

Organizer Kills Brown In Insane Fit

President Of Minneapolis Drivers' Union Shot By Demented Union Employee; Great Crowd Honors Him at Funeral

MIDWEST LABOR MOURNS LOSS

Tragedy and grief descended upon the Minneapolis labor movement when the terrible news was made public that Bill Brown, president of General Drivers Union, Local 544, and one of the most popular figures of the Northwest working class, had been shot and killed on May 28 while driving around in his car with a fellow-unionist who was a friend of long standing.

The man who fired the fatal shots was, according to his own statement to other union officers and to the police, Arnold Johnson, an organizer of the union.

Statement by Union

"The tragedy is enhanced by the fact that the man who killed him was his friend," reads a statement of the union's Executive Board. "They were both transfer truckmen, had been acquainted for years, and in the last eighteen months since Johnson went to work full time for the union, had worked together closely. Outside of working hours, they were often in each other's company. As Johnson told Police Chief Forestal, 'I had no reason to kill him. He was my best friend.' During the past week, several of our organizers, working daily with Johnson, had noticed that he was morose, depressed, uncommunicative, unlike his usual self. He had been unwell and recently under a doctor's care. A conscientious organizer, he had been driving himself beyond his power. His associates attributed his attitude to overwork, and advised him to get more rest. Then came this terrible deed."

After the fatal shooting, Johnson left the death car and, after locating a number of other union officials, told them in an obviously unbalanced state of having killed Brown. Amid general unbelief, several officials finally proceeded to the car, and found the slumped-over body of the union president. Johnson, still in a dazed condition, was finally taken into custody by the police and lodged in a cell.

Sinister Possibility

While the shooting seems to have been committed by Johnson in a moment of dementia, and to have no further significance beyond that, the possibility of other hands of a political character having played a part in the tragedy is not entirely excluded. It is known, for example, that the most sinister efforts have been made in the past by interested elements to strike at and discredit the militant leadership of the Drivers Union, and the possibility that the same or similar forces are involved in the present case is being probed.

The funeral of Bill Brown, attended by thousands of workers and representatives of the whole Minneapolis labor movement, was a solemnly impressive ceremony, attesting the esteem in which the courageous and militant fighter for labor was held by the class to which he devoted his entire life.

Firemen Back Progressives; Vote Merger With Sailors

SAN FRANCISCO.—Final tally on the membership referendum conducted by the Marine Firemen's Union on the West Coast showed overwhelming support by seagoing firemen for the proposal to amalgamate the unions of the unlicensed personnel into one industrial union of seamen.

The vote on amalgamation was 1,015 for and 117 opposed. Other propositions, calling for control of union officials by the branches as well as the headquarters in San Francisco, and maintenance of the union's independence of either the C.I.O. or the A.F. of L., were passed by corresponding figures.

The propositions on the ballot represented policies advocated by the West Coast Fireman, organ of the progressives within the union, and the results of voting were a severe blow to the Stalinists.

The vote was carried out despite the active opposition of the Stalinists, and the almost unanimous vote for the propositions revealed the extent to which the rank and file are rejecting the splitting policies of the Communist Party.

BILL BROWN



Minneapolis Labor Pays Final Tribute To Brown

Thousands Gather at Headquarters of Drivers' Local 544 for Last Rites Honoring Murdered Union Leader

By CARLOS HUDSON

MINNEAPOLIS.—Bill Brown died! Still stunned by the dreadful news, ten thousand union men and women silently wound their way to the Teamsters Headquarters on Saturday to pay their last respects to the fallen president of the General Drivers Union, as brave a man as ever wore a union button and led his men in battle.

All day Saturday working men and women climbed the three flights of stairs to the big third-floor auditorium where the body lay, banked by 300 great wreaths sent by unions, by various sections of Local 544, and individuals. Squads of union stewards with white arm-bands acted as ushers, directing the flow of mourning men and women.

When the last rites got underway at three P. M., all the halls on the three floors of the building were filled, and thousands stood bareheaded in the streets outside. A dozen loudspeakers carried the proceedings to the halls and the streets.

Dunnes Speak

Carrying out Bill's oft-expressed wish, Miles and Vincent Dunne spoke at the last union meeting Bill was ever to attend. Silence enveloped the union headquarters and the streets as Miles Dunne, secretary-treasurer of the Teamsters Joint Council, began:

"I want to say that of all the difficult assignments I have received in the labor movement, this is the most difficult of all. I am almost at a loss to convey the sense of personal loss. Men of the calibre of Bill Brown come but seldom."

"Bill was born in the direst poverty. As a child, he knew nothing but want and hard knocks. At the age of thirteen he went out in the world and took the burden of supporting his family. He started driving a team of

horses, at six dollars a week. From then on, Bill Brown knew no rest.

"Bill was not a saint. He was a very human and a very kindly person. His virtues outweighed whatever faults he had. Once you knew him, you saw in him the real man he was underneath."

Bosses Hated Him

"In this life there are people who walk through it and see the hard life of the workers. Some there are who see the truth and are resentful; but they take out their resentment in muttering in darkened rooms. A minority of those who see have courage and a divine spark and principles. Instead of shedding tears, they deem it their task to go out in the arena of struggle and right the wrongs they see about them. There is a tiny minority of men like this, and Bill Brown was such a man. He saw the terrible inequalities of life and felt it was his task to help correct and change things.

"The bosses hated Bill Brown. The workers loved him. Bill Brown fought the best kind of a fight he knew how. The General Drivers Union and the whole trade union movement took great strides forward because of Bill's work. He did the things he wanted to do. He brought a measure of comfort and security to thousands of workers. If there were a Valhalla where the great fallen champions of the working class gather, there Bill Brown would occupy one of the highest seats among those who have fought and died for the cause."

Vincent Dunne's Tribute

Vincent Dunne then spoke as follows:

"Brothers and sisters of the trade union movement, friends of Bill Brown and his family: I want to speak about what I know Bill would want me to deal with at a time like this. Bill is attending with us today his last union meeting with his brothers and sisters, with the people he lived for and fought for. All of his grand life was spent in the struggle of the workers' movement, and for the men and women exploited by a cruel, unjust and horrible economic system. Bill always spoke, thought and acted for the movement as he understood it.

"He said many times that his main object in life was the movement, and he wanted to serve it as best he could. Long ago he indicated how he viewed that service. Years ago Bill Brown pledged me that on every occasion when I spoke I was to emphasize the broader aims of the movement. He asked me to articulate these broader aims.

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Harlan Miners Accuse Bosses Of Thug Rule

Court Hears Stories Of Terror From Union Witnesses

The men that work the rich coal mines of Harlan County leveled accusing fingers at the mine-owners and operators and their hired thugs last week, as union members revealed the planned brutality and intimidation used by the Harlan County Coal Operators Association against union men.

Beatings, bribery, kidnapping, the blacklist and even murder were the weapons of the mine operators in their ruthless struggle against all attempts of the exploited workers to organize, according to witnesses appearing in the courtroom where 19 corporate defendants, together with 44 individuals, are on trial for plotting to nullify the Wagner Act by force and violence.

Sheriff Heads Thugs

Under orders and on the payroll of the operators' association was the entire force of former Sheriff Theodore Middleton, Chief thug and actual director of the campaign against union organizers and members was Ben Unthank, deputy sheriff who figures largely in the testimony of the government witnesses.

Eb Lewis, witness for the government, revealed the methods employed by Unthank in recruiting his force of deputies, when he testified that Unthank cross-examined him on his marksmanship and then offered him a job on behalf of the Harlan County Coal Operators Association.

Timothy Huff, a Negro mine worker, blacklisted and unable to obtain work, was offered \$150 a month to act as a labor spy for the association. Huff had kept silent about the incident during the National Labor Relations Board hearings because of the terror practiced by the authorities. He had already been put in jail on an old debt charge and kept there 83 days, only to be released later without the formality of a trial.

Blacklist At Work

The effectiveness of the blacklist was revealed by Lee Ellis, married and the father of two children. Ellis was one of the five workers of the Crech Coal Company who walked out Sept. 22, 1935, in response to a nationwide strike call of the United Mine Workers. He swore that since then he had been unable to obtain work in Harlan County and had been forced to leave the territory in order to earn a living.

When the United Mine Workers held a meeting to celebrate the validation of the Wagner Labor Act by the Supreme Court

(Continued on page 3)

Quick Action Checkmates Gen. Cedillo

But Fascist Danger In Mexico Continues To Be Acute

Vigorous action by President Cardenas, who moved Federal troops into action in the state of San Luis Potosi, has broken the back of the revolt staged by the reactionary Mexican warlord, General Saturnino Cedillo, who, hoping for and possibly receiving the backing of the foreign oil interests whose properties were recently expropriated, had raised the banner of the fascist 'coup d'etat south of the Rio Grande.

With his supporters surrendering on first encounter with Federal troops, Cedillo himself has been forced into flight to the deserts and mountains of northern Mexico and his capture seems inevitable unless he succeeds in reaching the United States.

Imperialist Pressure Continues

Thus the counter-revolutionary danger in Mexico, so far as the near future is concerned, has been removed. But the most formidable enemies of Mexico's efforts toward liberation are far from being crushed, although Cedillo's defeat has given them a setback. The British and American imperialists continue to exert tremendous pressure on Mexico's economy.

Even the New Republic admits that "the United States has helped to cripple the Mexican government financially." This casual comment embodies the core of Washington's strategy. Since the method of bold offensive adopted during the early days of the oil conflict, has failed, the New Republic government has resorted to the "mild" but far more effective tactic of silent economic strangulation.

Cedillo, although the most powerful, was not the sole partisan of a new course of "moderation" towards foreign capital, to be pursued over the corpses of the Mexican masses. Moreover, as examples of other countries have shown, it is possible with money and arms to transform any clown into a fascist robot-hero.

And it is not necessarily a fascist power which hires such robots. The New Republic lets fall the remarkable confession that "our government might conceivably itself take the function of Hitler and Mussolini by active support to the Mexican rebels."

And how do these champions of liberal hypocrisy propose to fight a government which by their own testimony is so democratic that it might "conceivably" assume the function of fascist hangman of the Latin-American masses? By imploring the government to flee from this satanic temptation with a "timely proclamation" of an embargo against the rebels. And that is all! About ceasing the economic strangulation—not a word.

