

# Socialist Appeal

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## C.I.O. Faces Crucial Issues Of Democracy In the Unions

### POUM Leaders Sentenced In Spanish Frame-Up Trial

#### Workers Everywhere Must Protest Savage Prison Terms Meted Out to Spanish Revolutionary Militants

Five leaders of the Workers Party of Marxist Unification, the P.O.U.M., were sentenced this week to 11 to 15 years imprisonment at the conclusion of the G.P.U.-staged "treason" trial in Barcelona, according to dispatches in the press.

Juven Gorkin, Juan Andrade, Jordi Aquer, Pedro Bonet, and Enrique Gironella were found guilty and sentenced to these prison terms. Jose Escuder and Trebull were acquitted, the report said. Few or no details of the frame-up trial have appeared in the local press. Enough has been reported elsewhere, however, to reveal the complete frame-up character of the trial, the complete failure of the prosecution to prove a single one of the charges of relations between the P.O.U.M. leaders and the Fascists.

This monstrous frame-up was staged for the purpose of covering up the impending sell-out of the anti-Fascist cause, the impending "Munich settlement" of the Spanish situation under the benevolent tutelage of Britain and France, Germany and Italy. The Loyalist government, making ready use of the frame-up apparatus of the Spanish G.P.U., is proving to its imperialist masters that it is proceeding with all the necessary vigor against working class militants. Workers throughout the world must protest the trial proceedings, the charges, and the savage sentences!

In the trial of the P.O.U.M. leaders, the imprisonment and execution without trial of hundreds of worker-militants, the Loyalist regime is hoping to finish off what remains of the Spanish revolutionary movement. That is why we must mobilize the broadest possible movement of protest against these frame-ups. It is the cause of the working class revolution itself which is at stake!

### NMU Seamen Bullied into Signing Rotten Contract

#### Vicious Campaign Against Lundeberg and Militant Seafarers' International Precedes Voting

The National Maritime Union last week signed an agreement with the American Merchant Marine Institute containing essentially the same terms that were overwhelmingly rejected by the membership only six months ago. Joe Curran, N.M.U. President, put the agreement over this time by a bull-dozing campaign in which the men were threatened with loss of their jobs if they did not accept. The result was a referendum vote in favor of acceptance by the suspiciously large majority of 10 to one. The agreement was said to cover 20,000 men.

Curran concluded the deal with the Merchant Marine Institute, at the same time viciously attacking the whole system of militant unionism represented among seamen by Harry Lundeberg, Secretary of the Sailors Union of the Pacific.

Agreement Bans "Quickies" While N.M.U. heads characterized the agreement as "another stumbling block in the way of Lundeberg's Seafarers' International Union of North America," shipping interests here hailed it as a step toward "peace" and "harmony" in the industry. Arbitration clauses insisted upon by the shipowners prohibit so-called "quickies."

On the west coast so-called "quickie strikes," or job action, are considered the strongest weapon marine workers have against the boss.

Before the N.M.U. contract was ratified and signed here west coast unions, namely the Sailors' Union of the Pacific and the Marine Firemen's Union, had warned against many provisions it contains. In every respect the conditions under which east coast seamen will have to sail are far below the west coast standard.

The new agreement provides for a basic wage scale which is the same as prevails on the west coast. However, this is no increase over what was being paid here. In payment of overtime, the workers actually lose by the agreement. Most significant, however, is the fact that the preferential hiring clause does not guarantee a closed shop. Following is the hiring clause:

The company agrees it will give all its employment, except for certain positions (senior electricians, and referers on liners with over 40,000 cubic feet reefer space), to members of the union when available, providing that the prospective employees are satisfactory to the Company (our emphasis—Ed.). This section shall not be construed to prevent or postpone a re-employment of employees who may be absent on account of illness, accidents, vacations or leaves of absence. The intent of this clause is that vacations or leaves of absence shall be granted in writing when leaving the vessel and shall not exceed a period of one round

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### CONVENTION NEXT WEEK MUST TAKE DECISIVE STEPS

#### Unity and Fight on Stalinism on the Agenda

By J. B. WIDICK  
Labor Secretary S.W.P.

PITTSBURGH, Pa.—The C.I.O. convention here will mark an important milestone in the history of the American labor movement.

It will be the first time that the mass production workers are overwhelmingly represented at a national labor convention. The C.I.O. is based primarily on the industrial workers. The future course of the industrial workers will largely be determined by the policies adopted at this convention.

