

Maritime Federation Disrupted By Stalinist Union-Busters On Coast

(Continued from page 1)

zations whose members were directly engaged in shipping and marine transportation should be admitted, the Federation has become a stamping ground for phony paper unions, incipient careerists hunting for a pie-card, Stalinist free-lancers trained in putting the party line over. Bona-fide sea-going outfits such as the sailors, firemen, engineers and I.L.A. longshoremen have been shoved out by the C.P. dictators. But, true to the concept of industrial unionism, the Federation has compensated for the loss by taking into its fold cannery workers, farm laborers, and ladies' auxiliaries of various sorts. The packing process has gone so far that the Inland Boatmen's Union, a scab-herding outfit which was organized as a dual "union" to encroach on the jurisdiction of the S.U.P., has been welcomed with open arms by the Bridges machine.

Drive Against Militants

This change in composition, which makes the Federation a vicious caricature of the original 1935 Federation, lays bare the real nature of Bridges' union-smashing campaign. The Stalinist crew is determined to drive the militant unions out of existence, to wipe out their hiring halls, bring the National Maritime Union out to the West Coast and set up a National Federation clamped in the death-grip of the Communist Party.

Woven into the unity chant is the vociferous slogan, "Replace the S.U.P. with the N.M.U." The Bridges version of unity demands the elimination of all militant unions which will not swallow his infamous strike-breaking policy of handing "perishable cargo" during the 1936-37 strike; or Bridges' refusal to back up the sailors and firemen in their fight against the government Fink Book, on the grounds that a fight against the government is a "bum beef"; or the actions of a crew which systematically breaks the picket lines of brother unions, accepts open-shop conditions and wage-cuts.

The Issue Posed

The startling developments within the Federation pose the issue of a program for September 30 in sharpest form. The convention, of course, went on record for "Unity of all component coastwise organizations" to defend present wages, hours, and conditions, protect hiring halls, etc. in the coming negotiations with the employers.

But, in this connection, it is well to remember that Bridges and his colleagues have, in word and deed, consistently violated

every principle of militant union defense on which the Federation was founded.

The closed shop? Bridges reassured the shipowner guests of honor at the class-collaborationist "Town Meeting" that "the union shop is often open to compromise."

No wage cuts, increase in hours, chiseling on working conditions? Bridges urges the boys to "take anything the bosses will give you;" he admits that conditions among his own longshoremen of the I.L.W.U. are worse than they have been in years, and blames it on the "employers' sit-down strike against Roosevelt."

Against government control? Bridges, full of sweetness and light, informed the shipowners that "government agencies command our respect;" and he has given left-handed support to the proposal for fink books, government training ships, and the N.L.R.B.'s anti-union decision in the Shepard beef.

Glorifies Scab Action

Unity? Bridges pledged himself to the shipowners, before 11,000 people, to eschew the sympathy strike, and pointed with pride to his smashing of picket lines.

It is clear that the Federation dictators hope to utilize Sept. 30, not for militant union defense, but to further their busting campaign on the waterfront—to smash, once and for all, the S.U.P. and its allies. But Bridges will not find the progressive unions unprepared. Already the S.U.P., the Masters Mates and Pilots, the firemen and the Puget Sound I.L.A. have formed a fighting alliance in preparation for the Fall showdown. Their joint program includes the following inviolable points: (1) No compromise on hiring halls; (2) no wage cuts, increase in hours, or chiseling on conditions; (3) united front for wage increases and better conditions; (4) uncompromising fight against any form of government control; (5) against arbitration of any of these fundamental union principles.

This program for a united front of all seafaring organizations, in co-operation with the longshoremen and teamsters, has Bridges and his stooges shivering in their boots. The form of "struggle" which they envisage consists of blackslapping with the bosses, salaaming before the government agencies, and scotching any fighting tendencies within their own ranks. But if they hope, through their desperate splitting maneuvers, to drive the real militants off the waterfront, they will meet with a bitter surprise when September 30 rolls around.

