

OFF THE RECORD

By Dwight Macdonald

Twenty years ago, Rosa Luxemburg and Karl Liebknecht were murdered by reactionary army officers acting in collusion with the Social Democratic government of Berlin.

door of the hotel, where a military car was waiting. As they were leaving, one of the company cried out: "See that these swine do not reach the prison alive!"

As soon as Liebknecht got into the car, Private Runge aimed two blows at him with the butt of his rifle. One blow missed, the other cut his head open.

About an hour later, Rosa Luxemburg was taken to the front door of the hotel. . . . There, for some reason that was not inquired into, Private Runge was also waiting for her.

Lieutenant Vogel, the officer in charge of this party, then got into the car, accompanied by two other officers. "Fraulein Luxemburg," he testified, "received two violent blows on the head from the butts of rifles of helmeted soldiers."

The Freiheit, the organ of the Independent Socialists, is alone in denouncing the proceedings. The other newspapers think that in a case of this kind, "where political feelings are involved," perhaps the whole story has not been sifted, but they are satisfied that substantial justice has been done.

From a statement, signed "Hussar Otto Runge," printed in Freiheit, Jan. 9, 1921

On January 15, 1918, between seven and nine o'clock in the evening, I was stationed as sentry before the chief entrance of the Eden Hotel.

Concerning Liebknecht, I received strict orders from officers to knock the fellow down with the butt of my rifle. . . . As for Frau Luxemburg, officers came to me and said: "I order you to see that Luxemburg does not leave the hotel alive."

Editorial from the New York Times, Jan. 18, 1919

LYNCH LAW IN BERLIN

Regrettable as is the manner of death, the work of private violence, not the law, that came to Dr. Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg, it was to be expected, and does a summary, if irregular, justice to the fomenter of robbery, murder and anarchy.

Rank and File Fur Unionists Condemn Jt. Council Regime

Progressive Group Hits Slanderous Charges

NEW YORK—In a sharply worded letter addressed to the Furriers Joint Council, the United Progressive Furriers, a rank and file group in the union, charged the Council with being responsible for a dictatorial regime in the union.

The letter was sent as an answer to the accusation of strike-breaking made by the Council against the Progressives. The Progressives assert that they were found guilty without being given an adequate opportunity to answer the base calumny in a democratic fashion.

Having attempted at a long drawn out trial, lasting close to three months, to obtain confessions from the Progressives, the administration gave it up as a bad job. Instead, it wrote the Progressive group a long letter in which the latter were denounced in vicious language and then warned not to misbehave on pain of having action against them.

The letter sent by the United Progressive Furriers to the Joint Council reads, in part, as follows: "We regret very much that you have rejected our proposal for an impartial committee of the Labor Movement to examine the charges and counter-charges and to let the committee pass judgement. Instead, you have chosen to appear as the accuser and the judge."

"We accused the administration of squandering the Union treasury. We accused the administration of carrying through a dishonest election, of using fascist methods in time of elections, of making a secret supplementary agreement with the bosses."

"During the strike you placed the most inexperienced people in the leadership of the strike halls just because they were good followers of your political party lines. You . . . made the workers lose faith in the ability of your leadership to win better conditions and if anyone was guilty of strikebreaking activity it was you, the leaders of the last general strike. But in order to cover up your deeds, in order to confuse the issue you are now trying your utmost to build up a case against us. But, although you rehearsed your acts you don't dare put on a show. You handed down your decision to us in the dark."

"You collected three days' wages from over 12,000 fur workers, a sum that is far over \$300,000; you even put a special committee in charge of that money. Yet, before the strike was declared, two-thirds of the money was gone and when the strike was on you starved the furriers out, and borrowed an additional \$100,000, adding another burden on the shoulders of the fur workers. While you kept on denouncing everyone as an enemy of the union who dared ask a few cents more benefit, you paid out to your hand picked committee men from nine to fifteen dollars a week. To cover up all these squanderings you are trying to divert the attention of the fur workers from you to the opposition."