Smash Economic Blockade

The organized workers of the United States must throw all their forces into the balance to smash the economic blockade of Mexico by the oil magnates and their governments.

Down with the economic sanctions! Down with the foreign capitalists' demand for compensation! (Note: We must apologize for an unfortunate typographical error in last week's comment on the Mexican situation. Speaking about the tasks of the Fourth Internationalists in Mexico, our article calls for "all national support" to Cardenas' military struggle, instead of "all practical support.")

Internal Meeting

An internal membership meeting to discuss the situation in the Fourth International will take place on Monday, June 6, at Beethoven Hall, 210 East 5th Street, at 8:30 P. M. Comrade James P. Cannon will report. Admission will be by red card only.

Striking Goodyear Workers Fight Police Terror, Score Gains

Akron Militant Tells Of Big Picket Line Battle

Police Brutally Attack Goodyear Pickets With Gas Bombs; Workers Make Heroic Defense Against "Law and Order" Thugs

By R. FERGUSON

AKRON.—At 10 minutes before midnight May 26 the workers in the front ranks of the huge crowd of unionists gathered before the main gate of Goodyear's Plant No. 1 began to circulate about, forming a thin picket line. The line grew rapidly to hundreds of men, and just before the midnight change of shift moved across the street and towards the gate, bent on firmly establishing itself peacefully under the noses of scores of cops.

No sooner had we advanced a

few yards along the sidewalk than hell seemed to have broken loose. A raving cop shouted, "They asked for it, goddamit, now let 'em have it," and charged into the unarmed line, flailing his night stick and followed by dozens of savage blue-coated beasts.

Battle Is On

The line faltered, men raised their arms to ward off murderous blows, fought back with fists, and finally, feeling the full weight of the brutal assault, fell back. The line broke, terror-stricken, amidst the screams of the wounded and the curses of thousands of unionists and sympathizers still gathered across the street.

Running down the street, we heard a steady klop-klop-klop—nightsticks raining on the heads of men, women and children. Then cries of further terror: company dicks dashed out of the plant pumping tear and nausea gas into the retreating throng. Gas shells plunged against ribs, sizzling and ricocheting off the streets and buildings.

We dragged along, our wounds, or made hurried forays into the street to pull them out of the clouds of setting gas. We carried an unconscious worker, his head and clothing covered with blood, down a side street to a doctor. The cops had won the first engagement.

Workers Unprepared

Around the corner in Goodyear Boulevard the workers stopped their flight, pondering what to do. The unanimous mutter between clenched teeth was, "Oh, if we'd only been prepared for this." And when word spread of the scores injured and gassed, the shooting of a woman, everyone agreed that the next time the cops and company thugs would be met with their own weapons. But for the rest of the night, the workers' ammunition consisted only of stones, bolts, and anything throwable.

Seeing that our position in Goodyear Boulevard would be immediately advanced upon by the Cossacks and that it could not be successfully defended for any length of time, I edged around into Market Street towards the union hall, followed by a bounding tear gas projectile. The hall stairs were jammed with workers coming and going and room was cleared to take the dozens of wounded away in waiting ambulances.

The cops proceeded down the street towards the hall, (Continued on page 2)

Compromise Settlement Accepted; Showdown Is Postponed

100 ARE HURT

AKRON, Ohio.—The turbulent Goodyear strike ended last Tuesday when the workers accepted a company compromise proposal which granted some of the demands for which the strikers fought in the face of brutal violence by police and company guards.

The agreement left the door open for negotiation of a signed contract, although the company immediately hedged on this point.

Although many union progressives were dissatisfied with the accord because of its inferiority to the Firestone and Goodrich signed contracts, it was endorsed because it offered the union a breathing spell in which to build up its strength.

The real showdown was postponed and the workers have a chance to put themselves in a better position to prevent any repetition of the police brutality which sent more than 100 workers to the hospital and tear-gassed hundreds of others.

The Akron labor movement emerged more solidified than before thanks to the remarkable achievement of C.I.O. and A.F. of L. unity—whereby Akron's workers took a long stride forward.

Events of Strike

AKRON, Ohio.—The Goodyear strike developed because of the failure of the company to settle major grievances. Sit-downs in the plants and picket lines at the main gates grew Thursday night when the union negotiating committee reported that Goodyear refused to negotiate satisfactorily.

Since the Goodrich strike had been won and it had been entirely peaceful—the cops made no attempts to prevent the union from establishing its picket lines—trouble at Goodyear was not expected. The labor movement was caught off guard.

Police Attack Suddenly

Over 4,000 Goodyear strikers and sympathizers were cheerfully picketing and razzing the cops when suddenly a police captain gave the order to "let them have it." The all-night reign of brutality and terror, as described by another eye-witness in this issue of the Socialist Appeal, followed.

The situation in the labor movement on Friday morning was critical. The Thursday night defeat had to be turned into a victorious counter-offensive. Early that morning, Redmond Greer, secretary of the C.I.O. industrial council, spoke over the radio, analyzing the Thursday night events, exhorting the police, the mayor and Goodyear, and issued a call to all union leaders, both C.I.O. and A. F. of Labor, to meet that noon.

Unity In Defense

Over 75 A. F. of L. and C.I.O. union leaders responded. A United Labor Defense Committee of 14—seven from each section of the labor movement was established.

This truly remarkable exhibition of labor solidarity against the common enemy—Akron's bosses—changed a critical defense into an offensive.

A sharp protest against the police brutality was made by the Defense Committee.

The A. F. of L. truck-drivers union, 2,300 strong, and the C.I.O. bus drivers and transportation workers union, threatened an immediate strike unless the police were removed from the scene at Goodyear by nightfall and picket lines permitted to function. A demand that Goodyear shut down completely also was made.

Since the city administration (Continued on page 2)

By R. FERGUSON

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No sooner had we advanced a

Detroit Cops Gas and Club C.I.O. Pickets

Workers Build Barricade To Halt Movement Of Scabs

DETROIT.—Tear gas and clubs were used by police against Detroit pickets last week, resulting in the injury of over 50 unionists, as members of several C.I.O. unions came to the aid of their striking brothers of the Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers Union.

On strike since April 19 against the American Brass Company, the union was unable to stop production after sit-down strikers were evicted from the power plant by police May 9. The strikers, aided by the United Automobile Workers and other C.I.O. unions, threw a mass picket line about the plant to stop the movement of strike-breakers.

Two blocks from the plant 600 unionists built a barricade to halt cars carrying the scabs from the plant. When the cars were stalled by the obstruction pickets jumped the strike-breakers and pummeled them thoroughly.

Police opened fire with tear gas guns and, as the choking fumes blinded the workers, advanced upon them with clubs swinging. The police did not escape unscathed, as four required hospital treatment.

As union members were attempting to remove their bleeding, unconscious brothers from the street, a detachment of mounted police, held in readiness nearby, charged through the street in true Cossack style.

Coast SWPers and Stalinists In Anti-Nazi Demonstration

SAN FRANCISCO.—The hysterical Communist charge that Trotskyists are agents of the Gestapo was rather spectacularly given the lie in action here on May 29 when members of the Socialist Workers Party marched in a united front demonstration against the holding of a convention of the Pacific Coast German-American Bund.

Side by side, in a picket line two thousand strong, marched members of the Socialist Workers Party, the Communist Party, the German-American League for Culture and other German workers' organizations, the Workers Alliance, and members of C.I.O. and A.F.L. unions. The action was endorsed by both labor councils.

A crowd of nearly 5,000 gathered in the streets around California Hall, where the Nazi convention was taking place. They cheered the picket line and joined in the songs. Three or four attempts by the Stalinist leaders

to get the crowd to sing "My Country 'Tis of Thee" and the "Star Spangled Banner" were completely squashed when the pickets and the crowd joined the S.W.P. contingent in singing "Solidarity Forever" and other working class songs.

Taken completely unawares by the rapid development of the united front movement arising out of the crystallized anti-Nazi sentiment, the Communist Party entered the united front after the S.W.P. and was forced to accept the fact of the latter's presence or else withdraw itself from the action.

The Stalinists even participated in the unanimous vote which placed Glen Trimble, state secretary of the S.W.P., on the steering committee of five—and this while the Communist Party convention was rubber-stamping Earl Browder's new constitution forbidding members of his flock from consorting, even socially, with the Trotskyists!

Akron Rubber Strikers Fight Police Brutality, Score Gains

Strike Ended By Compromise Arrangement

(Continued from page 1)

and Goodyear had figured on utilizing the differences between the C.I.O. and the A. F. of L. to divide Akron's workers and smash the Goodyear rubber workers union, the stand of the A. F. of L. unions blew their plans wide open.

The Tide Turns

It was this factor—the unity of the labor movement—that turned the tide. By nightfall, union officials and Goodyear worked out a compromise on the demands that satisfied organized labor, even though mass picketing was not yet re-established. What was decisive was the removal of the greatest proportion of the cops from the scene and the reopening of Goodyear Local hall, giving the unionists a chance to return on E. Market St.—the strategic entrance to Goodyear's plants.

Meanwhile, the Akron newspapers carried many pictures of the bloody actions by the police, and the workers became more aroused. Also, a series of militant radio speeches began to whip up the old traditions of militancy in the Akron labor movement.

The resurgence of the labor movement reached a high point last Saturday when a mass protest meeting of 7,000 was held.

Many of the C.I.O. and A. F. of L. leaders had been gassed along with the rank-and-file on Thursday night. They forgot their conservatism and a fiery meeting resulted.

Roosevelt Not Mentioned

Perhaps the most significant commentary on the entire meeting was the fact that although there were ten speakers, the name of Roosevelt was not mentioned once!

Speaker after speaker emphasized that the workers must depend on themselves alone.

Frank Grillo, secretary-treasurer of the United Rubber Workers, gave a marvelous picture of the Thursday night terror. He told the audience that the next time, "neither tear gas, clubs, machine guns or cannon will stop us from defending our rights."

