

Jersey City

Lesson and Warning

By JAMES P. CANNON

Jersey City today is the testing ground of a struggle destined in the not too distant future to become national in scope and to dominate national affairs.

The most conscious representatives of the two main contending forces which will confront each other in the national struggle that is impending—the capitalist masters of America and the dissatisfied working masses—are closely studying the developments in Jersey City and drawing conclusions for the future.

It is safe to assume that a section of the capitalists have already come to certain tentative conclusions in favor of the Hague method of dealing with labor insurrection. It is important for the workers also to know what the brutal aggressions of Mayor Hague and his cohorts really signify.

They must know what the problem is in order to formulate the proper answer to it. Much can and much undoubtedly will be written on this subject, for it has a transcendent importance. Here I want to present an outline of opinion from the proletarian class point of view:

The Real Meaning of Hagueism

Hagueism is not simply the individual aberration of an illiterate, provincial politician, as liberals, Social-Democrats, and Stalinists represents the matter. The Jersey City events signify a deliberate mobilization of reaction, backed by big industrial and financial interests, for a serious preliminary test of the workers' capacity to resist fascist repression.

It is no accident that the fight of Hague was directed from the start against the organization campaign of the C.I.O. Hagueism is shrewdly devised anti-labor campaign, not a seemingly irrational interference with the formal rights of free speech, etc.

By the same token the aggressions of the Hague reaction can be seriously countered only by an organized resistance of the workers. Any other approach to the question is false and can only lead to defeat in the fight against Hagueism in New Jersey and its spread to other centers. No doubt the present attempt to suppress the C.I.O. in New Orleans draws a certain inspiration and encouragement from the Jersey City success of Mayor Hague.

C.I.O. Bureaucrats Debate Struggle

The greatest aid to Hague's campaign has resulted from the pusillanimous conduct of the leadership of the New Jersey C.I.O. They renounced the fight on their own account and handed it over to liberal-Stalinist "civil liberties" bodies. The latter, as is their nature, debased the whole struggle to more or less meaningless court battles. Hague's plug-uglies wielded their clubs and black-jacks on the streets of Jersey City where the issue is really decided.

The high-placed comedians from Washington, who were assigned the task of restoring free speech in Hague's domain, couldn't find their way to Journal Square and had no organized workers' force to protect them if they had arrived. The publicity attending the intervention of Norman Thomas overshadowed the one fact of paramount significance: There was no organized force of Jersey City workers prepared to defend the meeting. But a Workers' Defense Guard, the one factor so far lacking, is precisely the factor necessary for the beginning of a real fight. Only the Workers' Defense Guard, surrounded by the sympathy and support of the workers' mass organizations, can smash incipient American fascism—for that is what Hagueism is—and safeguard the workers' rights in Jersey City.

Business Interests Behind Hague

The experience of the past weeks has shown that Hagueism is capable of organizing the entire apparatus of the city administration, its police and unofficial thugs, veteran's organizations, and all forces of reaction, together with a considerable section of the local population. It is likewise quite obvious that "business," which is the real beneficiary of Hague's anti-labor campaign, is solidly behind him. It is not for nothing that Jersey City's official slogan is: "Everything for Business."

Under these circumstances, it is, to say the least, quite naive to imagine that individuals coming from the outside, or a few dozen, or even a few hundred people from New York, can seriously challenge the Hague reaction on its home ground and overthrow it. On the contrary, the sad fiasco of the comic-opera congressional heroes from Washington is proof that we are dealing here with something far more serious than the incidental and irrational actions of a local Führer. The failure to line up at least the local C.I.O. organizations for serious resistance, for the protection of speakers and of meetings, reduces any outside intervention in the situation to the status of a more or less meaningless sally, doomed to defeat in advance.

Publicity Stunts Helped Hague

On the basis of the experiences of the past week, it can be said with certainty that all such adventurist publicity stunts have only succeeded in playing into Hague's hands and strengthening his appeal to local prejudices against the "invasion" of outsiders. Speakers, and even groups, from the outside can play an auxiliary and stimulating role in a serious struggle; provided only, however, that their intervention is based upon solid support of a section of the workers in Jersey City and that the brunt and burden of the fight is borne by organized workers and their defense squads. A serious challenge to Hagueism can only begin with a movement inside the ranks of the Jersey City trade unions for stern resistance to Hague and his hoodlums, official and unofficial. That is the lesson of Italy, Germany and Austria. Fascism fears no "scandal" and is not to be bluff. It has to be beaten down.