Cannot Deceive Members

Your letter to us expresses concern that our group may be degenerating into an unprincipled clique that may become a tool of the bosses. You need shed no tears about that, as the history of our fight against you shows distinctly that it is precisely because of your class collaborationist policies, your bureaucratic methods and your disregard for the needs of the workers that we are fighting against you."

"We were not tried and we were not found guilty. It was you who exposed yourselves as the party guilty of disruption and factionalism. We therefore disregard the circus which you call a trial. You may be able to pull the wool over the eyes of your close followers, but you can never do that to the membership at large. . . . You are a bureaucratic machine which functions with the blessing of the Communist Party."

CURRENT PAMPHLETS America's Permanent Depression—Art Preis—3c People's Front—James Burnham—15c Revolution and Counter-Revolution in Spain—Felix Morrow—50c Declaration of Principles—S.W.P.—10c What Is Socialism—Albert Goldman—10c Stalinism. and Bolshevism—Leon Trotsky—10c Fascism and the American Scene—Dwight Macdonald—10c

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Judge Issues Injunction Against Chi. News Guild

CHICAGO, Feb. 8—The strike of all white collar departments of the Chicago Herald and Examiner is now in its tenth week. In an effort to break the strike the Hearst management is supplementing its appeal to the courts by vicious gangsterism.

Superior Court Judge Niemyer has issued a temporary injunction forbidding the Chicago Newspaper Guild, which is conducting the strike, from interfering with relations between advertisers and the Hearst papers, and from picketing with the distribution of the papers. The injunction limits the number of pickets at the Hearst plant to two.

Continuing the gangsterism against the union which has marked the strike from the beginning with sluggings of union men, a union truck was hijacked from its garage and dumped in the river. In addition, the Hearstings broke the race issue "wide open" when they induced the Medina Club to cancel its lease to the Guild for a strike benefit dance on the grounds there would be Negroes present.

The strike on the Chicago Herald and Examiner was the outcome of a series of firings of union men and the refusal of the management to meet with the Guild to discuss a contract covering the commercial employees. The Hearst management deliberately forced the strike at a time when its contract with the union for the editorial department was near expiration.

The Guildsmen have had considerable success in appealing to the public. As a result, advertisers have withdrawn their business from the paper, and the home circulation system of the paper, organized at considerable cost, has completely collapsed.

STALINISTS WOO BOSS DOMINATED OIL FILLERS ASS'N

Provokes AFL-CIO Jurisdiction Fight

MINNEAPOLIS—The Stalinist-controlled C.I.O. International Oil Workers Union of Minneapolis this week resumed its strikebreaking onslaught against the A.F.L. Filling Station Attendants Union, Local 977, when it met with station lessees, organized into the Retail Gasoline Dealers Association, to consider affiliating the organization to the C.I.O. union. The association is under the domination of the big oil companies.

The proposal of the C.I.O. union is directed against the local trade union movement, whose spearhead is the Drivers Union Local 544, and the Teamsters Joint Council. The latter two organizations helped organize Local 977 when the majority of station attendants revolted from the antics of the Communist Party people in their union.

Local 977 brands this move of the Stalinists as one calculated to place the lessees in the middle of the fight between the A.F.L. and C.I.O. oil workers unions. It has been pointed out that it is precisely where the Stalinists have managed to secure control of a union that the C.I.O. and A.F.L. engage in jurisdictional strife.

Stirs Faction Fight Cited as an example of C.I.O.-A.F.L. cooperation is the joint battle these two groups are waging against the Mid-Continent Petroleum Company in Tulsa, where the International Brotherhood of Teamsters and the C.I.O. International Oil Workers Union are giving this labor-hating outfit the battle of its life.

