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A Judge Orders--But . . .

Unable to destroy the militant and successful Minneapolis Truck Drivers' Union by a direct attack, the Minneapolis bosses are now proceeding in an indirect manner to accomplish their most cherished aim, the complete destruction of Local 544 and with it, of the entire Minneapolis trade union movement.

Suffice it to say that the Minneapolis truck drivers who won brilliant strike victories in spite of thugs, gunmen and murderous police officers, will not permit their union to be destroyed by a legal maneuver ostensibly initiated by alleged members of the union, but actually, from the very beginning, the result of the initiative of the Employers' Association.

Five finks who claim to be members of the union filed a suit in the District Court of Minneapolis, alleging that the officials of 544 were dishonest, and demanded an accounting of the funds collected and expended. It was easily proved that those who complained to the capitalist court were not members in good standing, and that some of them were actually participating in the organization of an opposition union, recognized by all the workers of Minneapolis as a fink union. That alone should have convinced any impartial tribunal that the suit was not instituted in good faith, but Judge Frank E. Reed is a notoriously labor-hating judge and he did all that could be expected of him by the employers.

The complainants in the case filed a petition, asking for an order of the court permitting them to go through all the records of the union in order to prepare their case. When they made their false and malicious charges, they did not have a particle of evidence to support them; so they asked the judge for permission to look through the union records in order to find some evidence to support their charges. A travesty on justice if there ever was one.

Judge Reed granted the finks the order they asked for, but from what we know of the officers of Local 544 it will be a long, long time before the finks get to see the books and records of the union, order or no order.

There will be enemies of the union who will ask with an assumed air of innocence: Why shouldn't the union officials offer the union records for inspection? What have they to fear? No intelligent worker will be taken in by such questions.

In the first place if the Union should yield in this one case, what will prevent the bosses from sending in other stool-pigeons with instructions to file another suit for accounting? One can see how easily it would be for the enemies of the union to tie up the books and records in court actions and paralyze the efficient functioning of the organization.

In the second instance every intelligent worker understands full well that there are many things which a union cannot possibly divulge. A union is an organization not only for peace time but for militant strike activity. It has its secrets which the bosses would like to acquire regardless of price. Under no circumstances can a union account for every penny to a capitalist court.

Does that mean that union officials are free to do anything they please with union funds and then use the pretext that those funds were expended for the good of the union, without furnishing an accounting? By no means.

Union officials must be ready at all times to give a strict accounting of all union funds before proper committees. In case of any question, they must be ready to show all their records to any committee of loyal members of the union or to any committee of the general labor movement.

The books of Local 544 have been audited by accountants of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters. The officials of Local 544 have proclaimed their readiness to give a full and complete accounting to any responsible body of organized labor. Under the circumstances anyone who wants any more and suggests that the Local officers open their records to finks and a capitalist court is either a fool or a knave.

The whole organized labor movement of Minneapolis is solidly behind the officials of the Truck Drivers in their fight against the employers and their court. If the labor movement of the whole country will regard its true interests, it will come whole-heartedly to the support of Local 544.

There is danger that the militant leaders of 544 will be held in "contempt of court" and sentenced to jail. Undoubtedly the truck drivers of Minneapolis have a very healthy contempt

for the bosses' court that co-operates so enthusiastically in the work of attempting to destroy the union, and they will show their contempt by fighting to the last ditch to preserve their organization and the wonderful gains that came to them through that organization.

Mexican People Speaks

To the insolent and provocative note of Cordell Hull, President Lazaro Cardenas of Mexico last week addressed a reply which spoke with the authentic voice of the Mexican people uniting in their determination to resist the exactions of imperialism.

Rejecting Hull's thesis that expropriations could be carried out only when full and immediate cash payment was made for the properties expropriated, Cardenas asserted the right of the Mexican people to take whatever steps in relation to property that they themselves found just and necessary for their own welfare and freedom.

Cardenas' note pointed out, furthermore, that it was also for the Mexican people to decide how and when payment was to be made. He exposed the hypocrisy of Great Britain and the United States by showing that through the boycott they have set up against Mexico, they make entirely impossible any payment at the same time that they demand complete and immediate payment.