Painters' Elections See Progressives Advancing

(Continued from page 1)

there were many German painters in that local, but that in the past they had supported Weinstock almost unanimously. To slander them as Nazi-influenced, Stevens declared, is to stir up the vilest kind of race and national prejudices and to play the game of the Nazis themselves. In Local 1011, overwhelmingly Jewish in its composition, the Stalinist Aaron Lotker, present chairman of the District Council, attempted to rehab this reactionary slander at a meeting at which Stevens spoke. The Jewish workers of Local 1011 gave the slander the proper answer by booing him out of the hall. In other locals, Jewish workers have similarly responded to this chauvinistic outrage.

Daily Worker Lies

Still another frame-up was attempted last week, after the Jewish Forward had commented favorably on Stevens' candidacy. The Daily Worker charged editorially that Stevens is a Tammany man who had opposed campaign contributions by the union to the American Labor Party. The Stalinists hoped in that way to bludgeon American Labor Party leaders into support of their stooge against Stevens. In a statement to the press as well as in a leaflet, the progressives pointed out that what Stevens and other progressives had opposed was not financial aid to the A.L.P., but illegal raids on the treasury, such as Weinstock constantly undertook, contrary to the constitution and by-laws of the union, in favor of the Daily Worker and other Stalinist causes. It was the method of the contribution to the A.L.P. which was protested on the grounds of illegality. Stevens challenged the

Stalinists to prove that he belonged to Tammany.

Incidentally, in a leaflet entitled "Weinstock's Daily Worker Tries to Blackmail the A.L.P.," the progressives quote from the minutes of the District Council to prove that they made a motion to levy a legal assessment for the A.L.P. several times higher in amount than the contribution actually made by Weinstock. The Stalinists "referred" and thus buried, the motion fearing they would have to go through legal procedure—once the precedent was established.

Stage a Burglary

Finally, the Stalinists attempted what a progressive leaflet calls a "Reichstag Fire a la Goering." They charged that last Sunday morning Stevens and other progressives, including the socialists Marcal and Wagner, staged a burglary at the D. C. 9 offices in order to "cripple the election apparatus." The progressives very pointedly ask: "What earthly reason would they have to want to 'cripple the election apparatus?' Hadn't they registered one success after another in recent test votes, sufficiently indicative of their excellent chances in an election held at once?"

Stevens has challenged the administration to present proof of his responsibility for the alleged "burglary" to the District Attorney's office on penalty of making themselves guilty of compounding a felony. Of course, this challenge has gone unanswered. Libel action is being considered by the progressives.

The progressives, although answering every attempt of the Thirteenth Street frame-up artists to befog the membership, have nevertheless continued to stick to the real issues. They rely for winning the elections on June 25 on a program which in-

CURRAN MOVES TO ELIMINATE RIVAL UNIONS

Militant Organizations Are Threatened By Ray Proposal

NEW YORK.—The New York Maritime Council has begun a strenuous campaign to win the cooperation of government and shipowners in the establishment of "mediation and arbitration machinery" for the settlement of "disputes between unions and the shipowners.... and inter-union, jurisdictional disputes."

Thomas Ray, secretary of the council, last week sent a conference call to the Maritime Commission, the National Labor Relations Board, the Department of Labor, the American Steamship Owners Association, the Shepard Steamship Company and Joseph P. Ryan of the International Longshoremen's Association (A.F.L.). The invitation was accepted by the N.L.R.B., the Labor Department and the Shepard Line.

Owners Taken to Task

As a follow-up to this call, Ray sent out a letter elaborating his proposal and taking the shipowners to task for refusing to attend the conference because of their desire to remain aloof from "jurisdictional disputes." According to Ray, "Whether 'innocent' or 'guilty,' the shipowners are bound to become involved in a strike or lockout action involving the unions.... therefore, some such conference as we have proposed is absolutely necessary."

The meaning of the Council's proposal is clear. It is part of Joe Curran's concerted drive to wipe out militant maritime unions by establishing governmental agencies as all-powerful overlords of maritime labor. Curran and his Stalinist stooges in the N.M.U. know full well that they have a loyal ally in Washington, especially after the union-smashing decision of the N.L.R.B. against the Sailors Union of the Pacific on the Shepard Line issue. It is significant that the government representatives accepted the invitation with such alacrity. They, too, wish to crush the fighting elements on the waterfront.