In Minneapolis, however, the commissars who direct the C.I.O. locally are forcing the I.O.W.U. into a jurisdictional battle with Local 977. These misleaders have demonstrated beyond a doubt that they are the organizers only of defeats for the workers. In debacle after debacle they have led their blind followers into one pitfall after another. This move to place the lessees into the C.I.O. union, will only furnish the bosses with another means to fight the A.F.L. unions of this city.

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Wilson - Jones Co. Tied Up By Office Goods Union Strike

Loose-Leaf Workers In Two Cities Out Solid

CHICAGO—Ending its 5th week Monday in Elizabeth, New Jersey, and Tuesday in Chicago, Illinois, the strike of the United Loose Leaf & Blank Book Workers, C.I.O. Local Industrial Union No. 148, continues strong against the Wilson-Jones Company, manufacturers of office supplies.

The strike was called to secure the reinstatement of two Elizabeth workers, Frank Bailey and Hurley Middleton, leading unionists, discharged after being framed and assaulted by company foremen and stooges at a company-sponsored Christmas Eve party.

By taking militant action against the company instead of submitting the cases to arbitration, the most outstanding result has been the gain of over 100 new members for the union in Chicago alone, including persons who scabbed in 1937 when the workers struck to establish their union.

Over 1,000 Involved

Over 1,000 workers are involved in the struggle, with about 800 of them in Chicago alone. The Chicago plant is so completely tied up that production can be noted as almost absolute zero. The fight is harder in Elizabeth, but with A.F.L.-C.I.O. solidarity in action, the outcome is not in doubt. The A.F.L. teamsters are not delivering goods to, nor transporting goods from, the branch plant there. When the Elizabeth workers established a picket line around the company's New York City sales office, Local No. 6, International Typographical Union (A.F.L.) members also walked the line. The A.F.L. printers, working in the Elizabeth plant, are striking in solidarity.

Local 148 won a 7-week struggle with the Wilson-Jones Company in the spring of 1937, and in 1938 traded a closed shop provision in its agreement for a contract covering the workers in the Elizabeth, New Jersey, branch plant.

Brewery Union Success Points to Martel Ouster

(Continued from Page 1)

County Federation of Labor to do likewise. Martel had the telegram in his possession but suppressed a reading of it at the last meeting of the central labor body. The teamsters were present in a body and when Martel's secretary announced that there would be no further discussion on the teamsters dispute until further word was heard from the Executive Council, every drivers' delegate left the meeting. That practically emptied the hall.

Won't Take A Cut

This is the first time in Detroit labor history that any group in the American Federation of Labor as powerful as the teamsters union has effectively challenged Martel's phoney practices. When the final decision arrives from the Executive Council, the central labor body will be obliged to repudiate his arbitration decision—which will leave "X-X" high and dry.

The brewery drivers organized in the teamsters union will live up to the contract signed by Local 38, with committees of Local 271 the de facto bargaining agents. And when the agreement comes up for revision within the next month, the brewery drivers will have adequate guarantees that their union will not take the \$6-18 wage cut offered by brewery union officials to the brewery bosses.

Gov't Sabotages As Labor Conditions Worsen

SAN JUAN, P. R.—The U. S. administration is none too subtly sabotaging its own Wages and Hours Bill in Puerto Rico. On the island we have the spectacle of an Administrator appointed by the government to enforce the act, but hampered in all his efforts by that very government. Employers are being advised by government officials to pay no attention to the act. If Washington backed Administrator Chaborn, something might be accomplished in spite of the powerful forces in Puerto Rico working to make the law a dead letter, but Washington has strongly hinted to the Administrator that it prefers him to do nothing. He has even been refused means of transportation around the island.

Boss Protests Work The protests of the industrialists to Washington, particularly of those in the needlwork industry, have evidently had their effect. No sooner was the Wages and Hours Bill passed than the needlwork employers began to bring pressure for the exemption

of the Island from the act, declaring enforcement would kill the industry, which is dependent for its profits on sweated labor. To employers who paid the great majority of their workers less than 5 cents an hour in 1936-37, a wage of 25 cents an hour naturally seems preposterous. Employers in other industries are no less opposed to the act, for the average hourly wage of all Puerto Rican labor in 1936-37 was between 13 and 14 cents.

