OFFICIAL WEEKLY ORGAN OF THE SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY

FOR THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL!

VOL. II. - No. 27

Saturday, July 2, 1938

Five Cents per Copy

Progressives Force Close Painters' Poll

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

WEINSTOCK GETS 615 MAJORITY

Council offices in the Painters' Union made an impresslate as candidate for secretarytreasurer, polled 3,147 votes against the 3,762 cast for Ghidoni, the Stalinist candidate.

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

Stalinist Majority Down

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

ning for the same office. progressives and against the C.P. machine is especially strik- had given support to Loyalist ing when it is borne in mind that the progressive forces organized trict Council No. 9, in a vote only a short six weeks before participated in by all the New elections. It is an indication that York locals, a month ago, recontinued organization and con- pudiated "Resolution 191" and its solidation of their forces will in the near future turn the tide in phasizing their favor among a membership Weinstock's illegal treasury raids which is increasingly turning in the District Council for all away from the Stalinist mislead- kinds of Stalinist "causes."

Machine Vote Only

Although this campaign fell painters into line. flat in view of Stevens' progressive and anti-Zausner record, the fact that the general executive board expelled Weinstock two these squads. One of their foredays before the elections in a most arguments was: "An exmost arbitrary and bureaucratic pulsion deprives a man of the a sort of last minute face-saving of your right to make a living

merely trying to fall in line with

NEW, YORK. - Progressives what seemed like a landslide to running against Stalinists for ward the progressives, after holding up the charges pending a gainst Weinstock for nine months sive showing in elections held and after maintaining the most here last Saturday. Lewis J. "amicable relations" with the Stevens, heading the progressive C.P. administration up to the very last moment. But many progressives at the polls expressed the opinion that it was a premeditated trick intended to aid The Communist Party-backed the Stalinists by providing them with a campaign issue.

Board's Opportunism

The general executive board is distinctly reactionary and exand-file. For the past year, it has played ball with the Stalinist-Weinstock administration in District Council No. 9. The latter. in the main in per capita pay- ing the recent strike, the Stalinthe board has always played the ly. usual opportunist game of union bureaucrats.

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

Some of the charges, contained in a document known as "Resoclose to 1,200 votes while run- lution 191," are distinctly of a reactionary character, demanding The powerful vote cast for the Weinstock's removal because he is a "Communist." because he Spain, etc. Progressives in Disreactionary charges while em-

Weinstock's expulsion, coming when it did, tended to obscure the election issues and to throw Trotskyites who raised the The Stalinist majority is ob- sympathy to the side of the Staviously not a popular victory, but linists. The latter, aside from the a straight machine vote. Their vicious campaign in their daily candidate for secretary-treasurer, press and in leaflets, organized Al Ghidoni, is a man entirely the "women's auxiliary" of the unknown to the membership, union as well as various party Their campaign was, in the main, units for a house-to-house cama campaign to smear Stevens and paign among the painters. By the progressives with Zausner- means of the wildest rumors and ism, of which the membership is through pressure upon painters' rightfully afraid—and not a cam- families, these "women's auxpaign on their own record in of- liary" and special party squads exerted every effort to swing the

Expulsion Aided Stalinists

The Weinstock expulsion aided manner no doubt served, as the right to make a living. Would Daily Worker itself admits, as you like it if you were deprived device for the Stalinists. Creat- by such an expulsion?" Militant ing sympathy for them, it cast painters, opposed to arbitraria shadow over the progressives ness and bureaucracy in general, naturally responded sympathe-Undoubtedly the board was tically to such an argument. To

(Continued on page 3)

National Guard Stages Big Chicago War Demonstration

ary demonstration, replete with the Argonne, showing the taking booming planes, power-diving, of the German positions by marching men and martial music, dauntless American troops in a was staged in Chicago's Soldiers' romantic setting of red search-Field last Saturday and Sunday lights, sky-rockets, and airplane by the National Guard in its an- flares, the unceasing speeches, nual Military Show.

vernment's war preparations was romantic crusades, were enough presented by 5,000 national to gladden the heart of any superguardsmen operating all types of patriot. military equipment, from new light tanks to improved anti- rehearsal for M-Day, the day de-

aircraft guns. tire show.

CHICAGO .- A gigantic milit- A reproduction of the Battle of and the pageant of armies play-Concrete evidence of the go- ing up past American wars as

The demonstration was a real signed by the United States War The main feature of the de- Department as the first day of monstration, however, was not the coming war. Such military the exibition of military equip- parades, pageants and holidays ment and efficiency, but the are staged to whip up a jingo planned appeal to jingo patriot- spirit among the workers in preism which characterized the en- paration for leading them to the slaughter.

Akron Labor **Defense Hit** By Stalinists

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

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

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

The rule or ruin policy of the Stalinists was outlined in the June 18 issue of the Midwest tremely unpopular with the rank- Daily Record, official C.P. paper, and its seafaring allies. by James Keller, Akron Stalin-

ist organizer. Confronted by the unanimous approval of every action of the in turn, have had nothing but United Labor Defense Commitpraise for the board. Interested tee (C.I.O. and A.F.L.), durments to the international office, ists haven't dared attack it open-

Launch Sniping Attack

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

"Trotskyism!" cried the Stalinist spokesmen, when the Akron labor movement sought to defend its picketing rights and the old International Seamen's Trotskyjsm!" Keller yelped at

militants for their outstanding work in the Goodyear situation, hoping, thus, to terrorize them with his crude red scare.

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

Seek to Wreck Defense

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

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

Akron in essence is: Repudiate the good work of the Defense of the Stalinist-C.I.O. machine, strike; exclude all unionists who Coast to take over S.U.P. hirfore are called Trotskyites; for-

(Continued on page 3)

Union Busters Prepare Marine Federation For Strike-Breaking Course

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

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

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

With their hands freed by the removal of all militant opposithat have revived and tion, Bridges and his associates strengthened the union mo- hastened to steamroller through the packed convention a series of resolutions which effectively transform the Federation into an air-tight Communist Party machine, to be used in smashing the Sailors Union of the Pacific

Dictatorial Powers

Resolution 71, adopted without a murmur of protest from Bridges' yes-men, establishes complete control over all negotiations and contracts by a top committee with unlimited dictatorial powers. Militant job action is forestalled by an amendment to the constitution which deprives all comto strike. Thus, at one fell swoop, a situation has been established the rosiest dreams of Senator Copeland and the shipowners. The all-powerful Joint Nego tiating Committee provided for by the convention resolutions is not one whit different from the domineering executive board of which, all control was wrested from the rank-and-file and turned over to a strike-breaking top committee. The only difference powers are given to a class-colwhich is a hundred times more vicious and reactionary than the A.F.L. bureaucracy ever was.