Cardenas' courageous action will, we are confident, meet with the support not merely of every revolutionary socialist, but of all militant workers and anti-imperialists.

The issues now being raised by the Washington Administration's offensive against Mexico are of crucial importance to the labor movement in this country. Here is no "foreign fascism" or foreign capitalism about which it is easy to pass resolutions. Here is the hand of the enemy at home, of the great democrat and Good Neighbor, Roosevelt himself, being raised aloft in order to strike down, if possible, the hopes and aspirations of our Mexican brothers and comrades.

The demand of American labor must be directed more firmly and loudly against the Roosevelt-Hull policy of imperialist intervention into the affairs of Mexico. American workers must make clear their support of and solidarity with the Mexican people in their struggle to achieve their own full social, economic and political freedom by shaking off the incubus of the exploiting imperialisms.

More concretely, we return again to the proposal previously put forward in these columns: Why cannot the cooperatives, some of them of considerable size, now engaged in refining and distributing gasoline and other petroleum products, begin the breaking of the unofficial boycott, in line with their own statutes and principles, by purchasing Mexican petroleum? At this stage, when Mexico is fighting against tremendous odds for economic life, even comparatively small purchases would be of incalculable value, not less because of the splendid demonstration they would give of anti-imperialist internationalism.

Stalinist Thievery

We have stated many times before and shall continue to assert that there is no crime on the books which the G.P.U. and other Stalinist agents will hesitate to commit in order to destroy their opponents. Persons seriously interested in the labor movement will by this time take it for granted that the G.P.U. has practically no other purpose than to guard Stalinism against its opponents from the left.

Lovestonites have been close to the top circles of the administration of the United Automobile Workers. The Stalinists, desperately in need of creating a diversion during the trial of some of their members and stooges in the U.A.W. saw a grand opportunity to do so if they could get hold of the private correspondence of Jay Lovestone. For the G.P.U., skilled in kidnapping and murder, to break into a private home is a simple job. Who else could have possibly been interested in breaking into Lovestone's home and stealing his private letters?

The *Daily Worker* published some of the letters stolen before Maurice Sugar, Stalinist attorney, indicated that they would be offered as evidence on behalf of the expelled officials of the U.A.W. This will not help the officials but proves conclusively that the Stalinist agents were responsible for the theft.

In the Soviet Union the G.P.U. openly raids the living quarters of suspected oppositionists; political opponents are murdered with or without a farcical judicial proceeding. In other countries the Stalinists have to do their work by stealth but because of their immense resources, they are not greatly handicapped by that necessity.

No opponent of Stalinism is safe. The only effective weapon is an open, united and remorseless struggle against the Stalinist criminals. It goes without saying that we do not include amongst them the thousands of rank and file workers who are devoted to the labor movement, but who have been hoodwinked by Stalinist propaganda.

Our political opposition to Jay Lovestone is well known. This will not deter us, however, from uniting with the Lovestonites and other political opponents for the purpose of cleaning the vile disease of Stalinism from the labor movement.

Made By Union Labor



AMERICA'S PERMANENT DEPRESSION - III

Roosevelt Smiles on the Unemployed When Elections Roll Around; But WPA Scales Are Lower Than Ever

By ART PREIS

Someone has said that man is the only animal who can convince himself that things are not what they are, but he would like them to be.

The history of the federal relief program from 1935 to the present demonstrates this fact. Much of the cheering for Roosevelt is based on the completely false idea that there has been a substantial improvement in the conditions of the unemployed during the past three years. Actual facts and figures prove there has been a gradual and subtle decline in the living standards of the unemployed as a whole during the period of the W. P. A.

A story is related of the scientist who experimented with frogs. He placed them alive in a pan of water over a very low flame. The pan was sufficiently shallow to permit the frogs to hop out. But so low was the flame that it took days for the water to heat. The rise in temperature was so gradual that the frogs failed to notice it. Eventually, they boiled alive. If the pan had been near a radio with the assuring tones of F. D. R. gushing forth, the frogs might have boiled to death with a smile.

