

WORKERS OF THE  
WORLD UNITE!

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## AKRON-DETROIT-NEWARK The Workers Can Make Only One Answer!

Within less than two weeks, three events have occurred on the labor front in the United States which bring home an elementary lesson to any worker who has eyes to see with and a mind capable of thinking.

In Detroit, members of the C.I.O. and sympathizers, engaged in picketing the struck American Brass Company, were savagely attacked by strike-breaking police—not protected, but attacked. Tear gas, clubs and guns were their weapons. Result: more than 50 workers injured, several arrested, others sent to the hospital and the picket-line broken up.

### Assault In Akron

In Akron, more than a hundred rubber workers were injured when the police—in the service, as usual, of the bosses—made a brutal, armed sally against the picket-line surrounding the struck Goodyear Rubber Company plant. Once again, the picket-line was broken up to facilitate the work of the scabs.

A short time later, Norman Thomas, head of the Socialist Party, attempted to speak at a public meeting in Military Park, Newark. He had a permit from the local authorities. The police were on the scene, presumably to "protect" Thomas in the exercise of the right of free speech. A gang of reactionary hoodlums, who had no permit and never asked for one (the gangsters of capital don't need any!), attacked the meeting, assaulted Thomas, broke down the platform and, with the police right on the spot, dispersed the meeting and prevented Thomas from speaking.

### What "Free Speech" Means

In every case, the uniformed and civilian "defenders of law and order" were on the side of capitalism and reaction. In every case, they cynically trampled upon the "right of free speech and assembly" supposedly guaranteed to the people. The only "right" they recognize and are interested in maintaining, is the right of the capitalist class to rule, to exploit, to oppress. That right, they seek to maintain by every means in their power, above all by force.

How is labor to protect itself? How can it win the right to democratic liberties like free speech, free press, the right to organize, to strike and to picket?

By sending telegrams of protest to mayors under whose direction the police act? By sending telegrams of protest to governors who, as in Ohio, are ready to supplement the police terror with the terror of the National Guard? By sending telegrams of protest to the President, who has as the vice-chairman of the National Committee of his party the notorious Frank Hague?

### Labor Must Defend Itself

That's a waste of good money and of time unless it is backed up by something substantial. Nobody will defend labor and its rights unless labor does it by means of its own organized strength. And labor is more than strong enough to protect itself without asking its enemies to help.

The only way in which the workers can preserve themselves from attacks and massacres by the organized thugs of capital—be they in civilian clothes or in uniform—is by organizing their own ranks into *Labor Defense Guards!*

Surround every picket-line with a solid wall of Defense Guards and then let the hooligans try to break it up!

Surround every mass meeting with a determined, organized group of Defense Guards and then let the hopped-up mercenaries of the Hagues try to disperse it!

## German Trotskyists Get Long Prison Sentences

The slight recession in the wave of G.P.U. terror against Trotskyites and alleged Trotskyites in the Soviet Union has been made up for by a renewal of Gestapo terror against the German section of the Fourth International.

Reports from Germany inform us of the arrest and conviction of the leading comrades of the Magdeburg group of the Fourth Internationalists. Two trials were held of the arrested comrades in the fascist courts at Berlin and Magdeburg.

In the Berlin trial, Comrades Joachim Wittschiede and Gerwin Hinze were given 6 and 3 years imprisonment respectively. In the Magdeburg trial, Kurt Sliwsky received four years, Oskar Kramer and Walter Ruhle, three years each, Walter Soder, two

and a half years, and Ullrich Wittschiede, one year and nine months.

Fragmentary reports regarding the cases of the Solingen and Cologne comrades, who were tried some time ago, have also been received. The Solingen comrades were tried in the mass trial of the Gelsenkirchen group. Of the 26 comrades involved, information is only available on Comrade Walsken, who received four years imprisonment, Paul de Grote, who received three and a half years, and Comrade X who received two and a half years.

The fate of the Cologne group is unknown beyond the information that sentences were passed and that Comrade Metz was one of those involved.

## Weinstock Defeated By Own Local

NEW YORK—Louis Weinstock, leading Stalinist in the New York Painters' Union and secretary-treasurer of District Council 9, was eliminated as a candidate to succeed himself when members of his own local, 848, defeated him by a vote of 449 to 389 and named Louis J. Stevens as their candidate. Election rules of the painter's district council provide that a candidate must be named by his own local.

This defeat of the Stalinists is all the more significant in view of the fact that in the past Local 848 nominated Weinstock UNANIMOUSLY as its candidate for the major office in D.C. 9.

The defeat of Weinstock marks a major victory for the progressives in the New York Painters' Union, who have been carrying on a campaign against the disruptive practices of the Stalinist leadership in the field for the coming election. Next week's issue of the Socialist Appeal will carry a full story on the developments in the union.

## Labor Guard Must Answer Hague Menace

### Thomas Meeting Broken Up By Mobsters In Newark

The black plague of Hagueism spread to neighboring Newark last Saturday when a Socialist rally in Military Park was broken up by mobsters masquerading as veterans in collusion with the Newark police.

Just before Norman Thomas was scheduled to speak, a procession of thugs and ward-healers in Hague's service swung into the park behind a hired brass band and marched toward the center of the crowd. Shouting "We want Americanism, we don't want Reds," the storm-troopers, together with their confederates in the crowd, bombarded Thomas with eggs and vegetables, howled him down when he attempted to speak, and smashed his platform.

### Police Aid Mobsters

Their attacks were aided and abetted by the Newark cops, who first plowed a pathway for Hague's troopers and then allowed them to disrupt the meeting and pummel the auditors as they pleased. Over a dozen people, Thomas included, were injured in the fight around the platform.

When David Clendennin of the Workers' Defense League protested to a police captain that he had been slugged by a cop, he was told that he might also have been arrested. After the rally had been smashed and it appeared that the Hague mobsters, who had armed themselves with clubs from the wrecked speaker's stand, were getting a bit beyond control, the Deputy Police Chief finished the job by ordering the crowd to disband, restoring "law and order," and taking Thomas to Socialist headquarters.

### Workers' Meeting Banned

The next day City Commissioner Joseph Byrne, a Hague stooge, announced that he would hereafter deny permission for open air meetings in Military, Washington, and Lincoln parks to all except fraternal and military organizations. "These parks are in the Newark business area," he declared, "and such meetings don't do the city's business any good."

Mayor Hague followed up his offensive by marshalling all his forces in a tremendous rally on Monday evening in Journal Square. The rally was preceded by a parade led by Hague and his Goering, Colonel Hugh Kelly, head of the Veterans' Law and Order League. Behind these grand marshals, appropriately enough, came the board of directors of the Chamber of Commerce and two regiments of the New Jersey National Guard.

Behind the bosses and their military guards marched representatives of the Hudson County

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## THE FIGHT FOR RELIEF



Mayor LaGuardia, the "labor mayor," has had his police dish out brutality to the unemployed in ample portions—as the above photo of a recent demonstration shows—while doing his best to chisel away the meager appropriations for relief.

## City-Wide Relief Sit-In Called For N. Y.

### Alliance Progressive Group Demands Militant Program

#### Local Relief Appropriation Slash Forces Plan To Bring Pressure On Authorities

By GEORGE MILTON

NEW YORK.—In spite of steadily increasing unemployment in this richest city in the world, only \$9,022,450, was voted by the Board of Estimate for relief for the month of June, a decrease of \$121,550 from the appropriation for the month of May, and a saving of \$721,550 from the April figure.

To keep within these steadily decreasing appropriations, the local Welfare Department is barring from the relief roles needy single men, "deporting" dependent relief clients back to the states and countries where they came from, eliminating clothing allowances from the relief budgets, and attempting in every conceivable way to "chisel" the last possible penny from the starving unemployed.