Sam Pollock, A. F. of L. butchers union organizer and one of the initiators of the United Defense Committee, said: "We may have our own quarrels and disagreements within the family of workers. But when any outsider starts to kick labor around, we forget our family quarrels and stick together." He told the Akron workers how the Toledo workers had won a much tougher fight—the famous 1934 Auto-Lite strike.

Recalls 1936 Strike

Thomas F. Burns, vice-president of the U.R.W.A., returned to his days of militancy of a few years ago and gave a flaming address that set the crowd cheering over and over again.

Recalling the 1936 Goodyear strike, Burns declared: "It was a different story then. Then you turned out in numbers—and you didn't come empty handed either." Shouts of "give them hell," and "give us guns," interrupted his speech frequently.

The entire emphasis of the speeches was on rallying thousands of workers for a well-prepared mass picket line for Tuesday morning when Goodyear threatened to re-open.

No doubt, negotiations were hastened by the militant tone of the mass meeting, which was followed by a demonstration and parade of the workers around city hall and the police station.

Arrests Announced

Feeling became even more tense at the close of the meeting when Greer announced that six unionists had been arrested for distributing leaflets protesting the cops' activities and announcing the mass meeting. Greer reported on the threats made to the arrested men by the police who picked them up.

Sunday afternoon, the Central Trade and Labor assembly held a special meeting and voted unanimously to support the United Labor Defense Committee and its actions.

Frequent reports of the mobilization of the National Guard and their entrance into Akron have aroused much resentment. There are no illusions about the Khaki-uniformed tin-hats since Governor Martin L. Davey revealed himself as a notorious strike-breaker in the "Little Steel" strike last summer.

The Lessons of Akron

Organize Workers' Defense!

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

AKRON.—The most inspiring and commendable example of labor solidarity in this period of C.I.O.-A.F. of L. warfare was developed here last week when every C.I.O. and A.F. of L. union rallied behind Goodyear strikers whose picket lines were temporarily crushed by a vicious police attack that sent over 100 people to the hospital and tear-gassed hundreds of others.

Not since the tensest moment of the famed five-week Goodyear strike in February 1936 was Akron labor confronted with a graver crisis. Chaos prevailed for the few hours following the night-long reign of terror planned and carried out by Goodyear through its thugs and city police.

Unity Achieved

In the face of this fundamental challenge to its very existence, Akron labor responded. The petty fights between C.I.O. and A.F. of L. unions here, as well as the deep cleavage between them, were forgotten in this hour of danger.

A United Labor Defense Committee backed by the entire labor movement was set up. Threats of an immediate transportation strike and a truck-drivers strike stopped the drive momentarily against the Goodyear workers. Talk of a general strike reached the ears of the labor-hating bosses and cooled off their violent passions.

Akron labor achieved unity in action against the boss class. The results speak for themselves. It is a lesson and an example for unionists throughout the country who want to defend their organizations in this time of crisis against the offensive of the employers.

The need for unity of the labor movement was never greater than at the present time. The example of Akron could be multiplied a thousand times. Labor must achieve solidarity in a common fight against its common enemy—the ruling class—if it is to survive.

The Second Lesson

There is a second great lesson to be learned from the Akron experience. In the historic five-week Goodyear strike of 1936 that established

the C.I.O. as a mass movement, rubber workers did not suffer from brutal police attacks. Picket lines remained intact and the strike was won despite formation of vigilante movements, despite the hostility of the same mayor who holds office today, despite a march on the strikers by an army of deputies and police which collapsed before it reached the strikers.

Any Akron worker would tell you why the labor-haters failed in 1936. The picket lines were organized and well-prepared to defend themselves against any kind of attack. Labor relied on its own might and power then. It was successful.

Last Thursday night, Akron labor was empty-handed. It was unprepared, and Goodyear and the police department knew it. They took advantage of it. The reign of terror—a nice commentary on American "democracy"—followed.

Defense is Necessary

The contrast between 1936 and 1938 was evident and the lesson to be drawn was made clear by almost every union leader who spoke at the mass protest meeting a day later. Akron labor must always be ready to defend itself. It must always be on guard. Let other union centers learn this lesson without the cost that the Akron workers paid.

The United Labor Defense Committee created by the C.I.O. and the A.F. of L. unions here was a real stride forward in building an organization which can keep labor on its guard and which can prepare labor to defend itself against any attack.

This committee should be transformed into a permanent body whose duty must be to create groups of workers in each union subject to call day or night to defend the rights of labor. It should form workers' defense committees in every union. It should be able to mobilize thousands of workers to face any possible threat to the union movement.

Such a workers' defense committee today can prevent the smashing of picket lines. It can preserve free speech and assemblage to the unionists. And tomorrow it can be ready to meet Fascist hordes who today do their work in vigilante movements, as strike-breakers, as company thugs, and blue-coats parading as the "Law."

Akron Militant Tells Of Big Picket Line Battle

(Continued from page 1)

breaking up the crowd before the hall with long range tear gas fire. We took refuge around the corner in Willard Street and prepared to defend the hall from assault. It was easier here because the wind blew the gas straight on down Market Street and two hundred workers, backed up by many more, successfully kept the cops at bay for two hours with stones and uprooted paving bricks. Our barrage drove them into the plant or out of range every time they paused to load their guns.

Police Fire Wildly

Workers began knocking out street lights to cover our hiding places. Aiming their gas shells wildly in the night, the police made a shambles of the fronts of buildings in the vicinity. One shell pierced an upstairs apartment window and exploded inside, calling forth the screams of a woman. Shells rose high in the air like sky-rockets, aimed at workers lodged on house and building tops. Jeers and taunts came from enraged workers in the nearby cemetery and Willard Street followed by showers of bricks. "Put down those guns

Furriers Score In Strike Settlement

NEW YORK.—The strike of 15,000 fur workers that began last week with a lockout and has kept the fur industry of New York closed down tight, ended last week with important gains won by the International Fur Workers Union in a new pact signed for three years.

Most important feature of the new agreement is the guarantee of eight months' continuous employment per season, made possible by equalization of work. The union had asked for nine months, but accepted the eight months provision, a marked gain over the previous clause for six months' work, broken at intervals.

The agreement provides for new wage minimums representing increases of from \$2 to \$6 per week. Each year of the agreement the wage scale shall be increased a like amount.

and fight like men, you yellow bellies" and a thousand similar imprecations filled the air.

Word went round that the police chief had gone into the union hall to try to get our defensive battle called off. Shortly after, the police fired through the windows of the hall with tear and nausea gas, hitting the wounded and making the interior a reeking hell. A fire started, and a lull occurred in the fighting until it was put out. Unionists barricaded the doorways, staying in the hall, refusing admittance to the cops.

Form Defense Squad

The fighting continued until early morning, cops mopping up the whole area for a half mile from where their dirty work began. Every inch of retreat was contested by the workers in an inspiring display of courage and determination against overwhelming odds.

The sadistic attack of practically the entire force of 150 Akron police and 100 Goodyear thugs has infuriated the whole labor movement. The answer to them has already been grasped by every worker who experienced or knows of them. And that answer is: meet force with force; organize squads for labor's defense.

Higher Pay Won By P.R. Dock Workers

Puerto Rican longshoremen have been granted a substantial wage increase by the arbitration board set up after the militant dock strike which completely paralyzed Island shipping from January 3 to February 10. The award, announced on May 28, fixed the hourly rate at 45 cents, with 65 cents for overtime, and made provision for a higher rate for special cargoes and conditions.

While a closed shop was not granted, the settlement ruled against discharge for union activity. The award is retroactive to the beginning of the arbitration period.

Before the strike, the longshoremen's wage rate was 32 cents an hour, with 47 cents for overtime. During the arbitration period, they received 40 cents an hour, with 60 cents for overtime.

ASK FOR THE APPEAL AT YOUR NEWSSTAND

USE OF ARMY NAVY URGED TO BAN SITDOWNS

Senator Rants Against Sitdown Tactic As Bosses Applaud

The sit-down strike, potent weapon of organized labor, was attacked on two fronts last week, as employers banded together in the National Metal Trades Association listened approvingly while Senator Josiah W. Bailey called for the use of the army and navy against sit-downs, and American Federation of Labor bureaucrats of New Jersey endorsed a state measure providing for stiff prison penalties for sit-down and stay-in strikes.

In New York, class lines were laid down sharply at the annual dinner of the National Metal Trades Association, major employers' organization devoted to strike-breaking on a national scale and one of the first to be exposed by the LaFollette Civil Liberties Committee. A struggle for power is going on in this country, Senator Bailey declared.

"Only when the powers of our armed forces were exhausted would I, if I were President, give in to a sit-down strike," the North Carolinian shouted.

Would Bar Sit-downs

In New Jersey aided by endorsements from A. F. of L. bureaucrats who supported Mayor Hague in his suppression of free speech in Jersey City, a measure was speeded through the state senate that classed participation in sit-down or stay-in strikes as a high misdemeanor, punishable by a 15-year prison sentence.

The measure is known as a state labor relations bill and represents the result of "unity" between capital and labor. Louis P. Marcianie, president of the State Federation of Labor, and E. W. Wollmuth, executive vice-president of the Newark Chamber of Commerce, told the New Jersey senators that capital and labor alike approved the bill.

Opposition to the bill from the ranks of labor came quickly as the bill was sent to the House of Representatives and C.I.O. unions sent wires of protest to the legislators, warning them against attempts to railroad the act through the lower house.

C.I.O. Hits Measure

"In the name of 150,000 organized workers under the

Relief A La Roosevelt!

CITY OF NEW YORK
EMERGENCY RELIEF BUREAU
D.O.#10-114 West 17th Street

May 25, 1938

Mr. Tony Franolich,
431 West 25th Street,
New York City

Dear Mr. Franolich:

You are not eligible for relief because Nikola Zoranich was placed on WPA.

When you were both receiving home relief, we considered you members of one family, even though you were not related. Perhaps living together are considered one family unit, regardless of relationship. We therefore sent one check to cover the needs for both of you. On this basis, we placed Mr. Zoranich on WPA. His earnings are more than the home relief allowance we gave for both of you, and we see no reason why you should not be able to manage on his earnings.