Refusal Significant

The shipowners' refusal to sit at the peace table with the council is also significant. They are deeply appreciative of the aid rendered them by the N.M.U. and its associates in smashing sailors' picket lines. They wish, naturally, to continue to employ the services of Curran's outfit in splitting and disrupting maritime labor. The proposal to "talk over" jurisdictional disputes does not interest them in the least.

However, the S.U.P. and its allies have already demonstrated that their fight for the closed shop and decent conditions will not be stopped by any number of government mediation boards. They have shown in the Shepard dispute that neither the N.M.U. dictators nor their government henchmen will force them to give up their contracts or liquidate their militancy. This latest class-collaborationist move, designed to eliminate jurisdictional disputes by wiping out all unions outside of the council, will fare no better than did the N.L.R.B. decision in the Shepard beef.

clues the following plans:

1. Secret ballot in all referendums, except strike votes, especially in the levying of taxes and assessments.
2. Election, not appointment, of all union officials.
3. Dispensation of all jobs available through the union by rotation machine, to do away with the present system of favoritism and discrimination and to give every union painter a fair chance at a job.
4. For a genuine housing program to be worked out in collaboration with the other building trades unions, to clear the slums and provide work for the unemployed building mechanics and union painters.
5. For the ousting of all the unnecessary job-holders, the extortionists who are now paid Weinstockites; for a corresponding reduction in dues.

It is a minimum program on which every self-respecting union man can stand one-hundred per cent. It is one which the Stalinists cannot meet and which only a progressive administration can carry into action.

ASK FOR THE APPEAL AT YOUR NEWSSTAND

Stalinist Wreckers Act Concertedly To Smash Auto Workers' Union

Plunge Locals Into Pandemonium, Seek To Place International In Receivership In Order To Advance Rule Or Ruin Policy

DETROIT.—The Stalinist pack is now in full cry in the United Automobile Workers Union. Driven to the wall by public exposure of their rotten policies and aims, they cannot rest until they have made their killing—even if the proud and powerful auto union is torn to shreds in the process.

The *Socialist Appeal* predicted that the Stalinists would be determined, regardless of the cost, to seize control of the union. Now that prediction has been confirmed to the hilt. Nothing is too despicable for these unscrupulous political adventurers.

The crisis precipitated by the Communist Party-Frankensteen combination is now ravaging the union from one end of the country to the other. Everywhere local unions have been thrown into pandemonium. The word has gone out from a caucus center, operating far more efficiently than it ever did in building the organization, to crucify Homer Martin once and for all.

Stalinist Program

Packed local union meetings—where administration spokesmen are howled down—are being called upon to vote for a three-point resolution: reinstate the five suspended officers; call upon John L. Lewis to intervene and take over; convene a special convention if Martin refuses to capitulate to the ultimatum.

Meanwhile the wrecking crew is setting up a dual organization structure within the framework of the union. Having failed to tie up the funds of the union, George Ades, suspended Secretary-Treasurer, has circulated a letter to all local unions directing them to send all dues and funds to his private home in Detroit. And in scarcely concealed whispers local unions are being advised to withhold all per capita payments to the International Union. At this writing it is difficult to tell what is the next step. But certain it is that they will stop at nothing in their perfidy. The sky is the limit in this reactionary game.

Victimization Pretense

The infernal din resounding through the International consists of one clamor: "We are the persecuted defenders of democracy!" The hypocrisy of this cry is almost too obvious to need contradiction. Unfortunately, however, many good militant elements among the rank-and-file have been deceived by it. These workers need only look at the record. "Democrat No. 1" in the ranks of the splitters is Richard T. Frankensteen. Six weeks ago this gentleman was taking disciplinary action against all groups to eliminate "factionalism." We quote from his letter sent to all board members at the time just to refresh the memory of those who might have forgotten:

"Agreement to take disciplinary action against any party, group or section of the membership which does not go down the line with the program." And "all caucuses to be abandoned immediately, specifically the Progressive and Unity caucuses will no longer exist and the program advocated is to be the program of the International Union. To enforce this we abolish and prohibit all factional groups within the U.A.W."

Democracy—Where?