It is not sufficient to denounce Hague as a violator of the Constitution and its Bill of Rights. These documents are sacred only for the dupes of capitalist propaganda, not for the real masters themselves. The workers in reality have only such rights as they are ready and able to defend with their own strength. Everything else under the subject of democratic rights is a lie. Hague, the authentic American fascist, answers all palaver with brutal force. For their part, the magnates of industry and finance, alarmed by labor's aggressiveness of the past few years, cannot fail to notice with satisfaction that all the arguments in court and all the pious sermons and editorials about the Constitution carry

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"Socialist" Dies



OTTO BAUER

DEATH CLAIMS OTTOBAUER IN FRENCH EXILE

Austro-Marxist Leader Dies After Spending Life In Betrayal

Otto Bauer, the outstanding theorist and political leader of the Austrian social democracy, died on July 4, 1938, at the age of 57, in exile in Paris.

Already prominent in the pre-war days of Victor Adler, he was among the social-patriots who supported the Austro-Hungarian monarchy in the World War. When the monarchy collapsed like a rotten hulk, despite all the efforts of the social democracy to bolster it up, Bauer became foreign minister in the first socialist cabinet which came into being with the declaration of the republic.

Bitter Anti-Bolshevik

Throughout the early years of the republic, Bauer, bitter anti-Bolshevik, concentrated all his efforts in the work of persuading the Austrian proletariat to tolerate the capitalist order, on the ground that a revolution in the country would not meet with the approval of the Allied powers.

When the Hungarian Soviet revolution broke out in 1919, Bauer led the Austrian social democracy in sabotaging the defense of the Hungarian Commune, beleaguered by reaction on all sides, perishing for lack of the military supplies which the Austrian social democracy was in a position to furnish it with.

Philosopher of the school of "Austro-Marxism," the essence of whose wisdom consisted in finding revolutionary formulas to cover passivity, retreat and capitulation in permanence, Bauer led the Austrian proletariat straight to its Calvary. In spite of the obvious lessons of the defeat of the German working class in 1933, Bauer continued to pursue the fatal policy of his colleagues in Germany.

Policy of Defeat Instead of preparing and organizing the militant resistance of the Austrian workers to fascism, Bauer spent all his time trying to buy off the advancing fascist movement with assurances of the devotion and subservience of the social democracy. In his brochure on the February, 1934 civil war, (Continued on page 4)

Refugee Fund Sends Sum To Aid Persecuted In Europe

The American Fund for Political Prisoners and Refugees will shortly have functioning local committees in every important city in the country. Committees have been set up or are in the process of formation in Chicago, St. Louis, Philadelphia, Toledo, Detroit, New York, Newark and Allentown.

Dave Burbank writes from St. Louis that they will undertake to raise a fund to bring one political refugee from Europe. Good luck, St. Louis! Which other local committee will do the same?

The response to the first mailing by the American Fund is more than encouraging and indicates that there is a real interest in the fate of our exiled and persecuted comrades in Europe.

Stalin's Third Degree Methods Are Revealed By Former GPU Agent

Story of 90-hour Grilling of Mratchkovsky Gives Insight Into Moscow "Confession" Trials; Torture Ends With Capitulation

Editorial Note—The following highly moving and dramatic account of the technique employed by Stalin's G.P.U. in breaking down the Old Bolshevik Mratchkovsky and forcing him to "confess" to crimes he never committed, has been penned by Walter Krivitsky, former high official of the G.P.U. who broke with the Stalin regime a few months ago and sought safety in France.

We reproduce it from La Lutte Ouvriere, organ of the Revolutionary Socialist Party of Belgium (Fourth International) which in turn reprinted it from Le Courrier Socialiste, organ of the Paris Menshevik group to which Krivitsky now belongs.

