

# Stalinists Plot To Drive Martin From U.A.W. Post

(Continued from page 1)

The coming campaign of rumors and accusations against Martin will revolve around three principal points:

1. Financial extravagance and irregularity.  
2. Bureaucratic tendencies, abuse of local autonomy, abuse of rights of Executive Board members, restriction of the rights of the rank-and-file, gangsterism.

3. Implied and possibly open charges of collusion with the auto companies.

Funds will be lavishly spent and organizers toured up and down the country to harness the legitimate indignation of the rank-and-file to this Stalinist cabal. The movement is to culminate in a special convention of the U.A.W.A. The Stalinists put out a feeler at the Unity Caucus convention in the form of a motion for a special convention, but quickly dropped it in face of the cool reception and even opposition. More preparation will be required to put over this proposal. But that this is their objective was revealed in a feature article by A. W. Robinson, a usually well-informed reporter. Writing in the Detroit News the day after the Unity Convention he reported the adoption of a resolution by General Motors Local 216, Los Angeles, calling for a special convention "to remove Martin and all his gang." Obviously this Stalinist caucus could not have been acquainted in time with the temporary tactical switch in the party line, and so they spilled the beans prematurely.

### Groam Frankenstein

Finally, there is one other significant fact which gives the show away, strips the campaign of its flimsy progressive covering and exposes its really reactionary objectives. That fact is: The Communist Party is grooming Richard T. Frankenstein to take Martin's place as the next president of the U.A.W.A.

Such a plan fits in admirably with Frankenstein's scarcely concealed ambitions. This is indicated by the current unity between Frankenstein and the C.P. in Labor's Non-Partisan League (reported elsewhere in this issue), by the united front in the recent Hamtramck municipal elections, by the obvious inactivity of the C.P. caucus in the Dodge local elections despite an opposition Unity Group slate running against Frankenstein's men, by the failure of the Daily Worker to associate Frankenstein with Martin on the war question and Frankenstein's silence on "collective security." If it is still too far-fetched to assume a friendly alliance between Frankenstein and the C.P., we might refer to a six-point memorandum containing the terms of this treaty.

But this is too sour a dose for the rank-and-file to swallow at one gulp, so the C.P. is not revealing it for the time being. Frankenstein is known to be to the right—far to the right—of Martin.

If anyone is a real red-baiter, if anyone has employed gangster methods, if anyone has sought for support among Black Legion elements—it is Frankenstein. Obviously this card can be sprung only in a convention. To play it now would give the hand away and arouse the antipathy of the rank-and-file, who would view exchanging Frankenstein for Martin in the same light as exchanging Lewis for Green.

### Deceit and Lies

The most cursory review of the new program of the Unity Group will reveal that it is shot through and through with hypocrisy, deceit and lies.

The very first point in the weekly letter issued by the Unity Group calling the March 19 convention deals with "the alarming trend... towards bureaucracy." And yet the letter is prefaced by a statement calling "for the abolition of all caucusing by any group in the International Union."

Thus the first step of the Unity Group to eliminate bureaucracy will be to abridge the democratic rights of the rank-and-file by abolishing all caucuses! Here is the fine Italian hand of the C.P. Caucuses are permissible in "self-defense"—but only so long as their policy does not prevail.

What is this complaint about bureaucracy?

1. The abolition of local union papers at the Executive Board meeting after the Milwaukee convention.

2. Was this bureaucratic? Most certainly. We pointed this out at least six months ago. But where was the Unity Group then? It was trying to make peace with Martin—at any price! In fact, the Stalinists in the Unity Caucus meeting—a very strong one—

voted after the executive board meeting to drop the issue completely since the board had already decided the question. Whence arises their present tender solicitude for local papers? In view of past performances of the Stalinists, it is clear they are making capital on this question now only for political purposes. If successful, they will merely establish more receptacles for their "collective security," pro-war garbage.

2. The gag resolution prohibiting Board members from discussing decisions of the board outside of board meetings.

No doubt this, too, was bureaucratic. But why the sudden desire to go to the rank-and-file? Why did they not raise this howl after the letter to General Motors giving it disciplinary powers was signed last September, or again last December? Perhaps their hands were tarnished also? Or why did they not demand this right during and after the Pontiac strike? We know now that the difference over how to outlaw that strike and send the men back to work was a matter not of policy but of method. In other words, just what are the real programmatic differences that warrant the expression of divergent opinions from the executive board to the locals? Nothing but the right to unscrupulous factionalism is involved here.