Good Dose of Bridges

Maritime transport workers have already had a good dose of dictatorship a la Bridges. As recently as during the 1,936-37 strike, the Maritime Federation refused to take a coastwide strike poll, and instead set up the infamous Joint Policy Committee which laid down the po licy of "handling perishable cargo" and postponed settlement under favorable terms so that the football for Bridges and the

The new committee of rule-orto wreck it by playing off the ruin dictators now has plenipotentiary powers to sabotage and fink hiring halls and com-

maritime labor.

Further than that the forcing out of the basic maritime unions means that control over sea going organizations is given by the Federation to outfits as far removed from maritime labor as cannery and agricultural work

ers, boilermakers, machinists etc., outfits which are for the most part phony adjuncts of the Communist Party, used solely for purposes of convention-packing.

Split Action Deliberate

That the Bridges clique decided months ago to split the Federation and turn it into an instrument to smash the S.U.P and its allies is clearly shown by the stenographic report of the ponent organizations of the right | meeting of the Federation Executive Board on April 20. that meeting Schmidt, representin maritime which surpasses even ative of Bridges' International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union, bluntly stated that "we will recognize no jurisdictional picket lines (referring obviously to the dispute between the S.U.P. and Curran's East Coast N.M.U. on the Shepard Line).... If these picket lines civil liberties in an emergency. Union (A.F.L.), a set-up under are established again we will go to town on them, and remove them like we did before.

Schmidt, at the same meeting, predicted that the N.M.U. would is that, in this case, dictatorial probably have delegates at the Federation convention, and exlaborationist Communist Party plained that one answer to the jurisdictional question is that "the jurisdiction of the Shepard Line ships be assigned to the S.U.P. or probably that the S.U.P. be swallowed up by the N.M.U." This statement, plus the concrete actions at the convention, leave little doubt of the aim in the current Stalinist spliting campaign: a strike-breaking, dictatorial Curran-Bridges Federation against the West Coast

Cannot Endure Long

Once achieved, however, such Federation cannot endure for mere duplicates of the Stalinist cessary repetition of the C.I.O. Herald, the N.M.U. Pilot, and The Stalinist program for every militant action on the the C.P. People's World. As State are determined to halt the troy anything and anybody in diswaterfront, to club every enemy predicted in the West Coast Fire- use of laws dating back to Civil agreement with them. That is Committee in the Goodyear to bring the N.M.U. put to the find their "industrial union" with ers, and the sentencing of Kwalrefuse to take orders and there- ing halls, to drive full steam makers too costly, and will turn arouse mass protests from the

(Continued on page 3)

2 Union Men Get Year In Kentucky Jail

Teamster Organizer Sent To Penitentiary Under **Old Statute**

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

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

Eight More Indicted

Eight others were indicted on vention, if necessary." the same charge, and while one John Everett, had the charges far perpetrated on a membership crippling drive to halt dues paydismissed, the other seven risk which sincerely desires cessation a penitentiary sentence of from one to five years if apprehended. The statute under which the two men were convicted is one of those ancient relics on the law-books that the authorities find convenient to resurrect when workers organize and fight against the

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

A group of pickets, headed by Kwalleck, informed the broker that a strike was in progress and returned the sugar to the ware house. No violence was used against either Sanchez or his helper, but the effectiveness of the picket line was maintained. the road program would be no fiddling with all sorts of ineffec-For this "crime' indictments against the whole group were returned by the Grand Jury.

First Case Recorded

The Wheel, organ of Teamsters' Local 779, comments that one it is nothing but quack medicine. of the lawyers present at the Are these people blind to the fact trial stated that this was the first case on record in which the defendants were ever convicted on the charge of an intention which was never converted into an overt program! Yet hardly three weeks

The State Federation of Labor in Kentucky has promised full support to Teamsters' Local 779 in the fight to prevent the imstrike could be used as a political long. Actually its councils become prisonment of the two men, who are guilty of only one crime: ces. They know-or should know, C.I.O. councils in the port cities, helping workers to organize into as responsible union men—that of the enemy. Its press is a costly and unne- unions capable of protecting the no program but their own will interests of the workers.

men, Bridges and his crew will War days against militant strik- what makes the peace program a Under present condtions, the cry the cannery workers and boiler- leck and Brown is expected to ahead for government fink books to operating directly in the name growing labor movement in the ist activities in the union. No trial may be and however lenient

SP Advances Phony UAW Peace Plan

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

MARTIN NOT BATTLING WRECKERS

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

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

This is the greatest hoax thus ® of the faction struggle. In its main points, the so-called peace program of the Socialist Party is dentical with the "war" program of the Communist Party: reinstate the suspended officers; summon Lewis to Detroit as superarbitrator and call a special convention if necessary.

New Stalinist Move?

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

Even if we granted a sincere desire for peace, this middle-ofing League of Nations. The nostrum of uniting the executive board on the basis of the 20-point program is brought forward as an all-healing solution. In reality, from the union president to their tht the factional fight was already "solved" and "peace" established only two months agoon the basis of that very 20-point later the war started all over again.

Malignant Work

The signers of the letter are fully aware of these circumstan-Union men throughout the is prepared to tear down and desmalignant piece of work.

comment on the organization-

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

On the other hand, the "peace, peace, there is no peace" group votes, meets, consults and agrees with the Stalinist crowd whenever it can get a hearing. It is no wonder that the names of John Anderson and Lloyd Jones, well-known Stalinists, are coupled with those of Emil Mazey and Walter Reuther, supposed socialists, on a committee to see John L. Lewis. Nor is it a wonder that the Daily Worker, official Stalinist organ, hails the "3-point program for unity."

Martin's Responsibility

Not the least responsible for the ease with which the Stalinist wolf has disguised himself with "socialist" sheep's clothing-and gotten away with it in the eyes of the membership-is Homer tual enterprises while the Stalinists have been setting fire to the union. With the exception of press statements, the Stalinists have met little or no resistance

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

campaign to bulldoze and hood-

In local after local, the Stalin-

wink the membership.

Within the next day or two, satisfy the Stalinist clique, which charges against the suspended officers will be completed and published. Within two weeks it is reported the trial will be held. of "frame-up" and "persecution" It contains not a mention by is inevitable in the union ranks, so much as a word of the Stalin- however fair and impartial the (Continued on page 3)

We Ask Once More: IS NOAH LONDON ALIVE OR DEAD?