Krivitsky was a close friend of the late Ignace Reiss, also a G.P.U. operative, who was foully murdered by G.P.U. assassins near Lausanne, Switzerland, last year after he had broken with Stalin's bloody regime.

Mratchkovsky, it will be recalled, was one of the defendants in the Moscow "confession" trial of August, 1936. He was executed with the other defendants, including I. N. Smirnov, who is also referred to in this dramatic story by Krivitsky.

Krivitsky's story is a word-for-word reproduction of a conversation he had with Slutsky, another prominent G.P.U. functionary, who "died" in Moscow recently under "mysterious" circumstances. That Slutsky, like Reiss, was foully murdered on Stalin's orders, there can be no doubt.

By WALTER KRIVITSKY

Under the pressure of torturing interrogations, carried out over a period of months, and even years, the accused, a prey to threats of hunger, and by confessing all that is demanded of them. There are some, however, whom they do not succeed in breaking. There were two of this type on the eve of the first Moscow trial: Mratchkovsky and Smirnov.

But the G.P.U. knew that Stalin did not want a trial without these two. As a last resort, therefore, the G.P.U. decided to turn over these two unmanageable prisoners to their most experienced police magistrates. I recount here the interrogation of Mratchkovsky, as it was told to me by one of these magistrates, Slutsky.

The Inquisition "When I commenced the questioning, I was clean shaven," Slutsky declared. "When I finished it, my face was covered with a beard. The examination lasted 90 hours. Every two or three hours came the relentless ring of the telephone from the office of Stalin's secretary, and a voice asked me: 'Well, have you broken him?'"

"But," I asked Slutsky, "did you remain in your office all this time, without leaving it?" "No, after the first ten hours, I took two hours of rest, during which time my secretary replaced me. Mratchkovsky, during these 90 hours, did not have a single moment of respite. Even when he went to the toilet he was accompanied."

Slutsky's Task I should mention, to characterize Slutsky, that although he was an old collaborator of the G.P.U., he had remained a man who was good and sincere according to his lights, one of those old Chekists for whom a Mratchkovsky was an incarnation of the past of the revolution and merited an unshakeable respect. But Slutsky was forced to repress these sentiments. He had to break Mratchkovsky. His story continued as follows:

"Mratchkovsky entered limping heavily (a result of a wound received in the civil war). I offered him an arm-chair.

"Sit down, comrade Mratchkovsky."

"He sat down. I said to him: 'Well, comrade Mratchkovsky, I have received orders to question you.'

"He replied: 'I have nothing to

tell you and I do not want to have any conversation with you. You are one of those policemen who are worse than those of the Czar. And in the first place, tell me what right you have to question me. Where were you during the revolution? It seems to me that I do not recognize you.'

"Noticing two Orders of the Red Flag on my chest, Mratchkovsky said: 'I never saw your type at the front. These decorations—you have stolen them.'

"I remained silent; I did not interrupt him; I let him say what was on his heart. He continued: 'You call me comrade Mratchkovsky, although only yesterday one of your ilk, in interrogating me, called me reptile and counter-revolutionary. I was born in Siberia; my father died in Siberia, my mother also. I have been in the party since my infancy.'

A Warrior's Wounds "Suddenly he rose, brusquely unbuttoned his blouse and showed me his wounds. Here are my decorations!" I continued silent. I had some tea brought and offered him a glass. I offered him some cigarettes. He took the glass and the ash-tray and dashed them violently to the floor, shouting:

"You want to buy me? You can tell Stalin that I despise him. He is a traitor. They have already taken me to Molotov. He, too, wanted to buy me, but I spat in his face..."

"When he had said everything he had to say, I rose and began to reply to him: 'No, comrade Mratchkovsky, I did not steal my decorations. I earned them in the Red Army, before Tashkent, where I fought under your command. I do not consider myself a reptile, nor you either. But did you fight against the party? This you did, and, well, the party has ordered me today to question you. As to wounds, you can see (I showed him those on my body) these are also souvenirs of the civil war.'

"Mratchkovsky was silent, listened, and then replied: 'I do not believe you. Where are your proofs?'"

