# In the Irade Unions

By B. J. WIDICK =

A rubber worker asked us to The Daily Worker says: it is leadership is so vehemently opposed to the present Wagner Having linked their fate to Labor Relations Act.

The best source of explana- everything. tion lies in the A.F.L. leadership itself.

In the current issue of the A.F.L. and C.I.O. leaders. They A.F.L. weekly news letter, live on memories of the spur William Green's fight against to unionization provided by the the Wagner Act is made clear, N.R.A. and the Wagner Act, locked-out generation. although, of course, the rea- and are blind to what has hapsons given are mainly reac- pened since Roosevelt gave up tionary. Just as the A.F.L. hope of solving the economic bureaucracy fight against the crisis by internal measures Act is reactionary.

### The Nub of the Question

the A.F.L. declares. It refers, and relief legislation. of course, to decrees of the National Labor Relations Wagner Act.

craft during the entire history W.P.A. demonstrations as yet sonality development blah crimination. of organized labor."

"The glove makers were part. practically one hundred per cent members of the A.F.L. glove workers union. The ma-jority of the clothing workers ers who feel on their own backs want jobs—not talk." After the petitions to the president and on his body from the terrible arose over representation."

"The clothing workers re- ilies. quested the Board to fuse the glove workers and declare them one unit. . . . The Board

as to hold that a carpenter who had voted for his A.F.L. union could not refuse to be represented by a C.I.O. liquor distillery workers' organization."

The A.F.L. statement significantly adds, "Everyone knows that in this country there are countless plants where single A.F.L. craftsmen, such as stationary engineers, electricians, carpenters and the like, are employed."

That brings us to the crux of the matter. It is absolutely inevitable that the N.L.R.B. 'favor'' industrial unions since collective bargaining is on a plant wide basis. We are for that policy 100 per cent.

## Against Labor's Interests

Industrial union interests won over craft interests in both cases cited by the A.F.L. statement. We remember how 14 A.F.L. craft unions were replaced in the Akron rubber shops by one industrial union. The workers benefitted more

under industrial unionism. But the threat to their craft positions and their placing of craft interests above the interests of the labor movement as a whole, causes the A.F.L. top leaders to struggle against any legislation or policy which even indirectly favors industrial unionism.

.The fact that the A.F.L. statement mentions as an example the incident of a carpenter is not accidental. Bill Hutcheson, carpenters' union president, is leader of the diehard clique in the A.F.L. council. His blind and selfish craft interest makes him the leader of the A.F.L. opposition to the present Wagner Act. Since his union has 300,000 members, his voice has been very powerful in A.F.L. council meetings. Hutcheson, whose role in the labor movement we explained recently in a column, is determined to preserve his bureaucratic privileges at all costs.

And, by the way, the A.F.L. opposition to Edwin Smith, N.L.R.B. member, is not a 'mistake' as commonly supposed. He happens to be strongly in favor of "one collective bargaining agency" for a plant, Industrial unionism, in other words. That is why Green centered so much fire

on him. The A.F.L. proposal to replace the present three man board with a five man board, along with other amendments, is a maneuver to make the N.L.R.B. pro-craft union if

Blind bureaucrats like Hutcheşon would even prefer no legislation and at least the abolition of the Wagner Act to anything which is not favorable to | ment which appears profitable at the present their reactionary philosophy.

# Legislators Unite to Force Relief Slashes

# **NEEDY WORKERS**

(Continued from Page 1)

explain why the A.F.L. top not the President talking. Slavish servility can go no further.

Less brazenly linked, but in and turned his face to conquest abroad. To secure the necessary solidarity of the capitalist ruling class for such a war for world mastery, Roosevelt has "Many craft unions are joined them in whittling down threatened with dissolution and to meaningless proportions the destruction by Board decrees," former concessions in labor Retchin, member of the local youth. Give Youth W.P.A. jobs ing because he had drunk two

Workers Will Answer

Board operating under the only bureaucrats: governmentransference of the two billion such projects. "For example, in the Fried- in the ranks and even higher the projects and immediate as- Federal Public Works and line torture chamber, otherwise Ostermann case the employer up, in the local leadership of manufactured both clothing the labor unions which must ing has always been a separate stirring. Isolated reports of was being smothered with "per-needy students without dis-car, and had escaped after

Regardless of what Bill ence to its feet and in a moment mer months. Green and John L. Lewis and 400 ringing young voices were The Committee has issued an has a two-month-old daughter. were members of a clothing the cost of the pro-Roosevelt session was over Retchin was Congress. Both may be obtain- beatings administered by the workers union not affiliated policies of their leaders are deluged with requests for in- ed by writing to the "Jobs for prison guards. When first arfor themselves and their fam- Youth" campaign.