### Sit-In Planned

Forced to take action by the unrelenting pressure of progressive militants in the Workers Alliance, and by the growing discontent and seething among

the unemployed, both organized and unorganized, the Stalinist leadership of the W.A. has decided on a city-wide "sit-in" at relief bureaus.

Protesting the "deportation" of

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### SWP Rallies Held To Protest Slum Firetrap Menace

#### Meeting Held at Scene Of Fatal Blaze On Houston Street

NEW YORK.—The lower east side branches of the Socialist Workers Party and Y.P.S.L. instituted a series of actions, beginning last Saturday night, on the increasingly pressing problems of slums and fire-trap dwellings.

On Saturday, June 4, at four o'clock in the morning, a fire broke out in a long-condemned "old law" tenement at 302 Houston Street in the heart of the working class section of New York's East Side.

The firemen took no more than a few minutes to reach the scene, but by the time they arrived the entire structure was blazing like a matchbox. The flames spread

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## "KEEPING AMERICA OUT OF WAR"

Just as the Stalinists seek to unite all their forces behind "peace and democracy" congresses whose purpose is to swing American imperialism behind a "collective security" program, so the recently constituted Lovestone-Thomas combination is seeking to unite all and sundry behind a program of imperialist isolationism. The first stage of its efforts has just culminated in the Washington "Keep America Out of War" Congress, at which, taking a leaf out of the strategy book of the Communist Party, the actual sponsors of the Congress kept in the discreet and modest background and shoved forward the by now customary assortment of retired generals, capitalist politicians, professional pacifists and nostrum-vendors, priests and rabbis. The exceptionally shy Lovestoneites, among the chief manipulators of the congress, did not even have their representatives listed in the roster of sponsors.

The assertion that the Washington Congress adopted the program of imperialist isolationism may appear, at first blush, to be at once exaggerated and contradictory. Yet, in point of cold fact, that is precisely the case. And it explains the otherwise perplexing fact that this self-styled "anti-war" movement could have among its sponsors such rankly reactionary Republicans as Senator Capper; Representative Hamilton Fish, red-baiter and purveyor of Nazi propaganda in the United States, against whose presence in the official committee the Socialist Party issued a mealy-mouthed protest in the columns of its Chicago paper, without having the courage to take up the question on the floor of the Congress itself, where it might mean something; and Representative William Lemke, late presidential candidate on the Union Party ticket of Father Coughlin, the illustrious warrior for democracy.

### WHAT THE CONGRESS FAILED TO DO

Before considering what the congress did, it is perhaps even more important to learn what it failed to do. There was no expression of solidarity with the workers and peasants of Spain who are engaged in a life-and-death battle against fascism, although it would seem that a congress preoccupied with the question of war would take some notice of the event. Neither did the Lovestoneites and Thomasites dare to put before the Congress a resolution that the infamous Roosevelt embargo against Loyalist Spain be lifted. Neither of these steps was taken because of one simple consideration: the fear of antagonizing the swarm of petty bourgeois pacifists who were present;

so that the latter, who represented nothing but their own confusion and reactionary prejudices actually prevailed over the labor delegates, who at best represented some forces. To save their faces, the Lovestone-Thomas bloc had the so-called "labor group" adopt an anti-embargo resolution, with emphasis on the fact that this did not commit the congress as a whole. In other words, it delicately refrained from compelling the pacifist melange from taking a position on this crucial question.

With respect to the Soviet Union, the Congress acted even more shabbily. That is, it did not act at all. Neither the S.P. nor the Lovestoneites had a single word to say about the defense of the Soviet Union from imperialist attack, although this, too, is not among the least important problems of our time. The pressure of the pacifists and bourgeois politicians was enough in this case also to bring about the total capitulation and silence of the "radical wing" of the Congress.

### IMPLY APPROVAL FOR "DEFENSIVE" WARS

Neither did the latter propose any revision of the Ludlow Amendment as at present formulated, a revision, that is, which would extend the referendum on war to cover also the so-called "wars of defense," which the present Amendment provides may be engaged in by the government without consulting the electorate and which, according to all indications, will be precisely the pretext upon which the U.S. will precipitate the masses into the coming imperialist war.

The key to the program of the congress is contained in the report of the commission on "Building a War-Less World," and the recommendations in its 3rd section, "How the American People Can Work for Peace." The very wording of that section indicates its decisive importance, for it is in the concrete steps proposed whereby the "people can work for peace" that the true measure of this and similar congresses can be taken.

The key sentences in the concrete proposals of section 3 are worth quoting:

"As a first measure of immunizing the American economy to the armament infection, a government reflecting the popular will for peace would deny the economic resources of the United States to all countries now dominated or in the process of being dominated by the armament system of economics.... As a second measure of American initiative in resisting the armament and war offensive we propose that the economic resources of the United States be offered to the arming powers only on

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## U.S. Congress Reveals New Deal Futility

### Capitalist Legislators Strip Wages and Hours Bill Of Progressive Features, Display Impotence In Face of Deepening Crisis

## UNITY SHOWN ON WAR PLANS

Completing a five months' record of unparalleled incompetence, confusion and sterility, the Third Congress of the New Deal this week plunged brokenly toward the close of its third and final session.

With all congressional eyes turned toward election day, the concluding business of the session—the Wages and Hours and the "pump-priming" bills—was being stripped in conference committees to vote-getting es-

sentials; and the two measures were emerging, shorn of all constructive content, and designed only as demagogic talking points in the fall elections.

### Wages and Hours Bill

The Wages and Hours Bill provided such an abysmally low wage level and was so hedged around with restrictions, modifications and exceptions that, even according to the Administration's own analysis, it could at most affect only a few hundred thousand workers. As a specific "recovery measure," it amounts to just about as much as a joint Congressional prayer lamenting the poverty of so many good Christians, and imploring God, in his own good time, to make easier the lot of his children.

The skillfully-publicized pump-priming bill ended up with much the flavor of a stale joke. Far from being able to give a genuine stimulus to industry, the testimony of the Administration witnesses showed that the bill was utterly incapable even of beginning to handle the minimum problems of relief and unemployment. Under its provisions, a maximum of 3,000,000 can be put on W.P.A., against a total of at least 13,000,000 now unemployed. Its W.P.A. allowances might take care, at most, of a few hundred thousand more. The rest of the loans it envisages will go to bail out a few shaky banks and railroads.

### New Deal Bubble Burst

These bills are the sole and entire answer of the New Deal to the sharpest economic crisis in the history of the United States!

The bubble of the New Deal bursts at the first touch. It required but one serious test for the whole New Deal structure to come tumbling down, and to lay bare what that structure has for five years tried so desperately to hide: the collapsed and hopelessly rotting foundations of American capitalism.

The shameful, futile record of the New Deal during this session of Congress is not, however, any particular comfort to the Republican-Southern Democratic coalition which opposed it. In these five months the score of the opposition was exactly zero. It neither accomplished nor proposed anything at all.

### Roosevelt Still On Top

It is partly for this reason, combined with the control over vast sums granted him by the pump-priming bill, that Roosevelt, in spite of his defeat on the Reorganization Bill, comes out of the session in a still powerful parliamentary position. The hope of the opposing coalition that the collapse of the New Deal means a swing back to Hoover-Coolidge Republicanism is vain. A whole era has passed since the days of Coolidge. American capitalism has entered the stage of irrevocable decline. Not all the ponderous generalities of the Lippmans and Glenn Franks will ever bring "normalcy" back again.

