

POWERS CONTINUE MANEUVERS FOR WAR ALLIANCES

In the Labor Unions

By B. J. WIDICK

Too many reports have been coming from Washington, D. C. in the last two months of a growing estrangement between John L. Lewis, C.I.O. chairman, and President Roosevelt to ignore any longer.

Certainly, the Lewis letter blaming the Roosevelt administration for the impasse in the coal strike can hardly make relations between them friendlier.

Lewis was chagrined by the failure of the Roosevelt administration to support legislation guaranteeing union rates and conditions, on all government armament orders, as we pointed out in a previous column of the Socialist Appeal.

Then Lewis let it be known in Washington that he was suspicious of Roosevelt's crusader policy in foreign affairs. Off the record he suggested to some reporters that he was an isolationist. At least his statements hinted strongly in that direction.

In his letter against the Roosevelt administration policy in the coal strike, Lewis made this very significant statement, referring to the fact that Kentucky, West Virginia, etc., were withholding unemployment benefits to the strikers: "The implications of this situation are obvious when one considers the political control in the four states in question."

Only Pennsylvania, with a recently elected Republican administration, has ruled that the strikers are entitled to unemployment insurance checks!

Union Sacred

Since Lewis can scarcely be classified as a dull politician, his attitude must be judged as reflecting to a large extent the feelings of his followers, especially the miners.

To the miners, one thing is sacred. That is the union. Unionism is part and parcel of their lives. All events and people are judged primarily by their effect on the union.

While Roosevelt has great personal popularity among the workers, it has been diminishing, and the empty stomachs of the miners will promote this growing tendency.

Under the impact of events Lewis' followers are beginning to realize that a policy of tail-ending the Roosevelt administration means continued retreat and weakening of the C.I.O.

Over two months ago we heard from a man who has been associating with Lewis for twenty years that he was thinking of switching his party allegiance again. It should be remembered that Lewis was a Republican for most of his life. And he considers the Southern Democrats and the Hugues as the most dangerous opponents of the C.I.O.

The fact that most of Lewis' strength in the labor movement centers around industrial areas which are heavily isolationist, furnishes a clue to his position on foreign policy. The "unreasonableness" of the Army and Navy departments on the armaments orders must also have cooled Lewis' ardor for supporting Roosevelt in a holy war against fascism.

Important Trend

The political implications of this new trend in the policies of Lewis—who is the decisive subjective factor in determining C.I.O. programs—are far-reaching and should be carefully borne in mind.

His blast at Roosevelt runs directly counter to the basic policy of his Stalinist allies who played down this angle of the coal strike in the Daily Worker. His private opinions on foreign policy, while not basically different, do likewise.

A more favorable setting for Labor Party agitation has been created as a result of his criticism of Roosevelt and the Democratic Party. It would be no easy job to switch the workers from one bankrupt party to another bankrupt party.

Postscript: Another reason for the coolness between Lewis and Roosevelt is the wakening of what Louis Stark, New York Times labor reporter, called the "big stick" by Roosevelt on the C.I.O. and the A.F. of L. to patch up a labor peace. The "big stick" happened to be a threat of compulsory arbitration of all labor disputes, we were informed.

NEW HEARINGS ON LUDLOW REFERENDUM

War Mongers Align Forces to Scotch Congress Discussion

By FELIX MORROW

Hearings on the Ludlow war referendum amendment to the Constitution were opened Wednesday by a subcommittee of the Senate Judiciary committee.

After the first day's session, it is already clear that the hearings will be no substitute for the full debate in Congress which has been demanded for two years by labor and liberal groups, but which President Roosevelt and the Democratic and Republican leaders of Congress have thus far succeeded in preventing.

The subcommittee in charge of the hearings is hostile to the amendment; Chairman Hatch and Senator Miller being recorded in opposition, while the remaining subcommittee members, Borah, is on the fence.

"Not Fit to Print" The first day's hearings received little coverage in the press. The New York Times made it the talk to another story, the Herald Tribune ignored it altogether as did the Daily Worker, and these were typical.

The present text of the proposed amendment itself embodies a new series of concessions to the war-makers. It now reads:

"Except in case of attack by armed forces, actual or immediately threatened, upon the United States or its territorial possessions, or by any non-American nation against any country in the Western Hemisphere, the people shall have the sole power by national referendum to declare war or to engage in warfare overseas. Congress, when it deems a national crisis to exist in conformance with this article, shall by concurrent resolution refer the question to the people.

"Congress shall by law provide for the enforcement of this section."

SHILL Anti-War Symbol The scope, actual and capable of construction, of the exceptions given Congress under which the people need not be consulted, are sufficient for almost any conceivable situation.