PUSH WAR PLAN Yipsel "Jobs for Youth" So You Have No Money—Then to Lampaign Wins Support Special to the Socialist Appendix Append

Two Organizations Endorse Campaign Committee's Program of Aid to Nation's Locked-Out Generation

By W. K. MANUEL end result no better, are the week when two organizations to join in a campaign to de- and a fine of \$250 have been

tion of that city.

Chicago Youth Respond A Chicago N.Y.A. occupation-

Y.P.S.L. took the floor to de- at union wages.

In a statement calling for York City.

support of the Committee's pro-The fortnight-old "Jobs for gram, Lou Becker, National liam B. Ridgeway was conthe "Jobs for Youth" Cam- "No youth campaign in the the car which he was driving ed by the Young People's So- political and racial lines like convicted of drunken driving. cialist League (4th Internation- this one. Seven million jobless A total jail sentence of one voted their full support to the mand jobs from the Roosevelt imposed. Committee's program of imme- administration, which has been But high-powered legal talat its last meeting, as did the desperate plight of the jobless ing between the original con-Urban League of St. Paul, youth and to demand that the viction and the ruling of the Minn., leading negro organiza- government incorporate into higher court, Ridgeway con-

Committee Program 1. Convert the N.Y.A. into al conference held at Marcy "Youth W. P. A. Projects." W.P. A. worker in Barberton, Center on April 21 was thrown Abolish the "Supplementary industrial suburb of Akron, into an uproar when Arthur Aid" treatment given jobless was convicted of drunken driv-

mand conversion of N.Y.A. in- 2. Transfer the two billion He was immediately thrown But in Washington one sees to W.P.A. Youth Projects, dollar war budget to finance in jail. His finger prints led

The conference, called by the to the unemployed. and gloves. They were sepa- daily cope with the needs of Stalinist American Youth Con- 4. A \$500,000,000 student aid in prison for stealing 12 carrate departments. Glove mak- their membership, things are gress and local business men, program of assistance to all tons of cigarettes from a box

> reflect this stirring only in when Retchin's dramatic 5. No suspension of aid to tence. speech joited the youthful audi- needy students during the sum- The W.P.A. worker made his

(Special to the Socialist Appeal)
AKRON. O., May 3.—'l'hat
sublime capitalist justice which allows the rich and the poor alike to eat out of garbage cans wa's demonstrated here today in all its majestic righteousness.

City Council Member Wil-

needs of the youth. We have Court of Appeals last week uplaw our program of youth aid." tinued to serve in council.

Last month a 22-year-old

glasses of wine. to the discovery that he had been sentenced to seven years serving two years of the sen-

way to Barberton, married and

(Continued from Page 1) from this phoney insurance scheme.

The Ford leopard has not Youth" campaign, initiated by Director of the campaign, said: victed of manslaughter after changed his spots. Old Hank has not grown generous over-Stalinists must support him in paign Committee and support. United States has cut through killed a woman. He was also night. He is not out to help his employees, but to tie them up al), gained momentum last youth in the nation are eager year in the county workhouse agement. Every Ford worker branch and the East Chicago, weekly average back to 50, pany, that he will not dare diate aid for the nation's practically oblivious to the ent tied up the case until the his insurance investment. The and assure them that their Boston's North Shore C.I.Q. instituted this national cam- held Ridgeway's conviction. rious schemes of the old coal equally with those that were council endorsed the program pagn to draw attention to the During the eight months elaps- and iron kings who enslaved published. their wage earners by constantly keeping them in debt to the APPEAL POSTER NOW

corporation. Union Needed First and foremost the Ford

workers must organize a strong union of their own. They must win recognition and bargaining rights. The Ford workers, with and is to be worn by comrades such a union organization, can in cooperation with all other streets. autompbilé workers, begin a to reduce unemployment in the decorate their mantel-pieces, from 12 to 18 per issue. tal, labor and Stalinist. Down dollar war budget to finance 3. A twenty billion dollar escaped from a North Caro vide economic security for all to establish the 30-hour week with no reduction in pay throughout the automobile industry and the establishment of a minimum \$2,500 annual wage for all automobile workers.