Labor Situation Worse But the employers are not the only ones determined to kill the Wages and Hours Bill in the Island. Even the "Socialists"—so mislabeled—and the chicken-hearted Federation of Labor which they control are doing their utmost against it. The only important force in the Island that is actively supporting the Wages and Hours Bill is the C.I.O.

The situation of Puerto Rican labor is black in other respects. The reduction in the sugar quota the Island is permitted to export to the United States, together with concessions to Cuban sugar, will badly hit the largest industry of all. Tobacco has already gone the way of citrus fruits and coffee, in which a thriving trade was once done but which are now negligible. Soon many more will be thrown out of work with the restrictions on sugar production.

Again the C.I.O. is alone in preparing to meet this contingency. The C.I.O. has a marvelous opportunity to capitalize on the supineness of the Federation of Labor in the face of the growing unemployment and mass misery.

MEN AND WOMEN OF LABOR

Out of the Past

BY EMANUEL GARRETT

BILL HAYWOOD

(Feb. 4, 1869—May 18, 1928)

Big Bill Haywood described his family background as "so American that if traced back it would probably run to the Puritan bigots or the cavalier pirates. Neither would give me reason for pride."

Bill's pride lay rather in that by heritage and life-long activity he was a member of the working class. From the age of nine up, Bill worked—as miner, as cowboy, and above all as labor militant. In 1896, he joined the Western Federation of Miners, becoming a charter member of the Silver City Local. Aggressive, incorruptibly anti-boss, he quickly rose to a position of leadership. The Denver convention of the union in 1901 elected him secretary-treasurer of the union.

Wrote Many Pages of Labor's History

Bill's towering figure (he was as large in body as he was unyielding in his devotion to the cause of the working-class) is associated with many stirring pages of labor history. Many are the names of labor's great leaders whose work is linked with his—Eugene V. Debs, Vincent St. John, and others.

The Telluride strike, in which the union challenged the Guggenheim interests and after many months marked by violence against the strikers, under the "protection" of martial-law, won its demands for an eight-hour day and wage increases; the long campaign in Colorado for an eight-hour day in which the courts, the Rockefellers and other mine barons combined to persecute the union-men with floggings, jailings, "deportation or death;" the Lawrence strike which drew into its many months of activity, and finally victory, dozens of the best strike organizers, including Elizabeth Curley Flynn, Joseph Ettor and Arturo Giovanitti—in all these, and others, Bill played his part.

When the Industrial Workers of the World was founded Bill sat in the chair. He continued a member of the I.W.W., even after the Western Federation of Miners, moving away from the militancy on which it was founded, left the I.W.W.

Bill had also joined the Socialist Party. In 1907, while in prison, he was nominated for governor of Colorado by the S. P., and polled 16,000 votes. In 1912, the Socialist Party, which could no more abide revolutionists in its midst than he, expelled him from its National Executive Board for "advocating violence."

The Bosses Were Always Out to Get Him

Bill was ever a target for the bosses and their police. They were always out to get him. In 1906, the bosses saw their opportunity. An ex-governor of Idaho had been murdered in December 1905. Haywood, Charles H. Moyer, president of the Federation, and G. A. Pettibone were arrested for the crime on the testimony of a

paid provocateur, Harry Orchard, who implicated the three.

The trial began in May 1907. Borah was attorney for the prosecution, Darrow for the defense. Unions all over the country contributed to the defense. Meetings protested the arrest, and demanded acquittal. There were witnesses everywhere to prove Orchard a liar. The jury brought in a verdict of "Not guilty!"

During the war, the drive against labor militants was particularly vicious. Union offices were everywhere raided. Workers were jailed. On April 1, 1918 there began the biggest of the anti-labor trials in the United States with Judge Konesaw Moftain Landis presiding. Haywood and 94 others "Wobblies" were charged with sedition. The defendants and their lawyers challenged the entire boss system. Bill called the six month trial "a protracted propaganda meeting."