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

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

More Comes to Light

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

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

as a qualified engineer. Some three years ago, London, his wife and two other engineers were tried in Russia on the customary charge of "sabotage." Old-time, devoted communist that he was, this charge was as absurd as are most of the others. The two engineers were, however, shot; London and his wife sent to Siberia as exiles. London's sister was deported from the Soviet Union. Since that time, there has been no authentic word about Noah London, except for the recent report that he had been shot by

the Kremlin butchers-another of their thousands of victims. Family Refused Visa

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

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

What monstrosity are they concealing?

Libel Suit Against Daily Worker Shifted To M'pls

er, last November, have unex- tions. pectedly resulted in an agree- During the controversy that ment by attorneys for both sides arose, attorney Edward Kuntz, to have the case transferred from representing the Daily Worker,

New York City to Minneapolis. offered to accept service on be-The libel suit was originally half of the Daily Worker if a filed in New York because the new suit were filed in Minneapopublisher of the Daily Worker lis. This was readily agreed to could not be served in Minnesota. by the representatives of Local It was therefore necessary to 544. An agreement in writing take the testimony of the Dunne was drawn up to that effect. brothers and Farrell Dobbs by deposition in Minneapolis. On June 23, the taking of testimony the probability that the case will public in Minneapolis.

MINNEAPOLIS-Depositions | Vincent Dunne was the first in the libel case of General Driv- witness and in his cross-examiers' Local 544 against the Daily nation the attorney for the Daily Worker, arising from the cam- Worker went so far afield that paign of slander launched by the Albert Goldman and Meyer J. Stalinists against the Minneapolis Myer, representing Local 544, teamsters after the murder of threatened to instruct the wit-Patrick J. Corcoran, union lead- ness not to answer further ques-

It is expected that all necessary papers will be filed in Minwas commenced before a notary come up for t ial within the ne six months.

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

By JAMES RALEIGH

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

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

Unions Are The Place

All fields for solidarizing the workers eventually boil down to if Hague granted them permis-—the labor union. Here dissident sion to organize, they could orelements, except for the easilydetected bosses' stooges, are generally absent and a clear-cut, class-conscious attitude of the worker can be crystalized. His concern in his economic organization can then be utilized to unite him politically with his brothers. Any effort, therefore, to effectively politicalize labor must have a labor union base. This does not mean, however, that the unemployed and the unorganized cannot participate. On the contrary, they are most necessary-in fact, indispensable.

But first of all there must be a considerable autonomous labor nucleus. In Jersey City this does not exist. The A.F. of L. is ference. But while this demobureaucratic and Hague-control- cratic right is valuable for the led and backs Hague in every anti-C.I.O. move. The C.I.O. itself is young, numerically weak and none too ably led. Consider, for example, the recent C.I.O. "drive to open up Jersey City,' which was crudely bungled from start to finish, and the results of gether in open mass meetings which in terms of organization heterogeneous, unrelated workers of workers was directly proportionate to the crude tactics employed. Since the drive began, no appreciable achievements have been made, because from the that they be united on common very outset no preparatory groundwork was done prior to the campaign, the C.I.O. leaders ployment, their particular shop naively believing they could "invade" Jersey City and take it base one can proceed to separated and dissimilar, though similby storm.

Publicity Stunts

Another blunder was to try merely to make the issue "spectacular," to "publicize it across the country." Although the leaders were cautioned against this tactic as tragic and useless, the publicity craze overwhelmed them and a battle was fought across the front pages of newspapers from Miami to Seattle, but the workers still are unorganized. The prevailing opinion now seems to be that Roosevelt's Department of Justice will do what no one else has done-make Hague 'behave." How this will establish labor politically was none too unions, advance workers, or help promising, caused Labor's Nonthe unemployed is not even men-

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

consideration was that Hague teach its membership the reacwas not responsive to "outside" tionary role their leaders are now opinion of his actions as long as performing. Third, they must he maintained a semblance of strive to unite the C.I.O. and support in Jersey City. At any the A.F. of L. so as to steal rate, conferences were arranged Hague's thunder, that he may between the C.I.O. and Hague no longer use the red-baiting, representatives, Morris Ernst on anti-Catholic scare to deceive the one side and Senator John Milton rank-and-file of the A.F. of L on the other. And a tentative and mislead the unemployed and compromise was reached wherein the unorganized.

all adverse publicity was to be terminated by the C.I.O. and Hague was to provide a "Hyde City.

A Dangerous Deal

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

For the C.I.O. already had ercizing it, though modestly, throughout the recent disturb ances. The error of the C.I.O. negotiators was in believing that

ganize better. In fact, if they began to organize under Hague patronage, the trend thereafter would be to pacify him at all times and from that position, by short steps, they would soon be where the bureaucratic Haguedictated A.F. of L. is today. A militant labor organization that comes on the scene crawling on its belly ends up only lying on its back.

How To Organize

The only real concession to the people under this proposed pact was the establishment of a pub lic place where free speech could be exercized without police interpublic at large, it is of secondary value-from an organizing view -for labor. You cannot organize workers on a public thoroughfare or at a public meeting. Workers can be organized only in their shops. You cannot bring toand UNITE them, let alone ORGANIZE them. To organize, that is, to create a single functioning organ of workers, requires ground. The only common ground is their particular field of emor factory or trade. From this arly organized, units of labor. But the beginning must be at the place of work.

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

Perhaps recognition that the present nucleus for organizing Partisan League to abandon its recent efforts to launch a labor party in New Jersey. After two conventions, one in December, the other in May, the matter seems L.N.P.L. are at all aware of the obstacles and objectives in New Jersey, three things no doubt occur to them now. First, they must extend unionization, especially in Jersey City, by effective, persistent, not necessarily spectacular, audacious tactics-not futile, sporadic, grandstand, publicity-seeking stunts. Second, they must begin an education cam-What they forgot to take into paign within the A.F. of L. to

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

Bill Brown

A PROLETARIAN FIGHTER

By JAMES P. CANNON

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

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

They Live On!

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

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

College of Hard Knocks

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

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

An Assiduous Student

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

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

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

But, as further developments amply proved, that was only the surface appearance. Big events and new conceptions were needed for Bill to discover himself, and unfold his hidden talent and capacities for greater things. They came with the development of the crisis which shattered for all time the stability of capitalism and cleared the road for the militant mass movement of labor, which will finally put an end to its domination.

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

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

Had Indispensable Qualities

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

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

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

Virtues Outweighed Failings

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

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

Herald of the Future

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

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

fighter and soft-hearted friend, Bill Brown. (Next week's article will deal with Rodney Salisbury. -Ed.)