We cannot give you relief and allow Mr. Zoranich to remain on WPA. We are sure that Mr. Zoranich prefers to remain on WPA, and that you will make plans with him accordingly. Should Mr. Zoranich and you refuse to consider yourselves as one family unit, it will not be possible for Mr. Zoranich to remain on his WPA job.

Very truly yours,

CASE SUPERVISOR

cc/ab

Single Men Are Barred From N. Y. Relief Rolls

Jobless Client Told To Look For Maintenance To Fellow Worker on W.P.A.; \$55.78 Enough Per Month For Two, Says Official

NEW YORK.—The policy of the local Welfare Department in rejecting from the relief rolls as many single men as possible, regardless of their need, was revealed this week when Local 4, of the Workers Alliance released the photostatic copy of a letter sent to Tony Franolich, a relief client, in which the reason given for refusing him home relief, was that Nicola Zoranich, with whom he was living, got a W.P.A. job.

To quote the Welfare Department: "...we considered you both members of one family, even though you are not related." The Welfare Department holds that Zoranich's W.P.A. earnings, which total \$55.78 per month, should be enough to cover the needs of both of them.

Morrell Denied Relief

Local 4 also made public the case history of another relief applicant, Charles Morrell, who applied for relief on April 7, 1938, and who, at this writing, is still being kept off the relief rolls, notwithstanding a doctor's statement at Bellevue Hospital that Morrell is suffering from malnutrition.

"These cases are typical of hundreds of others that have come to our attention," Rhoda Pearson, Chairman of Local 4, stated.

Morrell, a 60-year-old tool and die maker, was struck by an auto while being shunted around from relief bureau to relief bureau and sustained a leg injury, which together with his general bad physical condition, —malnutrition—has given cause for grave fears regarding his ability "to stick it out much longer." It is greatly feared that because of Morrell's physical condition the same thing will happen to him as happened to other clients who waited too long before receiving aid from the Welfare Department. It will be recalled that in a recent case of a Brooklyn child who died from undernourishment while her mother attempted to get relief, a check was received from the Welfare Department twenty minutes after the child died.

A week ago, in desperation, Morrell came to the headquarters

C.I.O. in this State, we wish to express our complete disapproval of this bill and its railroading through the Legislature, wired William J. Carney, state regional director of the C.I.O., who urged that action on the bill be postponed.

Still another group of employers met in New York last week, as the powerful American Iron and Steel Institute held its forty-seventh general meeting at the Waldorf-Astoria. Thomas M. Girdler, head of Republic Steel and leader of "Little Steel's" battle against the C.I.O., was re-elected president of the Institute.

All workers must be on guard against the plans of the reactionaries to wrest from labor the right to occupy factories during strikes.

of Local 4 for assistance and the local immediately took up his case. Last Friday, the local's grievance committee insisted that the bureau give Morrell a temporary emergency voucher to tide him over while they continued to investigate his case. In spite of the fact that this case was an emergency some weeks back, the bureau turned the request down.

The committee reporting back to its membership who were waiting in the bureau's reception room, were summarily escorted out by the police, called by a Mr. LaBella, bureau supervisor, and member of the State, County and Municipal Workers Union, a Stalinist-controlled organization.

On inquiry of Milt Cohen, Secretary of Local 4, as to whether it was "in keeping with orderly conduct to allow a man to slowly starve to death," Mr. LaBella turned to the police.

While Pearson and Cohen were being escorted out, the other militant members of Local 4 continued the fight against this starvation policy. They later returned and again took up the fight.

Local 4 announced the immediate setting up of a picket-line in front of the 53rd Street Bureau "to stop this policy of investigating relief clients to death through starvation."

Against Discrimination

"We intend to fight this discrimination against single men with the most effective means at our disposal, even if it means that some of our members go to jail in the attempt," Chairman Pearson stated.

"Local 4, together with other Progressive locals in the Alliance, recognizes that what is needed now is real militant mass action that will stop this chiseling at the expense of the unemployed," spokesmen for Local 4 declared.

ANNOUNCEMENTS

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

NEW YORK

SONGS AND BEER IN AN OUTDOOR GARDEN! The party has taken over the Terrace Beer Garden with its dance floor, orchestra and outdoor garden for festivities on Saturday eve, June 4 from 8 P.M. on. Admission at the door \$5. 1110 2nd Ave. (59th St.)

ENTERTAINMENT and dance given by the Progressive Group of the Workers Alliance, Saturday, June 4, at Local 15 Headquarters, 155 Rivington Street, New York. Sub. 15 cents.

ATTENTION, Local New York! The New York "Build the Socialist Appeal" Contest ends on Saturday, June 4. Prizes will be given to the winners at the city beer party on that date at the Terrace Beer Garden. Winners of the contest will be announced in this column next week.

Ohio Teachers Balk At Attempted Steamroller

Convention Quikly Adjourned After Uproar Over Stalinist Move To Ram Through Changes In the Union Constitution

By BLAKE LEAR

AKRON.—Members of the Ohio State Federation of Teachers have just had their first opportunity to taste the poisoned fruit of Stalinism.

Taking advantage of the looseness in the organization of the recent annual state convention, the Stalinists packed the meeting, and through control of a large bloc of votes made an attempt to ram through a change in the constitution which would have enabled them to throw out Michael J. Eck, the progressive executive secretary of the state organization, and Glenn Baxter, its president.

Meeting Adjourned

As a result of the storming of the meeting and the ensuing uproar, the gathering was adjourned almost as soon as it began and a new convention was called for a month hence.

The candidate put up to oppose Eck was the Stalinist, Bronson Price, of the Columbus college local, who is being boomed—in a dignified way, of course—for the post of executive secretary.

Opposing Baxter was R. E. Abercrombie of Cincinnati, a witty and unwitting instrument of the Stalinists.

Hardly had the meeting opened than the Stalinists and their agents (Offiner, Goldstein, and Peirce of Cleveland; Kelly, their amateur floor leader of Columbus; and George Davis, former national executive-secretary of the federation, and an old

hand at running with the hares and hunting with the hounds) threw the meeting into an uproar by raising the "democratic" demand that the state officers be elected from the floor immediately.

The Stalinist Plot

To have acceded to this demand—a direct violation of the constitution, which provides for the election of the executive secretary by the executive board—would have meant the turning over of the state organization to the reactionary Stalinist wrecking crew, who represent an extremely small proportion of the Ohio membership.

In the face of a packed auditorium and confronted with an impasse, the chairman wisely adjourned the meeting until June 18, when a genuine convention will be held with duly-elected delegates and credentials, instead of the genial open house which was held on May 15, at which every federation member present could vote, irrespective of whether he had been elected as a delegate or not.

What is needed is a strictly-defined and organized state body, working under a new, complete, and democratic constitution. The present two-page constitution, sufficient in the old shoe-string days, is now outmoded.

The situation also calls for the welding together of a progressive group in an organized caucus, and an implacable struggle against the union wreckers and war-mongers hiding behind the mask of "collective security."

Appeal Army

Attention all comrades and Branch Literature Agents! The summer Appeal drive previously announced is to be launched July 1. The all-important aim of this campaign is to raise the circulation of our paper to the 10,000 per week mark. With a new upsurge beginning to sweep through the ranks of American labor, the job of increasing our circulation becomes a duty—and a possibility! Here is an outline of how the drive is to be conducted by each branch. Plenty of time is being given to make all essential local preparations. Branch literature agents will receive detailed information and assignments this week:

(1) Aim: Raise Appeal circulation to 10,000 weekly.

(2) Campaign to last three months: From July 1 to October 1.

(3) Campaign Drives Week-to-Week:

(a) July 1-8, National Newsstand Week: A week of concentrated efforts to place the Appeal on newsstands.

(b) July 8-15, Library Placement Week: Devoted to placing the paper in all available libraries.

(c) July 15-22, National Street Sales Week: All comrades and friends into the streets with the Appeal!

(d) July 22-29, National Advertising Week: Drive to get regular ads as a source of steady income.

(e) July 29-August 12, National Canvassing Weeks: Two weeks spent in visiting all contacts and former subscribers as part of the subscription drive.

(4) Subscription Campaign Contest to last for three months: The following sets of prizes are offered to those comrades getting the most subs:

(a) First Prize: "America's 60 Families" by Lundberg and "History of the Russian Revolution" by Leon Trotsky.

(b) Second Prize: "U.S.A." by John Dos Passos (3 novels in 1) and "The Revolution Betrayed" by Leon Trotsky (auto-graphed).

(c) Third Prize: One-year subscription to the Appeal and one-year subscription to the New International.

(d) Fourth Prize: Six-months subscription to the Appeal and six-months subscription to the New International.

The winner of the first prize must get at least 24 new subs, an average of two a week, during the contest.

Minneapolis is already in the midst of a local campaign and is showing splendid results. Local New York under the guidance of Abe Miller is getting a head start and launching its own local campaign with the aim of increasing its bundle order circulation to 2,000! We hope all branches take to heart the example set by these two cities in setting the pace for the National Campaign by pushing off on local campaigns as a starter. With such initiative our campaign slogan of 10,000 circulation for the Appeal is a long way towards fulfillment! Branch literature agents, it is up to you now! Let us get going and shoot the works!

Subs again declined this week, although bundle orders improved. Here is the list:

NEW YORK CITY	11
Minneapolis	9
Boston	4
Lynn, Mass.	4
Ohio	2
California	1
Montana	1
Detroit	1
Miscellaneous	2
TOTAL	35

Don't forget that your local newsstand carries the Appeal! If it doesn't ask the dealer to take it and we'll see that he gets it every week.

Forward to a 10,000 Appeal Circulation by October 1!

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116 University Place
New York City

I enclose \$..... for which please send me the Socialist Appeal. One year—(\$2.00); Six Months—(\$1.00).

I enclose \$..... as my contribution toward building the Socialist Appeal.

Name

Address

City

Japanese Imperialism Hurtles Toward Ruin in China

Collapse Brought Closer By Every Fresh 'Victory'

Creation of New "War Cabinet" Reflects Growing Crisis

By LO SEN

With every new "victory" in China, Japanese imperialism is plunging nearer to defeat and collapse.

Japan is expending more in man power, arms, money, and the patience and stamina of the population at home than it will ever have the possibility of getting back from the fruits of military conquest in continental China.