But even in this form, the proposed amendment has become a symbol of anti-war sentiment and hence an object of hostility and suppression by the Roosevelt administration. Why this is so was indirectly stated by Senator LaFollette, who was the first witness at the hearings.

War Plans Implied "The present Administration should favor this proposal, because it could only restrain a President who is committed to possible participation in foreign war, as Mr. Roosevelt has repeatedly said he is not," said LaFollette.

"Any one who raises the issue that this proposal will weaken or strengthen any group in Europe must do so upon the ground that we are to implement our foreign policy by active military support with an expeditionary force on foreign soil.

"To take this position is to challenge the good faith of every statement which has been made, so far as I know, by any responsible person speaking for the Administration. In short, it cannot be claimed that this measure affects in any way the struggle for power abroad, unless it is at the same time admitted that military measures on foreign soil are in contemplation."

In Plain English In other words—since the Senator from Wisconsin is too polite to utter them—the Roosevelt administration's opposition to the amendment flows from Roosevelt's plans to wage a war of conquest on foreign soil.

When the measure came up for vote in the House of Representatives on January 10, 1938—not for passage but for whether or not it would be brought on the floor for debate—Roosevelt himself took charge of mobilizing a majority against opening debate. He secured it, but only by eleven votes, and thanks to the war-hysteria created by the sinking of the American gunboat Panay in the Yangtze.

All attempts to secure public discussion in Congress since then have been crushed by the Democratic-Republican united front on foreign policy.

Russia Bids for Powers' Support --Japan Veers from Berlin Axis

For the first time since the current crisis set in, the Soviet government this week publicly demanded a full alliance with France and Great Britain as the price of its collaboration in the war front against Adolf Hitler.

The alternative, unmentioned but tacitly understood by all concerned, would be Russian cooperation with the Nazi Reich.

An official Tass communique, later expanded into a lengthy editorial in Izvestia, the Soviet Government organ, announced Soviet rejection of the British proposal that the Russians come to the aid of Poland and Rumania in the event that Britain and France go to war as a result of the guarantees they have extended to those countries.

"One-Sided" Plan This plan, the Soviet public statements averred, left the Soviet Union itself unguaranteed against attack and, in effect, really left the Russians holding the bag, because in reality only the Russians could extend effective aid to the Poles and Rumanians if the latter were attacked by Germany.

Neville Chamberlain hastened in a Commons speech to promise the Russians that they would not be obliged to extend such aid unless British and French forces were already in the field. This in turn the Russians rejected as a useless pledge and demanded instead a full-fledged alliance. This, so far, the British have been unwilling to accept. An arrangement was made for the French and British foreign ministers to meet with Vladimir Potemkin, the Soviet Vice-Commissioner of

Foreign Affairs, at Geneva on May 22, to see if a deal can yet be made. Here matters stood last Friday.

Not Much Good Actually what good would such an alliance be to Russia? Can the Russians seriously believe that the British and French will send any effective aid to the Soviets in case of a German attack on the U.S.S.R.? In his famous "chestnut-pulling" speech last March Stalin said that the Western powers would like nothing better than to get Germany and Russia at each other's throats—and in this, at least, he was quite right. It would still be the case, alliance or no alliance.

There can be no question that the German-Soviet soundings are continuing and have already had one extremely significant result: Japan has already veered from its "anti-Comintern" axis partners, Japan's fundamental imperialist strategy is based upon an eventual clash with Russia. Its continental drive, its invasion of China, is regarded as part of the broader plan for the invasion of the Soviet maritime provinces, for with the Russians established across the narrow strip of the Japan sea, the Japanese empire remains forever unsafe, in the view of the Tokyo militarists.

Japan in Tough Spot The "anti-Comintern pact" was the name given by Germany, Italy, and Japan, to their understanding that they would collaborate in a common drive against Russia. During the last few months while negotiations proceeded for the conversion of that pact from a se-

cret into an open military alliance, Japan hedged. It hedged because it did not want to risk being brought into a frontal clash with all the Western powers. In the end it refused to enter the open alliance, and there can be no question that the German-Soviet flirtation was one of the principal reasons for this decision.

The army organ in Tokyo, Kokumin Shinbun, which for months was the most ardent partisan of Japan's entry into a public alliance, abruptly last week shifted its ground and angrily declared that Japan could "get along without" Germany and Italy in its "fight against communism." At the same time the Japanese tried to check the Anglo-Soviet negotiations by warning the British that an alliance between Britain and Russia might force Japan after all to plunge definitely into the German-Italian camp.

Passport Forgers Are Sentenced to Two-Year Terms By NAT LEVINE NEW YORK.—Ossip Garber, Aaron Sharfin and Edward Blatt, whom a jury convicted last week of a criminal conspiracy to forge American passports, were each sentenced to two years in prison on Tuesday, May 9, by Federal Judge Henry W. Goddard.