Defense witnesses testified to the horrors to which labor militants had been subjected—the massacre of Frank Little, the lynching and torturing of workers by mobs of business men. The jury, in the hysteria of war-time democracy decided, after being out one hour, the defendants were "Guilty, as charged in the indictment."

Haywood was sentenced to twenty years, and fined \$30,000. On July 28, 1919 Haywood was released from jail, pending his application for a new trial. Bill immediately plunged into the work of the movement—touring the country, raising money for his imprisoned comrades.

In the meantime the split in the Socialist Party between the left and the right was maturing. When it came to a head in September 1919, Bill went with the left and became a member of the Communist Party soon after it was organized.

In the Soviet Land of Freedom

His application for a new trial was denied. Haywood decided to leave the country in disguise. "Saluting the old hag with her uplifted torch, I said: 'Good-by, you've had your back turned on me too long. I am now going to the land of freedom!'"

The Russian workers greeted him enthusiastically. Bill, arriving in the early years of the great edifice the workers there were trying to build. In the film, "Tsar to Lenin," you can see him standing shoulder to shoulder with Russian workers, smiling, at the second congress of the Communist International. In 1928, disheartened by the Stalinist bureaucracy which he saw growing around him, he died of a paralytic stroke.

A newspaperman tells the story that before Bill left, he met Bill smoking an expensive cigar. How, asked the news reporter, can you, a leader of the proletariat, smoke a rich man's cigar? "Nothing, answered Bill, is too good for the proletariat." Big Bill Haywood lived his life in that conviction: Nothing is too good for the proletariat!

ROOSEVELT SEEKS TO HUSH PROTEST ON RELIEF SLASH

Continued from page 1

ist or a spaced-out cut from then until June 30 which would total more than 1,500,000. "If, however, proper reserves were maintained . . . employment (on WPA) at the end of June would drop . . . to a figure of only slightly more than 1,000,000 persons."

He asks, therefore, for the restoration of the \$150,000,000 which he had originally suggested. This sum, far from keeping the rolls at their present level, much less providing jobs for those who the message itself states are in bitter need, envisages a reduction of the rolls "to an average of 2,700,000 workers in June." Actually, the reduction would have to be

THE FEBRUARY NEW INTERNATIONAL

The February number of the New International has been off the press now for several days. Featured are articles on the fall of Barcelona and Spain by Felix Morrow, and the W.P.A. and Armaments Program of the Roosevelt Administration. Many other significant articles also make up a very attractive and interesting issue. The complete

more than that: "maintaining proper reserves" would demand a cut of well over 500,000 even if the additional sum should be appropriated.

But the truth is that Roosevelt will not fight seriously for his measly \$150,000,000, totally inadequate as it is. He wants only "to make the record" and to forestall a genuine mass struggle by the unemployed for what they really need: WPA jobs for all unemployed workers at trade-union wages.

Table of contents of the February issue consists of:

- The Editor's Comments, Barcelona and France's Future, by Felix Morrow.
- Zionism and the Arab Struggle, from The Spark.
- Haya de la Torre and Democracy, by Diego Rivera.
- The German Left and Bolshevism, by Walter Held.
- Behind the Farmers' Vote, by David Cowles.
- Karl Kautsky, by Leon Trotsky.
- Is Austria a Nation? by Charles Crompton.
- A Letter and Some Notes, by Victor Serge and The Editors.
- Reading from Left to Right, by Dwight Macdonald.
- Chronicle of the French General Strike, by G. M.
- The Paradox of Australian Capitalism, by Stan. Bolland.
- Will India Accept Federation? by S. Stanley.

Copies of the February issue may be purchased for 20 cents a copy, subscription price two dollars per year, by writing The New International, 116 University Pl., New York, N. Y.