This story demonstrates the distinction between the Hoover and Roosevelt methods of treating the unemployed. Hoover threw the unemployed into a red-hot pan of outright starvation. Roosevelt supplies just enough relief jobs to keep the unemployed from "jumping out of the pan", that is, pacified by a gradual process of becoming accustomed to lower standards and by a form of stabilized poverty.

STARVATION IN F. D. R. PROGRAM

Not that Roosevelt has scrupled to discontinue relief and jobs altogether when it suited his purposes. Five and a half million relief families, 22 million men, women and children, faced outright starvation between June and November, 1935, when the Roosevelt administration discontinued direct relief. Of these five and a half million unemployed breadwinners, over 1,750,000 never received employment on the W.P.A. They subsisted at best on meager allotments of state and local governments.

These millions, together with the additional five million more unemployed families estimated to have required relief in the past year, are still in the grip of the depression, today face a relief crisis unparalleled in the past six years. The breakdown of relief in Cleveland, Chicago and other centers has revealed conditions as rotten almost as anything known under Hoover. These crises flow from Roosevelt's direct relief policies.

SLASHING RELIEF APPROPRIATIONS

The federal government is gradually liquidating its obligations to the unemployed. First, it slipped from under the responsibility for direct relief. Since then, it has slowly decreased the appropriations for work relief in relation to the total number of unemployed. The original appropriation for W.P.A. was four billion dollars. Unemployment in the fall of 1935 was about 11 million. At its peak in February, 1936, W.P.A. employed 3,853,000 workers. From that date until July, 1937, although unemployment had declined less than 25 per cent according to the government's own census, the W.P.A. was reduced, through systematic and ruthless wholesale dismissals, by more than 50 per cent, to 1,800,000 workers.

Contrast the present one and a quarter billion dollars W.P.A. appropriation with the original four billion, and the maximum of 2,800,000 jobs provided under the present fund with the almost four million jobs at the 1936 peak. There are, variously estimated, two to five million more unemployed now than in February, 1936, but a million less W.P.A. jobs, and an appropriation that will last no further than January, 1939.

For anyone not blinded by personal or political considerations, the above figures, cited from government sources, reveal a startling fact. The total benefits for the unemployed as a group have been reduced in the past three years, particularly when contrasted with the actual number of unemployed at any given period.

WAGES GRADUALLY REDUCED

A further startling fact is that real work relief wages, on the average throughout the country, have suffered a gradual reduction from the C.W.A. program to the present W.P.A. set-up. C.W.A. paid an average weekly wage of \$15 for unskilled laborers, about \$65 monthly. The F.E.R.A. originally paid an average weekly wage to laborers of \$12, or \$50 monthly. The administration then reduced wages on F.E.R.A. to the equivalent of each worker's direct relief budget, the worst form of forced-labor for emergency relief orders. The discontinuance of this forced-labor policy was not effected by the administration without considerable mass persuasion from the unemployed. Hundreds of strikes ripped the F.E.R.A. work program wide open.

When the W.P.A. began, Roosevelt did not make the mistake attempted under the F.E.R.A. He quickly covered that one revealing glimpse of his actual ruthless purpose with a great ballyhoo of "security" wages and "prevailing" hourly rates of pay under the W.P.A. The actual amount earned by most W.P.A. workers was more than could be secured on direct relief. But, as always, what the administration gave with one hand, it withdrew with the other.

By discontinuing direct relief, the federal government was able, with little additional cost, to give slightly higher benefits to a smaller group of workers. Further, the W.P.A. established wide wage differentials for areas of varying populations within these regions. Thus, the \$55-\$60

per month paid unskilled workers in large industrial centers in the north-eastern states, where unionism and unemployed organizations and mass actions were most extensive, were offset by the incredible coolie wages paid in the South and the rural areas.

At its peak, W.P.A. wages, including the wages of the skilled and professional workers, averaged only \$45.91 per month. This is less than the highest averages for unskilled laborers alone during the C.W.A. and F.E.R.A. For three years, the W.P.A. paid workers in certain southern areas as little as \$19 per month. The "security" wage is a ghastly joke, unless it implies merely security from anxiety, want or poverty in the dictionary sense.