OMAHA COURT ARRESTS, VAGS **UNION OFFICIAL**

Police Seize Organizer In Office, Search His Quarters

OMAHA, Nebraska. — Arrested in the office of the union by which well-known militant and paid organizer for Local 554, Omaha Teamsters union, was last week pended sentence of 90 days in over last year.

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

Goldman Excluded

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

Goldman lasked the court to continue the case until Russell could obtain local legal counsel, but Wheeler ignored this request and found the defendant guilty of vagrancy. The sentence of 90 days, suspended provided the defendant leaves town immediatly, ting rid of "undesirables," especially the unemployed and home-

Blow At Unionism

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

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

ANNOUNCEMENTS

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

This party for only money for the paper.

One of the most energy colors with the paper.

NEW YORK

NEW YORK BOAT RIDE, Sunday July 3, to Hook Mountain Organized by Italian I.W.W. Steamer Calvert leaves Pier 1, North River, 9 copies of the prizes for her. And a. m. sharp. Return trip from she's off to a head start already, Hook Mountain starts 6.30 p.m. with two subscriptions to her Swimming, dancing, Spaghetti and other Italian delights. Tickets may be had at any on how to best put over the camcalling MAin 4-0291.

RUSSIAN BULLETIN. New issue, just out, features "The Death Agony of Capitalism and the Tasks of the Fourth International." Also articles on the Soviet Union. Read Trotsky in the original. Subsingle copies 20 cents from

YIPSELS ATTENTION! Do you paper! want a Convention? The dues response to date doesn't show it. Get your circle paid up by July week, too. It will last until Oct- has increased his order to seven. 15 if you want proper representation.—Y.P.S.L. National Finance Committee.

EASTERN PENNSYLVANIA

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

CAMPS

SEVEN OAKS, Eaton-N. J. (Red Bank Station). Capacity 25, swimming pool, tennis court and other sports facilities, good comfortable housing. Daily \$2.75, weekly \$16.00. Fare 80 town 515.

LA NOCHE de la FIESTA

See Announcement

NEXT WEEK

Guild Convention Shows Newsmen's Big Gains

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

The fifth annual convention of the foreign policy resolution, the the American Newspaper Guild, keynote of the entire convention. C.I.O., held recently in Toronto There were present 130 delegates, convicted of vagrancy and order- representing a total mmbership ed to leave the city under a sus- of 16,797 a 51 per cent increase

It was reported that 77 contracts were in effect with 50 locals of the guild, 40 of which The significance of such an ad- cago speech and for amending vance can hardly be overestimated, especially when one remembers that the organization is one against a heterogenous minority of white-collar workers.

Political Back-Sliding

Unfortunately, however, losses were also registered. Last year's convention reaffirmed the Guild's stand for a Labor Party without the slightest trace of People's curity program of Stalin-Broun, Frontism or Democratic Frontism. Gunnar Mickelson, A.N.G. vice-president, made a speech in the magistrate, Judge Harry which he stated that "labor can never hope to come into a full that they will be punishing "agshare of the goodness of this gressors" and stopping fascism. country without having candidates of its own, responsible to labor alone.'

This year, Jonathan Eddy, reelected executive vice-president, spoke for "our government con- are already doing-that the aim ducted in such a way as to hinder and not to help the cause of agis the established manner of get- gressor nations," barely touching on the question of independent political action. For him, as for Hevwood Broun, unanimousis merely a stepping stone to unity with a capitalist government which pretends willingness to fight reaction abroad. This was made abundantly clear in "aggressor" nations.

Whereas last year the Guild revealed significant organization-prominently featured its demand he is employed, Alfred Russell, al gains as the result of the in- for a \$3,000,000,000 appropriadustrial union policy adopted at tion for W.P.A., this year first last year's St. Louis convention. place was accorded the speeches by Roosevelt and Hull on "quarantining the aggressor" and 'international cooperation." Backed up by an editorial in the convention issue of The Guild Reporter which demands that the "United States.... act resolutely had been signed in the past 12 to make aggression impractical, months. Thirteen of these called the resolution calls, among other for the Guild Shop, making a things, for an international peace total of 22 Guild Shop contracts. policy based on Roosevelt's Chi-

A Disastrous Idea

the Neutrality Act to define the

aggressor. It was passed 109 5/6

of $40 \ 1/6$.

Thus the Guild, in spite of notable organizational advances has allowed itself to be snared by the anti-working class collective sewho apparently have sold the Guild the disastrous idea of giving up the class struggle on the war question in the false belief

The Guild membership is being committed to support of any war in which American imperialism engages, provided the imperialists declare—as, of course, they of the war is the preservation of peace and democracy.

Members of the Guild must be warned that in any war embarked upon by American imperialism, regardless of the official ly re-elected president, this policy justification, only the ruling class stands to gain. American labor, including the Guild, has nothing to gain. It stands only to lose, together with the workers of the

Appeal Army

"National Appeal Campaign: | ober 1 and the following prizes Teamsters Union is frightening The drive for 10,000 circulation are at stake: is on! Enthusiastic letters from all over the country indicate that | Families" by Lundberg and "His-Russell is ignoring the court a real campaign can be expected. Boston writes that the entire by Leon Trotsky. branch has been mobilized to participate in the work: "We John Dos Passos and an autohave the Appeal on eight news- graphed copy of "The Revolution stands regularly and will send Betrayed" by Leon Trotsky. in names and addresses." From that the comrades there are plan- to the New International.

> One of the most enthusiastic to the New International. responses is from our old friend Ruth Querio of Allentown, Penn.: 'I am personally aiming at First Prize. I want it! I've challenged my branch to pit their entire strength against mine alone. Ruth has asked us to put aside with two subscriptions to her credit! The Allentown branch has held several lengthy discussions paign. Keep your eye on the Allentown comrades! We expect big things of them!

This is National Newsstand Week, Crews of comrades and friends are to be sent out to all newsstands in order to get the scription, \$100 for six months; Appeal placed. Literature agents should see to it that this is done Rae Spiegel, c/o Socialist Approperly as suggested in the peal, 116 University Place, Appeal Army bulletin. And don't Appeal Army bulletin. And don't forget to send in immediately lists of the stands carrying the

(a) First Prize: "America's 60 tory of the Russian Revolution"

(b) Second Prize: "U.S." by (c) Third Prize: One year's

Reading, Penn. we have word subscription to the Appeal and ning a party for July 3 to raise (d) Fourth Prize: Six Months' subscription to the Appeal and

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

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

> Subs picked up this week. New York City's revival helped considerably. Here is the list: MINNEAPOLIS New York City . California Washington, D. C. New Mexico New Jersey Philadelphia St. Paul Connecticut Cleveland Toledo Miscellaneus

On bundle orders, we welcome a new agent to the ranks: Pauline Thompson of Worcester, Mass., who starts with five And The sub campaign begins this Ben Herbert of Saskatoon, Sask.