The burning issue of labor unity looms in the forefront of the questions this convention must answer. The danger of war, the growth of incipient American fascism, the need for independent political action, the unemployment question; these are the major problems demanding a solution if the workers are to go forward.

Stalinist Issue Decisive Will the C.I.O. convention consider its most serious internal weakness: the treacherous influence of the Stalinist "rule or ruin" clique? Allied closely with this question is the problem of democracy within the C.I.O. itself. It must if the C.I.O. workers are to be free to determine their own destiny.

How the C.I.O. convention will deal with these problems is reflected in the pre-convention moves of John L. Lewis and the top leadership.

An imposing facade of strength is being carefully built by Lewis to impress the A.F. of L. and the general public. Startling figures of membership will be revealed. The S.W.O.C., for example, will report over 500,000 members, although this is a higher figure than claimed at the peak of the C.I.O.

New Unity Bid The C.I.O. will make another bid for unity with the A.F. of L. on less intransigent terms than one year ago. The actions of international unions like the rubber workers, auto workers, etc., the actions of state C.I.O. councils urging unity, will set the tone for the convention.

Considerable speculation has arisen here over reports that Lewis will resign as C.I.O. chairman as a maneuver to win more support in unity negotiations with the A.F. of L.

Absence of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union is expected although its executive board does not meet until Nov. 10 to consider the question. Its presence here would have a tremendous influence for labor unity.

Bureaucratic Preparations The convention is being prepared in the usual John L. Lewis fashion. Its bureaucratic structure will be similar to that of the A.F. of L. convention. The

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### 1,500 Hear Trotsky Speak At New York Mass Meeting

#### Antoinette Konikow Honored by Tributes at Tenth Anniversary Celebration; Cannon Points the Road Ahead

Nearly 1,500 crowded into the main ball room of the Center Hotel in New York City last Friday night to celebrate the founding of the Fourth International and the coincident tenth anniversary of our movement in this country.

Leon Trotsky addressed the meeting by electrical transcription. He reviewed the history of the movement that has come to fruition in the newly-founded International and reiterated its historic task, "the full material and spiritual liberation of the toilers and exploited through the socialist revolution."

### C. P. DISCOVERS NEW DEMOCRATIC HERO IN BATISTA

#### Cuban Dictator Due For War Parley in Washington

By J. LOPEZ

The Daily Worker has recently reported "good news" from Cuba. Through the leader of the Cuban Communist Party, Blas Roca, it informed its readers that Batista, champion of the bloody tyrants of Latin America, has broken with the "reactionary forces" in the United States and accepted the baptism of democratic faith.

Cuba's history is rich in dictators. But whatever their names and their methods, behind them stood always the same boss: U.S. imperialism. With a capital investment of \$1,500,000,000 in Cuba's sugar-cane fields, tobacco plantations, railroads, etc., i. e. with more than \$400 investment per capita of the island's population; with a powerful naval base, main bulwark of the Panama Canal in the east—Washington has not ceased for one minute since the beginning of this century to maintain an iron-hand over the politics in the Pearl of the Antilles.

Ambassador Rules The genuine ruler of the destinies of the Cuban Republic resides in the U.S. embassy. It is his task to maintain the political stability of the country for the benefit of monopolistic exploitation of the Cuban masses by J. P. Morgan, the inspirer of the Spanish-American war which brought Cuba under the domination of the United States.

The liberal Roosevelt administration has been especially active in this work. When in 1933, the mass rebellion against the barbarian dictatorship of President Machado and his officers' clique was at its height, the present Under-Secretary of State, Sumner Welles, forced upon Cuba a new President, de Cespedes. A military revolt, led by the then Sergeant Batista, swept into power the liberal government of Grau San Martin against the desires of Sumner Welles. This was the first and last government of Cuba which tried to ease the untold mass misery and to avert the threatening revolution by social reforms.

Washington Intervenes But Grau had reckoned without Roosevelt and Welles. Washington refused recognition to his government, enforcing an economic boycott against it. Welles and his successor Jefferson Caffery, both emissaries of the Good Neighbor Roosevelt had won Batista to set the machinery of the army against the Grau government.

After Grau's resignation the puppet presidents Mendietta, Gomez Laredo, etc. obtained immediate recognition by Washington, while Batista, inspired by the example of Mussolini and Hitler, silenced the Cuban masses and their leaders with emergency laws, tortures, castor oil, shootings and imprisonment.