On one and only one question did the President and Congress during this session display "statesmanship," force and decision. And on this question the opposition coalition dissolved. All hands, or nearly all, came on deck at the captain's call.

### Unity For War

For this question—the war question—was not a matter for "party squabbles" or "divisions." Here all the pretenses of bourgeois parliamentarism drop overboard. Here the fate of American capitalism itself, and as whole, is directly at stake. Before that challenge Republican, conservative Democratic and New Deal hearts beat at a common rhythm. With scarcely a murmur, "reg-

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# Railroad Union Leaders Move In Wage Cut Crisis Without Ranks

### Unionist Points Need For Planning United Action To Combat Employers' Offensive And Forestall Sell-out Maneuvers

By RAILROAD UNIONIST

A proposed raid on the living standards of railroad workers is now before us, the railroads having served notice of a 15 per cent cut in wages to take effect July 1, just nine months after an increase of approximately six per cent became effective. According to the Association of American Railroads, the cut is necessary in order to "save the industry."

Railroad labor leaders counter this by pointing out that the wage bill is not the cause of the present difficulties of the roads; that if the railroad managements and those who control the financial policies of the roads would revise the topheavy financial structures with which they are burdened, there would be no need of asking the workers to sacrifice their living standards. Any one reasonably well informed on these matters must agree with the statement made by President Robertson of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and Engineers, at the Washington conference on March 24, that if we could wipe out the railroad wage bill entirely, we could not save the industry.

#### What Is To Be Done?

But notice has been served on the workers and the question now uppermost in the mind of every one of them is: What program and policies must we adopt to prevent this raid on our pay checks? The workers who will be affected by the outcome of this struggle should have something to say in determining the program and policies to be used. Yet up to the present, there is no indication from our officers that they will be consulted.

A statement issued by the Union Executives on March 16 points out that the railroads can get relief without cutting wages, which is termed "as ineffective as cutting a corn to cure a toothache." At the Washington conference on March 24 the Executives were unanimous in their position that a cut would not be accepted. Since that time several officers have been quoted to the effect that any attempt to reduce wages would be fought to the bitter end. But so far the union memberships have not been advised as to what preparations are being made for this "bitter end" struggle. Statements to the press are not enough. Something far more effective is needed: The mobilization of the workers behind a correct program of action that will have their united support. It should be evident, even to our present leadership, that such support can best be had after the workers have had the opportunity to discuss and approve the program to be adopted.

#### Action Must Be Planned

We are aware that the Railway Labor Act prescribes a certain course to be followed in negotiations of this kind. But if we are to believe our leaders that this will be a fight to the bitter end, while at the same time the managements announce "no compromise," it should be plain that no agreement will be reached under that law. This being the case, it is high time preparations were made for the most effective use of the organized workers' main defense: their economic strength. But in spite of the limited time remaining, no proposed action has been submitted for membership discussion and approval. Why? Are the activities of the rank-and-file again to be limited to the formality of authorizing their officers to "negotiate to a conclusion?"

The results obtained in the wage movement of 1931-2 are too fresh in our minds for us to be convinced that such conferring of authority works out satisfactorily. Then as now, statements were issued to the press announcing our opposition to a wage cut and informing the public that "labor cannot be called upon to pay a dime to idle capital." Nevertheless the cut was accepted "in the hope that our action may improve the health of our industry.... may stimulate a revival of business and advance the general welfare." The result was that the workers dropped approximately \$450,000,000 into the tin cup of the railroads between 1932-5. Are we again to be asked to confer unlimited authority on our leaders and take chances on another settlement based on "hope?"

#### For United Action

I am sure all railroad workers will agree that in order to conduct an effective fight against a wage cut, united action by all

workers in the industry is an absolute necessity. How to achieve this unity under an organizational set-up of 21 autonomous crafts is a problem we must consider and solve before any "bitter end" fight can be successfully made. The charges of bad faith and double-cross indulged in by executives of some of the organizations as a result of experiences in the "concerted movement" of 1937, should convince us that changes in our organizational structure are necessary. An ever-increasing number of railroad workers understand this and there are signs that some of the leaders are being forced to admit it.

A report of the March 24 Washington conference states that "Brother A. O. Wharton... called attention to the activities of the C.I.O. He warned the Polley Committee that if we should agree to a reduction in wages the railroads in a few months would be facing a much more serious situation than that which they are now facing." The same report states that "Brother Roy Horn also called attention to the threat of the C.I.O."

What other conclusion can be drawn than that Wharton's intention was to point out that the workers' reaction to a wage cut would be loss of faith in their present leadership, making them easy victims for C.I.O. organizers? In that case the roads would have to deal with an organization that would offer a more militant opposition and drive harder bargains with the railroad bosses. Whatever their intention, Wharton and Horn did, in effect, recognize the superiority of industrial over craft unionism as an instrument for defending the best interests of the workers.

#### Verbal Intransigence

The newspaper Labor had an article on May 10 containing quotations from different union leaders to the effect that a wage cut will not be accepted and questioning the intelligence of any one who believes railroad workers will submit to a cut at this time. The statement is undoubtedly true, if the workers are to have the final say in the matter. But if past routine is to be followed, it is useless to talk about what the workers will or will not do. They will simply approve in advance any settlement made, good, bad, or indifferent.

If our officers have a plan of action, by all means let us have it. July 1 is not far off. Why are not union meetings being called for discussion of a program to be adopted? Nothing of the kind is being done, and evidently nothing will be done unless the workers insist on it. It is our duty to make the best preparations possible for our defense. Are we railroad workers to be satisfied with leaving such preparations entirely in the hands of the union officers without the opportunity of making our own wishes known? If not, we must take the following action:

#### An Immediate Program

1. Attend our local lodge meetings and demand that general chairmen arrange for joint union meetings where the workers may be given all available information and where they may propose, discuss and take joint action on what the majority decides is the best program.

2. Demand that united action of all workers in the industry be made a reality in this fight and that craft interests be not allowed to jeopardize such unity. In the event of a strike vote, it must be a joint ballot of all organizations, with action authorized by majority vote of the members of all crafts.

3. Authorize our officers to negotiate, but not to a conclusion. The workers who will be affected

## Labor Guard Is Answer To Menace of Haguism

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Building Trades Council and Teamsters Union. Their presence was an insult to every worker in New Jersey and a disgrace to the A.F.L. These corrupt bureaucrats ought to be scourged out of the labor movement. The marchers were made up of conscripted relief workers and Hague officeholders.

Fireworks following the review displayed such fiery Ku-Klux slogans as "Keep our country safe from Communism," "America for Americans Only. Reds Keep Out," "Reds Stay Out of the U.S.A.," as well as blazing figures of Uncle Sam, the Statue

## 900,000 Rail Workers Face Big Pay Slash

### Railway Labor Act Will Be Used To Bog Down Militant Action

Over 900,000 railroad workers are threatened by the recent decision of the carriers to reduce wages 15 per cent. The unions involved—of which there are 20 large ones—maintain that already some workers are receiving an hourly wage of only 20 cents and that more than 100,000 workers receive less than 40 cents. According to the "best available statistics, the average monthly wage during 1937 was \$133.50, despite the fact that some highly skilled workers were able to average about \$175.

Unemployment in the railroad industry is at its peak. Today there are 6,023 fewer workers employed than in March, 1933. Since last July, 260,000 workers have been laid off and part time employment has been on the increase.

#### Back to 1932!

The 15 per cent cut would save the carriers about \$250,000,000 a year and reduce wages below the 1932 level after the 10 per cent cut.

In compliance with the Railway Labor Act, the carriers have already given official notice that they intend to put the cut into effect on July 1. The unions have given their first answer in the form of a strike threat.