Join the Socialist Workers Party

—for eight hours.

with the A.F.L. A dispute still in need of food and shelter formation about the "Jobs for Youth" Campaign Committee, rested in North Carolina, he extradition charges while "law the four children died.

"The May Day issue of the no matter how great APPEAL was great! It pound- tation is! ed home the necessity of a re- We also want to urge all lentless revolutionary program. branches who appreciate the It was a shot in the arm for work carried on by the Appeal the working class! Need I say Poster Shop to make use of it

PEAL."-A. C. of Green Bay, will serve the entire party. Wisconsin.

WE EXTEND OUR APOLOGIES:

more closely to the Ford man- greetings sent in by the Toledo must be made to bring our will be so obligated to the com- Indiana branch were omitted. We offer our apologies to the the list for this past week: move or breathe, lest he lose comrades of these branches Ford plan is just like the nefa- greetings were appreciated

IN MAILS:

The new Appeal poster has been completed and is already in the mails.

This is to be used only for branch and union headquarters who sell the paper in the

that I am convinced that the and also to send in donations Fourth International has the that will help purchase new only revolutionary program? equipment, tools, etc. With "Send me at once six more about \$50.00 more we can have issues of the May Day AP- an even finer poster shop that

Subscriptions have fallen off sharply the past two weeks and we are wondering whether it Through error the May Day will continue. Every effort where it stood before. Here's

FOREIGN ..... 6 New York City ..... 4 California ..... Chicago ..... 3 Pennsylvania ..... Washington, D. C..... Wisconsin ..... 2 Indiana ..... Missouri ..... 1 Total..... 26

The only bundle order increase came from abroad in They are not to be taken London where the Pioneer serious, well-planned campaign home by anyone and used to Bookshop increased its order

. . .

# sistance to all needy students. Housing program to give jobs known as a prison. He had be achieved by a great drive FOUR DIE IN NEW YORK TENEMENT HOUSE FIRE

He is now being held pending age was listed as "slight," but safe for human habitation "go

youngest was two years old, reach safety." the oldest six. Material dam-Only buildings that are un-

tied above his head to cell bars its usual "impartial" manner, present (N. Y. Times, May 3),

Four baby boys were burned | "had the fire occurred later at to death Tuesday evening night the building might have when a fire broke out in an gone up in a torch-like blaze old-law tenement at 28 Lewis and the fire trapped many of Street. New York City. The its occupants before they could

up in a torch-like blaze." In 116 University Place, New was strung up-his wrists were and order" is being upheld in In the opinion of the firemen New York City, there are 64,000 "old-law" tenements, not one of which is fit to be lived in. Yet hundreds of people do live in them because there are no

other homes they can afford. Legislature Ducks Issue The State legislature is now pressing for adjournment on May 12, less than a week hence. For a long time nothing had been heard from Albany about the five bills designed to implement the \$300,000,000 appropri-

ation authorized by the voters last year for slum clearance and erection of low-cost housing projects.

Now, with the session virtually over, there is at long last a conference to consider a slum clearance program. But there is considerable doubt that any action will be taken. The 'people's representatives" shy from courting the disfavor of their constituents by casting negative votes on housing proposals. But they shy, too, from sanctioning the appropriation and thus antagonizing the landlords and the moneyed interests they so slavishly serve. Better, they figure, to adopt the

Meanwhile, raging fires continue to take their horrible toll of lives of baby boys and baby girls, and men and women, young and old.

policy of just doing nothing.

# ANNOUNCEMENTS

FORUM-"Can the Democracies Stop Fascism?" Speaker, Neil White. Auspices: Socialist Workers Party (Downtown Branch). Time: Sunday, May 7th, 8 o'clock. Place: Downtown Labor Center, 51 East 7th Street.