After the comparatively rapid advances of the first six months of the invasion that began last July, Japan's hordes bogged down in Central China. It took three months and the manipulation of nearly a quarter of a million men to effect the capture of Suchow, strategic rail junction. No figures have been released on casualties, but it is now known that at Taierchwang, scene of the Chinese victory a month ago, the Japanese lost no fewer than 40,000 killed.

New Battle at Lanfeng

Now, following the capture of Suchow, Japanese forces once more face a stiff battle along their lengthened and precarious lines of communication on the Lanfeng railway. At Lanfeng, 150 miles west of Suchow, new forces are being marshalled to bring about another "victory" that will strain the Japanese military machine to the utmost.

To aid in this effort, the Japanese navy has resumed activity along the coast, making an easy capture of Amoy and attacking the Kwangtung port of Swatow. At the same time the air force has resumed its horror-bombings at Canton, where more than 1,500 were killed and a like number wounded in a series of raids last week-end.

Shift in Tokyo

But the most significant and revealing evidence of the growing strain of the war was the transformation of Prince Fumimaro Konoye's cabinet last week into a "war cabinet" dominated by the army and the navy.

Gen. Kazushige Ugaki, former governor general of Korea, became foreign minister, succeeding Koki Hirota. Gen. Seishiro Itagaki became war minister, succeeding Gen. Sugiyama, and Gen. Sadao Araki, foremost proponent of an early attack on the Soviet Union, became minister of education. At the same time, Seihin Ikeda, representative of the great Mitsui financial interests, was made foreign minister.

The new cabinet was formed for the announced purpose of "speeding up" the campaign in China, pushing forward to capture Hankow, "terminating" the war, and intensifying the national mobilization at home.

Rising Cost of Living

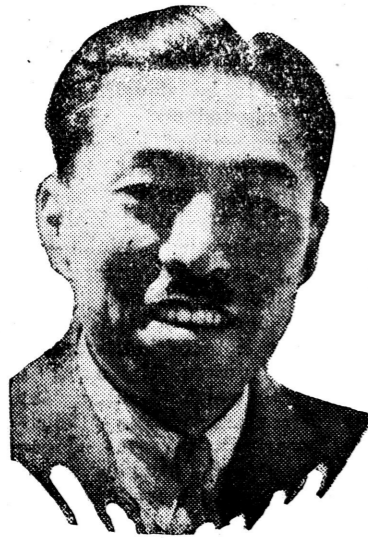
Various reports in recent weeks have given some hint of the increasing stringency on the Japanese home front, where the great militarist and imperialist dreams of empire are, in the main, destined to be shattered. According to a study made by the statistical department of the Bank of Japan, the index of commodity prices in Tokyo in January of this year was 184, an increase of 12.4 over the index for June, 1937, on the eve of the invasion.

An index of prices for all Japan compiled by the Tokyo Asahi, taking July, 1931, as 100, showed an increase in prices from 187.9 in January, 1937, to 195.7 in December, 1937, and 199 in January, 1938. In other words, the cost of living in Japan is twice as high as it was before the invasion of Manchuria began seven years ago.

Taxes Skyrocketing

A significant reflection of the rising costs in Japan is the introduction on a large scale, for the first time, of instalment buying. Taxation in all spheres has skyrocketed. Income taxes are up 20 per cent for minor white collar workers. The burdens on the working class, in the form of increased food costs and the almost prohibitive levels reached in the costs of housing and clothing, have been so great that a distinct undernourishment has already been noted on a national scale and an increase in diseases. Special committees have been created under government auspices in attempts to cope with these problems.

Normal business and trade have declined to crisis levels.



PREMIER KONOYE

"The country's economic situation is really serious," said the Chugai Shogyo, Tokyo financial organ (equivalent to the Wall Street Journal) on April 10, "and trading is expected to continue depressed for the time being."

British Gloating

On April 21 in London, Lord McGowan, chairman of Imperial Chemical Industries, one of Britain's greatest trusts, announced with obvious satisfaction that as a result of the conversion of Japanese industry to war purposes Japanese trade competition on world markets had fallen "to negligible proportions," with resulting increased trade and better prices for British firms.

With every new "victory" in China this dark prospect is going to grow darker and darker for Japan's imperialist hopes and correspondingly brighter for the Japanese proletariat who will lead the masses to the overthrow of the cracking regime of the Mikado. The speed with which the eventual crash will come will depend in important measure on the durability and quality of Chinese resistance.

If even on a basis of continued military-defense strategy the Chinese have been able to make conquest so costly for Japan, it is not difficult to imagine what the result would be when the Chinese workers and peasants are really aroused and mobilized for the struggle.

For National Liberation

A revolutionary resistance, based upon the broadest participation of the masses in the struggle, would have made it impossible for Japan to hold on to an inch of the ground it has won. To organize the masses independently of their exploiters and to lead them to the struggle will be to insure that the ultimate victory of China will not merely benefit the imperialist interests of Great Britain and the United States, the present masters of the Kuomintang, but will really bring about Chinese national liberation and open the road to the exploitation of China's great resources in the interests of its impoverished millions of workers and peasants.

While participating to the fullest in the military struggle against Japan, the political mobilization to this end remains the fundamental task of the Chinese revolutionists and to aid in that struggle is the prime duty of all workers throughout the world.

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AN IMPORTANT BEGINNING

All-American-Pacific Pre-Conference Of the Fourth International

An important beginning in organizing and centralizing the work of the Fourth International on the two American continents and on both sides of the Pacific, was made by the delegates assembled two weeks ago in New York for the sessions of the All-American-Pacific pre-conference of the Fourth International.

The Second International never had much strength in the colonial and semi-colonial lands of Asia and Latin America, and displayed very little interest in their struggles for liberation. In a deep sense, it was and is a "white man's" International, for in practice the parties that dominate it have followed a policy of supporting their respective imperialist overlords and their empires.

Comintern An Obstacle

The Third International, which made a brave and successful start in mobilizing against world imperialism the millions of black, yellow and brown slaves of finance capital, has degenerated into an obstacle to the struggle for colonial emancipation. This is especially plain in Latin America because of the ardent support which Stalinism is now giving to United States imperialism, by means of which it hopes to cement an alliance between Washington and the Kremlin bureaucracy at the expense of the former's slaves in Latin America.

A growing realization of the significance of this reactionary course has permeated the consciousness of the vanguard elements among the revolutionists in Latin America. This fact accounts to a large extent for the gathering strength of the Fourth International on the two American continents.

Movement's Growth

In the last few years, sections of our movement have been established—or the basis for them laid—in a whole series of countries. In Cuba and Puerto Rico, in the Argentine Republic, Chile and Bolivia, in Uruguay, Colombia, and Panama, in Mexico and Brazil, the banner of the 4th International has been raised and

SOUTH AFRICANS DONATE \$62.50 TO CHINA FUND

A handsome contribution to the fund which has been raised by the Socialist Workers Party to aid the Communist League of China (Fourth Internationalists) was received last week from the Union of South Africa, as follows:

Johannesburg Group for the Fourth International \$50.00
Workers Party of South Africa 12.50
TOTAL \$62.50

This fine demonstration of international solidarity with the persecuted revolutionists in China is all the more welcome because it was unexpected. The South African comrades, seeing in the Socialist Appeal reports of the S.W.P. fund-raising campaign for China (which netted a total of \$173.73), went right ahead with their collection without waiting for a formal request. That the Chinese comrades will appreciate their help goes without saying.

How about the Fourth Internationalists in other countries emulating the excellent example of the South African comrades? The S.W.P. has done its bit. So have the revolutionists in Canada. We feel sure our comrades in England, Australia, New Zealand and elsewhere can do equally well—if they make the effort.

The Socialist Appeal undertakes to transmit to China sums raised by our comrades abroad.

the best militants have rallied to it. In some of these countries, the high political level of our press and the revolutionary Marxist activity pursued, are gratifying promise of victorious struggles to come.

For the purpose of coordinating the work of these sections, of setting forth collectively-elaborated policies for them, and linking their work with that of the comrades in the land of the most powerful imperialist masters—the United States—as well as with the comrades in China, whose work has so much in common with theirs, the second All-American-Pacific conference was called together. The first conference had taken place some time before, when a number of basic political documents were drafted for discussion.

Mandated Delegates

Difficulties, in the form of lack of finance and the vast distances separating the countries (the Fourth Internationalists are subsidized neither by the corrupt Kremlin gang, the French bourgeoisie nor by Hitler!), cut down the size of the conference. But delegates were nevertheless able to attend with mandates from several Latin-American countries, as well as from Canada, China, Australia and the United States.

Documents already drafted were taken up by the delegates and it was decided to submit them with various recommendations for the discussion of the various sections concerned and eventual adoption, in finished form, at a large conference to be called in the future.

In addition, the conference adopted political resolutions on the perspectives of the Sino-Japanese war and the tasks of the Bolshevik-Leninists in China, and on the situation and tasks of the Canadian section. A thesis on the world role of North American imperialism, with special reference to its position in the Latin American countries, was also adopted.

Our Obligations

The last-named resolution is of particular importance for the revolutionary movement in the United States. Its tasks and obligations are enormous, for upon it devolves the main burden of the struggle against Yankee imperialism and for the defense of the independence and freedom of Wall Street's colonies. Indifference to the struggle against U.S. capitalism, which is being waged by the millions of Latin Americans to the south of us, is a most corrupting force in the American labor movement, and contributes directly to the chau-

vinistic poisoning of the workers in this country.

With this resolution, the Socialist Workers Party of the United States assumes the responsibility of devoting itself intensively to the problems of the workers and peasants of Latin America and the Pacific, who are its indispensable and invaluable allies in the struggle for freedom of the workers in this country.

The conference discussed, among other things, the situation in Mexico. Due to the disastrous and irresponsible leadership of the former Mexican section of the Fourth International (the International Communist League under the leadership of G....), the conference was obliged to adopt a decision declaring that the Fourth International no longer recognizes the G. group (the so-called I.C.L.) as its section in Mexico. A statement on this matter is being drawn up, to be presented for confirmation to the international conference now being organized. However, plans were laid for the reorganization of a Mexican section, for which excellent prospects exist; the Fourth International enjoys a considerable sympathy among the advanced revolutionary elements in Mexico, who were repelled from it in the past because of the discreditable course pursued by G., who is now, moreover, engaged in repeating all the time-worn slanders of the professional enemies of our movement.