3. The signing of the present supplementary agreement with General Motors without consulting the workers by calling a General Motors conference.

This was the most bureaucratic action of all. But, as the Bible says, let him who is without sin cast the first stone. One year ago Hall and Mortimer, "helmsmen" of the Unity Group, negotiated the first supplementary agreement but never submitted it to the rank-and-file for ratification. This has been called to the attention of the Unity Group. What is their answer? The supplement "was not objectionable to the workers" but presumably the present agreement is. A fine criterion! The leaders of the Unity Group have constituted themselves a supreme court to determine what is good and what is bad for the workers in the plant. We are no less concerned about the bureaucratic method involved in signing the General Motors supplementary agreement. But how can the struggle against such methods be entrusted to a group which sanctions them provided only they are perpetrated by the "right" people?

### Irresponsible Action

Looking at the matter from a broader point of view, the present concern of the Unity leaders over the new supplementary agreement is based on the knowledge that nothing can be done about it. The agreement is a bad one, worse than the last, but the union is in no position to strike at the present time, particularly over this issue. Three months ago, when rank-and-file militants demanded that the General Motors conference get down to business, the Unity leaders acted as hatchet men for Martin to keep the peace. Today, their raising of the issue, with no proposal for action, is a clear piece of irresponsibility.

The proceedings of the Unity Group convention showed how little concern this clique felt for delegating powers to the rank-and-file. First they cut off a speaker calling for the Executive Board to turn over its negotiating powers if and when another General Motors conference is called. Then one of the top men proclaimed it would be useless for him to attempt to negotiate a new agreement, because before he could get started Homer Martin would phone General Motors and persuade them to hand down a worse agreement! We will undoubtedly hear more such accusations before this campaign is over.

### Blackens Martin

Then the conference was treated to a very delectable financial report by Ed. Hall. He alleged that Martin has been running up an expense account of \$2,000 a month. This is a serious charge, especially at a time when all organizers have been laid off for lack of money. Why are no charges brought? Why all the whispering over so serious a matter? Perhaps Hall would not like to wash his dirty linen in public together with Martin's? At the January meeting of the Executive Board it came to light that Hall had piled up a hotel bill during the Milwaukee convention of \$1,045—in a period of two weeks or less! Hall is not concerned about the amount of money squandered but about the individuals doing it. It remained for Walter Reuther and George Edwards to caution him openly.

### A Warning

We warn the sincere rank-and-file of the Socialist Party in the auto union in Flint and Detroit. Your leadership, from Walter Reuther to Ben Fisher, either through design or impotence, has kept you chained to an alliance with the Communist Party in the auto union. This alliance has given you nothing but a lot of headaches and more explaining for the reactionary antics of the Stalinists, while it has given them a convenient radical covering. This alliance has prevented you from exercising a genuine radicalizing influence on the U.A.W.A. But more serious today, it will make you partner to the most sinister aims yet advanced in the union. It is time to call a halt.

## MARXIST SCHOOL

April 6 - Wednesday Evening  
HOW THE CIO UNIONS OPERATE — Bill Morgan - 7 P. M.

THE ORIGINS OF THE "TROTSKY-STALIN" CONFLICT — Joe Carter - 8:45 P. M.

Other courses of the School are: Elementary Socialism, Monday, 7 P. M., Hal Draper; Marxian Economics, Tuesday, 7 P. M., J. G. Wright; Principles of Revolutionary Socialism, 8:45 P. M., Maurice Spector.

against a proposal to appropriate local finances for Unity Group expenses.

The entire issue of finances is undoubtedly injected into the campaign to add bitterness and suspicion. And an issue of this order, raised in the manner described, is calculated, more than any dozen other accusations taken together, to discredit the auto union in the eyes of the working class.

### The Ford Drive

What else? The drive to organize Ford's. The poor results in this campaign are undoubtedly due in part to inefficient methods, but they are equally due to unfavorable objective conditions and to the entire policy of the C.I.O. No one can logically criticize the policies at Ford's without at the same time rapping the policies in the Little Steel strike which resulted in an abrupt halt in all organized activities. The only real purpose of raising the Ford issue is to blacken Martin. We have yet to see Frankenstein, who is the director of the Ford Organizing Committee, put on the carpet by the Unity Group.