FOR RENT-Attractive 3-room furnished apt. Frigidaire & incinerator. \$30 per month. 129 East 4th St. Gilinsky. ORchard 7-5439.

The first semester of the Karl Liebknecht School of the New York Division of the Y.P. S.L. having been successfully concluded, the Y.P.S.L. educational department is now opening the second term.

The Liebknecht school is featuring a new course which ought to prove very attractive to both party and Y.P.S.L. members. It is a four lecture course in the History of the Revolutionary Youth Movement. The lectures will be given by Martin Abern, manager of the New International, Max Shachtman, editor of the Appeal, Ernest Erber, editor of the Challenge of Youth and Nathan Gould, National Secretary of the Y.P.S.L.

Other courses are: Folkdancing: 5 weeks. Saturday, 12 to I-E. Lifshitz (Beginning May 13).

Elements of Marxism: 6 weeks. Saturday 1 to 2-E. Y.P.S.L. at Work: A course

in organizational principles: 6 weeks. Saturday, 2 to 3-Irving Bern, national organizational secretary of the Y.P.S.L. "All classes are held at 51 East 7th Street, N. Y. C.

# "In a recent decision (Finch case) the Board went so far THE PROBLEM OF THE UKRAINE - - - By Leon Trotsky

(Continued from Page 1)

of Georgia and on the question of the Ukraine. The correspondence dealing with these matters has remained unpublished to this day. We hope to publish a section of itthe very small section which is at our disposal. Every line of Lenin's letters and proposals vibrates with an urge to accede as far as possible to those nationalities that have been oppressed in the past. In the proposals and declarations of Stalin, on the contrary, the tendency to bureaucratic centralism was invariably pronounced. In order to guarantee "administrative needs," i.e., the interests of the bureaucracy, the most legitimate claims of the oppressed nationalities were declared a manifestation of petty-bourgeois nationalism. All these symptoms could be observed as early as 1922-1923. Since that time they have developed monstrously and have led to outright strangulation of any kind of independent national development of the peoples of the U.S.S.R.

The Bolshevik Conception Of Soviet Ukraine

In the conception of the old Bolshevik party Soviet Ukraine was destined to become a powerful axis around which the other sections of the Ukrainian people would unite. It is indisputable that in the first period of its existence Soviet Ukraine exerted a mighty attractive force, in national respects as well, and aroused to struggle the workers, peasants, and revolutionary intelligentsia of Western Ukraine enslaved by Poland. But during the years of Thermidorian reaction. the position of Soviet Ukraine and together with it the posing of the Ukrainian question as a whole changed sharply. The more profound the hopes aroused, the keener was the disillusionment. The bureaucracy strangled and plundered the people within Great Russia, too. But in the Ukraine matters were further complicated by the massacre of national hopes. Nowhere did restrictions, purges, repressions and in general all forms of bureaucratic hooliganism assume such murderous sweep as they did in the Ukraine in the struggle against the powerful, deeplyrooted longings of the Ukrainian masses for greater freedom and independence. To the totalitarian bureaucracy, Soviet Ukraine became an administrative division of an economic unit and a military base of the U.S.S.R. To be sure, the Stalin bureaucracy erects statues to Shevchenko but only in order more thoroughly to crush the Ukrainian people under their weight and to force it to chant paeans in the language of Kobzar to the rapist clique in the Kremlin.

Towards the sections of the Ukraine now outside its frontiers, the Kremlin's attitude today is the same as it is towards all oppressed nationalities, all colonies, and semicolonies, i.e., small change in its international combinations with imperialist governments. At the recent 18th Congress of the "Communist Party," Manuilsky, one of the most revolting renegades of Ukrainian communism, quite openly explained that not only the U.S.S.R. but also the Comintern (the "gyp-joint," according to Stalin's formulation) refused to demand the emancipation of oppressed peoples whenever their oppressors are not the enemies of the ruling Moscow clique. India is nowadays being defended by Stalin, Dimitroff and Manuilsky against-Japan, but not against England. Western Ukraine they are ready to cede forever to Poland in exchange for a diplomatic agree-

time to the bureaucrats of the Kremlin. It is

a far cry from the days when they went no further than episodic combinations in their