Organizational Steps

Subject to confirmation by the international conference, the delegates elected an All-American-Pacific Bureau and a Latin-American administrative secretary of the Fourth International—a clearing-house for the sections involved, in which representatives of all the important sections will be seated. In addition, official bulletins of the Bureau will be issued regularly, at first in the Spanish language, for circulation among all the sections. The first one will contain the resolutions adopted and the reports made. Future issues will publish discussion and informational material.

The conference, modest in its composition and objectives, was nevertheless an important beginning. It will help to consolidate, build and unify the movement of revolutionary Marxism—the Fourth International—in the New World and the Pacific. Its work, continued in the future, will speed the day when the victory of the proletariat will inaugurate the united socialist republics of the Americas.

M. S.

Jamaica Strikers Are Terrorized by British

Army and Police Go Into Action As Exploited Slaves of 'Democratic' Imperialists Tie Up Colony In Militant Strikes

Strikes in Kingston, Jamaica, which began on May 23 and almost reached the proportion of a general strike, were met with swift and bloody repression by the armed forces of "democratic" British imperialism.

The strikers included longshoremen, street cleaners, lamp-lighters, tram and bus operators, municipal employees, bakers, tobacco factory workers, and hospital nurses. Chinese groceries, which supply most of the food for Kingston's masses, and the majority of commercial houses were closed. Demonstrators shut down the city power plants. The striking longshoremen were demanding a wage of 25 cents an hour, and the street cleaners a minimum weekly wage of \$7.50.

Three Killed

British soldiers and police moved in at once to drive the strikers and unemployed sympathizers from the streets. Three days after the strike started, three deaths had occurred—a mother and two sons, bystanders, who were shot when the police fired on a crowd of strikers. Many more had been injured, some seriously. Alexander Bustamante, the Island's chief labor leader, had been arrested on a charge of sedition. Along with him, his leading associates and eighty strikers were jailed. All were held without bail.

Kingston was described as "virtually an armed camp." Soldiers and police patrolled the

streets armed with rifles and fixed bayonets, infantry, volunteers were mobilized, and scores of special policemen sworn in. The cruiser "Ajax" was on the way.

On the Caymanas sugar estate, ten miles from Kingston, three workers were wounded when the manager ordered his rangers to fire on a crowd of strikers.

Starvation Wages

In London, in the House of Commons, the Secretary for Colonies, Malcolm MacDonald, faced a barrage of questions on the situation in Jamaica. A labor member, William Lunn, urged a commission to inquire into conditions in the West Indies, and stated that disturbances were due to the "horrible conditions there." Wages received by the striking workers would confirm this. Longshoremen were getting from 16 to 18 cents an hour, bus drivers from \$5 to \$7.50 a week, bus conductors from \$2 to \$3 a week, and street cleaners 75 and 87 cents a day for six days, with no pay for Sunday.

The Kingston strikes were preceded by a strike of sugar plantation workers in the Westmoreland district of Jamaica, which was brutally broken by armed police on May 3. Police fire took a toll of six lives and fifty wounded, seven critically. Ninety strikers were arrested. The strikers were asking \$1 a day, instead of the 50 cents they were receiving.

Hague Again Frustrates Meeting Plan

C.I.O. Must Take Lead In Struggle Against Jersey Fuehrer

Boss Hague's cops scored another victory when they broke up the mass meeting scheduled for Pershing Field last Friday evening, seized and deported the chief speaker, Representative O'Connell, knocked down his wife, and beat up C. I. O. assistant regional director Sam Macri. Other officers of the Hudson County Committee for Labor Defense and Civil Rights, which called the meeting, were spotted and slugged by Hague's thugs.

Hague again mustered all his forces to crush the challenge of his adversaries. Over 500 cops and hundreds of conscripted office holders were active in the crowd of between ten and fifteen thousand milling around the field when O'Connell arrived. An American Legion band played martial music and Hague's henchmen waved American flags in order to generate the properly patriotic lynch atmosphere for the dirty work of his uniformed gangsters.

Lynch Spirit Kindled

No sooner had O'Connell signified his intention of speaking than the Hague henchmen shouted in chorus: "Kill the bum! Run the Red back to Russia! Throw him out!" Obeying these orders, the police closed in on O'Connell, separated him from his wife and friends, and marched him off the field to police headquarters. After holding him there for two hours, Police Chief Walsh and other "defenders of law and order" deported him on a train for Newark.

Walsh impudently asserted O'Connell was taken into custody to save his life. The Jersey Police Department's ability to protect even themselves against the excessive zeal of their own thugs was shown by the fact that the Chief, and two other high officials, were struck by cops during the melee.

After his expulsion, O'Connell had no better method of action to suggest than to announce, once again, that he intended to ask Roosevelt and Farley to intervene against the vice-chairman of the Democratic Party. This will make the hundredth plea addressed to these "defenders of democracy" without any other result than a Department of Justice investigation on which, it was reported last week, no action has yet been taken.

May Block Struggle

O'Connell's proposed action indicates a danger that he will use his rehabilitated prestige for purely personal political ends to impede a real struggle against Hague or to compromise with the forces protecting him. C. I. O. representatives have been conducting negotiations with Hague's assistants in the Democratic Party to effect a compromise with him. The deal was blocked only because of Hague's intransigence.

The C. I. O. workers must frustrate such attempts. No compromise with the Hudson County Hitler that will result in any abridgment of democratic or labor rights! Fight to the finish against Hagueism!

The C. I. O. must step to the forefront and take the leadership of the forces in the fight against Hague. Several C. I. O. officials took prominent parts in Friday's meeting. Several were the victims of the cops. The C. I. O. must meet this challenge by preparing an even mightier counter-offensive against Hague.

C. I. O. Action Needed

In its own name, under its own auspices and with its own speakers, the C. I. O. should mobilize the anti-Hague forces in counter-demonstration. Such a mass assembly requires careful preparation to be successful. The events of last Friday underscore the necessity for the immediate creation of a labor guard to prevent Hague's cops from repeating their brutalities.

Several C. I. O. bodies have already approved the formation of such a defense corps. This is a great step forward in the struggle against the Hudson County Hitler. Other labor organizations should follow this example.

Despite his show of strength and string of minor victories, Hague's regime is weakening. With a correct and aggressive policy the C. I. O. can weld together the fighting force that can smash it to smithereens in short order.

Minneapolis Labor Pays Final Tribute To Brown

(Continued from page 1)

"Bill Brown entered the movement young. He gave it his strength, his fine spirit, his honesty of purpose and the courage of a mighty heart. And he gave it something else—something you cannot measure, something not learned by rote. He gave it understanding. He understood the working class must be united on a world scale. He saw in it a movement that would some day embrace all mankind. He saw the necessity of applying the theories of the great working-class leaders to present-day conditions.

Bill had his own peculiar and vigorous ways of applying these theories. He saw in the labor movement the instrument that was going to make out of this world something better than a starvation house or a concentration camp, the instrument that would weave a beautiful life for all who toil.

"Bill did not try to force his ideas on those whom he was chosen to lead, anymore than do I. He did insist that if men would be leaders they must give their lives to the labor movement.

Farewell to Bill

"Bill was not merely a leader of the General Drivers Union, he was a comrade in my political faith. His understanding and his attitude towards life should be the spirit to dominate every man and woman that comes here today. He would not want his passing to slow up or hinder in the slightest way the movement that he loved. We must all take up the burden left by his passing."

Members of Local 554's executive board, men who had gone through so many great battles with Bill, carried the coffin down the steps. Thousands followed the hearse to the Crystal Lake cemetery for the last brief ceremony, where Bill's closest associates each spoke a few words.

Harlan Reign Of Terror Described by Witnesses

(Continued from page 1)

On July 7, 1935, a crowd of deputies arrived and began honking the horns of their automobiles to drown the speaking. John Hickey and several deputies marched into the crowd with drawn guns and began slugging right and left.

William Munholland, a member of the United Mine Workers for 49 years, was addressing the meeting and was beaten by the armed thugs. Men, women and children were herded from the scene at gun's point.

No Household's Rights

A whole family was put on the witness stand by the government's prosecutor, Brian McMahon, to prove that the ordinary rights of householders did not exist so far as union miners in Harlan County were concerned. They were Ben Wilburn of Ages, Ky., near Harlan, his wife, his stepson and stepdaughter.

On the night of February 9, 1937, when Bennett Musick, son of a Baptist preacher and union organizer, was killed by rifle fire from night-riding deputies, Wilburn was threatened by Wash Irwin, a deputized thug now

dead. Irwin swaggered up to him, two guns on his hips, and said: "Ben, you're a union man and we're agoin' to get ye."

Wilburn said he rushed home and soon afterward saw Irwin and Lee Hubbard, another deputy on trial, come into the house through the back-yard.

Vicious Brutality

The whole family testified that Wilburn and his stepson were beaten with the deputies' pistol butts until they were covered with blood. Finally Wilburn was kicked off the porch and was "stomped" upon, breaking several ribs.

Wilburn and his stepson were carried to jail by the two deputies. They were released a few days later after being fined for breach of the peace.

As the trial went into its third week the stories of the government's witnesses remain unshaken by cross-examination for the defense. Charles I. Dawson and Forney Johnson, chief attorneys for the coal operators, have not attempted to refute the testimony, but have tried to prove that the witnesses are motivated by personal hatred toward the defendants.

Trotsky Article Features Lively June Issue of 'New International'

What is unquestionably the outstanding number far issued is now off the press. The June issue contains a variety of significant articles, headed by L. D. Trotsky's essay on revolutionary ethics, "Their Morals and Ours."

In a penetrating analysis, Trotsky reviews the problem of revolutionary ethics, of aims and methods of the labor and revolutionary movement. The article is a brilliant historical defense of the methods of Bolshevism as applied to the world situation today and a critique of various parties, groups and individuals on this vital question.