What was there that even vaguely resembled democracy in this program? Just as much democracy as there is in one of Stalin's firing squads. Indeed Frankensteen is lined up with Stalin's American agents. It was only because this plot was uncovered and exposed that Frankensteen dropped it cold. But at the first new opportunity, on the advice of Earl Browder and Co., Frankensteen picked it up anew.

In the dark of night, when they were sure nobody was looking, the Stalinists decided to pull a fast one. What was the significance of this new move? Merely a factional maneuver to take control on the basis of a temporary majority? Not at all. Fact was that despite the complete and unanimous endorsement by the Board of the 20-point program, the Stalinists had never reconciled themselves to it. Two points stuck in their craw: 1.—Opposition to the war bills of the Roosevelt government and support of the Ludlow amendment; 2.—The program to organize W.P.A. workers in the U.A.W. auxiliary.

The pro-war advocates of collective security rankled at the thought of any kind of opposition to war. But what could they do about it? They had already taken a heavy licking on

the war question once. By and large, the sentiment of the great majority of auto workers is antagonistic to war. But let nobody forget that once this Frankensteen-C.P. gang take over the union, the auto union will be thrust into the front lines of the "we-want-war" shouters. For the time being, however, the Stalinists had to swallow hard and take the program.

Stalinists Sabotage

But the problem of organizing W.P.A. workers is another matter. Ever since the adoption of the 20-point program the Stalinists have been sabotaging this work. In line with their belly-crawling attitude to Roosevelt, the Communist Party doesn't want to see W.P.A. workers organized. Sooner or later this organization will embarrass Roosevelt. So the Stalinists wriggle out of a tough spot by pushing their stooge Workers Alliance to the front. At the same time, they press to divide union W.P.A. workers along craft lines and jack up Auto Union W. P. A. Auxiliary dues to a point where no W. P. A. worker can join.

Result: only a handful of W.P.A. workers organized to date. In Detroit Secretary-Treasurer Ades was doing his best to throw a monkey-wrench in the W.P.A. Auxiliary. We will have occasion to prove in the future how Mortimer, Frankensteen, Hall and Ades violated and sabotaged the 20-point program at every turn. Certainly no thinking worker can sympathize with a crew that will sign their names to a program and then turn around at the first opportunity and drop the program into a sewer. They whine that the union needs unity in the face of depression and wage-cuts. But they are in fact doing everything in their power to destroy and disunite the organization for their factional ends.

Receivership Sought

But let us return to this question of democracy. The key point of the resolution quoted above is the section calling on John L. Lewis to set up a receivership over the auto union. The auto union elected its officers at the last convention by democratic vote. The constitution gave Martin, as International president, power to remove any officer, subject to trial. Good or bad, the Unity Group voted to grant Martin these powers at the last convention. But there is nothing in the constitution anywhere—let Frankensteen dig it up—giving a John L. Lewis or any other leader, big or small, the authority to come in from Washington or anywhere else and throw out the elected leaders of the auto workers. When William Green and Francis Dillon tried this on the A.F.L. unions, everybody howled dictatorship. And they were right! And it doesn't make a particle of difference if the dictator is John L. Lewis or William Green. Let the people who want a dictator say so openly so the workers will know where they stand. But whether they admit it or no, there's not a trace of democracy in this agitation. The auto workers should vote down this resolution—emphatically.

The Real Struggle

If this is not a fight for democracy, what is it? It is a struggle for clique control of the auto union. And when this clique establishes its control there won't be any democracy left. It will be a miracle if there is a union left. There can be no neutrality in this battle. Non-intervention means support of the Stalinists. They thrive on the position of the fence-sitters. We are not advocating support of everything the Martin administration has done in the past or will do in the future. We have ourselves made the most unparagoned criticisms in the past when we disagreed with the administration. But all of these bureau-

(Continued on page 3)

Passing Mourned



RODNEY SALISBURY

UNIONS REFUSE ENDORSEMENT TO GOV. DAVEY

Ohio Labor Federation Delegates Declare "Nothing Doing"

AKRON, Ohio.—Hopes of labor-hating Governor Martin L. Davey that he would receive A. F. of L. support in his campaign for re-election were dashed to pieces last week when a statewide conference of A. F. of L. delegates rejected that idea.

