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FIGHT WITH THE SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY FOR:

1. A job and a decent living for every worker.
2. Open the idle factories—operate them under workers' control.
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4. Thirty-thirty! \$30-weekly minimum wage—30-hour weekly maximum for all workers on all jobs.
5. Thirty dollar weekly old-age and disability pension.
6. Expropriate the Sixty Families.
7. All war funds to the unemployed.
8. A people's referendum on any and all wars.
9. No secret diplomacy.
10. An independent Labor Party.
11. Workers' Defense Guards against vigilante and Fascist attacks.

Minneapolis Elections

T. A. Eide, organized labor's candidate for Mayor in last Monday's Minneapolis elections, was hardly known to anyone except active trade unionists before his nomination. All the more significant are the 75,000 votes cast for him, but a few thousand short of victory.

All the more significant were these votes, too, in the face of disastrous defeats of labor-endorsed candidates throughout the country during the last year, in the face of the indubitable growth of reaction. All the more significant in contrast to Farmer-Labor Governor Benson's annihilating defeat last November.

The key to understanding Eide's splendid run is to understand why a half million voters who were for Benson in 1936 were for the Republican Stassen in November, 1938. Two years of the New Deal had intervened; all its promises had proved empty, and the New Deal had become the War Deal. When the labor movement, instead of presenting its own candidates, backed the War Deal, millions of votes that would have gone for independent labor candidates were instead cast against the status quo; and since the only alternative to the status quo was the Republicans, these deluded millions voted Republican.

The Minneapolis trade union municipal campaign represented the widening rift between labor support and the War Deal—a move from Rooseveltism to independent class action. That break was not clearly etched in positive terms, but the tendency was indicated by programmatic demands on issues which the War Deal has ducked — jobs and relief, housing, rights of unions, etc. Almost all the candidates were active trade unionists. Unfortunately an apparatus had to be built overnight, and on a temporary basis, for the old Farmer-Labor Party was dead and the unions were not ready for a permanent Labor Party organization, many union leaders hoping to re-organize the Farmer-Labor Party on a state basis afterward. But essentially the municipal campaign was a great step forward in presenting independent labor political action as the real alternative to the War Deal.

Equally significant is it to understand that in making this turn from being a tail to the War Deal to standing at the head of the oppressed masses, the labor movement will find its most perfidious opponent to be the Communist Party. That organization, which is neither communist nor a party, is the most frenzied supporter of the War Deal, and will leave no stone unturned in destroying an independent Labor Party movement.

A Stalinist dispatch dated June 12—the day before the election—to the Daily Worker says that "Trotskyite activity has weakened the progressive campaign" — how? By "constantly claiming that the united progressive ticket is a 'trade union slate'!" And the next day the Stalinist sheet had the effrontery to report that "the narrow gap that separated the progressives from victory . . . resulted mainly from the failure to make clear to the people of the city that the Farmer-Labor candidates defended the New Deal objectives." The argument itself is of course beneath contempt, for precisely because he identified himself with the New Deal, Benson was annihilated and with him the Farmer-Labor Party last November. But what is significant is that the Stalinists are so determined to keep organized labor yoked to the War Deal that they will do anything, literally anything, to maintain

that yoke. Anything includes sabotaging a campaign which, like Eide's, was a break away from the War Deal and a step toward an independent Labor Party program.

As in the task of furthering militant tactics in the trade unions for economic demands, so in the task of militant labor politics, the trade union movement can advance only as it rids itself of the syphilis of Stalinism.

Hague and the C.I.O.

Following the anti-Hague decision of the Supreme Court and the more or less undisturbed meeting of the Civil Liberties Union in Jersey City, the liberals and the labor bureaucratic friends of the Democratic party have again filled the air with their praises of the Supreme Court, the virtues of democracy and the burial of Mayor Hague.

We've heard that before, in fact every time some court, or some statesman signed his name to what immediately became a scrap of paper in Hague's domain. Hague did not come into power by means of solemn and imposing sheets of paper, and he will not be unseated that way. He rose to power because he represented a growingly aggressive organized force, with a clear-cut, unambiguous anti-labor program. He can be smashed, and labor's rights restored in Jersey City, only by an equally militant, organized force, with an equally clear-cut, unambiguous pro-labor program.

The secretary of the New Jersey Industrial Union Council, C.I.O., who apparently knows the situation a little better than some of his starry-eyed fellow officials, was, according to the C.I.O. News Service, "skeptical about the decision's ability to take the sting out of Hague's vehement anti-unionism."

"The Supreme Court decision will help a lot," he said, "but it will drive Hague underground. There he will try to mobilize his supposed-to-be veterans and his other stooges to foment trouble against us."

Secretary Goldsmith is substantially correct. Hague is not demobilizing his reactionary mobsters. They are still on tap—functioning a little less ostentatiously for a time, perhaps — prepared to maintain Hague in power and keep labor under their heel.

To try facing these mobsters with a copy of Supreme Court paper is foolhardy as well as futile. Hagueism, like fascism in general, can be smashed only by mobilizing the militant, trained forces of the labor movement.

And that means: Union Defense Guards, the shield of labor in its resistance to reaction's march.

Martin Dies' Ideal

In his May report to his National Committee, Earl Browder, party secretary, who looks under his bed each night for "Trotskyist and Lovestonite spies," describes them as follows:

"They are impatient for 'revolutionary action'; they talk runs to 'blood and thunder'; they are the advocates of 'violent overthrow of the government' who are Martin Dies' ideal of a Communist."

We pick up a book called *State and Revolution* issued in a new edition by Browder's publishing house seven years ago. The author of the book was a man named Lenin. Also, he was a Communist and, if we may say so, a genuine Communist.