The Railway Labor Act is constructed to extinguish the militancy of the workers. According to its terms, the National Mediation Board may intervene of its own volition or be appealed to by either side. Once the board is called in, it can stall for months and bring uninterrupted pressure on the unions to accept the carriers' demands.

If the unions hold firm the board may suggest another wearing down process: voluntary arbitration. If either side rejects voluntary arbitration, and the workers vote to strike, the board notifies the President of a threat to interstate commerce. The President then has the power to create a "fact-finding" board to "investigate" and report within 30 days. Until another 30 days have elapsed, neither side may act.

#### Firm Stand Needed

The workers must thus be prepared to fight the government as well as the carriers. For the next four months or more they will have to remain firm in the face of government-carrier pressure and demand at the very outset, before any bargaining is entered into, the opening of the books. Should the debit side of the ledger be appreciable, the workers have no reason to resign themselves to a cut, but must demand nationalization of the railroads and workers' control; that is, the workers must strike for public ownership and their own committees to fix rates, wages, hours and capital investment.

The opening of the books may, however, show the unreasonableness of the carriers' demand for a 15 per cent cut. Whether the railroads are bankrupt or not, the workers must prepare themselves for a long struggle with the possibility of the National Guard and the army being called out. The success of the struggle for public ownership and workers' control, or even for the prevention of this and future pay cuts, depends on immediate preparation for workers' defense groups.

ed by the agreement must have the final say, by referendum vote, as to approval or rejection. If union democracy is anything but a name, this is union democracy in action.

**Longo Sentenced**  
John Longo, framed by Hague, was given a nine months sentence on Thursday. "You wanted to be a martyr," roared the Hague judge who sentenced him, "well, that is your privilege." Longo's sentence is being appealed by his lawyer, Vito Marcantonio, who has proof of perjury on the part of the Hague jury that condemned Longo.

Haguism is a form of prevent-

## N. Y. Auto Builders Strike In 35 Shops

NEW YORK.—Seven hundred members of the United Automobile Workers, Local 259, walked out on strike from 35 auto body building shops June 2. The strike was called after all attempts to renew existing agreements with the employers' association had failed.

The agreement with the association expired on May 28. The union refused to concede to the open shop demanded by the association and interprets this demand as an attempt to destroy the union and go back to open shop conditions.

Already, of the 28 association shops, 10 have signed agreements up to June 2, including the chairman of the association committee, the Colonial Body Company.

Albert Fischer, Chairman of the Union's negotiations committee, in a statement to the shop stewards, expressed belief that within a few days the majority of workers would go back to work under signed agreements.

## Akron Teachers Demand Release For Fred Beal

### Anti-War Resolution Is Also Passed; Active Year Comes To End

At a recent meeting the Akron Federation of Teachers passed an anti-war resolution similar to that passed by the Minneapolis Central Labor Union.

At the same time a resolution demanding the release of Fred Beal was passed. Both resolutions are to be submitted to the state convention of the Ohio State Federation of Teachers for action.

The federation is ending its most active year. Recent struggles of the federation have centered around the placing of the first grade on half-time, which necessitated the laying off of 38 teachers; the unnecessary cutting of the school year three days at the behest of the chamber of commerce agents on the school board; and the projected discrimination of religious and racial groups in the teachers' college of the local university.

#### Teachers in Lead

The federation was the only teachers' organization opposing these reactionary measures. As a result of its progressive policies the federation has earned the enmity of school officials, who have retaliated by attempting to fire the progressive financial secretary of the organization. His case is being fought with the support of the organized labor movement of Akron.

At its last meeting the federation rejoined the Trades and Labor Assembly, from which it was expelled several months ago, when the C.I.O. locals and other progressives were thrown out. Once more the federation will act as a polarizing force for the progressive and militant rank-and-file who still compose a majority of the body despite their domination by a crew of building trades fakery.

ive Fascism. It represents a deadly threat to the democratic rights of the American people. According to his fellow-Democrat, Pres. Roosevelt, Hague's actions are "only a local police matter." But this pestilence has now spread beyond the boundaries of Jersey City. If this political boss gets away with his despotism, the most brutal and brazen reactionary forces will be immensely strengthened. Imitators will spring up in industrial centers throughout the country. Haguism has to be cleaned out of New Jersey.

#### Petitions Won't Do

All the incidents in the fight against Hague in the past few months prove that he cannot be overthrown by petitions to the President, by parades, or by individual protests. Hague can only be dislodged and his machine broken up by an organized mass force prepared for serious and sustained struggle in the very citadel of his power. While they serve to keep ablaze the fire of revolt, small inadequately defended meetings only result in victories for Hague. They cannot successfully defy his regime or crush his storm-troopers and uniformed gangsters.

To smash Haguism the masses in Northern New Jersey must be summoned into direct action against him. With the A.F.L. leadership under Hague's thumb, in the task of mobilizing and organizing the people against Hague falls upon the C.I.O. unions and the W.A.A.

The C.I.O. unions should postpone action no longer. If they are not to be overwhelmed

## Office Union Session Sterile Under Gag Rule

### Stalinist Leadership Concentrates On Keeping Opposition Silenced At Washington Office Workers' Session

The Stalinist controlled United Office and Professional Workers Union, C.I.O., held its second national convention at Washington, D. C., May 18 to 22. The Stalinists made it plain beforehand that they intended to achieve "unity" at the convention. It developed that "unity" was to be achieved by the systematic exclusion of anyone who might take exception to their reactionary program.

This aim was carried out so effectively, and the meeting became so sterile and devoid of dissent, that President Merrill found it necessary to persuade the delegates to comment on the various canned proposals. Taking him at his word, some of the delegates took the floor. But when they naively dared to raise objections they found themselves caustically rebuked by the same Merrill. One proposal after another went through with record speed. Sporadically, however, the embarrassing quietude would be broken by some hardy soul—in correction of a typographical or grammatical error. The chairman repeatedly snuffed through requests of negative votes, knowing it was a waste of breath.

#### Opposition Baited

Presaging the happenings at the convention, a campaign to raid, to silence and to destroy any opposition was carried on. Nevertheless several delegates who were opposed by the Administration were elected and duly accredited by their locals. But when these delegates arrived at the convention, they found that mere election was not sufficient. It seemed that certain technicalities had been overlooked by their locals. Per capita taxes were not paid up, reports were not properly drawn, copies of receipts had not been submitted, etc. The delegates were not seated on one or the other of these grounds. Some aura of credence might have surrounded these if dozens of delegates representing locals derelict in the same way or to a greater extent had not been seated.

Local 34, San Francisco, sent Ernest Norback as its delegate. After traveling 3,000 miles to participate in the convention, Norback was promptly refused a seat on the pretext that per capita was not paid. Previously Merrill, International president, had offered to accept a note in payment of back per capita. An appeal to him at the convention to accept such a note and seat Norback resulted in a flat refusal. Local 24 had refused to be appended to Stalinism. Easton, regularly elected delegate of the St. Louis local, met the same fate on the ground that the financial secretary of his local had failed to fill out her report properly.

#### New Constitution

A new constitution was adopted which virtually puts the Union in the pockets of the Stalinists. Local autonomy has been eliminated for a highly centralized, top leadership organization in the best Stalinist tradition. The constitution empowers the General Executive Board to revoke charters, redistribute Local memberships, and control Local finance and functional machinery without the formality of consulting the local people involved. The reins of dictatorship were drawn so tightly that a protest was made by a rabid Administration supporter, Nathan Rothman, a member of the executive board of Local 16. Rothman said that the clause permitting revocation of charters gave the International officers too much power. Rothman was shut up immediately and hardly uttered another word for the balance of the convention.