All the efforts of Batista to gain mass support beyond his military following failed. Having crushed the powerful general strike in 1935, he outlawed all the trade unions and created state unions in fascist style. But the workers were nevertheless able to gain some freedom even in these

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"During the next ten years," he predicted, "the program of the Fourth International will become the guide of millions and these revolutionary millions will know how to storm earth and heaven." Trotsky's speech was the climax of a meeting that dramatically symbolized the struggles, the sacrifices, the traditions, hopes, and convictions of the movement that has now entered the most fruitful period of its development under the unfurled banner of the Fourth International.

Konikow's Speech Highlight One of the highlights of the evening was the tribute paid to Comrade Antoinette Konikow of Boston, who celebrates the fiftieth anniversary of her participation in the revolutionary movement. Witness and participant in the founding of the Second and Third Internationals, veteran of the old Social Democracy and of the Communist Party in their first days, Comrade Konikow was one of the founders of the Fourth Internationalist movement in this country. Tributes from the National Committee of the Socialist Workers Party and from Leon Trotsky were read.

Her vigor and her enthusiasm befitting her 69 years, Comrade Konikow said that she regretted only not having another 50 years in which to work with the youth to whom she addressed "no sermons or admonitions" but the firm hope that they would carry the banner she has helped keep aloft to the final victory. When she had finished, the crowd spontaneously rose in an ovation to a fine revolutionary spirit and a stalwart militant.

Colorful Meeting The members of the Young People's Socialist League to whom Comrade Konikow particularly addressed herself were smartly represented by a color guard which opened the meeting by marching down the aisles, red flags aloft, and singing revolutionary songs. On the platform, draped with red flags and great portraits of Lenin and Trotsky, they formed a guard of honor, replaced at intervals throughout the evening. They gave a splendid demonstration of vigor and discipline that made the meeting the most colorful our party has ever held.

Other speakers of the evening represented in their own persons the history of the movement. James P. Cannon, national secretary of the Socialist Workers Party, Max Shachtman, editor of the New Internationalist and the Socialist Appeal, and Martin Abern, business manager of the New Internationalist, were the three original pioneers who were the first to be expelled from the Communist Party they had helped found because they raised the banner of the fight against its degeneration under Stalin. In their addresses they reviewed the struggles of the past decade and outlined the path to the future.

Maurice Spector, former member of the Executive Committee of the Communist International, now co-editor of the New Internationalist, described the meaning of internationalism, the root and stem of our movement, the essence of its program.

George Clarke, associate editor of the Socialist Appeal and one of the first to join the Left Opposition in this country, paid tribute to the martyrs who have already given their lives under our banner for the cause of the workers' revolution.

Others who spoke represented the currents that merged with the Left Opposition and are now fused

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### TWENTY-ONE YEARS

Twenty-one years ago this week the Russian workers and peasants seized power from the capitalists and created the first Workers' State in history.

To a world weary of slaughter, dark with the hopelessness of the war, the Russian revolution came like a dazzling ray of light, illuminating a new path to a new future, a future without war, without hunger, without oppression.

Lenin and Trotsky, who led the Russian Bolsheviks to the first great working class victory in the history of the modern world, repeated a thousand times that the workers' revolution in Russia would and could survive only if the workers of other lands followed suit, overthrew their own capitalists and laid the basis for the reconstruction of world economy on a world scale. Isolated, the Soviet State was doomed.

The workers in Central Europe responded to the stimulus of the Russian revolution, surging forward in a mighty wave that toppled the thrones of the Hohenzollerns and the Habsburgs and carried them to the very threshold of workers' power.

But there was no revolutionary party like the Bolsheviks to lead them to the final triumph. There was only the Social Democracy which sought not the socialist order, but the defense and preservation of capitalism. With their aid, the capitalists counter-attacked, drove the workers back, and re-established their tottering power.

After four years of unremitting struggle, of indescribable hardships imposed by civil war, the Bolsheviks defeated the Whites and the interventionist forces of the foreign imperialists. But then they stood alone. In this isolation were nourished the germs of the degeneration that has now so grossly deformed the Workers' State and had such baleful effects upon the working class movement in other countries.

From the firmest internationalism that characterized the basic Bolshevik program, the Soviet bureaucracy crystallizing around the previously obscure figure of Joseph Stalin turned, first gradually and then at an increasingly swift pace, to the most reactionary nationalism.

The Communist International, forged in the fires of the Russian Revolution and armed by Lenin and Trotsky with a powerful Marxist program, was converted into a border patrol of the Soviet Union.