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

NEW YORK CITY MANHATTAN: Fourteenth St.

at University Place, S. E.; at Broadway, S. E; at Fourth Ave., S. W; at Fourth Ave., N. E; at Allerton Ave. Station; Freeman Ave. and Southern Reviewed Fourth Ave., S.E. (1 and 2); at Ave. and Southern Boulevard; Third Ave., S.W; at Third Ave., 174th St. and Boston Road. N.W; opp. Jefferson Theatre; at | BROOKLYN: Grand and Union Second Ave., N.W; at Sixth Ave., Aves.; Havemeyer Avenue and N.E; Rand Book Store, 7 E. 15th St.; 12th St. and University Pl. N.E; Candy Store, 75 Greenwich Ave.

Forty-second St. at Fifth Ave. S.W; at Sixth Ave., S.E; at Sixth R. Zettlemeyer, 637 Hamilton St. Ave., S.W; at Seventh Ave.. Further information S.W; opposite Sterns; 103 W phone BRyant 9-7620 or Eaton- 44th St.; 46th St. and B'way. S.E. Essex and Delancy Sts: Book-

store at Grand and Attorney Sts: Candy Store, S. E. 9th St. and Second Ave; Biederman's Book Store, 12th St. and Second Ave; Wigerson, 145th St. and St. Nicholas Ave; 110th St. and Columbus Ave.

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

St. (opp. Loew's Theatre); Sorkin, 206th St. and Bainbridge Ave; Jerome and Burnside Aves; 160th St. and Prospect Ave:

South 4th St; Marcy and Broadway; Pitkin and Douglas Aves; Sutter and Pitkin Aves.

ALLENTOWN, PA.

BOSTON, MASS. Andelman's, Tremont St. (opp. Hotel Bradford)

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

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

MacDonald's Bookstore, 65 Sixth Street

Bob Minor And The Times

A Revealing Commentary

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

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

That "Frank Commercial Interest"

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

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

Stalinists Favor Imperialist War

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

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

Progressive Painters Force A Close Election

(Continued from page 1)

some it seemed like a choice bet-inization and patient agitation for ween Stalinist bureaucrats and such a program can assure the board bureaucrats, and since the progressives of victory in the days former appeared to be the un- to come. derdogs in the case, a number of inters voted for them as an expression of protest.

the reactionary board — whether that confronts the union in the prearranged or not—the Stalin- near future — the progressives ists just managed to squeeze will have to continue to draw the through. Their victory remains membership around their proa straight machine victory. The gram. In developing and in progressives, in spite of the spreading it, they will have to smokescreen provided by the make clear to every member that board and without any of the they have nothing in common material advantages at its dis- with the reactionary general exposal that the machine naturally ecutive board or any of its suphas, piled up more than 3,000 porters in New York. votes on their program.

That program, elaborated and the strength of the progressives in the future.

it could rally 3,000 painters then to come. The program is an asthis means that persistent orga- surance of it.

The Fight Goes On

In the locals, in the progressive In spite of this direct aid of opposition clubs, on every issue

The New York painters have

proved by this election that, alexpanded, is bound to increase though they are fed up with Stalinism, they do not want any return to old union methods-to The secret ballot, the machine the methods of the board. What rotation system for the dispen- they will rally to, what they will sation of jobs coming in through endorse and support, is a prothe union, the election of all paid gressive group with a militant officials, the setting up of a program and a clean banner genuine housing program to clear They will not only rally to such the slums and provide the unem- a militant, progressive banner ployed union painters with work but will strive for its success: - these progressive demands It is up to the progressives not struck a tremendous echo of ap- to disappoint their hopes. It is proval among the painters that up to the progressives to build voted last Saturday. If, within for the future, to build on the the short six weeks the progres- firm foundations of program and sives worked out this program policy. The election results are and began to organize around it, only an indication of the victory

July New International Is Finest Issue Yet Published

The July issue of The New ist war in his article, "Learn To International is now on sale. Think," and Max Shachtman re-With its variety and quality of views the recent convention of articles, this issue is the best- the successors to the Daughters rounded so far published. In ad- of the American Revolution-the dition, new and important fea- | Communist Party. tures have been added. Dwight MacDonald, formerly of Fortune is a subject dealt with in James magazine and now of the Parti-san Review, begins a new month-Dress Clothes." The archives ly feature, the "column about section this month is of excepcolumns" entitled "They, The tional interest, with a reprint of People," certain to be of great

A syndicalist militant gives a graphic eye-witness account of the treacherous role of the Po- per year and single copies are a timely and significant article,

"The Betrayal in Spain."

The intellectuals and fascism a speech of L. D. Trotsky on the question of the united front and the trade unions.

The subscription rate is \$2.00 pular Front in the struggle 20 cents. For copies and inforagainst the Fascists in Spain in mation concerning the magazine, address The New International Leon Trotsky discusses tactics 116 University Place, New York in the struggle against imperial- City.

Cleveland Workless In A Desperate Plight

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

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

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

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

Akron Labor **Defense Hit**

(Continued from page 2)

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

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

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

Record of Militants

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

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

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

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

Coast Federation Is Being Primed For Blacklegging

(Continued from page 1)

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

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

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

Virginia Workers Vote Strike To Force Pact

controversy between the Ame- eral intervention. rican Hardware Company and the Luggage Workers Union is near a climax as workers laid plans for a strike to force a contract settlement, pending since last

the company refuses to concede the demands of the union. The luggage workers constitute the labor's organizational drive.

Baron, international representative of the union, a Federal and attempt to avert the strike ween the company and the union. stated that plans for the strike gator's report.

ETTRICK, Va.-A six-months' | will be carried out despite Fed-

Optical Men Organize

Another union, organized in recent months, is the Optical Workers Union, which this week December when the original pact is voting under supervision of the National Labor Relations Board Power to call out the 1,200 to determine the collective barworkers in the factory was voted gaining agency for the workers to the union's executive commit- of the Titmus Optical Company. tee some time ago and strike Workers of the production and sentiment is growing rapidly as shipping department will participate in the balloting.