Recently, minimum wages on W.P.A. were raised to \$40 per month. This act has been pointed out as a great humanitarian deed by Roosevelt. Few have asked why this noble deed was not done three years ago, at a time when Roosevelt had the national legislature eating out of his hand, and why this concession was so comparatively easy for him to secure now from an increasingly hostile legislature.

ROOSEVELT'S 'NOBLE' SENTIMENTS

Just how much Roosevelt has been moved by political considerations as contrasted with nobler sentiments in his unemployed policies we can observe accurately. Both in the fall of 1934 and that of 1936, just prior to the general elections, a sharp increase was noted in federal work relief employment. This was particularly apparent in September and October, 1936, when Roosevelt reversed his policy of mass W.P.A. lay-offs while unemployment was declining, and packed the W.P.A. projects. Few new projects were started, but old ones were double and triple shifted.

Immediately following Roosevelt's re-election, 400,000 W.P.A. workers, most of them still displaying Roosevelt campaign buttons, were fired en masse. Within six months of the elections, almost three-quarters of a million W.P.A. workers had received the reward of blind political faith in the form of pink dismissal slips.

We are approaching another election. Again W.P.A. jobs are on the increase. A couple of hundred thousand workers will be advantageously placed on W.P.A. rolls for a few weeks prior to the first Tuesday following the first Monday in November. Then we can confidently predict that the W.P.A. will follow its time-hallowed custom of firing hundreds of thousands--after the votes have been safely recorded.

(The next article of this series will be a discussion of the New Deal unemployment policies in relation to the entire Roosevelt program of saving the capitalist system and preparing for imperialist war.)

Pinning 'em Down

By JAMES CASEY

MID-SUMMER MARRIAGE

The Communist and Republican parties of New York City have just been married, with the American Labor party officiating over the revolting, but not unexpected, ceremony. It is the very same Republican party which, according to the *Daily Worker* in the last election campaign, was inextricably tied to Hearst and the Liberty League and was mercilessly driving the nation to fascism.

Now, just a few short months later, Stalinists are firing their propaganda furnaces with new sophisticated fuel, and soon they will be telling New Yorkers that, to save civilization from the Democratic bourbons of the South, they must unite for Republican candidates in Manhattan, Brooklyn, Queens and, possibly, the Bronx.

In return, the Republicans of the staid and respectable Tory clans will peddle votes among Social Registerites for this happy collection of Stalinist-A.L.P. candidates:

Vito Marcantonio, president of the Stalinist International Labor Defense, for Congress. (We wonder if Marcantonio's nomination had anything in common with the telephone conversations over a long, long period between Mr. Earl Browder's stooge and Mayor "Little Flower" LaGuardia.)

Allan Taub, ambitious lawyer and activist in the A.L.P., for State Senator. (In 1931 Mr. Taub was assigned by his Communist Party unit to work in the I.L.D. After winning some distinction for losing cases, Taub was transferred to the United Front Supporters. When that fly-by-night mass organization passed out along with a half dozen others, he was shifted to the "Innocent" League for Peace and Democracy. From there he went on to "fraction work" in the Labor party.)

Jacob Rosenberg, head of Local 802, Musicians Union, A. F. of L., for Congress. (Rosenberg is an old hand at carrying out the "party line," regardless of how often or how crazily it gyrates. He would be an ideal representative in Washington for the C. P. Polburro.)

Eugene Connolly, T.W.U. division leader, for Congress. (Connolly is an ardent follower of Michael J. Quill, Stalinists' trade union spokesman, and therefore safe for Mr. Browder.)

Quite appropriately, as part of the alliance vows, the Stalinists and Republicans will campaign for Tammanyite Congressman Samuel Dickstein, than whom there is no more rabid red-baiter with the possible exception of Earl Browder himself. Support has also been pledged by the Stalinists to Democratic Congressman Celler, protégé of the late (Boss) John J. McCooey of Brooklyn.

As has been noted, the People's Frontist nuptials of Stalinists with Republican and Democrats, too, come not as a surprise. They merely bear out Browder's testimony before the recent State Legislative Committee that the Communist Party is fighting to preserve the institutions of capitalist "democracy" and against "those who would undermine our government" and further, "that we must not be compared with the Trotskyites and Lovestonites, who proclaim the opposite opposite of those policies which I have described." So spoke Mr. Browder, Stalin's official mouthpiece, and it is in the record.