The Communist Party of Germany capitulated without a struggle to Hitler in 1933, surrendering the German workers to the scourge of Fascism.

The Communist Party of Spain, flunkey of Anglo-French imperialism, erected the dams of G.P.U. terror to turn back the tides of the rising Spanish Revolution.

The Communist Party of Czechoslovakia after converting the Czech labor movement into an appendage of the vilest nationalism sacrificed it without a murmur to General Syrovky and the reactionary satellites of Hitler and Goering.

The Communist Parties of France, England and the United States shouted themselves hoarse for a People's Front as a substitute for the class struggle, and finished by leading the parade of warmongers and armaments builders.

The 21st anniversary of the Russian Revolution, which set in motion the greatest revolutionary movement of modern times, the Communist International, occurs at a time when this movement is reduced to a shambles and what still remains is a miserable caricature of a revolutionary organization.

The 21st anniversary of the Russian Revolution occurs not in the red setting of Central European revolutions and colonial uprisings but in the reactionary milieu of the Munich Pact. Fascism marches triumphantly through Europe. The Democrats throw off their hypocritical masks. The Daladriers follow the footsteps of Hitler.

For the working class a more difficult struggle against a stronger ruling class. And for the Soviet Union growing isolation—the pacts with France, with Czechoslovakia, with Poland are torn to shreds—until a new iron ring encircles the Workers' State tighter than the cordon sanitaire forged by Lloyd George and Clemenceau after the last war. Then the young Soviet Republic was isolated but only in terms of imperialist politics—for the fervent partisanship of millions of workers throughout the world was solidly behind it.

The isolation of the Soviet Union from the world proletariat coincides tragically with the internal degradation of the conquests of the Russian Revolution. Soviets, trade unions, factory committees, all the organs of workers' democracy are wiped out—a distant memory only for the few of the remaining veterans of the revolution who by some miracle escaped the purge. Art, literature, science gasp in a totalitarian strait-jacket.

And while the disruption of economy by Stalin's wreckers continues unrestrained, the condition of the Soviet masses is daily aggravated. Long queues wait once again before the food and commodity stores. Rich farmers and bureaucrats steal a large portion of the wealth produced by the nation's workers. But the end is not yet.

Having driven the Workers' Fatherland to the precipice of

### Pouliopoulos Escapes From Hands of Metaxas' Police

Word reached here last week that P. Pouliopoulos, secretary of the Greek Fourth Internationalists, has escaped from prison. Pouliopoulos was arrested along with 12 other leading comrades of the Greek organization by police of the Metaxas dictatorship. The Metaxas police announced a reward of 25,000 drachmas for the recapture of the courageous working class militant.

There were no additional details of the fate of the other arrested comrades.

Last week we reported in these columns on the plight of 3,000 working class prisoners in concentration camps located on islands in the Aegean Sea. Through an error in transcribing the translation, we said that among them were "at least ten" of our comrades. The actual number is nearly 100.

An addition to the list of those arrested was D. Nikainas, a marble cutter.

### Spanish Veterans Form New Group

A provisional committee has been established by American veterans of the Spanish civil war for an organization to be known as "Veterans of the Spanish Revolution." The group held a meeting last Wednesday night and will meet again on Nov. 16 at the Theater Building, 14th Street and Avenue A (entrance on 14th St.). All qualified veterans were urged to attend.

The new organization will conduct vigorous anti-fascist activities and will also work in the defense of working class militants and anti-fascists imprisoned and persecuted by the Barcelona regime.

### PROGRESSIVE PAINTERS SPURN C.P.'S BRIBES

#### Lash Administration For Pork-Barrel Regime

NEW YORK, Nov. 2.—The complete bankruptcy of the Weinstock regime in District Council 9 of the Painters Union was revealed in two important maneuvers which were exposed in full by a delegate to a so-called "peace" conference in the latest issue of the Progressive Painter—organ of the Inter-Local Conference of Progressive Painters Clubs.

The Stalinist administration of the Council suffered a telling blow when the painters voted overwhelmingly to defeat a \$5.00 tax which Weinstock & Co. attempted to foist on the membership in order to save the union from the head-on crash prepared in advance by the wrecking policy of the Communist Party.