Only a few resolutions on non-controversial matters were put before the convention for discussion although some 160 were accepted by the Resolutions Committee. The rest were summarily referred to the incoming General Executive Board. The top leadership would handle these matters as they had everything else.

However, the dismal and re-

and their meetings dispersed, they must be ready to defend themselves against the assaults of Hague's storm-troopers and police. They must organize their own labor guard.

The organized workers of New Jersey today stand in the front-line trenches in the struggle against reaction. They have a duty to themselves and to the rest of American labor to be in the forefront of the fight against Haguism. A decisive victory over the Hudson County Hitler will immeasurably heighten the militant spirit of all workers struggling against rising reaction from coast to coast.

pressive atmosphere of the convention was not unrelieved. A progressive program was presented by the National Progressive League of the U.O.P.W.A., even though its representatives were denied seating and the privilege of the floor, through its organ "The National Progressive Office Workers" which was distributed to delegates against the opposition of the Administration. Richard Lewis, chairman of the convention arrangements committee, called the manager of the hotel in which the convention was held to eject distributors of the publication.

The League exposed the Stalinist raid on the San Francisco Local, the gag resolution in Local 16, and proposed a constitution giving local autonomy and resolutions calling for:

#### Concrete Proposals

1. Unity of A.F. of L. and C.I.O. without sacrificing the principle of industrial unionism.
2. Greater and more efficient activity in organizing the unorganized.
3. Democratic union structure including representation of minorities.
4. Striking a proper balance between trade union problems and political questions that confront the trade unions.
5. Reduction of per capita tax so that Locals would have sufficient funds for organizational work.
6. Expansion of the W.P.A. program to take care of all unemployed.
7. Organization of W.P.A. white collar workers into locals of the U.O.P.W.A., obtaining union conditions for them, etc.
8. Opposition to the annexation of the union to the Communist Party, by way of affiliation to every stooge organization of the Stalinists.

The Nat. Progressive League has representation in locals throughout the country, including Chicago, St. Louis, Boston, Cincinnati, Toledo, Pittsburgh, Baltimore and San Francisco. The N.P.L. program was submitted to the Resolutions Committee which refused to present it on the floor of the convention. A request for the floor by Ernest Norback so that he could present the facts of the outrageous San Francisco situation was denied.

#### Kranis Opposed

The first and last sign of opposition to the steam-roller occurred in connection with the nomination of Jack Kranis as a vice-president and member of the General Executive Board. Kranis is a member of Industrial Insurance Agents Local 30, New York. Six of the ten delegates from this local opposed the election of Kranis on the ground that he was practically unknown in either the Local or International. They proposed the election of Charles Caplan who has taken a leading part in the organization of the Local. Nonetheless Kranis was elected, doubtless on the one qualification that really mattered, i.e., membership in the Communist Party.

The tragic rubber stamp character of the convention once more confirmed the aims of the Stalinists in the U.O.P.W.A. and in every union cursed with the blight of their control. Minorities, however substantial, denied representation in the leading bodies of the union. Every obstacle is placed in the path of a minority member seeking participation in the organizational and general life of the union.

Nevertheless beneath the surface of complete Stalinist domination, important opposition forces are developing. The revolt in the Insurance Agents, largest section of the International, pre-figures important developments in the future. The formation of the National Progressive League with its paper gives the Progressives an opportunity to crystallize the opposition that exists in the ranks of the union and rally to its support all those elements working for the building of a healthy progressive office workers union.

## West Coast C. P. Has Hard Time Obeying New Dictum

SAN FRANCISCO.—The Communist Party in San Francisco is having a hard time obeying the injunction in the party's new constitution forbidding its members from having "social or political relations" with Trotskyists. The trouble is that the Stalinists either have to consort with the Trotskyists or else stay out of the anti-Fascist fight altogether.

Last week, as was reported,

## Help Refused To Dying Baby, Miner Tells Jury

### Union Card Costs Miner Life of Infant Son As Company Doctor Neglects Child At Order Of Harlan Mine Boss

Additional testimony by union miners and sympathizers, revealing the terror and intimidation used against union members and organizers by the owners of the coal mines of Harlan County, last week concluded the case presented by the government in the trial of 19 corporation and 44 individuals, charged with conspiring to prevent organization of mine workers.

Developments last week included the arrest of two of the defendants after they had attempted to intimidate government witnesses during the trial. They were Merle Middleton, a third cousin of Theodore R. Middleton, former High Sheriff of Harlan County, and Lee Hubbard, former deputy and pool-room owner.

#### Bosses Suborn Perjury

Ernest Huff, young coal miner from Ages, Ky., was called into Hubbard's poolroom and taken into the backroom to discuss "particular business." The young miner promptly reported the brazen attempt to force him to recant his testimony, and the two men, already free on bail, were arrested and charged with subornation of perjury.

Another highlight of the case for the prosecution was the story of Boyd Isom, former machine

## NEW EVIDENCE IN FIGHT FOR JAILED MINERS

(Continued from page 1)

tion's trial exhibit photographs, supposed to have been taken from that window, gave a view of the spot near a water birch where the guards fell.

But a corrected survey of the terrain involved, made by Prof. Pugsley, now reveals that the trial photographs were taken from another point, some of them 60 feet to one side of where they should have been taken, and 30 feet above the proper level. Prof. Pugsley's findings were submitted in affidavit form.

Prof. Bangson's sworn report disclosed that he had made cuttings of typical trees in the "long and wide line" cited, and other scientific tests, which showed clearly that those trees were of ample height and fullness in May, 1931, to prevent any one in the Smith-Kelly window from seeing the mine-guards.

Prior to today's hearing the defense had presented a mass of evidence to show that the mine-guards were killed when they attacked a strike-picket line with automatic rapid-fire guns. One union miner, Carl Richmond, also was killed in the battle, but no one was ever prosecuted for his death.

## More Workers Killed As Jamaica Strikes Spread

The revolt of labor in the Island of Jamaica against the appalling conditions in the colony continues to spread in spite of the violence with which it has been met by the armed forces of British imperialism. The latest strike wave began in Kingston on May 23 and rapidly extended to rural districts.

On May 31, new strikes were reported in many parts of the island. Banana workers on United Fruit farms in the "Spanish Town" area struck for higher wages. Strikers paraded at Montego Bay, Anotta Bay, and Port Maria, virtually suspending business in those regions.

#### British Soldiers Patrol

British soldiers, Island militia, armed police and volunteers patrolled the strike areas with, as the dispatch to the New York Times moderately expressed it, "intimidation of workers at several places."

On June 3, in a clash with rural strikers in northern Jam-

operator for the Harlan Central Coal Company, who charged that union membership had cost him the life of his infant son.

Federal Judge S. Church Ford ruled against defense objections and Isom was permitted to answer Prosecutor Brien McMahon's question about what Harry Bennett, superintendent of Harlan Central Coal and a defendant in the trial, had said to him a few days after the burial of the Isom baby.

#### Damning Testimony

"He said if I hadn't joined the union I'd got doctor's treatment for my baby," said the witness in a loud, clear voice.

Defense attorneys tried frantically to shake the witness' story, and to prove that no persons were refused treatment by company doctors. "I know it was refused to me," Isom maintained.

Next move of the defense, as they could see the effect of this testimony on the jurors, was to make a motion for a mistrial, describing Isom's testimony as "inflammatory and calculated to inspire hatred in the jurors toward the defendants." This motion was denied.

The long procession of miners to the witness-stand found each of them with his story of persecution, intimidation and outright violence, coming from the bosses and their gunmen who acted as deputy sheriffs. Superintendents and foremen had their own means of discouraging workers from joining the union.