Chief U. S. Attorney, John T. Cahill, in pressing for a maximum sentence, declared that the three men were "associates of an agent of a foreign State," referring to Adolph Arnold Rubens, under whom the three convicted men functioned.

Rubens Was "Ewald" Rubens, now imprisoned in Moscow, was identified by Walter G. Krivitsky, former head of the Soviet Military Intelligence in Western Europe, as a Russian secret agent who served under him at Moscow. Krivitsky, in an interview with the Baltimore Sun, May 5, described Rubens as a G.P.U. agent of Latvian birth named Ewald.

That the Rubens ring was being used by the G.P.U. to frame the revolutionary movement was indicated when the staged arrest in Moscow of Rubens and his wife in November 1937 was justified and explained by the Soviet Embassy in Washington on the ground that the couple "might well be Trotskyists."

The refusal of Mrs. Rubens to accept the proffered aid of American Embassy officials immediately after she was arrested in Moscow indicated that she was cooperating with the G.P.U. to link both her and her husband to a "Trotskyist plot" against Stalin.

Embassy Myth Exploded The apprehension of Rubens' American accomplices by United States agents investigating passport frauds threw a monkey wrench into the G.P.U.'s plan for a show trial at which Rubens would "confess" to a "plot" against the Kremlin. The striking revelations by Krivitsky of Rubens' real identity now explodes the myth that he, his wife or any of the convicted men were in any way associated with the Trotskyists. In addition to Krivitsky's identification of Rubens as a G.P.U. agent, here is the knowledge that each of the convicted men was associated in various capacities with the American Communist Party.

The prosecution avoided indicating the Stalinist connections of the convicted men during the trial. It is believed that this procedure was dictated by the State Department. The guarded allusion made by Cahill to a "foreign state" was the first reference to these connections made by the U. S. Attorney. The stand of the State Department is dictated by a solicitude for the Stalin clique, which is regarded as a future possible ally in the coming war for "democracy."

SITUATION ON COAST HIRING HALLS IS ACUTE

Order by Maritime Commission Ignoring Union Raises Issue

(Special to the Socialist Appeal) WASHINGTON.—The Maritime Commission announced May 10 that it intended to ignore union hiring halls on the West Coast in manning four ships of its recently-organized Pacific Northwest Oriental Line.

Chairman E. S. Land of the commission deliberately refused to accede to the request of the Sailors Union of the Pacific and other maritime unions that the commission follow the standard West Coast policy of hiring sea-going crafts through union halls.

Recently, the Sailors Union of the Pacific membership took a strike vote and threatened to shut down the entire West Coast unless this government move to introduce flunk halls and to bust the union hiring halls was stopped.

The announcement of the maritime commission, which is in direct contradiction to a promise made in a letter of Harry Hopkins, secretary of commerce, to Harry Lundeberg, S.U.P. secretary-treasurer, brings the situation to an acute stage.

Hopkins told Lundeberg that the Bureau of Inspection, which is under his jurisdiction as Secretary of Commerce, would do its hiring through union halls, and close its East Coast halls.

W.P.A. Abandons Widely Heralded Adult Education

(By a Staff Writer) NEW YORK CITY, May 9.—Halted three years ago as a force for the preservation of democracy, the adult education forums have been abandoned by the W.P.A. in this city as part of Roosevelt's program to cut relief and smash every democratic institution in the United States in preparation for war.

Set up in 1935, the forums were held in schools, neighborhood clubs, union halls and churches with the idea of stimulating discussion of all points of view on controversial subjects. It was characterized by the Roosevelt administration at that time as a restoration of direct participation of the public in civic affairs which characterized the town meetings in colonial days.

Thousands Attended Between 1935 and 1937 more than 200,000 New Yorkers attended the forums. The project employed thousands of instructors.

Said the cynical Colonel Somervell, local W.P.A. administrator, in pronouncing obituary of the project: "Soap boxes are too cheap in New York to justify the cost of maintaining forums."

He announced at the same time the educational and recreational projects sponsored by the W.P.A. in conjunction with the Board of Education would be reduced drastically and that further layoffs are certain before the new school year starts in September. In 1938 the W.P.A. spent \$27,275,295 on Board of Education enterprises, including the construction and repair of school buildings.

MAYORS SAY RELIEF CUTS DISASTROUS

(Continued from Page 1) dependent upon relief, a total of 650,000 get help in some form. He added that it was absolutely impossible for the city of Chicago to take care of any who were thrown off the rolls if further relief slashes were carried out. Further taxes, he said, could not be added to those already imposed. He too failed to call for the turning over to the relief of the unemployed, yet he expressed his fear of what might happen should Roosevelt's program go through when he declared: "It is not a question of how we can afford relief, but of how we can afford not to provide relief."