Failure to organize competitive plants. Many, perhaps most, of the Unity Group leaders do not come with clean hands to a discussion on this issue. Competitive plants have been ignored and left unorganized—often to the point of extreme danger to the organized plants—in not a few of the locals now under the control of Unity Group leaders. The question today is not one of placing the blame—there will be plenty of time for that—but of getting out and organizing these plants. The Unity Group is faced with this task no less than Martin himself.

From beginning to end, the program of the Unity Group is transparently clear. Its objective: "get" Martin and line up the union for Roosevelt's war program. No opposition from the auto workers to the new war—that is the real slogan.

### A Principled Fight

We hold no brief for Homer Martin, or his water-boys, the Lovestonites, or his reactionary allies. We have been his most vigorous opponents and the most consistent champions of the rights of the rank-and-file. We have conducted this struggle while the opportunists were trying to patch up any kind of peace with him. But we have always fought our fight on the basis of principles. We will continue to do so now and in the future. Our struggle is no different, fundamentally, in the auto union than in the steel and mining unions.

Our opposition to Martin, however, in no way lessens our alarm over the present campaign launched by the Communist Party, acting under cover of the Unity Group. We warn the auto workers of this campaign! Success can mean only transfer of leadership from one bureaucratic group to an infinitely worse one.

Look at the internal regime in the Communist Party. There is no more democracy in that party than you can stick in the corner of your eye. Look at the record of the Communist party in unions where it has control: the furriers, painters, food workers, maritime union. Gangsterism, unity with racketeers, frame-ups, suppression of minorities, dictatorial practices that would make Bill Hutchinson green with envy! Do you want that kind of system in the auto union, which despite all abuses, has become known as the most democratic organization in the labor movement?

### Solidarity With Mexico

But this maneuver must not succeed. The conspiracy must be made to rebound, against the

## SWP Leaders In Mexico City Support Workers' Struggle

In the last issue of the "Socialist Appeal" we reported that representatives of the Socialist Workers Party in Mexico had publicly declared their solidarity with the anti-imperialist struggle of the Mexican workers in connection with the expropriation of the oil fields held by British and American oil companies. The full text of the declaration, issued March 19 by James P. Cannon, national secretary of the S.W.P., and Max Shachtman, editor of the "Socialist Appeal," is as follows:

"The expropriation of the oil properties held by British and American oil companies as announced last night by President Cardenas is bound to meet with the enthusiastic approval of enlightened workers everywhere. In greeting this bold and courageous measure we express not only the sentiments of the Socialist Workers Party of the United States but, we are sure, of millions of workers in our country. Our brief visit as tourists to beautiful and hospitable Mexico has been made doubly pleasant by the announcement of this governmental action taken in the interests of the toiling people.

"We have no doubt that the decree issued in regard to the foreign oil companies will engender a campaign of agitation and misrepresentation against the government. That in our opinion is all the more reason for the workers of the United States to come out in support of the Mexican government's action. We shall urge our own party and all progressive workers in the United States to give full support to the Mexican people in this fight. It is no more than the simple duty of Socialists to defend the Mexican people in their fight for economic and national independence and to urge the laboring masses of the United States to take a stand, not on the side of the oil companies, but on the side of the masses of the Mexican republic.

## U.S. Silver Move Against Mexico Is Direct Attack on Working Class

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reprisals or backing Mexican robber hands. In case of emergency, Roosevelt will not recoil from transforming his "friendly neighbor" policy into open armed intervention, following the example of the great pacifist, Wilson.

For the moment, London and Washington seem to hope that the difficult economic situation of his country, exhausted by century-long exploitation, will force Cardenas into capitulation. But the Mexican government is now the prisoner of the Mexican workers, who are desperately determined to put an end to the foreign yoke. Cardenas can capitulate only at the price of becoming the Chiang Kai-shek of Mexico.

### Revolution Is Near

On the other hand, the feud with the oil companies, if it is to be waged successfully, must inevitably exceed the limits of capitalist legality. Real success of the anti-imperialist struggle is possible only through the methods of the proletarian revolution. Under proletarian rule, Mexico could quickly reorganize and awaken the enthusiasm of the colonial countries of Latin America.

It would have to expropriate without compensation the vast land-holdings as yet untouched, to nationalize the banks and confiscate foreign capital, to curb the commercial profits of imperialism through a monopoly of foreign trade. Concentrating the entire riches of the nation in the hands of a proletarian state, it could turn the land over to the peasant masses, liberate them from debt, and organize the productive forces of the country.