## Stalin, Hitler and The Ukraine

Not a trace remains of the former confidence and sympathy of the Western Ukrainian masses for the Kremlin. Since the latest murderous "purge" in the Ukraine no one in the West wants to become part of the Kremlin satrapy which continues to bear the name of Soviet Ukraine. The worker and peasant masses in the Western Ukraine, in Bukovina, in the Carpatho-Ukraine are in a state of confusion: Where to turn? What to demand? This situation naturally shifts the leadership to the most reactionary Ukrainian cliques who express their "nationalism" by seeking to sell the Ukrainian people to one imperialism or another in return for a promise of fictitious independence. Upon this tragic confusion Hitler bases his policy in the Ukrainian question. At one time we said: but for Stalin (i.e., but for the fatal policy of the Comintern in Germany) there would have been no Hitler. To this can now be added: but for the rape of Soviet Ukraine by the Stalinist bureaucracy there would be no Hit-

lerist Ukrainian policy. We shall not pause here to analyze the motives that impelled Hitler to discard, for the time being at least, the slogan of a Greater Ukraine. These motives must be sought in the fraudulent combinations of German imperialism on the one hand, and on the other in the fear of conjuring up an evil spirit whom it might be difficult to exorcize. Hitler gave Carpatho-Ukraine as a gift to the Hungarian butchers. This was done, if not with Moscow's open approval then in any case with confidence that approval would be forthcoming. It is as if Hitler had said to Stalin: "If I were preparing to attack Soviet Ukraine tomorrow I should have kept Carpatho-Ukraine in my own hands." In reply, Stalin at the 18th Party Congress openly came to Hitler's defense against the slanders of the "Western Democracies." Hitler intends to attack the Ukraine? Nothing of the sort! Fight with Hitler? Not the slightest reason for it. Stalin is obviously interpreting the handing over of Carpatho-Ukraine to Hungary as an act of peace.

# For a Free, Independent Soviet Ukraine!

This means that sections of the Ukrainian people have become so much small change for the Kremlin in its international calculations. The Fourth International must clearly understand the enormous importance of the Ukrainian question in the fate not only of Southeastern and Eastern Europe but also of Europe as a whole. We are dealing with a people that has proved its viability, that is numerically equal to the population of France and occupies an exceptionally rich territory which, moreover, is of the highest strategical importance. The question of the fate of the Ukraine has been posed in its full scope. A clear and definite slogan is necessary that corresponds to the new situation. In my opinion there can be at the present time only one such slogan: A united, free and independent workers' and peasants' Soviet Ukraine.

This program is in irreconcilable contradiction first of all with the interests of the three imperialist powers, Poland, Rumania, and Hungary. Only hopeless pacifist blockheads are capable of thinking that the emancipation and unification of the Ukraine can be achieved by peaceful diplomatic means, by referendums, by decisions of the League of Nations, etc. In no way superior to them, of course are those "nationalists" who propose to solve the Ukrainian question by entering the service of one imperialism against another. Hitler gave an invaluable lesson to these adventurers by tossing (for how long?) Carpatho-Ukraine to the Hungarians who immediately slaughtered not a few trusting Ukrainians. Insofar as the issue depends upon the military strength of the imperialist states, the victory of one grouping or another can signify only a new dismemberment and a still more brutal subjugation of the Ukrainian people. The program of independence for the Ukraine in the epoch of imperialism is directly and indissolubly bound up with the program of the proletarian revolution. It would be criminal to entertain any illusions on this score.