It is no secret that William Green, president of the A. F. of L. wanted the Ohio union to support Davey in his crusade against the C.I.O. Yet every suggestion by Green's henchmen at the conference that Davey be called to address it was so roundly booed that the conference adjourned after merely reaffirming the old policy of "reward your friends and punish your enemies."

Davey sat at the state house all afternoon awaiting a call to come to the conference, but he waited in vain.

Even the extremely conservative building trades delegates from Akron went to the conference determined to oppose Davey's endorsement.

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

ASTORIA BRANCH SOCIAL at 916 Ninth Ave. (Upper West Side Branch headquarters) near 59th Street, on Saturday, June 25, 8:30 p. m. Swing music, Big Apple contest, drinks. Subscription 25 cents.

RED RIVINGTON REVELRIES. Join with the East Side Firetrap Floogies, Saturday, June 25, 8:30 p. m., at 159 Rivington St. Admission 20 cents.

READ UNSER WORT, monthly organ of the German section of the IV International. No. 8 just out. Labor Book Shop, 28 E. 12 St., N.Y.C.

Y.P.S.L. DUES DRIVE. A reminder to all Y.P.S.L. districts: Convention Dues Drive closes July 15. How does your District stand? — National Finance Committee, Y.P.S.L.

BAND BEING FORMED. All those interested in learning to play musical instruments, and all those who already can perform on any musical instrument, communicate at once with L. Reynolds, National Office, 116 University Place. Al 4-8547.

READ THE RUSSIAN BULLETIN of the Opposition, organ of the Russian Bolshevik Leninists. Leading articles by Leon Trotsky. International news and letters. Single issue, 20 cents. Subscription rates, \$1 for six months. Order through Rae Spiegel, care of Socialist Appeal, 116 University Place.

CHICAGO

SUMMER FESTIVAL—Chicago S.W.P. picnic. Food, games, camp fire, at Schiller Park Forest Reserve (end of Irving Park Line, June 26, 10 a. m. to 12 midnight).

CAMPS

CAMP SEVEN OAKS, Eatontown, N. J. Excellent swimming pool and tennis court. Capacity 25. Good food and housing. No tents, no mosquitoes. Fare 80 cents to Red Bank. Inquire phone Bryant 9-7620 for train schedules. June rates, daily \$2.50, weekly, \$15.00.

WANT ADS

LARGE DOUBLE ROOM for rent on Riverside Drive, near 125th Street, N.Y.C. Very reasonable. See S. Stanley at City Headquarters for details.

A Veteran Passes RODNEY SALISBURY DEAD

A few grief-stricken lines from Pete Gallagher and John Boulds have brought us the shocking report that Rodney Salisbury died of a brain hemorrhage in the Plentywood, Montana, hospital on June 14, 1938, after a three-day illness. He was fifty years old.

The death of this model revolutionist came as an especially rude blow to those of us in New York—Jim Cannon, Marty Abern and myself—who had known and esteemed him since the early days of the communist movement.

Prominent As Leader

Born on May 2, 1888, in Brinsmade, North Dakota, he moved to Montana, where he homesteaded in the hard days. From the early founding of Sheridan County, which was later to become Montana's "red county," he was a familiar figure in and around Plentywood. For years he was among the leading spirits of the fighting weekly of Montana's workers and farmers, the *Producers News*, and a prominent leader in every progressive movement.

In 1922, he was swept into office as sheriff of Sheridan County and served three terms. There never was a more unique sheriff in the United States, for his "jail" was plastered with the posters of the International Red Aid, the International Labor Defense and the Mooney Defense Committee. Many a homeless and hungry migratory worker learned that Rodney's "jail" was far more like a hotel for the night.

Ran For Governor

In 1932 he was the Communist Party's candidate for governor, stumped the state as he had a dozen times before, and did a dozen times after, indefatigable as speaker and organizer of the thousands of workers and farmers of the state who knew him intimately and respected his courage, selflessness and devotion. At the time of his death he was still president of the Montana Farm Holiday Association, which he founded.