Slutsky's Biography "I had him read my biography and continued: 'After the civil war, I worked in the revolutionary tribunal. Following this, the party sent me into the G.P.U. I remained there and executed the orders of the party. When the party tells me to die, I shall die...'

"Mratchkovsky interrupted me: 'No, you have become a policeman. All the same, I see that you still retain a soul...'

"At this moment I understood that contact had been established between us. Then I began to explain to him the situation of the Union—fascism, the war danger... I said that personally, I was fully convinced that he, himself, was not a counter-revolutionary, but that I was going to show him how far his comrades had sunk,—and I brought out the depositions of the others.

Men Without Hope "Thus passed three days during which Mratchkovsky did not sleep for a single moment. For three days and three nights I fought him. As for myself, during these three days, I had at the most three or four hours of sleep. I led him to such a point that he wept. He wept with me while stating that everything was lost and that there was no hope left.

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N.Y. Unions Hit Court Picket Ban

Anti-Labor Injunction Fought: 14 Are Held For Contempt

NEW YORK—Labor responded vigorously to a vicious anti-union injunction issued last week by Supreme Court Justice Salvatore A. Cotillo, permanently restraining members of two unions, the United Optical Workers and the United Retail Employees, from picketing stores of the Busch Jewelry Company and its affiliates. Striking workers defied the injunction and continued to picket for two days.

After the Appellate Division unanimously declined an application for a stay of the injunction, and 14 members of the unions were placed on trial for contempt, pickets were withdrawn from the stores and replaced by roving bands of strikers and sympathizers who paraded through the streets of New York publicizing the strike.

Mobile Picketing

Over the holidays, the roving pickets concentrated on transportation terminals and visited the crowded beaches and resorts, bearing banners and placards calling for support of the Busch strikers. An unusual twist in strike activities was used on the Fourth of July when an airplane flew over the city, trailing a huge banner announcing that Busch stores are on strike.

The injunction granted by Justice Cotillo in favor of the Busch company represents a grave danger to organized labor in New York, as its effect is to nullify the Anti-Injunction Law, which forbids "the issuance of injunctions against picketing. In defense of the injunction, Justice Cotillo declared that strikers picketing the Busch stores employed illegal methods and constituted a menace to the peace of the community.

Judge On Picketing

Justice Cotillo, who persists in calling himself "a friend of labor," gave his peculiar view of picketing when he said: "Picketing should never be abused or used as a cloak or weapon to drive capital into making an unreasonable bargain." This attitude met with the approbation of the Busch Corporation, and one of their attorneys declared: "The courts of New York State apparently are the only haven for business people, the employers of the State."

A wide campaign against the injunction is planned by organized labor, with unions, both A. F. of L. and C.I.O., pledged to participate in efforts to have it rescinded. A conference of unions and labor attorneys was planned for this week.

Meanwhile, mass demonstrations and continued picketing are scheduled by the two unions hit by the injunction.

OHIO TEACHERS SUPPORT FIGHT FOR FRED BEAL

The Ohio State Federation of Teachers has adopted a formal resolution "demanding the immediate pardon of Fred E. Beal and giving endorsement to his fight for freedom." Beal, who led the Gastonia, N. C. textile workers' strike in 1929, is now in prison in that state.

In announcing the action of the Ohio teachers' organization, the Non-Partisan Committee for the Defense of Fred E. Beal, with headquarters in New York, declared that it was "only one of an increasingly large number of labor and progressive groups rallying to the effort to liberate the labor leader."

The committee indicated that Louis Waldman, well-known labor lawyer, recently spent some time in North Carolina in behalf of the Beal defense, conferring with many persons interested in obtaining justice for the imprisoned strike leader. He also visited Beal in prison. Preparations are underway, it was stated after Waldman's return, for legal steps looking toward a pardon.

SPOTLIGHT IS PLAYED ON JOB SECURITY PLAN

Survey Bares Hopeless Inadequacy of Pet New Deal Insurance Measure; Beneficiaries Number Only Fraction of Workless

DOLES DROP AS NEEDS INCREASE

The American Association for Social Security has analyzed the results of the first quarter of New Deal liberalism's unemployment and old age insurance, January 1 to March 31, 1938, and found that its program in this field is anti-social and in every conceivable aspect worse than home relief.