The company has carried on a

bitter campaign against the worklargest organized group in this ers and numerous men have been area, only recently touched by discharged for union activity. A recent investigation by an agent At the insistence of Murray of the N.L.R.B. resulted in the investigator recommending to the board that the company be comlabor conciliator is due to arrive pelled to reinstate four union members and that the company by participation in parleys bet- be instructed to desist from antiunion activities. The N.L.R.B. Local union spokesmen, however, has not yet acted on the investi-

Drive For Fund To Aid Revolutionists Gathers Momentum In Country

Refugees is getting under way ing from a serious lung disease. By Stainst Following New York, local com-mittees are being set up in Phila-delphia and Newark. Friends in A well-known Polish revol Following New York, local com- him medical care and enable him Detroit are planning to hold a meeting to organize activities in the auto area. Other cities have

Since its formation two weeks assistance have come to its attention, the committee of the American Fund reports.

The Need Is Urgent Several Austrian revolutionists

occupation of Austria, is living York City.

The campaign of the American under difficulties in another Fund for Political Prisoners and country. This comrade is suffer-

A well-known Polish revolutionist, formerly a member of the Executive Committee of the Communist International, expelwritten for information before led from Poland and several launching their local campaign. other countries for revolutionary activity, and now living in Eurago, several new cases requiring ope illegally with his wife and baby, has written asking for aid.

A folder giving detailed information on the activities of the American Fund and describing what can be done with each dollar niding from the Nazi persecutors you are able to give, was being n that country require money to prepared this week. Copies can enable them to go to other lands, be obtained from the office of One Austrian revolutionist who the American Fund for Political was freed from jail by the Schus- | Prisoners and Refugees, Room snigg amnesty before the Nazi 1609, 100 Fifth Avenue, New

> The Most Persecuted People In Europe

> > ■ The Revolutionary Refugees from Fascism

Appeal To you For Aid

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

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

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

I am enclosing to help with

Russian - Speaking Comrades Form Club

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

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

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

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

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

(Continued from page 1)

the verdict. The fact is that fast in many parts of the country. Funds are required both to give Martin has made no effort to convince the membership of the justice of his position or to expose the heinous role of the Stalinists where it would really count-in the local union meetings!

Split Menaces Union

course immediately, the danger of split immediately after the Against this danger Martin will er and deeper into rule by fiat bitable proof that the current charters and suspending whole batches of members is no more important than flicking a fly from one's arm. This is the road to disaster.

bureaucratic stick on the worst he opposition of every progres- is that the current one has sive worker and group in the union. time on, he himself leaves the camp of progressive unionism.

Such a solution of the factional fight is both wrong and unnecessary. The "Peace Group," tied to the apron strings of the causes of the current purge? Stalinists, talks about safeguarding the democratic rights of the Denny broke a rather prolonged rank-and-file. This is the sheer- period of silence to report "proest hypocrisy, as we have explained in article after article.

The Stalinists are vulnerable in hundred spots. They come into this fight with dirty hands. But ly silent) as foreign press agent A the membership is ignorant of for Stalin's "victories," centered the truth. They must be told the whole story. There is no other way. When this is done, the tide in the union will turn. The record month this year after a poor of Stalinist activities-of the violation of the 20-point programstinks to high heaven.

Soviet Economy Lags As Purge Intensified

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

By JOHN G. WRIGHT

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

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

Sukhomlin Out

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

The purge has been extended to lower officials in Biro-Bidjan. Harold Denny, in reporting the latest purge in the Ukraine, cites the arrest of 10 important party officials and comments as follows: "The fact that confessions have been obtained indicates a trial will be held or that a secret one has been held." (N. Y. Unless Martin veers in his Times, June 20.) On June 21, the Times carried a dispatch concerning "an intensive purge trial is a menacing possibility. in the political ranks of the army" which is being directed have no other course than further by Mekhlis, Stalin's former priautocratic actions. Every step in vate secretary. These and many this direction will drive him deep- other additional facts are indualone, until he reaches the realm purge is as widespread and inof John L. Lewis, where lifting tensive as the preceding ones.

Everlasting Purge

To have forecast this latest development required no particular prophetic gifts, but rather The Stalinists cannot be fought an understanding of the inextriwith the weapons of bureaucracy. cable position in which the Sta-Indeed, the very idea of using a linist clique is situated, and the mechanics whereby it has thus proponents of bureaucratic rule- far maintained itself in power. the Communist party and its In the face of growing internal stooges-is so ridiculous and and external difficulties it has stupid as to make no sense what- and can have only one formula: ever. But if Martin persists in Purge, purge and re-purge his present course, there will be with the periodic "elections" no other alternative but this im- serving as a cover for the blood- daily production in industry have possible position. At that mo- baths. The only difference betment, he will have to reckon on ween the past and present purges the lie to assurances that Sovies progressive ceived far less publicity both in the rut. Far from increasing, the From that the Soviet and foreign press.

on several occasions the intimate The figures for May and June connection between the crisis in even indicate a serious decline Soviet economy and the purges. Is the economic crisis one of the Only the other day Harold

gress" and "gains" in Soviet economy. (N. Y. Times, June 5.) Denny, who has apparently supplanted Duranty (so mysterioushis extremely optimistic dispatch on the alleged fact that "industry as a whole has been increasing production from month to start in January."

Duranty Style

Denny wrote this dispatch in the familiar Duranty manner, nicians? arraying statistics, citing "average increases," indicating "further progress" and so on, with a few evasive comments on past answer. It has been prevented difficulties, calculated to cover by the colossal force that is low the report with an air of object- ed in the nationalized means of ivity. According to Denny (and production, the real foundation the official Stalinist press which Denny echoes), the current mining all these years. But how purge is taking place against the background of economic re-

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

What We Learn

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

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

Unfounded Optimism

There is no ground whatever for the official optimism which Denny has dished up in his dispatch. Apart from the purge itself, those official statistics than are still issued by Stalinist authorities (reports of average been suspended for months) give industry is being pulled out of production of steel, iron and re We have already pointed out led products has been stagnating We cite the figures for the coal industry. Since the beginning the year the daily average (in thousands of tons) has been a follows:

	Sov.	Do
	Union	Bas
anuary	373.5	22
ebruary	365.2	22
Iarch	355.4	22
pril	349.8	213
lay (first part)	326.6	203
		101.169

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

What, then, has thus far privented a complete collapse in the Soviet Union? There is only one that Stalinism has been under long can the debacle be averted? How long will the blood-baths and the reign of terror centinue But from Denny's own dispatch to maintain Stalinism in power?

The Whole N.Y. Party

will be out for the

S.W.P. Boat Ride Saturday, July 9, 9.30 a. m. - 10 p. m.

- A cool trip on the water
- Swimming, ball games, music, singing, beer at Hook Mountain. ALL FOR ONE DOLLAR

Tickets must be obtained in advance at 116 University Place, N. Y. C. Boat leaves Pier A, The Battery, 9.30 at m.

ON GUARD AGAINST SPY SCARES!

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

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

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

The indictment, that is to say, is a

major step in the lifting up of a war

psychosis.