#### Tells of Discrimination

Lincoln Lowe told how, when he was straw boss for the Harlan Central Coal Company, the mine foreman gave him a slip with the names of four union men on it and told him to assign them to a place where the coal was so thin that a miner could not make a living.

Carey Hood, a Clover Fork miner, was assigned to a place where he would have to move 30 carloads of rock to get at one carload of coal. This assignment was given to him after he testified against a former employer in Frankfort.

The defense, who were to begin the introduction of direct evidence this week, have until this time contented themselves with attempts to blacken the reputations of the witnesses. Rather than attempt to refute the testimony concerning the terrorism practiced by the defendants, the attorneys for the corporations charge the union members with being drunkards and with keeping disorderly houses.

These frank appeals to the prejudices of the jurors, largely farmers from the surrounding country, are expected to be continued throughout the presentation of the case for the defendants.

Since July 1 ten workers have been killed and scores injured in police attacks on unarmed crowds of strikers.

The acting governor of Jamaica, in announcing a new back-to-the-land scheme devised by the government in the hope of mitigating unemployment—the unemployed have joined the strikers in many demonstrations—stated it would not be put into effect until labor conditions returned to "normal." He also warned that the administration "would not tolerate lawlessness and disorder."

defend him in court with the others or else be exposed before the anti-Fascist German-American workers' organizations which participated in the demonstration. The case was dismissed.

This week the Stalinists were again forced to recognize the S.W.P., as part of the anti-Fascist movement. Their delegates kept eloquently silent when the Trotskyists were invited to participate in the anti-Nazi committee preparing for a city-wide anti-Fascist conference scheduled to be held on June 6.

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**Jobs or Relief!**

The somber plight of the unemployed is again headline news. Chicago, second largest city in the country, has closed its relief bureaus. In Cleveland, where one in every three depends on direct relief or W.P.A., relief has broken down since the end of April and spontaneous sit-downs have occurred. Drives against the workers' living standards and *very lives* are being conducted all over the country.

In order to live, the workers must have wages, must have purchasing power. This is obtainable only from two sources: either private industry or the government. But capitalism is in a *new period, the period of its dotage, of its decline, of its bankruptcy.* It cannot profitably give more wages and a better life. It can only give more unemployment and slow death.

This is fully realized in Wall Street. Months before the current depression set in, J. G. Frederick, outstanding financial writer, warned: "Industry will not be able to absorb them (the unemployed)... despite valiant promises. *The problem is beyond industry; it is—and will remain—a social, governmental problem.*"

And what is the government doing to solve the problem? What work and wages does it give the unemployed? Little, very little. Barely enough to keep them quiet. With fifteen million unemployed, Hopkins announced that the W.P.A. will first give three million jobs in the winter. At the most, only one out of five will get a W.P.A. job. And those who do get jobs—at what wages will they get them? In the South, the monthly wage is as low as \$20 a month. In New York City, most of the workers get \$55.78 a month. No man can support his family decently on such wages. Whether down South or up North, they mean slow starvation even for those who do get a W.P.A. job.

These conditions are intolerable. Private industry and the capitalist system of profits cannot furnish jobs. We must prepare to throw this system into the discard and replace it with a system that will give jobs and a decent life to all. We must fight for and establish socialism.

Meanwhile the unemployed need help NOW. We must demand of the government: **JOBS AT TRADE UNION WAGES—OR RELIEF—FOR ALL THE UNEMPLOYED!**

Those who do not get jobs must get PROMPT relief—within 72 hours. In emergency cases—within 24 hours. And the relief budget must not be the starvation budget which it is now!

The unemployed can never get relief by keeping quiet. Militant action—nation-wide sit-ins, mass picket lines, and vast demonstrations that end in marches on the centers of government, now the city hall, then the state capitol, and, when necessary, on the national capitol itself—is needed.

Actions such as these will show the bosses and their government that the unemployed victims of their system mean business.

**"Aiding" the Loyalists**

England, France and the United States—the great "democracies" presented to us by the Communist Party as the friends of the Spanish people—have dug more than one dagger into the back of the Loyalist forces since the beginning of the civil war. One of the latest thrusts is the Chamberlain plan to "evacuate foreign fighters" in Spain in such a manner as is obviously to the disadvantage of the Loyalist side.

Supported by England and the French "Popular Front" government, it was at first denounced by the Stalinist press as equivalent to aiding the fascists. The same press pointed proudly to the fact that Stalin's diplomatic representative in London would have no part of such a dirty deal.

On Wednesday, June 1, the *Daily Worker* put it this way:

"The Soviet Union today again balked at a British Tory plan to aid the fascist armies in Spain under the guise of 'non-intervention'."

"S. B. Cahan, Soviet Embassy Councillor, informed the international 'Non Intervention' Committee that the Soviet Government refused to contribute to the cost of the unequal evacuation of foreign fighters in Spain."

"Moscow has held out single-handed against the other members of the chairman's Sub-Committee of Nine in opposing the entire plan as a 'deliberate attempt' to aid the fascist troops to win a rapid victory, in line with the Chamberlain-Mussolini pact of friendship."

So far, so good.  
But on June 3, a mere 48 hours later, the same paper prints a new dispatch from London, after Cahan-Stalin have capitulated completely to the "Chamberlain-Mussolini pact," to the "deliberate attempt to aid the fascist troops"—and with a perfectly straight face presents this capitulation as a... Soviet-Loyalist triumph!

"The British plan will be acceptable to the Soviet Government, Cahan announced, only on condition that international observers be stationed permanently in Spanish ports to control and check unloading of cargoes."

"Other points in the British draft of methods of counting foreign troops, division of their forces into four main categories, and control provisions, are acceptable to the U.S.S.R., Cahan said."

In other words, the "Chamberlain-Mussolini plan," the "deliberate attempt to aid the fascist troops to win a rapid victory," is perfectly acceptable now to Stalin if only... it is properly enforced!

And by the way, now that the Kremlin bureaucracy is committed to such an "absolute" embargo on Spain, is it not exceptionally hypocritical for the Browderites to continue shouting in New York and Washington for a lifting of the American embargo on Spain?

We are absolutely in favor of direct and ample aid by the American workers to the workers of Spain. We are just as firmly opposed to the vicious embargo of Mr. Browder's Roosevelt which prevents the Spanish workers from getting arms but facilitates the armament of Franco through Germany. And we are no less firmly opposed to the aid which Mr. Browder's Stalin now proposes to give to the "Chamberlain-Mussolini plan"—those are the *Daily Worker's* words!—for a fascist victory in Spain.

**Socialist Party and the A.L.P.**

After weeks of the most careful negotiation, from which was excluded any representative of the Socialist Party who has or once had the label of a "left winger," the executive committee of the American Labor Party has turned down the appeal for admission into its ranks made by the Thomas Party.

The rejection is interesting from the standpoint of both organizations.

The real leaders of the Socialist Party shell, Thomas and Laidler, offered their organization to the A.L.P. bureaucracy at a pretty cheap price. Playing in with the Dubinsky-Jewish Forward-Social Democratic Federation group, which would like to see the Thomasites in the A.L.P. as a counter-weight to growing Stalinist penetration, the S.P. negotiators debased themselves to the point where they offered to dissolve as a political party once they were admitted. The party which not so long ago spoke about its "masses" and "mass influence" was and is prepared to liquidate itself into a piddling little "educational society," giving lectures on Laidlerian socialism to the A.L.P. in the hope that some day it will work itself down to the level of the Fabian Society in the British Labour Party.