Now, according to the paper issued by the Progressives, the Stalinists have approached leaders of the Progressives and offered them jobs in an attempt to buy them off. "We'll give you ten weeks at \$52.50 a week for nine organizers and leave the selection of the organizers to your discretion," the Progressive Painter quotes the Weinstocks as saying. "We want to give you the post of Assistant Secretary, posts in the Real Estate and Complaint Departments. If you like we might rearrange the Council to give you better proportional representation and we are also willing to give you a post in the Finance Department. . . . Anything you want (even a new election)—just ask for it! But stop your agitation and cooperate with us in putting over an assessment. . . . Be good boys, and become a part of our family."

The answer of the Progressives to this "approach" was a general horse-laugh all around. Nobody was fooled by this sudden attitude of brotherly love and consideration for the rank and file.

Not for Sale! The statement of the Progressives

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## HOW TO VOTE ON TUESDAY

The Socialist Workers Party urges all voters to write in the names of James P. Cannon for governor, and E. R. McKinney, for Senator, full term, at the polls next Tuesday.

On the rest of the ticket we urge support only of those candidates running on the American Labor Party ticket without running on the ticket of any of the capitalist parties. This is the concrete expression it is possible to give in this election to a program of independent political action by labor.

HOW TO VOTE  
1. In the voting booth above the top row of levers you will see a series of slides which lift up diagonally slightly to the right. Lift up the slide over the designation for Governor and print in clearly with pencil the name of James P. Cannon. Over the designation for U. S. Senator, full term, (Line 5), pull down the slide and write in E. R. McKinney.

2. Touch no other levers in any of the top rows but turn to Row C for the American Labor Party and pull down the levers over the names listed below. Ignore all others. If you pull a lever down by mistake you can lift it up again without invalidating the vote.

On the Constitutional Amendments, we urge voting as follows: Amendments 1, 2, 3, 5, 7—Vote NO. Amendments 4, 6, 8, 9—Vote YES.

The list of candidates to be voted for on the American Labor Party slate is as follows:  
State Offices: Controller, Langdon Post; Attorney General, Joseph V. O'Leary.  
Bronx: Municipal Court Justice, Matthew M. Levy.  
Kings: County Judge, Louis Waldman.  
Queens: District Attorney, Frederick W. Ritter.  
Register: Matthew W. Napier.

FOR CONGRESS:  
Nassau-Suffolk-Queens: 1. Pierrepont Twitchell.  
Brooklyn: 3. Bernard Kleban; 5. Joseph Dermody; 7. Bernard Reswick.  
Brooklyn-Queens: 9. Spencer K. Binyon.  
Manhattan-Richmond: 11. John V. Murphy.  
Manhattan: 13. Eugene P. Connolly; 15. Daniel L. McDonough; 17. George Backer; 18. Martin C. Kyne; 19. Joseph Schlossberg.  
Manhattan-Bronx: 22. Thomas C. O'Leary.  
Bronx: 23. Isidor Nagler.  
Bronx-Westchester: 24. Bartholomew F. Murphy.

FOR STATE SENATE:  
Queens: 2. William Power; 5. Phillip Brown; 6. George Rifkin; 8. Louis Sadoff; 10. Louis Lambert; 11. Irving C. Velson.  
Manhattan: 12. Joseph V. O'Leary; 13. Allen Taub; 16. John F. Sullivan; 17. Harold Baer; 18. Victor S. Getner; 20. Joseph

Belsky.  
Bronx: 21. Eli Krieger; 22. Abraham Tuvin; 23. Carl O. Parsons.  
Richmond-Rockland: 24. Delmore Brickman.  
FOR THE ASSEMBLY:  
Manhattan: 1. Giuseppe Valicenti; 2. Salvatore Bonanno; 3. Joseph E. Burke; 4. Arthur J. Hartley; 10. Bella Dodd; 12. Louis Tomka; 15. Clifford McAvoy; 23. Samuel Hendel.  
Bronx: 1. Richard J. Browne; 2. Abraham Rubenstein; 3. Morris Fuchs; 4. Meyer Levenstein; 5. Nathaniel Minkoff; 6. John O'Donnell; 7. Gerald Muccigrosso; 8. George Steinhart.  
Brooklyn: 7. William Kenney; 8. Anthony Callace; 15. George Rogers; 17. Theophilus Alcantara; 19. Peter Bonnano.  
Queens: 1. William Grogan; 2. Leroy Maclean; 3. Michael d'Azara; 4. William Cowell, Jr.; 5. Allen Taft; 6. John Perry.  
Richmond: 1. Otis Hudson; 2. Joseph English.

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