hand, and on the other to pass on to workers and middle class the cost of the decline of capitalism. To control the discontent which may burst out at any time against "the present economic system," which they control, they prepare to introduce an efficient machine for suppressing the unemployed and the workers. This machine is called fascism.

The actions of the unemployed who want to fight fascism must be: (1) Strengthening the unemployed movement for more jobs and greater relief; (2) maintaining the Workers Alliance as a militant, independent union of unemployed, free from the control of the bosses, the LaGuardia or Roosevelt Administration; (3) emphasizing the fighting unity of the unemployed with the employed workers and tenant farmers; (4) assimilating the truth spoken by Hopkins before the House Appropriations sub-committee: "The present economic system" cannot solve the problems of the unemployed. Socialism alone can solve permanently the problems of unemployment.

**U.S. Imperialism Shows Aerial Might Over N. Y.**

(Continued from page 1)

navy is absent engaged in a Pacific war... The word "absent" here assuredly means absent far out over the Pacific, engaged in war with Japan. War for what? War to decide which of the imperialist robbers shall enslave and ex-

war plans of imperialism. It is against this war that the workers of America must prepare—in their own way. Not by supporting the war-making criminals of imperialism through support to the principle of "collective security," but by their own independent class action which alone can frustrate the

**On Housing**

An Editorial

The housing situation in the United States is a running sore and no serious measures are being taken to cure it.

Let us look at some of the startling figures:

Two weeks ago the United States Public Health Service estimated that about *three million* (3,000,000) urban families have fewer rooms in their homes than there are persons. That is, families of three persons that live in two-room houses or flats; families of five persons that live in four-room or even three-room houses. One million live in dwellings with more than one and one-half times as many persons as there are rooms and 700,000 live in dwellings with at least twice as many persons as there are rooms.

And naturally, as is the custom in our great Democracy, the Negro families, both in the North and in the South, live under the worst conditions.

**6,000,000 Homes Are Needed**

Last November, Roosevelt in his message to Congress said that from 600,000 to 800,000 dwelling units a year would be needed for the next five years.

The American Public Health Association, however, estimated that there is a need *now* of 6,000,000 new homes, and it emphasized that they must be of low cost.

Even the more modest figures of the conservative Brookings Institution say that there is a need of 4,500,000 houses by 1941, or 1,125,000 a year, while the National Housing Commission raises the figure to 1,503,000 a year for the next two years.

In New York City, which only reflects conditions throughout the country, there are more than half a million families living in 64,000 condemned, fire-trap tenements. Flames took a death-toll of 33 persons in these traps in one year; 19 others died under the debris of fallen structures; the annual disease toll is beyond estimate.

**New York's Needs**

Last month, Commissioner of Housing and Building, Alfred Rheinstein, told the City Council Committee that about one billion dollars would be needed to make a substantial improvement in slum elimination and the construction of new low-cost housing.

Former City Housing Authority chairman, Langdon W. Post said that figure was two modest by half—two billion dollars are required at the least. And this for New York City alone!

What is being done about this situation?

Within the past four years the government has provided only 2,318 low-rent dwellings in New York. The immediate need is for 500,000!

The new government plans are no great improvement. Under the Wagner-Steagall housing act, only 5,000 additional low-rent apartments will be built within the next 3-4 years—a drop in the bucket.

And bear in mind what Mayor LaGuardia has pointed out and what was pretty well known without him: The absolute top rent for the slum dwellers is \$30 a month; and eighty percent of them can afford to pay only \$20 or under.

The latest housing bill put through by the Roosevelt New Deal is not, properly speaking, a house-building bill. It is a financing bill. It provides that a government corporation shall guarantee new mortgages on homes and apartments, under certain conditions. It is a boon to the banks for the credit they extend on housing—for it guarantees their loans.

Moreover, the bulk of the homes and apartment buildings erected under this bill, where they are not jerry-built, inadequate, ill-planned, are beyond the reach of the vast majority of the home-needing, slum-dwelling, high-rent-paying workers.

**For A Real Housing Program**

The only serious step that will bring us close to a solution of the scandalous housing problem is a truly large-scale government building program. It must be based on three points: sound construction, low rents, and the payment of union wages to building workers. An *absolute minimum*, making possible a serious beginning, is for Congress to vote a Five-Billion-Dollar Housing program—with the five billion really to go towards building houses!

Where is the money to come from?

Why, from the plutocrats, of course!

The Treasury Department report of tax returns received up to the end of August 1937, shows that 61 individuals admitted taxable net incomes, after all conceivable deductions, of one million dollars (\$1,000,000) or more in 1936. As against the 40,000,000 American people who live in slums there are 18,196 persons in the United States who reported a total net income for 1936 of almost *two billion* dollars (\$1,875,783,000).

These are the incomes of the individual plutocrats. They do not include the deductions which clever lawyers fix up for them. They do not include income from tax-exempt securities. They do not include, above all, the huge "earnings" of wealthy corporations.

Five billion dollars for housing would be a good beginning. It can easily be obtained. Roosevelt, Ickes, Jackson—all the New Dealers—talk about the "economic royalists." Good! But how about putting the squeeze on these plutocrats? How about making them disgorge a small percentage of their fabulous profits for housing the slum-dwellers of America? How about some *Action*, instead of Fireside Chats, instead of words?

**NEXT WEEK**

ERNEST ERBER Will Review  
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**On The Ludlow Amendment**  
**Statement of the National Committee, SWP**

After discussing the Ludlow Amendment, and the policy adopted toward it by the Political Committee, the April session of the National Committee of the Socialist Workers Party came to the following conclusion:

Though the Political Committee and the party press were correct in combatting the pacifist illusions engendered by the sponsors of the Ludlow Amendment and the treacherous distinction between wars of "aggression" and "defense" embodied in the Amendment, they failed to estimate rightly the genuinely progressive character of the popular response to the project of a referendum on war, a response based upon the legitimate distrust which the masses feel toward the bourgeois government, their unwillingness to fight without protest in the threatening imperialist war, and their desire for democratic control of their own destiny.

From this failure, the Political Committee drew the incorrect tactical conclusion of a negative position with respect to the Amendment itself and the general project of a popular referendum on war. Such a negative position isolates the party from the progressive mass movement aroused by the project, and tends to sterilize its active struggle against imperialist war.

The party and its press must therefore alter