Soviet Constitution Admits Right of Self-Determination

But the independence of a United Ukraine would mean the separation of Soviet Ukraine from the U.S.S.R., the "friends" of the Kremlin will exclaim in chorus. What is so terrible about that? we reply. The fervid worship of state boundaries is alien to us. We do not hold the position of a "united and indivisible" whole. After all, even the constitution of the U.S.S.R. acknowledges the right of its component federated peoples to self-determination, that is, to separation. Thus, not even the incumbent Kremlin oligarchy dares to deny this principle. To be sure it remains only on paper. The slightest attempt to raise the question of an independent Ukraine openly, would mean immediate execution on the charge of treason. But it is precisely this despicable equivocation, it is precisely this ruthless hounding of all free national thought that has led the toiling masses of the Ukraine, to an even greater degree than the masses of Great Russia, to look upon the rule of the Kremlin as monstrously oppressive. In the face of such an internal situation it is naturally impossible even to talk of Western Ukraine voluntarily joining the U.S.S.R. as it is at present constituted. Consequently, the unification of the Ukraine presupposes freeing the so-called Soviet Ukraine from the Stalinist boot. In this matter, too, the Bonapartist clique will reap what it has sown.

But wouldn't this mean the military weakening of the U.S.S.R.? the "friends" of the Kremlin will howl in horror. We reply that the weakening of the U.S.S.R. is caused by those ever-growing centrifugal tendencies generated by the Bonapartist dictatorship. In the event of war the hatred of the masses for the ruling clique can lead to the collapse of all the social conquests of October. The source of defeatist moods is in the Kremlin. An independent Soviet Ukraine, on the other hand, would become, if only by virtue of its own interests, a mighty southwestern bulwark of the U.S.S.R. The sooner the present Bonapartist caste is undermined, upset, crushed and swept away, the firmer the defense of the Soviet Republic will become and the more certain its socialist future.

Against Imperialism and Moscow Bonapartism

Naturally an independent workers' and peasants' Ukraine might subsequently join the Soviet Federation; but voluntarily, on

conditions which it itself considers acceptable, which in turn presupposes a revolutionary regeneration of the U.S.S.R. The genuine emancipation of the Ukrainian people is inconceivable without a revolution or a series of revolutions in the west which must lead in the end to the creation of the Soviet United States of Europe. An independent Ukraine could and undoubtedly will join this federation as an equal member. The proletarian revolution in Europe, in turn, woud not leave one stone standing of the revolting structure of Stalinist Bonapartism. In that case the closest union of the Soviet United States of Europe and the regenerated U.S.S.R. would be inevitable and would present infinite advantages for the European and Asiatic continents, including of course the Ukraine, too. But here we are shifting to questions of second and third order. The question of first order is the revolutionary guarantee of the unity and independence of a workers' and peasants' Ukraine in the struggle against imperialism, on the one hand, and against Moscow Bonapartism, on the other.

The Ukraine is especially rich and experienced in false paths of struggle for national emancipation. Here everything has been tried: the petty-bourgeois Rada, and Skoropadski, and Petliura, and "alliance" with the Hohenzollerns and combinations with the Entente. After all these experiments, only political cadavers can continue to place hope in any one of the fractions of the Ukrainian bourgeoisie as the leader of the national struggle for emancipation. The Ukrainian proletariat alone is capable not only of solving the task-which is revolutionary in its very essence-but also of taking the initiative for its solution. The proletariat and only the proletariat can rally around itself the peasant masses and the genuinely revolutionary national intelligentsia. At the beginning of the last imperialist

war the Ukrainians, Melenevski ("Basok") and Skoropis-Yeltukhovski, attempted to place the Ukrainian liberation movement under the wing of the Hohenzollern General, Ludendorff. They covered themselves in so doing with left phrases. With one kick the revolutionary Marxists booted these people out. That is how revolutionists must continue to behave in the future. The impending war will create a favorable atmosphere for all sorts of adventurers, miracle-hunters and seekers of the golden fleece. These gentlemen, who especially love to warm their hands in the vicinity of the national question, must not be allowed within artillery range of the labor movement. Not the slightest compromise with imperialism, either fascist or democratic! Not the slightest concession to the Ukrainian nationalists, either clerical-reactionary or liberal-pacifist! No "People's Fronts"! The complete independence of the proletarian party as the vanguard of the toilers!

## For an International Discussion

This appears to me the correct policy in the Ukrainian question. I speak here personally and in my own name. The question must be opened up to international discussion. The foremost place in this discussion must belong to the Ukrainian revolutionary Marxists. We shall listen with the greatest attention to their voices. But they had better make haste. There is little time left for preparation! April 22, 1939.