It is precisely the limitation of Mexico's anti-imperialist struggle within the boundaries of capitalist legality which constitutes the greatest brake on the liberation of the Mexican people.

Frank Kluckhohn, the Mexican correspondent for the Times, reactionary and friend of the G.P.U., reports with great satisfaction that even the France of the People's Front rejects Cardenas' offer to sell oil only to the non-fascist countries. The features of the "democratic" conspiracy of the oil magnates become increasingly clear.

They who provide Japan with the oil of California and British Iraq, are preparing a "moral" justification for future intervention in Mexico. Through the oil boycott of the "democratic" governments against Mexico, forced to export 80 per cent of new oil products, they intend to force Cardenas into dealing with Japan and Germany.

Solidarity With Mexico  
But this maneuver must not succeed. The conspiracy must be made to rebound, against the

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## Curran Aids Navy Recruiting Action

NEW YORK.—Armed with mimeographed copies of a letter signed by Joseph Curran, general organizer of the National Maritime Union, recruiting officers of the Merchant Marine Naval Reserve are engaged in visiting union halls in efforts to induce seamen to enlist.

Curran's letter states that following "a conference between members of the District Committee (of the N.M.U.) and representatives of the Navy Department" a resolution was passed, by the District Committee which states:

"On the basis of the report made by Captain Bookwalter as to the aims and purposes of the Merchant Marine Reserve, we feel that the report shows and the statement of the Navy Department shows that there is nothing anticipated by the Reserve as being harmful to the organization of the National Maritime Union of America, but the District Committee feels that we, as a trade union, cannot take a stand directly advocating our members' joining any other organization."

Not being prepared to take a militant stand against the war preparations of the Roosevelt government, Curran and his crew leave it "entirely to the discretion of the members" of the N.M.U. as to whether they should enlist in the Naval Reserve.

Attacks Editor, Stalinists  
During a discussion of the Rank and File Pilot at a meeting of the deck department last Tuesday, Joseph Curran, general organizer of the N.M.U., denounced the editor and his backers as "pie-card artists" interested only in securing paid positions within the union.

## Martin, Kenyon, Hays Join Beal Defense Group

NEW YORK.—Homer Martin, international president of the United Automobile Workers of America, Congressman Thomas R. Amle of Wisconsin and Jerry Voorhis of California are among the growing number of prominent Americans who have joined the Non-Partisan Committee for the Defense of Fred E. Beal, the labor leader serving a 15 to 20 years prison term in North Carolina. A list of new recruits to the nation-wide movement for Beal's liberation includes labor spokesmen, educators, jurists, and writers.

Miss Dorothy Kenyon, recently designated to the League of Nations commission for the study of the legal status of women, joined the Beal group on the eve of sailing for Geneva. Emily Greene Balch, economist of Wellesley College, former delegate to the International Congress of Women at the Hague, also enlisted in the non-partisan committee.

Other new members include Arthur Garfield Hays, well-known defender of civil liberties, who was a voluntary attorney for Beal's defense in the trial in 1919, after the Gastonia textile strike; Dr. Horace M. Kallen, author and philosopher; Sara Bard Field, the poet, and Charles Erskine Scott Wood, author.

The work of the Non-Partisan Committee has just received the endorsement of the National Executive Committee of the Workers' Circle, a fraternal order with over 1,000 branches in the United States and Canada.

The Executive Committee of the American Radio Telegraphists Association wrote: "This committee wishes to take this opportunity to wish you every success in your work." The Marble Carvers, Cutters and Setblers Union, Local 4, sent wishes for "the greatest of success" in the campaign for Beal's release.

Similar messages are reaching defense headquarters, at 19 W. 44th Street, New York City, from all parts of the country.

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  
HOUSEWARMING AT OUR NEW Headquarters, 73 St. Marks Place, Saturday, April 2, Swing Band, entertainment, East Side Branch, S.W.P. Club, 25 cents.

CABARET, SWING BAND, FLOOR Show, Bar and Snacks, Sat. Apr. 2, 9 P.M., 916 Ninth Ave. at 58th St. Cover charge: 35 cents.

WILLIAMSBURG SOCIAL, AT 158 Lewis Ave. Saturday, April 2nd. Revival of "Alice Through the Thermidor." Refreshments, dancing, congenial comrades. Admission 25 cents.