The A.L.P. bureaucracy, which controls the party as a board of directors controls a closed corporation, nevertheless turned down this generous, if abject, offer. More exactly, the Hillman-Stalinist combination turned it down. The statement by executive secretary Alex Rose is a model of arrogance and bureaucratic self-contentment:

"If the S. P. wants to join the A.L.P. because of an honest change of heart, and in the feeling that our methods in political education have been more successful and because they, too, want to make their contribution toward this newly-adopted method, they are welcome. But if they want to come into our party to reform our party in the direction of 'more orthodox' methods, then we are better off apart."

In other words, the program, methods, and leadership of the A.L.P. are sacrosanct and unalterable in perpetuity, and short shrift will be given anybody who, lacking faith in A.L.P. infallibility, proposes to change ("reform") the party's course. By this statement, Mr. Rose

**Hague Will Be Ousted By Workers Offensive**

By JAMES RALEIGH

Mayor Hague's control over Jersey City is so complete that most liberal observers expect liberation from his domination only after Nature or some other agency sends him to the limbo of departed souls. These onlookers consider futile any fight to remove him. What these blind souls do not see is that Hague is already grooming his nephew as his equally vicious successor. Three or four years are all that are needed for this job. In that time the numerous political deals and appointments will be delegated by Hague to the young man to follow him. A personal obligation to this new figure instead of to Hague will be felt by every political beneficiary—every judge, prosecutor, tax collector, policeman, street cleaner and W.P.A. worker, every building contractor, supply man, garbage collection company and road-builder.

Hague's nephew will inherit the throne by his own right. Then our well-meaning but do-nothing liberals will have the job of wishing for the death of the new king. The death of an individual solves no vital political problems.

**Hopeless Course**

Any attempt to effect Hague's removal, or his successor's removal, by resort to the traditional political parties is equally hopeless. Hague, a Democrat, has insinuated himself into the Republican Party and by patronage has tamed all potential opposition from that source. The Hague - Hoffman, Democratic-Republican alliance in the last governorship term was an open scandal. In addition, the constant rivalry and dissension among the "honest" Republicans is so pronounced that this opposition is reduced to a farce.

As to a rebellion against Hague by a fusion party or by a group within his own party, this is impossible so long as Hague has control over the election apparatus. In tabulating the votes, whether Republican, Democratic or otherwise, Hague employs his own unique method of counting. Any effort to verify it in terms of our own numerical system is foisted, as witness the futile efforts of the Young Investigation of the last gubernatorial election to get the registry books in Jersey City in order to determine the actual duly qualified vote for Hague's governor, A. Harry Moore. By manipulating totals in Jersey City and in the remainder of Hudson County, really one continuous city, Hague arranges for a vote big enough to carry the whole state, normally Republican.

Next, Jersey City is reputedly 70 per cent Roman Catholic and the Church loyally supports Hague in his every endeavor. They did even before he gave a \$50,000 cash donation to the parish church. Now priests in the sanctified privacy of the confessional box deem it proper to ask parishioners if they voted for Hague. Of course, when Hague hollers "communism" at his opponents, the priests fittingly respond in a well-timed chorus: "Communism seeks to destroy the Church."

Thus, an ouster of the Jersey City dictator as a result of

church pressure is less than likely. Yet very significant is an incident of last year, in the very midst of Hague's initial fight against the C.I.O. "drive" in Jersey City. Although the C.I.O. was promptly painted "red" and by implication anti-Catholic, nevertheless a group of underpaid Catholic grave-diggers entered upon a sit-down strike. Needless to say, it was hastily settled and hushed up. Translated into ordinary language this event means only one thing: The worker will not always be fooled by an institution, political or religious, when it comes to his own immediate material welfare. His obeisance to a church which dwells on his "hereafter" will decrease directly as his participation in a labor union which caters to his well-being increases.

The only force capable of eliminating Hagueism from Jersey City or his equivalent from any other locality is the working class. Meanwhile the workers continue to be split by groupings that do them no good. They divide politically between Republican and Democratic parties to maintain a sham of a two-party system, in reality not even a one-party system, but its apotheosis, a one-man system. Again, they group themselves ecclesiastically, demarking a strong Catholic allegiance. And then, still more tragically, many of them observe economic group prejudices within their own ranks, a bias against the C.I.O.

**No Real Conflict**

The fact is that until this date the two types of unions have not conflicted in Jersey City except in Hague's mind. No effort has been made by the C.I.O., the newcomer of the two, to steal either the workers or the industrial field of the A.F. of L. Nevertheless, the A.F. of L. leaders in general have evinced a marked hostility to the C.I.O.'s attempt to unionize the unorganized. This enmity always arises concurrently with Hague's animosity, and invariably the A.F. of L.'s condemnation is accompanied by a lavish endorsement of "our mayor, staunch friend of labor." The labor spokesmen behind these declarations of loyalty and confidence are frequently men who in the past have fought and denounced Hague in the fiercest terms. Today they make dictated speeches and sign prepared statements in his praise without even reading them beforehand. This is the bureaucracy that the A.F. of L. unions have fallen into, rubber-stamp business agents and ditto-mark delegates.

Why Hague and the A.F. of L. are so vigilant in "protecting" Jersey City from the "radical" C.I.O. is a question of great importance. To begin with, the rank-and-file as well as the leadership of the A.F. of L. have been in years past victimized and intimidated. Now they are completely regimented by Hague.

**Receivership Weapon**

This was accomplished chiefly through receivership suits against a number of union locals. First, the vicious patronage system was extended to the trade unions by the appointment of Hague receivers and attorneys whose large fees liquidated the unions' funds. Second, the unions were rendered

impotent and useless as far as declaring or carrying on strikes was concerned. Third, local business rallied to the boss's moral—and financial—support to prevent strikes in their plants.

Fourth, the union leaders now hold their posts, not by the grace of the membership, but by indulgence of Hague. Any move in the ranks toward independence is promptly suppressed by the bureaucrats—lest the union be thrown into receivership and thus lose the last vestige of "organization." Such receivership is easily effected in New Jersey, simply by having a few members sign affidavits that the union funds are being squandered, or that the union is insolvent and cannot meet its financial obligations, or that their "equitable" grounds for receivership exist.

Then, it may be asked, why doesn't Hague permit the C.I.O. to come into Jersey City and organize, and as soon as that is done hold the same club over its head—the threat of receivership? The answer is that if the C.I.O. does organize, then to retain its membership it must extract from local industry some wage and hour benefits. These concessions cannot be granted without stimulating wider organization and at the same time alienating industry proportionately.

**Runaway Shops**

Jersey City is a town of runaway shops, businesses that have fled from other cities to get the jump on their competitors by the low wages made possible by local non-unionized labor. This influx of sweatshops and home-work industries has served and saved Hague in two ways—first, by giving some residents a bare minimum wage and thus removing them from the overcrowded relief rolls and so reducing the strain on city finances; second, by making vacant industrial properties tenable once more and so restoring them to the ranks of sites that contribute the needed taxes that seem increasingly harder to collect as time passes. If the C.I.O. is allowed to organize, the fly-by-night shops will fly again, these two benefits with them. Hague, to maintain himself, must fight any effort to further organize labor.

But this does not mean that the workers cannot be unionized. On the contrary, the field is most fertile for an intelligent and energetic campaign. Jersey City's liberation from Hague depends on understanding, hard-working and honest leaders who must persistently and consistently, not cheaply and dramatically, organize both the workers and the unemployed. A healthy nucleus exists in the C.I.O. unions which were organized before the "drive" of last November, such as the steel workers. Further sound material is the unemployed. Even the rank-and-file of the A.F. of L. will support a serious and intelligently organized drive.

**Hollywood Bows To Orders On War Film**

Just how the army is building up war psychology through the movies is explained in a Hollywood letter published in the *New York Times* for May 29.