Besides this special feature of the June issue of *The New Internationalist*, an excellent analysis of the Roosevelt program, aim and result, is contributed by Maurice Spector, associate editor of the magazine in an article on "The Collapse of the New Deal." Dealt with are The Roosevelt Revolution; the Recovery and its Precipitate Decline; the Social Crisis and the Task of the Revolutionary Party.

In the article, "Max Eastman as Scientist," James Burnham dissects in detail the position and direction of Max Eastman's philosophy and politics. Specifically dealt with is Eastman's revision of his views on Russia and the socialist objective as recently expressed in an article in *Harpers's Magazine*.

The June number also contains other distinctive articles, essays and book reviews, among them being:

A review of the recent national convention of the Socialist Party by M. S.; "Reform Labor politics and the Crisis" by David Cowles; "Russia and the Lithuanian Crisis" by Jerome; a third article on India by S. Stanley; Book reviews by William Gruen, George Novack, Bernard Wolfe and W. Keller.

The demand for the June number is strong. The price for a single copy is 20 cents, and the subscription rate is \$2.00 per year. Anyone wishing to obtain a copy may do so by addressing *The New Internationalist*, 116 University Place, New York City.

N. Y. Mass Meeting under the Auspices of the SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY Analysis of the Communist Party National Convention and the Stalinist Constitution For the United States

Speakers:

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Associate Editor, "New Internationalist"

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FRIDAY, JUNE 3, AT 8:30 P. M.

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The C. P. Convention

Any attempt to examine the tenth national convention of the Communist Party, U. S. A., held this week in New York, without understanding its relationship to the Stalinist bureaucracy in the Soviet Union, is doomed in advance to failure. The American Communist Party, like its sister organizations everywhere, is nothing but a diplomatic instrument of the Soviet Foreign Office. As such, it is completely subordinated to the interests of Moscow's present ruling clique.

When the convention proclaims that the C. P. is no longer a "section" of the Communist International, but is merely "affiliated" to it, the change is calculated to emphasize the "100 per cent Americanism" and "independence" of the party. In actuality, this is only a dodge for gullible people—for the "sheep" as Stalin would say. The truth of the matter is, as every informed person knows perfectly well, that the Communist Party does not take a single serious step in one direction or another without preliminary approval by, if not on the direct initiative of, the central Stalinist bureaucracy.

This bureaucracy has long ago abandoned the belief that the working class outside of the Soviet Union can and will take power and establish a socialist regime—at least in our epoch. Having landed in a blind alley as a result of its past policies, it now stakes all its cards on winning the "friendship" of various capitalist governments, on the theory that the latter will, if properly handled, come to the defense of the Soviet Union—and above all, of the ruling clan.

"If properly handled," has come to mean in practise the active aid of the Communist International in holding back the working class from struggle against its rulers, and where necessary, as in Spain, in directly crushing any revolutionary movement which endangers the sovereignty of capital. To promote the class struggle, especially in the so-called "democratic" countries, signifies in the Stalinist mind the promotion of a movement that would alienate capitalist "aid" from the Kremlin and weaken those alliances, already made or in preparation, upon which Stalin and Co. place such illusory hopes for self-preservation.

That is why the very suggestion of class struggle policies, of the classic idea of Marxism that the working class and the capitalist class have nothing in common, that there is a ceaseless struggle between them, is denounced by the present "communist" leaders as the very acme of treason, Trotskyism, Hitlerism or any other epithet in the official vocabulary of invective.

To demonstrate that it pays to make an alliance with Stalin, that no harm and much good can come of it, the Communist parties everywhere, and especially in lands like France, England and the United States, have been converted into stout pillars of capitalism. That putrid, obsolete social order of exploitation, iniquity and oppression which the early communist movement was sworn to destroy, finds in the present-day Stalinized movement its most vociferous spokesman and advocate—all in the interests, be it remembered, of preserving not so much "democracy" but rather the totalitarian regime in the Soviet Union. For if ever there was a more effectively anti-democratic, reactionary force in the labor movement than the Third International of today, we cannot recall it.

This background alone explains why the present convention of the C. P. is going through the indecent, farcical masquerade of "patriotism." The orgiastic pretenses to "Americanism," the 4th-of-July flag-waving which beats an American Legion convention hands down; the studied imitation of all the

mumbo-jumbo of capitalist party conventions; the protestations of faith in American Institutions, American Democracy, the American Constitution; the very careful and deliberate obliteration of all reference to or mention of the horribly un-American term "class struggle" (imported into this country, as is known, by a Jew called Marx)—all these are not only so many emphases on the abandonment of the foundation ideas of Marxism and Communism, but constitute a frenzied appeal to the capitalist class to recognize the utter respectability of the Communist Party, its devotion to the status quo, its reliability as an ally in the coming war for the "defense of the Soviet Union" and of—American imperialist domination of the world.

Hence the revolting piece of chauvinism represented by the new constitution, which allows party membership only to those "loyal" Americans who are citizens of the Republic or have solemnly declared their intention of becoming citizens. There have been and are reactionary trade unions by the score in this country that never dared to write such an infamy into their constitutions.

The International which rescued Marxism from the mud of war "socialism" and taught from its inception that only revolutionary methods can bring about the final triumph of the workers, now has degenerated to the point where its American section ceremoniously renounces and denounces this doctrine and its advocates. The new constitution not only provides for the expulsion and public exposure of all "advocates of terrorism and violence as a method of party procedure," but brackets them with "strike-breakers, degenerates, habitual drunkards, betrayers of party confidence, provocateurs." Neither Marx, Engels, Lenin, nor even the pre-1924 Stalin could join the Communist Party under the new constitution.

Hence the new constitutional declaration that the party "opposes with all its power any clique, group, circle, faction or party which conspires or acts to subvert, undermine, weaken or overthrow any or all institutions of American democracy." If this is not a direct quotation from any of a number of state Criminal Syndicalism Laws, it is a perfect paraphrase. The Communist Party is at once watch-dog and Lord High Executioner for American capitalist rule and its institutions. And when one party functionary declares (*Daily Worker*, May 20, 1938) that "the danger they (the reactionaries) see of communism is not that the Communists will destroy the Constitution, but that they will uphold and enforce it"—he is accurately putting the Stalinist position of guardian and policeman of the document which legally consecrates and seeks to perpetuate the rule of capitalism in the United States.

Hence, the active intervention by the Communist Party in American politics in opposition to independent working class action and organization. In the name of the newly-coined "democratic front," the Communist Party seeks to crush in the egg any movement of labor to break from its subjugation to the old capitalist parties. With the same slogan, it tries to whip the workers into line behind the reactionary slate of the Democratic Party in Pennsylvania, so long as it makes "some of the concessions to labor which it thought it could ignore before" (*Daily Worker*, May 20, 1938).

Hence, the generally recognized pro-war agitation of the Stalinists, calculated to drive the American workers into the trenches for the greater glory of Yankee imperialism and in the alleged interests of the Soviet Union.

Hence, finally, the pledge of the C. P. to American capitalism to ferret out, hound, suppress and lynch every true opponent of capitalist oppression and exploitation, every real fighter against capitalism and the sham which it calls "democracy." "Drive them out of the labor movement!" is the cry of the Stalinists, the reds of yesterday who have become the fiercest red-baiters of today.

Servile agents of the Stalin murder regime, interested only in its maintenance at any and all costs—that is the composition of the leadership of the Communist Party. Their convention once more illustrates the fact that there is no more virulent poison, no more sinister opponent of class independence and class struggle in labor's ranks today, than that represented by the totalitarian gang that is ruining the Soviet Union and undermining every section of the working class movement under its domination.

Stalinists In Convention



Hague's Gangster Rule Nourished By Roosevelt New Deal Patronage

By JAMES RALEIGH

Readers of the daily press, learning for the first time of Frank Hague and his domination of all social and political activity in Jersey City, are induced in the main to conclude that the commotion over popular rights now engendered there by rebellious elements is a purely sporadic phenomenon that will die down in due course either as a result of Hague's temporary surrender to adverse public opinion or because of the people's fatigue in opposing his entrenched power. Analysis will show this is not the case.

Briefly stated, Hague's control of the whole local government, begins with the police and ends with the judiciary. When he first took major public office in Jersey City as Commissioner of Public Safety, he realized that the police and fire department with their large personnel would be the most ideal center for building a personal political machine. The individual obligations of the cops and firemen were fruitful soil for planning his rotating crop of patronage and graft. True to expectation, the political manure in these two fields of public "safety" nourished his creeping vines until they were finally entwined about every phase of city, county and state officialdom.

Know Who Will Pass

Today, ordinary people in Jersey know in advance who will "pass" key service examinations for key jobs before they are conducted, who will be "elected" to public office before they are nominated, and who will be sent to jail for election law "violations" before they are tried. Hague's power rests on his absolute domination of all sides of public life. And where private life crosses his path, as it must sooner or later, private life must make detour.

No one of importance criticizes him publicly without suffering retribution. No one of influence organizes against him unless he seeks to use the organization as a blackmailing device to induce Hague to buy him out. But who unto him who incautiously blunders in this maneuver, for he may driven out and ruined.

Democracy in Jersey

No one may vote against him in the future he wishes a favor. The "secret" polling booth has no curtain to hide the mark on your ballot. In Jersey City, pro-Hague citizens hand in their ballots unfolded as they leave the voting booth. Everybody kowtows to "Haguey" as he is fawningly called. Most people decide to "play ball" with him, even the Republicans. Thus we have in Jersey City a one-party totalitarianism à la Mussolini and Hitler. This is the secret of Hague's power.

Yet paradoxically, this is also the secret of his weakness. For every politician wants to be a cog in Hague's machine. But while dictatorship can build up a bureaucracy, the bureaucracy can never absorb the whole army of would-be political parasites.

Under capitalism, even under fascist capitalism, the legion of political misfits and disappointed unemployed must constantly grow. Even under early developing capitalism these elements are present, though at nowhere near the overwhelming numbers characteristic of capitalism's final stages.