LOS ANGELES  
SPECIAL FOR THIS WEEK ONLY. WHITTIER PRINCE by Leon Trotsky. 50 cents. Orders filled promptly. 5 cents extra for postage. Modern Book Shop, 309 1/2 W. 5th St., Los Angeles.

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## Loones Ouster Uncovers Strife In Seamen's Union

NEW YORK.—Internal strife within the National Maritime Union culminated in the expulsion of Octave Loones, editor of the Rank and File Pilot and a member of the stewards department, at a membership meeting of the stewards department last Friday.

Publication of the Rank and File Pilot, an unofficial weekly newspaper that exposed the sell-out features of the recent tanker agreement negotiated by the New York District Committee of the N.M.U., and has been attacking the leadership generally, had precipitated a crisis within the union, with strong sentiment against the Stalinist-controlled N.M.U. leadership.

Loones Ouster  
While Curran attempted to differentiate himself from the "official" Stalinists, the current issue of the Rank and File Pilot veered in the direction of a more lenient attitude toward the opportunistic District Committee, and centered its fire on the "official" Stalinists, such as Jack Lawrenson, a member of the District Committee.

Long letters, accompanied by photostatic copies of documents, proved what has long been known, that the leadership of the N.M.U. is dominated by the Communist Party. Such "exposures" are worse than useless and can accomplish nothing unless it is clearly shown that the policy of the Communist Party is to shackle the seamen and sell them out to the bosses in the interests of their "democratic front" program.

Curran's charges against the Communist Party, heralded widely in the capitalist press as a split with "radical elements" in the union, significantly omit any condemnation of the class-collaboration and sell-out policies of the Stalinist leadership. From his statements, there is no reason to believe that Curran has abandoned his policy of conciliation with the bosses and capitulation to the Government.

## Allentown Project Reopens As Result Of Militant Action

ALLENTOWN, Pa.—Through swift action by the Lehigh County Unemployed League, the W.P.A. sewing project which closed down on February 25 without notice and without provision for placing the 270 women employed on it on relief, was reopened on March 9.

The Unemployed League called a meeting of the women on the project as soon as it was closed and assisted them in setting up an organization. A committee of six of the most militant workers was elected from the project to act jointly with a committee from the League consisting of Lester Heckman, the organizer, Mrs. Goldie Schrammel and Mrs. Gloria Muller. The district W.P.A. officials in Bethlehem at first refused to see the committee, but after a threat to rush the office, the committee was admitted and received a promise that the project would open within two weeks.

Not relying on vague promises, the committee transmitted its demands to the W.P.A. administration in Harrisburg. It also took up with the area relief office the question of relief for the women until the project opened, and elicited an assurance from the W.P.A. placement division that all women working on the project when it closed would be re-employed. The workers were prepared to take over the W.P.A. offices if the promises were not kept.

When the project opened, the League's representatives were on hand to see that all women were taken back and that there was no discrimination. The organization of the workers on the project is continuing to function in order to handle grievances on the job and to be ready at any time to combat efforts to close the project again.

Full credit for the prompt reopening of the project belongs to the aggressive action of the reconstituted Unemployed Leagues. The Stalinist-controlled Workers Alliance never so much as mentioned the lay-offs.

## Appeal Army

We are becoming convinced ourselves that the Appeal has not only improved—but has actually become a paper that meets with the approval of comrades and sympathizers all over the country. From Baltimore comes the following comment:

"We want to express our appreciation of the Appeal. It really gets better with each issue and makes us proud to be associated with a party which puts out such a paper. Its make-up pleases the eye and its articles have an assurance and aggressiveness that can only come from a firm confidence in the correctness of your program."

And from Vancouver, Canada, comes another boost for the Appeal:

"It is a pleasure to read the Appeal with its clear and proletarian viewpoint as counterposed to that of the G.P.U. organs and the reformist sheets with their class collaborationist line."

Comrade Jack Hartman of New York was sufficiently enthusiastic about the Appeal drive to go out on the street and sell 44 Appeals in two hours. This proves that street sales are an effective method in boosting Appeal circulation during and after the drive.

And speaking of the drive—we'll have to do some hustling if we look at the figures for the past week:

Table with 2 columns: City, Subscribers. Includes Safford, Arizona; Los Angeles; Chicago; Vincennes, Indiana; Boston; Flint, Mich.; Jersey City; Cleveland; Racine, Wis.; Argentina; New York.

PATRONIZE THE LABOR BOOK SHOP 28 East 12th Street, N. Y. C.