The only "success" that can be registered is the issuance of 38,000,000 social security numbers by a newly-created, superfluous bureaucracy of 13,890 employees in 19 states, (which is five times more per insured person than has been found necessary in capitalist Britain) and the collection by the United States Treasury of \$577,450,100 as compared with \$2,935,829 paid to the lump-sum recipients of old-age benefits.

Miserly Payments

The average cumulative payment to 114,927 persons who had reached the age of 65, and to the estates of those who died, was but \$29.80 after 15 months of contribution payments. While one New York executive who worked for seven corporations simultaneously, and continued to do so, received \$1,001.67 on reaching the age of 65, there were payments below ten cents. Thus, aside from the fact that \$29.80 may keep a destitute family off the relief rolls for about two weeks, about \$197 of the worker's purchasing power

was taken from him for every dollar spent for old age insurance.

Not one single claim of the Social Security Board has been justified. From December, 1937 to March 1938 the employment index for manufacturing fell from 88.6 to 81.7 and from 56.4 to 51.9 for Class One railroads. Retail trade was also showing increased unemployment. According to the claims of the Social Security Board, unemployment insurance should have prevented an increase in home relief rolls. Yet relief costs in March increased eight per cent over February, and in April three per cent above March, just at the time when the flow of unemployment checks was at its peak.

Only 900,000 Benefit

During the period January 1 to March 31, 1938, 16 states received 2,467,065 claims. In spite of approving 1,339,544 of them, they had but 919,550 beneficiaries. These beneficiaries received a total for the quarter of \$42,641,627 or an average of \$15.46 each per month, regardless of the number of dependents in the family. At the same time, in March, the national average of home relief was \$23.43 per month, almost eight dollars more than the average unemployment insurance benefit. In New York State, \$114.85 was spent per case during the first quarter, yet unemployment insurance benefits amounted to only \$56.97, or less than half, for the same period.

As in the case of old age insurance, the national and state governments had huge surpluses in their treasuries as against meagre sums returned to the workers in the form of unemployment insurance. The United States Treasury on March 31 had a balance in its Unemployment Trust Fund, from taxes collected for two years, of over \$753,000,000; 21 states and the District of Columbia had a balance of over \$17,000,000 in actually collected taxes alone.

The State Treasurer of Massachusetts predicted in May of this year that by the end of 1938 collections in his state would amount to \$80,000,000, whereas only \$20,000,000 would be expended in benefits. As the unemployment insurance tax is levied on employers' payrolls, it is inevitably passed on to the consumer in the form of a price increase. Thus the gov-

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Alleged Plot To Kill Labor Leaders Is Exposed In Minneapolis

MINNEAPOLIS.—Charges that a fund of \$35,000 was raised to import gunmen to assassinate three leaders of General Drivers' Local 544 were made last week by a former agent of reactionary employers, according to the Northwest Organizer, organ of Minneapolis teamsters.

In a statement to Grant and Vincent Dunne and Carl Skoglund, leaders of Local 544, Ralph H. Pierce accused George K. Belden, head of the Associated Industries, successor to the notorious Citizens Alliance, of being in direct charge of raising the money and planning the murders, which were to take place the day after Pierce's revelations.

Arms Discovered Press reports of that day stated that police found a car containing two high-powered rifles with telescopic sights near the Central Labor Union offices.

Pierce first told his story to L. Boerbach, painters union official, who promptly informed the Dun-

nes. The drivers' union officers found Pierce and queried him for further details of the murder plot. Pierce was until recently one of the top leaders of the "Associated Independent Unions," an organization inspired by the bosses in an effort to split and destroy the militant labor movement of Minneapolis.

Pierce Arrested When he learned of the murder plot, Pierce said, he broke with F. L. Taylor and E. T. Lee, leaders of the fnk organizations. He feared retaliation from them, and asked the drivers' officials for money to get out of town.

The Dunnes and Skoglund refused him money and turned the information over to the police. The police arrested Pierce on a charge of breach of the peace, but no immediate efforts were made to question any of the persons involved in the allegations. The press, too, kept a discreet silence, naming none of the employers involved.