Not Big Enough

Obviously Hague's political machine, no matter how well geared, can not be made big enough to carry all the disgruntled residents of the city, whose disgruntlement soon finds eloquence in numbers and unity. Several years ago, Hague had already enlarged his apparatus to such an extent that it was top heavy. Those who could not get comfortable berths in it were not the only grumblers. Property-owners became dissatisfied with the ever-rising taxes needed to maintain it. The blameless unemployed complained because no provision was being made for them. And even loyal Democrats still working in local industries were becoming embittered at the inadequate and falling wages. All in all, conditions in Jersey City, as elsewhere, were ripe, not for revolution, but merely change.

Into this hectic picture, on the heels of the glum-faced, rugged individualist, Herbert Hoover, stepped the smiling Friend of the Forgotten Man, Franklin Delano Roosevelt. Among the others he came to save was Frank Hague, local despot of Jersey City. Jolly Franklin toddled into American history, jauntily dragging after him his little toy cart full of alphabet blocks to occupy the minds of the American unemployed and to provide free kindling wood for all the troubled Frank Hagues throughout the country. This was a godsend, for there was more than one set of letters in Roosevelt's wagon. There were even triple A's for the farmers and triple C's for the youths.

In the early days of the gold-rush to Washington, applicants seeking to fill the thousands of new jobs both there and in New Jersey were frankly told to see their congressmen. And Hague's congressmen were equally frank in telling them to see their ward-leaders back home. Hague lost not a single bet in portioning out the patronage plums. Roosevelt, as we know, filled these agencies without civil service competitive examinations. But only an embittered skeptic would dare accuse him of utilizing this non-competitive procedure for Democratic Party purposes.

New Deal Gravy

Yet, strange to relate, Hague came in for his due share of the gravy. In the early N. R. A. days, this barrel was full enough for him to parcel out pork to the leading incipient opponents of the then much worried Frank Hague. How effectively this system worked to the mutual satisfaction of Messrs. Hague and Roosevelt can well be gleaned from the national landslide that swept forty-six states, including

Republican New Jersey, into the Democratic electoral college, following the psychological public works program that gave hand-to-mouth jobs to millions just long enough before the 1936 election to make the masses feel deeply grateful to these two charitable gentlemen on the second Tuesday in November.

Recalcitrants Removed

In Jersey, men are removed from federal W. P. A. jobs and pointedly told that they had voted against Hague. Only favored applicants, vouched for by Hague's district leaders, can aspire to fill these vacancies. Lawyers, who by nature of their more articulate profession, are potential leaders of those discriminated against by the dwindling federal funds, are bought off by being given foreclosure work for those federal agencies that made mortgage loans on workers' homes. Theatre projects, writers' projects, sewing projects, music projects, lawyers' projects—all these New Deal palliatives are mysteriously closed to enemies of Frank Hague—even to lukewarm friends.

In the five years of the New Deal not one outspoken word has been uttered, nor one unmistakable gesture made to show that Roosevelt was opposed to the goings-on in Jersey under the tyranny of Hague. Only the other day in regard to the deportation from Jersey City of Norman Thomas and the intimidation of Representatives O'Connell and Bernard, the president announced that Hague's denial of constitutional rights was purely a local police matter. He forgot to add: a Hague-police matter. But then Hague is a vice-chairman of the National Democratic Committee.

Roosevelt Needs Hague

One hand washes the other. Without Hague to dispense W. P. A. jobs to make voters obligated to the Democratic Party, Roosevelt could not have carried New Jersey. Without Roosevelt to delegate New Deal appointments to him, Hague could not have maintained his political control over the state. But the signposts point to trouble. The recession has come upon New Jersey no less than upon Illinois and Ohio. Rent checks for Jersey City people suddenly fell two months in arrears, and funds for current relief could be raised only by diverting road funds from gasoline taxes. Young boys and girls are unable to find jobs.

One eloquent result of this development was the last local election. A group of unsatisfied youths, some just past the voting age, under the leadership of 24-year old John R. Longo, a middle-headed Democrat, would be bourgeois politician, impelled simply by the need of a job, saw a solution for themselves by filing a ticket in the Democratic Party primaries against Hague's hand-picked slate of candidates. In Hagueville, a primary contest such as that is lese majeste. Longo's naivete and inexperience, however, made him blunder in

In the N. Y. Painters' Union

5. Fight the Wreckers!

This is the fifth and concluding article in the series on the situation in the New York Painters' Union.

In the United States, the agents of the Stalin machine operate in every union, in every workers' organization, to this end: to make labor submissive and ready to be slaughtered in a war conducted under the banner of "democracy" and of "defending Soviet Russia," but in reality for the purpose of increasing the profits of Wall St. and of keeping the Stalinist job-trust in power as a dictatorship over the Soviet workers.

To the agents of the Stalin machine it is more important to use the Painters Union as a means with which to call a May Day demonstration for "Collective Security"—the fine slogan they use for the coming war—than to win better conditions for the painters.

Advance War Aims

To the agents of the Stalin machine, and all its Weinstocks, it is more important to get control of unions in preparation for their war aims than to safeguard the democratic rights of the rank-and-file workers. To the agents of the Stalin machine it is more important to live in peace with the bosses and to dress themselves up as "respectable" patriots than to disturb the country by organizing drives which will establish union conditions.

To achieve their aims, the Stalinists are ready to split, to disrupt, to wreck the organizations of the workers if they cannot control them. Look at their role in the seamen's unions, in the auto workers' union, in the foodworkers' unions, and you get the same picture everywhere: they are ready to line up with the most reactionary elements, to threaten the existence of every working class organization, if they cannot get control for their anti-working class aims.

It is impossible to go into great detail. A follow-up of events in the American labor movement, reported in these columns every week, can furnish the interested reader with sufficient details. For our purpose, for the purpose of understanding the role of the Stalinists in the Painters' union, what has been said above is enough to furnish a key to the situation.

Against the Wreckers

In order to defeat the Weinstocks and their henchmen, the policy which guided their actions must be understood thoroughly. As agents of Stalinism they are undoubtedly the greatest danger to the Painter's union. Stalinism determines their whole course in the union—their inaction against kick-backs, speed-up, the breaking down of union standards; their grab for control through appointed officials; their fear of the real voice of the rank-and-file by means of the secret ballot.

Against the Stalinist wreckers in the District Council administration, all progressive forces of the Painters' union are now being welded together. Into this fight, every honest unionist, every painter concerned with the fate of the union, will have to be drawn. No matter what differences painters may have with regard to the solution of their troubles, all are becoming

preparing his petition: he forgot to witness all the signers as they made their signatures. His petition was "thrown out" by Hague's county clerk. His political blackmail failed. Longo was tried for election law "violations," the first such case in New Jersey, although such "irregularities" are regular, even in Hague's own petitions. Longo was convicted to get him out of the way.

Jury Packed

The jury was packed and the jurors even lied as to their occupations and connections in order to be sure to get on the jury to serve Hague. Longo now faces a five-year sentence for a "technical" crime as a lesson to the public on the sanctity of the ballot.

But why is Hague so disturbed about this young, inexperienced political upstart? Because Longo is a symbol. The huge machine must crumble, nay, it is beginning to crumble. The youth are the most inflammatory element in Jersey to cause its wreckage. They are too innocent to be called "reds," too impetuous to be restrained with "promises," too numerous to be bribed with "jobs." This is what will cause Hague's fall.

Will Roosevelt come to Hague's rescue again? Or will he throw Hague over to save himself?

increasingly convinced that the first step is to get rid of the Weinstock wrecking crew. To carry out this first step means to enable the union to work out the answers to its problems by normal rank-and-file discussion and by collective effort.

Progressives leading in this fight have made considerable headway. The Painters Educational Society, which for a long time led in the agitation for a clean, militant union on the basis of a well-defined program, has met with a mighty response. In recent weeks, progressive groups organized in all the Locals of D. C. No. 9 have combined into an Inter-Local Conference and adopted a militant policy.

Committee In Action

An Action Committee, elected by delegates from every progressive club, is issuing a paper, the *Progressive Painter*, campaigning for its position in the referendums; running mass meetings for the education of the membership on every issue confronting the union; and conducting an agitation for the election of officials in the coming elections on the basis of their program.

Nothing would be more fatal to the union than for any section of the progressives to go in for deals with the Stalinist union wreckers. The membership, in order to conduct its own affairs, has to be educated to take an interest in policy, in program—not to rely on false messiahs. The program of the progressives is simple, but direct:

1. It stands for the secret ballot in all voting. In the last referendum on this question, the administration defeated the proposal on the grounds that a secret ballot in a strike vote would give weaklings, the stool-pigeons, etc. a chance to play the bosses' game. In order to call the hand of the Stalinists, progressives are preparing to submit an amendment to the proposed by-laws of the District Council, calling for a secret ballot on all questions except the strike vote.

Election versus Appointment

2. The program stands for the election of all union representatives and against the appointment of organizers through political favoritism.

3. The Progressives are agitating for an open rotation system to be used in dispensing jobs under the 25 per cent rule, preferences to be given to the militant pickets. Open rotation systems are now in force in the Plumbers Union, the Plasterers Union, as well as other building trades unions. Such a system will abolish the weapon of the 25 per cent slips which the Stalinist administration now uses for its intimidation of the membership and will equalize the work among the unemployed.

4. The Progressives are fighting for a practical plan to organize the painting industry in all its branches, beginning with the union shops where union standards still have to be put into practice. Speed-up (spraying, dipping) as well as kick-back still has to be done away with.

5. The program of the Progressives stands for closer cooperation with the Building Trades Council and the legitimate labor movement for a real housing program that will do away with the slums and make needed work for the unemployed painters, instead of the miserably inadequate housing program offered by the government under the P. W. A.

The Fight Is On

On the basis of this minimum program, the united Inter-Local Conference of Progressive Clubs has begun its fight against the Stalinist wreckers. The hope for the union painter lies in the success with which this program can be carried out. Sentiment for it is on the increase. Enthusiasm for the Progressive fight may be gauged by the response that their printed paper has received, as well as by the big crowd of bona fide painters that turned out for the mass meeting at Hunts Point Palace a week ago last Saturday, when \$121 in cash was given in support of the struggle against the Stalinist wreckers. From the comments of rank-and-fileers at that meeting, the sentiment may be summed up as follows: "The Painters union must be returned to the painters. The fight has just begun. The Weinstock wrecking crew will be cleaned out. The hope for the future of the painter lies in a clean, militant union."

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