But much more ominously, hard on the heels of the indictment have come paigns against "subversive elements."

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

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

howls for deportation of aliens, huge funds for the intelligence services, cam-

And the chief war-monger, Roosevelt, joins the pack with a cry for more millions and more "vigilance" in the search for "enemies within."

of American imperialism.

Socialist Appeal

VOL. II. - No. 27. Saturday, July 2, 1938 Published every week by the

SOCIALIST APPEAL PUBLISHING ASS'N. at 116 University Place, New York, N. Y. Telephone: National Office: Algonquin 4-8547

Subscriptions: \$2.00 per year; \$1.00 for 6 months. Foreign: \$2.50 per year. Bundle order

cents per copy. Single copies 5 cents. All checks and money orders should be made out to the Socialist Appeal.

Entered as second-class matter September 1 1937 at the post office at New York, New York, under the Act of March 3, 1879.

MAX SHACHTMAN Editor. FRANK GRAVES HAROLD ROBERTS

Associate Editors. S. STANLEY Business Manager.

Lovestone's Travels

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

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

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

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

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

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

to understand the reason and causes, and the precise nature and implications of the given break.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

ASK FOR THE APPEAL AT YOUR NEWSSTAND HOW TO FIGHT WAR

Isolation Collective Security Relentless Class Struggle

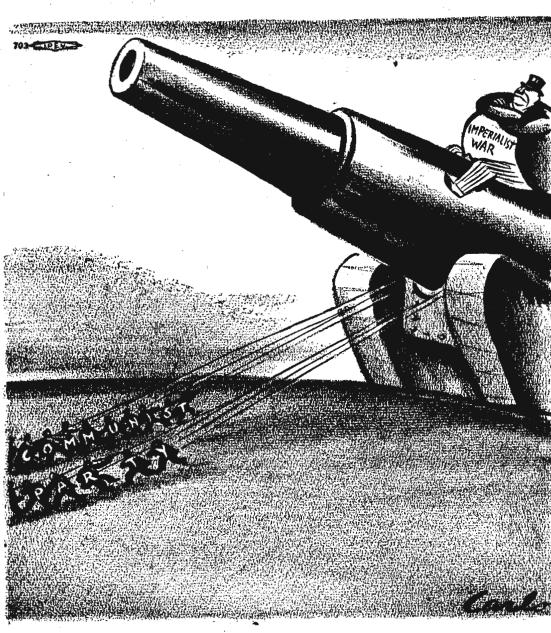
JAMES BURNHAM

Socialist Workers Party 116 University Place New York City

Workers of the business depart-(Scripps) and the Pittsburgh workers themselves. Sun-Telegraph (Hearst), members of the Newspaper and News Distributors Office Workers Union, Local 21341, A.F.L. have after a short strike obtained a contract providing for pay increases, paid vacation and sick leave. Closed shop was not ob-

SUBSCRIBE NOW TO

cialism in one country," they offer, in crisp bright ideological cellophane, the Communists Disdain To Conceal Our Aims"



Unity Against The Union Wreckers!

the Stalinist union-wreckers has occasion in these columns. Like itals of a healthy organism, the capture and use them as part of the war machine of the Kremlin bureaucracy and American im-

The Stalinists have registered work. One union after another came under their control or at liance with some of the most corrupt and reactionary elements n the labor movement.

Opposition Is Growing

In recent times, however, there nas been a growing movement of it has recorded gratifying pro- crush. gress. If it has not always been able to unhorse the Stalinist bureaucrats, it has not failed to be a painful thorn in their sides will yet purge the American trade unions of its poisons and

A few instances will suffice to

In the marine transport inmen, whom Lewis appointed boss having their own way for quite good. some time, without encountering not only ended by getting into head - on collision with the A.F. of L., and with the International Ladies Garment Work-C.I.O.), but have met with a stiff and conscious opposition ment of the Pittsburgh Press from the ranks of the marine

Movement On Coast

overwhelming majority has turn- a valid substitute for the latter, the vanguard and prop of bureau-

the American labor movement by Coast. To a lesser, but growing forces. extent, this movement is finding been dealt with on more than one roots in the other marine transport unions in the West and

inmistakable successes in their missioner of the National Mari- Zausner gang leaders, has been C.P. member, acts just like one, columns. least their decisive influence; and has, together with his Stalinist The revolt of the rank-and-file

ressive rank-and-file at the Curran himself. Its paper, The broad trail of misdeeds which Rank-and-File Pilot, has had be proud of. the Communist Party agents marked success among the memhave hacked through the trade bers. More than that, the New unions they penetrated. And York local of the N.M.U., preespecially where this rank-and- viously dominated by the Stalinfile movement has proceeded in- ists and their 13th Street sailors. telligently and not allowed itself is beginning to feel the presence to be lured into the trap of red- and influence of the opposition, baiting, or to be used by forces which systematically provoked rank-and-file and the progressive just as black as the Stalinists, riots have thus far failed to

Clarity Is Needed

and to give promise of the re- the movement it speaks for, does candidate Stevens and missed surgent left wing movement that not have the clarity of mind and purpose that characterizes the West Coast Firemen, for example,

A rank-and-file progressive, on mouth - to - mouth agitation serious opposition. Now they have anti-Stalinist movement cannot alone, cannot get very far. The make real headway and serve the militant firemen on the West power. What has been done in a cause of unity and militancy, by Coast proceeded differently. They protesting its own "American-| brought forth an excellent anti-| done in all of them, provided the ism"—that can safely be left to dote to the Stalinist lie-machine: ers Union (which is part of the Browderian patriots—or by a fighting paper, issued regularly, unity and determination. confusing the Stalinists with and devoted to the simple idea "Reds"—which they are not-or that telling the truth, systemaby condemning working class tically and vigorously, will finally in their respective unions and political action just because the break the domination even of the Stalinist version of labor politics powerful Stalinist machine. is a monstrous abomination. This the West Coast Sailors, by the organ of the S.U.P. Un- the left and progressive move-