Pressure was put on Paramount to change the ending of its new film, "Men with Wings."

As originally planned the movie ended with the heroine giving a fervid talk condemning war plans. However, as the letter states, "...the dialogue was rewritten to personalize the emotions of the heroine, and a general denunciation of war is avoided."

The pressure used was the threat to withhold army air service co-operation and technical advice unless the change were made.

In such a manner does the government, through its most powerful propaganda medium, prepare the road to war.

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**Congress Reveals Utter Bankruptcy Of New Deal**

(Continued from page 1)

ular" army and navy appropriations of more than a billion dollars swept through both houses of Congress and across the president's desk. With only the feeblest, most apologetic and impotent objections, the special Naval Bill triumphantly authorized another billion and a quarter.

There is much here from which to learn. Indeed, this session of Congress by its own actions clearly and unmistakably symbolized the insoluble dilemma of American and of world capitalism. The bankruptcy of capitalist economy leaves normal capitalist politics likewise bankrupt. Neither Republican nor Democrat, neither Old Deal nor New Deal, has any answer to give. They

joins the distinguished company of the bosses of the Catholic Church and the Communist Party.  
Bureaucratism and hypocrisy are Siamese twins in politics. Hence it is not surprising to see that in justifying their adverse stand on the S.P.'s application, such members of the A.L.P. executive committee as Louis Weinstock and Michael Quill piously declared that if the S. P. members want to join the A.L.P., they must disaffiliate completely from the S.P. and dissolve the latter.

see only one conceivable way out: in the aggressive adventure of a new imperialist war.

**Preparedness Moves**

On that question alone was Congress able to act decisively. Billions were poured into the war machine; the foundations were laid for universal conscription, "industrial mobilization," and a dictatorial war regime; the movement for a popular referendum on war, with overwhelming mass support behind it, was smashed head on.

Under the leadership of Roosevelt, this Congress set a direct course toward war, in whose blood and terror and destruction American capitalism grasps for what it takes to be its sole hope of survival.

So far as anybody knows, neither Weinstock nor Quill have disaffiliated from the Communist Party of which they are members, nor have they made such a demand on the hundreds (if not thousands) of Stalinists who have been shipped into the A.L.P. in droves.

Of the two partners to the unconsummated bargain, the professional "democrats" of the A.L.P. executive proved to be as alien to democratic procedure as the Socialist Party leaders are to the principles of socialism.

**"Keeping Out of War"**

(Continued from page 1)

condition that they shall not be used for armament purposes.... If these 'poor nations' (the Fascist nations—M. S.) abandon armament economics and gear the production of their industries to the consumption of their people, they can secure American raw materials. A government expressing the popular will for peace would declare that, on condition and in the measure that armaments production is reduced, the United States will take its part (while protecting American labor standards) along with other nations in lowering tariff barriers, in extending raw materials credits, in setting up agencies for economic world cooperation to relieve distress and to make an economic alternative to war possible."

If we refrain for a moment from the side-splitting laughter evoked by the mental picture of the fascist (or any other capitalist) nations "gearing the production of their industries to the consumption of their people" (this double-barrelled drive was put out by a commission whose secretary was the noted Marxian scholar, Lewis Corey....), we see stated in the smoothest possible terms the classic position of American imperialist isolationism.

**ADOPT CLASSIC POSITION OF U. S. IMPERIALISM**

It is true, of course, that American "isolationism"—like Nazi autarchy—is only a myth, a utopia, a deception; that it is the "typical American" method of preparing for imperialist expansion and aggression and for Wall St. domination of the entire world. But that only serves to emphasize the thoroughly reactionary, imperialist nature of American isolationism.

One administration after another—Roosevelt's included—has cleverly put forward the very same ideas formulated by the "Keep America Out of War Congress." They have enabled the American ruling class to pose as enemies of war, of armament races, as a "government expressing the popular will".... and at the same time enabled it to justify its own war preparations, its own armaments program, and to advance towards the imperialist conquest of the world.

**Why? How?**

Wealthiest, most highly industrialized, most ambitious power in the world today, the United States since the end of the last World War has constantly sought to blackjack its imperialist rivals into reducing their armaments by holding over their heads the threat of its own economic and financial power. "If you disarm, we'll give you loans." "If you spend less money on cannon and airplanes, and pay us back the billions we loaned you during and after the war, we will help you economically." "If you disarm, we'll cut down our own armaments proportionally."

A very cunning policy of tails I win and heads you lose. For the shrewd American "isolationists" and "disarmers" are perfectly aware of the fact that if every capitalist power in the world, the U.S. included, were to disarm 100 per cent tomorrow, the United States would be in the decisively dominant position when the next war broke out. Its industrial and financial superiority would enable it to turn out more arms and munitions per minute than its rivals could produce per hour.

**COVER FOR ROOSEVELT WAR PREPARATIONS**

And when its rivals, who are just as well aware of the stratagem, refuse to fall for it, and continue (as imperialism everywhere must) to pile up their armaments strength, the United States wins again! Then Roosevelt, like his predecessors, says with feigned resignation and sorrow: "You see, we offered them a reasonable proposition. In the words of the 'Keep America Out of War Congress,' we offered our economic resources 'on condition that they shall not be used for armament purposes.' But they turned us down. They are arming at a furious pace. We regret it terribly, but we have no alternative but to arm ourselves in turn, not, God forbid! for aggression, but only for defense."

It is this monstrous duping of the American masses that has now been taken up as the principal "anti-war" panacea of the Washington congress to "Keep America Out of War!"

Its fathers are not Lovestone, Corey and Thomas. They are only the belated god-fathers of the natural and legitimate child of American imperialism. To Roosevelt's sabre-rattling Chicago speech on "quarantining the aggressor," they echo: Economic quarantine for the "arming powers" (simply another name for "aggressor"). If this means anything, it means economic warfare on the so-called "fascist" nations, or the "poor nations," or the "aggressor" nations. It means, more importantly, that Wolfe, Allen, Corey and Co. are calling upon the capitalist-imperialist government—the bourgeoisie—of the United States to launch this economic war, and that they are ready to support the government in it.

**AND STILL THEY BECOME PATRIOTS!**

But Wolfe, Corey and Lovestone, who, unlike Thomas, are at least acquainted with the ideas of Marxism and the realities of modern politics, know that economic warfare is only incipient military warfare, that the latter is only a continuation of the former by other, more violent means. Their "knowledge," also, has not prevented them from adopting a program of imperialist isolationism, forerunner of imperialist war.

That is why the Washington congress was not a means of mobilizing the masses for struggle against imperialist war, but a gross pacifist fraud, aided and abetted by the Thomasites and the Lovestone leaders. That is why—as in the Stalinist "peace-congress" masquerades—the class struggle was not mentioned. That is why the independent class action of the organized proletariat—the only possible basis for a struggle against war—was prominent only by its complete absence; it was Jim Crowed out of the Congress.

M. S.

**PARTISAN REVIEW FOR JUNE**

1. ROSA LUXEMBURG: Letters from Prison. Sixteen pages of letters written by Luxemburg from her World War Prison to the wife of Karl Liebknecht. First time in English. Plus a documentary "Newsreel" on the murder of Luxemburg and Liebknecht in 1919.
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  3. WILLIAM TROY: Thomas Mann and the Modern Myth. Part I of a critical study of Mann's work. Parts 2 and 3 to appear next month.
  4. LOUIS HACKER: History and the Business Man. A review of Mary Beard's book.
  5. JAMES BURNHAM: American Literary Opinion.
  6. ALSO: poetry, reviews, theatre chronicle.
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