Rodney made good friends and good enemies. He hated oppression and iniquity and his only ambition was the triumph of the revolution. And hard-headed and tough-fisted militant that he was, he had no lack of ability to fight for his views. That is why he could not reconcile himself with Stalinism, and joined our movement in its early days. The bureaucrats hated and feared him, and they had good cause.

S. W. P. Pays Tribute

The National Committee of the Socialist Workers Party, to which he belonged and in which all his work and hopes were bound up, sent the following telegram to Rodney's comrade, Pete Gallagher:

"Please convey to Rodney's family and all friends and comrade-hearted comrade and friend, Rodney Salisbury His death is a rade our sorrow and condolence at the untimely death of our no-heavy blow to our movement and to all the oppressed who found in him always a faithful champion, counselor and friend. Our lives are richer for having known him and his undying memory will inspire us to keep up the good fight to the end."

Rodney is survived by a widow and five children, Michael, Jardis, Camille, and Gene and Patrick.

MAX SHACHTMAN.

Appeal Army

National Appeal Campaign: This past week, letters have been pouring in from all over the country describing plans and local campaigns being initiated July 1, the date for launching our 10,000 circulation drive. Ann Charloff, the new literature agent of Los Angeles, has requested extra sub-blanks, bulletins and other campaign material and has already ordered 100 extra copies of this week's Appeal.

From Frisco, El Booth writes, "We will launch into the campaign with enthusiasm, since good ground work has been laid for such a campaign." She also promises to make good use of the expired sub-lists that have been sent out. In Chicago, a special meeting of all literature agents was held with the aim of getting the Appeal more widely circulated in that city. And from Boston, comrade Leonard informs us that we can expect many new subscribers shortly.

Here's this week's result in new subscribers: Notice the splendid results of Minneapolis and the not so splendid results of New York City:

MINNEAPOLIS	15
St. Paul	4
Chicago	3
Pennsylvania	3
Detroit	2

San Francisco	1
Boston	1
Miscellaneous	3
New York City	1/2
TOTAL	32 1/2

Things would have been bad this week if Minneapolis hadn't come through... Especially with N.Y.C. in such a terrific slump. Abe Miller is holding an emergency session of his literature crew to find out what the trouble is.... We want to credit St. Paul with two subs which were, erroneously chalked up to Minneapolis last week... And, incidentally, St. Paul has been running its own sub drive in conjunction with that of Minneapolis

Literature Agents: Sit down right now and send in a list of newsstands carrying the Appeal. We want that column going by next week.

Send all subscriptions and contributions to:

SOCIALIST APPEAL
116 University Place
New York City

The following issues are missing from our files: Vol. 1—Nos. 6, 7, 18; Vol. 2—Nos. 2, 3, 9, 18, 22. We request branches and subscribers to send in as many copies of these issues as possible.

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

- NEW YORK CITY**
MANHATTAN: Fourteenth St. at University Place, S. E.; at Broadway, S. E.; at Fourth Ave., S. W.; at Fourth Ave., N. E.; at Third Ave., S. E. (1 and 2); at Third Ave., S. W.; at Third Ave., N. W.; opp. Jefferson Theatre; at Second Ave., N. W.; at Sixth Ave., N. E.; Rand Book Store, 7 E. 15th St.; 12th St. and University Pl., N. E.; Candy Store, 75 Greenwich Ave.
- Forty-second St. at Fifth Ave., S. W.; at Sixth Ave., S. E.; at Sixth Ave., S. W.; at Seventh Ave., S. W.; opposite Sterns; 103 W. 44th St.; 46th St. and B'way, S. E. Essex and Delancy Sts.; Bookstore at Grand and Attorney Sts.
- BRONX:** Jerome Ave. and 170th St.; Jerome Ave. and 167th St. (opp. Loew's Theatre); Sorkin, 206th St. and Bainbridge Ave.; Jerome and Burnside Aves.; 160th St. and Prospect Ave.; Allerton Ave. Station; Freeman Ave. and Southern Boulevard; 174th St. and Boston Road.
- BROOKLYN:** Grand and Union Aves.; Havemeyer Avenue and South 4th St.; Marcy and Broadway; Pitkin and Douglas Aves.; Sutter and Pitkin Aves.

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