Among the Painters

Progress against Stalinist for years on a rule-or-ruin policy shoremen who have had their 9 of the Painters' Union, the in the trade unions, calculated to bellyful of Bridges and his co- Weinstock machine was swept into office two years ago on the Nor is everything as rosy as wave of protest against Zausnerit once was for the Stalinists ism. The record of the Weinstock on the Atlantic seaboard. Up to machine, which promptly allied recently, Curran, lord high com- itself with most of the "ousted" time Union, who, if he is not a dealt with adequately in these

where they did not dominate di- aides, been undisputed master of against Stalinist mismanagerectly, they prevailed through the situation, that is, if we omit ment, at first spontaneous, was stooges and innocents or in alfrom consideration the mossback- given necessary organizational ists' ed Ryan bureaucracy among the form and consciousness mainly cessible to all. Zinoviev, Kamelongshoremen, which the milit- through the medium of an ex- nev-were figures of international ants have been combatting for cellent four-page tabloid paper, magnitude. I believe Lovestone the Progressive Painter, a model knew them personally sufficiently Now, however, the Stalinist in many respects of a fighting well. The accusation against them crew is facing a serious rank-and- union journal. By means of it, was politically and psychologicalfile opposition in the N.M.U. the progressives polled 46 per opposition to Stalinist control, which put up a complete slate cent of the vote in the elections, expressing the horror and indi- in the union elections for all of- which makes the narrow victory gnation of the healthy and pro- fices except that occupied by obtained by the Stalinist machine something they cannot afford to

Which brings us to a decisive Wherever the Stalinists point. operate, they work as an organized and disciplined machine, with vast resources at their disposal. That even this handicap can be overcome in time by the movements, is shown by the vote friends. They did not believe for in the painters union, where, with a very recently organized group and little funds at their disposal, the servitor of the old-line fak Unfortunately, the Pilot, like get more than 3,000 votes for ers (and their younger emulatvictory by only 600 votes.

A Lesson To Learn

But to overcome the handicap, and this fact militates against the the left wing, progressive and best interests of the struggle a- rank-and-file movements every- thousands of militants, progresgainst the Stalinists and the where have a lesson to learn and, future of the movement itself. if you please, a leaf to tear out men and women who are for dedustry, the Stalinists, headed by Mingled with honest militant and of the Stalinist book: Organiza- mocratically-controlled unions, for Harry Bridges of the longshore- progressive elements are not only tion and a press! A progressive class struggle policies, against conservatives, but confusionists group that forms on the eve of bureaucratism and class collaboof the West Coast C.I.O., were who often do more harm than an election and disperses after ration. At present, their efforts

In the old days, the commun-The Sailors Union of the defect, by the way, is often to ists set the pace for organizing country. It is high time that they Pacific, speaking through its be seen in the material published and coordinating the efforts of started a counter-offensive aand the left-wing militants of the derstandable though syndicalist ment in the trade unions, and the Stalinists and their allies are Marine Firemen's union, through and anti-political prejudices may giving them systematic, central-balked in time, they will not stop their paper, West Coast Firemen, be as a working class reaction ized and effective expression until the labor movement lies have conducted a running fight to the stench of reactionary Sta-through regularly published prostrated and ruined at their Add 10% for postage. Paywhich is so effective that the linist politics, the former is not papers. Nowadays, the C.P. is feet.

THE SOCIALIST APPEAL ed against the Stalinist gang in and can only end by doing irre- cracy and reaction in the unions, lute-is the need of the hour.

Trotsky on Lovestone

No, It Is Not The Same!

rears of subserviency to the rorists, allies of the fascists, etc. Thermidorian bureaucracy. This hese people are incorrigible.

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

The Difference Explained

We will explain briefly the difference to these gentlemn. The Mensheviks are a conser tied up with imperialism. In the October, Revolution they united with the bourgeoisie against the proletariat. During the Civil War, the right wing of the Mensheviks (Maisky, Troyanovsky and many others) stood on the side of the

mperialists - some even with

veapons in hand.

Paris consider Leon Blum, the clerk of the trusts, the execution- an opponent of anti-semitism, er of colonial peoples, as their friend and leader. Under these ity that Dreyfus might really be circumstances, different forms of a spy: such cases are not at all a bloc of Russian Mensheviks, es- infrequent among officers. But it pecially of their individual re- is quite another thing to come presentatives and groups, with imperialists, are politically entirely possible, both at present and in the future, just as they were possible in the past.

Trial of Mensheviks

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

If, in view of the stated circumstances, I admitted the possibility that these or other Mensheviks, or former Mensheviks, were really involved in imperialist intrigues and combinations. I did not at all, however, come cancer eating away at the around the Gulf, and has even union-wrecking is also to be not- out as the defender of the Staestablished substantial contacts ed among the painters of New linist bureaucracy and of Stalin-Stalinist machine has been bent with militants among the long- York, where, in District Council ist justice. On the contrary, I continued in irreconcilable struggle against the Moscow oligarchy.

The case was—with Mr. Lovestone's permission - somewhat different in the trials against the "Trotskyists." By its entire past, this grouping had shown that it was little inclined to friendship with the bourgeoisie and with imperialism

Lovestone Knew the Truth

The literature of the "Trotsyly preposterous.

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

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

ors!) in beating down any progressive opposition that appears.

For Unity Of Effort

The American labor unions, the C. I. O. particularly, contain sives, class-conscious workersthe vote is counted, which relies are largely futile. United, centralized, given voice and direction, they would be a tremendous few unions shows what can be progressives everywhere act with

It is high time the rank-andfile militants came together, first then nationally, to constitute trade union movement of this gainst the union-wreckers. Unless

Action - speedy, unified, reso-

The Workers Age of June 11 | Zinoviev, Kamenev, Smirnov, earries an article in defense of Radek, Piatakov and the others Lovestone and Company's long were counter-revolutionary ter-

Good-For-Nothing

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

In France, at the end of the last century, a Jewish officer, Dreyfus, was accused of espionage. Dreyfus was a figure unknown The Menshevik emigres in to anyone. One could be thoroughly sincere, a democrat, a socialist, etc., and still admit the possibilout in defense of the French general staff, and of all kinds of reactionary scoundrels, and to take part in the anti-semitic newspaper campaign.

Mistakes and Mistakes

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

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

LEON TROTSKY.

June 18, 1938.

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

with every \$3.00 purchase

Any one of the following

Mainzer: Caesar's Mantle Grattan: Preface to Chaos Marcu: Birth of the Nations Marcu: Men and Forces of Our Time (Lenin, Mussolini, etc.) Stein: M-Day Laidler: Socializing our De-

Levy: The Web of Thought and Action Nearing: Twilight of Empire Schmalhausen: New Road to Progress Kautsky: Economic Doctsines of Marx

Lansbury (George): My Life Langdon-Davies: Behind the Spanish Barricades Turner (Ben): About Myself Pierre-Quint: Andre Gide, His

Life and His Work Olden: Hitler Thomas: After the New Deal Eastman: Artists In Uniform Buell: Europe, A History of Ten Years

Russell: Proposed Roads to Freedom Plekhanov: Art and Society

LABOR BOOK SHOP 28 East 12th Street, New York City

ment with order or C.O.D.