TO THE READERS OF THE Russian Bulletin: The latest issue of the Russian Bulletin, No. 75-76, arrived and can be gotten at 118 University Pl., 2nd floor. Ask for Sylvia Caldwell.

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APPEAL ARMY

SUGGESTIONS FROM THE BRANCHES:

"I should like to forward a suggestion to sub-getters. Many times it is difficult for a worker to part with a dollar bill all at once. We find that many good prospects are lost because of this. Over half of the subs I have obtained (and this comrade is one of our ace sub-getters) were secured on the installment policy. In some cases I have started out with as low as 10c and worked my way up to the dollar bill over a period of a few weeks. This has been particularly successful in my shop. There are approximately ninety workers employed normally; of these nine are already reading the Appeal twice a week. I am confident that in the course of the next few months at least 50% of the shop will be getting the Appeal through the mails.

"There is no reason why this experience cannot be duplicated all over the country. Comrades must be impressed with the extreme value of our paper for agitation among the workers. One sub to the Appeal will make more Trotskyists than 1,000 haphazard talk-fests!" — Bob O. of Los Angeles.

We agree 100% with the above remarks and especially call their attention to those of our friends and comrades who work in shops with other workers. Bob has shown that this works in practice by having sent in 10 subs himself in the past two months!

From Akron, Ohio we receive the following suggestion, via England:

"A letter which I received from an English comrade last week suggests this method of canvassing the Appeal. Take a block of houses and canvass them with the paper for four issues. Do the block thoroughly each time and take down the number of the apartment where the occupant bought a copy. At the end of four weeks you will have four separate lists of people who have bought the paper from one to four

times. Then make up a list of all those who have bought the paper any one of the four times. These people may be considered as readers. Then assign one particular person who is to deliver and sell them the paper regularly each time it comes out. Thus, you know who will buy the paper and who is not interested. In this way you can get into personal contact with many workers." — Paul Fielding of Akron, O.

The Akron branch is carrying out this system and we are anxious to hear what results it will bring. It sounds like an extremely effective plan, especially for those branches that are small in size and which have to concentrate their efforts.

SPECIAL COMBINATION OFFER:

The special combination offer of the New International, Socialist Appeal and "Fascism and Big Business" should give every branch and comrade an opportunity to gather in plenty of new subscriptions.

Next week we are launching a special drive to get renewals for the Appeal. In combination with this drive we now have this special offer which should be very useful in visiting those former subscribers who have failed to renew their subscriptions. More on this later.

Here's the sub list for the past week which represents the lowest point we've reached for a long time. We've got to pick up and the campaign for sub renewals we are launching can be the means of doing this:

CALIFORNIA	8
New York City	5
Chicago	3
Ohio	3
Minneapolis	2
St. Louis	2
Forcin	1
St. Paul	1
Newark	1
Connecticut	1
Total:	25

MAY NEW INTERNATIONAL OUT

Issues of International and national importance vie for attention in a brilliant May number of The New International. The correspondence between Leon Trotsky, Fourth Internationalist leader, and the leaders of the French P.S.O.P., Marceau Pivert and Daniel Guerin is published. The course of this important French working class party, which French Fourth Internationalists recently joined, is amply reviewed in this exchange of letters, and undoubtedly will have an effect on future developments of the P.S.O.P.

The collapse of Roosevelt's "New Deal" and its replacement by what is now fittingly described as the "War Deal," is subjected to the keen scalps of the editors. "The Editor's Comments" have long been regarded as among the most thorough of Marxist reviews and interpretations of the events and problems of the day.

Stalinist Role One of the finest exposures of the reactionary chauvinist development of Stalinism is contributed by Jacques Deil of Paris in his article, "The International of Universal Chauvinism."

Dwight Macdonald's very popular column, "Reading from Left to Right" concerns itself with some of the absurdities of recent White House and New Deal statements and acts, plus a continuation of the work and role of the Congressional Monopoly Investigating Committee.

Additional features of the May issue include the following: The concluding articles by Jerry Pytlak on "The Economics of Cotton Farming," and Gregory Zinoviev's magnificent series on "Wars — Defensive and Aggressive."

A paper by "Alpha" entitled, "Learn to Work in the Stalinist Manner."

Book Reviews Recent books by C. L. R. James, Lewis Mumford and James Rorly are reviewed by George E. Novack. Dr. Paul Luttinger and Felix Morrow. The books are "The Black Jacobins" and "A History of Negro Revolt"; "Men Must Act" and "American Medicine Mobilizes." Correspondence on the Irish question and socialized medicine conclude one of the most attractive, readable and significant issues of The New International.

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