BROWDER'S SEVEREST CRITIC

But Moissaye J. Olgin, Browder's official biographer and the editor of the Communist Party's Jewish organ, has said in public print, also for the record, the following:

"The system we are living under in the United States can hardly be called a democracy even in name. Even the pretense of representative government has been abandoned. Congress has ceded the prerogatives of law-making to one man, Roosevelt, who is a virtual dictator, acting through a number of boards appointed by him."

Of those who would argue for a "working-class party joining with capitalist parties for progressive measures," Brother Olgin has said without equivocation:

"You will not be surprised if we call these reformists traitors to the working class. They are that. And there is no fundamental difference in this respect between reformists belonging to the Republican and Democratic parties and the reformists belonging to the Socialist Party" (or the Communist Party—J. C.), Olgin continued:

"William Green or John L. Lewis, Matthew Woll or David Dubinsky, Edward McGrady or Sidney Hillman—no matter how different their coloring may be, they are birds of a feather."

That is pretty plain speaking and, as if in reply to Browder's attack on the Trotskyites, Olgin roundly denounced the views of the C. P. general secretary, saying:

"The capitalist state is a glaring fact. It is flesh and blood of the capitalist system. It stands in the way of workers' progress toward a new, freer life. Can it be abolished by gradual transformation? Those who say it can are the staunchest supporters of the capitalist robbers and the most active promoters of imperialist wars."

Brother Olgin's climactic lambast was this:

"Their theory is not harmless indeed. It is a poisonous theory. It is a smokescreen behind which cruel capitalist exploitation is hiding."

Of course, the foregoing attack on People's Frontism was written in "Why Communism" before orders arrived from Moscow to toe the new Stalinist line. Nevertheless, it is perhaps well for Brother Olgin that he has been denied a visa to the Soviet Union. After all, there is no firing squad at 50 East 13th Street, although frame-ups abound like mosquitoes in a Jersey swamp.

THE DARLING OF BIG BUSINESS

While on the subject of reformists and their oscillations, one cannot overlook Thomas E. Dewey, high-powered prosecutor of New York County and the national pride of the Republican Party, the A.L.P. and the Stalinist "progressives."

Within a few days Dewey will have on the witness stand "Jimmy" Hines, endeavoring to prove that the Tammany leader had given police and court protection to the late Dutch Schultz's policy racket. "Dixie" Davis, once counsel for the slain racketeer, has turned State's witness, is prepared to "spill the dirt" and, with the corroborating testimony of two other associates of Schultz, will help Dewey achieve a signal legal triumph.

There is every reason to believe that Hines will be convicted, and two or three Tammany judges decisively discredited. However, neither Davis nor the other witnesses will tell the story that the public should know.

What the people of New York and the nation should be told is: "Just what is behind the Hines trial?" That Hines has been associated with racketeers for many years is not news to anyone having even passing acquaintance with New York's political life. Back in the days of District Attorney Crane, the prosecutor's office had evidence (which later disappeared from the files) that Tammany district leaders were giving protection to racketeers who, in turn, received millions of dollars from New York's industrial interests for breaking strikes, engaging thugs to labor in sundry other ways.

It is quite probable that former District Attorney William H. Dodge, Dewey's predecessor, had similar evidence. The advent against the steadily rising and insolent demands of the racketeers. When the Tammany leaders were found to be so closely linked to the gangsters as to be unable to meet the appeals of merchants, manufacturers and others, a mighty civic crusade was launched for "clean government."

Thus LaGuardia and Fusion got hold of City Hall. The capitalist civic groups, with the aid of newspapers, also threatened by the racketeers, rallied the voters for more and more gains and, finally, found in Dewey an able and willing instrument to continue the clean-up started by the Seabury investigation.

Dewey will vanquish Tammany and ride to higher office over the political graves of Hines, Dodge and a number of others. But his victory will be the victory of Big Business, substituting one capitalist political wing for another to do its bidding.

Once again the masses of the people of New York will be left holding the bag.