On page 18, Lenin writes: "Fifthly, in the same work of Engels, from which every one remembers his argument on the 'withering away' of the state, there is also a disquisition on the significance of a violent revolution. The historical analysis of its role becomes, with Engels, a veritable panegyric on violent revolution. This, of course, 'no one remembers'; to talk or even to think of the importance of this idea is not considered good form by contemporary socialist parties [Hear, hear, Browder!], and in daily propaganda and agitation among the masses it plays no part whatever."

On page 20: "It [the bourgeois state] cannot be replaced by the proletarian state (the dictatorship of the proletariat) through 'withering away' but, as a general rule, only through a violent revolution."

Again, on the same page: "The necessity of systematically fostering among the masses *this* and just this point of view about violent revolution lies at the root of the whole of Marx's and Engels' teaching. The neglect of such propaganda and agitation by both the present predominant social-chauvinist and the Kautskyst currents brings their betrayal of Marx's and Engels' teaching into prominent relief. The replacement of the bourgeois by the proletarian state is impossible without a violent revolution."

Browder ends his report by saying that "we have the party for which they [the people] have been looking, a party worthy of our great principles and aims, a party worthy of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin."

If only he had left out the names of Marx, Engels and Lenin, he would have been literally and scientifically exact.

Browder Starts Sweeping Purge of C. P. in Grand Manner of Stalin

Report to Communist Party's National Committee, Which Undergoes Several Changes in Its Published Versions, Announces Plans for Purge to Meet Growing Discontent

(Continued from Page 1)
or work in state office technical staffs; some are found in section leading committees."

Browder further reveals that he has had his own G.P.U. at work hunting down malcontents and all others who, for one reason or another, are scheduled for the axe. The espionage work, he declares, has been carried out for some time without the knowledge of the party membership, of even the whole leadership which is supposed to direct all the work of the party and its secretary.

"This knowledge is the result of intensive investigation by the National Committee, without engaging the whole Party membership or even the leading cadres in a spy hunt. A considerable number of these enemy agents have been removed from the Party; others disappeared as they realized they were under suspicion. BUT THE PROBLEM IS STILL BEFORE US."

(Our emphasis.)
In his report, Browder further indicates that one of the reasons for the frank "spy hunt" which is now on in the open, is to find scapegoats for the debacles of the Browder leadership, which is itself probably under heavy pressure and criticism from its bosses in Moscow.

LOSING GROUND ON MANY FRONTS

The Stalinists have been losing ground on many fronts, including the trade unions, and the revulsion against their reactionary policies is producing the inevitable reaction in the membership records. Twice in his report Browder takes note of this phenomenon:

"As our Party membership approaches the 100,000 mark, we have noted a slackening of the rate of growth. This is an almost infallible sign of the accumulation of unsolved problems of adjustment of the Party to its tasks and environment."

The "unsolved problems" re-

ferred to evidently include the problem of the "purge."

"We have adjusted our expectations of growth," Browder says later on in his report, "to that which can reasonably be expected to be assimilated into long-term activity. Our immediate problem is revealed by the rate of growth beginning to fall even below this reasonable expectation."

Another reason for the purge is indicated by Browder elsewhere in his report, namely, that all criticism of the reactionary, pro-imperialist policy of the Stalinist leadership made by discontented party members, is to be discredited in advance as the work of spies and informers. Here too the Kremlin technique is being copied to the letter, and any party member who dares henceforth express his disagreement with the almighty party bureaucracy and its policies will be subject to immediate expulsion as a "Trotskyist-Lovestonite spy and wreckers!"

—to use Browder's own terms. "Their (the 'Trotskyist' and 'Lovestonite' 'spies and provocateurs') main occupation is furnishing 'revolutionary' reasons for the performance of reactionary deeds. They are constantly searching for 'contacts' among Party members, especially discontented ones, for whom they have an established technique to transform into active agents."

(The last sentence is not a defect in Browder's syntax; it's the literal translation from the Russian.)

DESCRIBES VICTIMS OF THE PURGE

That there is dissatisfaction with the official Stalinist line—pro-war, pro-Roosevelt, anti-revolutionary — may be gathered from the way in which Browder describes the intended victims of the purge.

"A higher type of provocateur is the one sent into the Party to obtain, or already equipped with, political training which he is instructed to

utilize for creating differences and disputes, which he tries to lead toward the crystallization of factions. Such agents are always 'more revolutionary' than the Party leadership and the members generally; they are impatient for 'revolutionary action'; their talk runs to 'blood and thunder'; they are the advocates of 'violent overthrow of the government' who are Martin Dies' ideal of a Communist. Their special purpose, besides furnishing employers and police with 'evidence,' is to exert influence upon the activities of the Party toward sectarianism, to create an atmosphere of conspiracy and suspicion, to appear themselves as 'spy hunters.'"

That the purge is not directed at the occasional real stool-pigeon, and not even only at discontented rank and filers, but also and perhaps primarily at prominent party officials, is also made clear by Browder. Just as Stalin had to have men like Zinoviev and Bukharin presented as "enemies of the people" for a period of time dating back to the Bolshevik revolution and even before that, Browder, on his own pettier scale, is framing up his present colleagues, unnamed for the time being, as "wrecking agents" for the past twenty years!

In his report he hints broadly that the leadership of the Communist Party as far back as 1922—that is, nineteen years ago—was composed of "clever and subtle wrecking agents" and spies. Added significance is given to these references by Browder's pointing to the fact that such "agents" not only "abound in the trade unions and work among the newer, less experienced organizations of the Party," but are also represented in the higher committees of the party.

There can be no doubt that the Stalinist party in this country is in for a tremendous shakeup along the lines made so notorious by Stalin in the Soviet Union.

Texas Bosses Resort to Courts In Offensive Against Unionists

By a Special Correspondent

HOUSTON, June 10—A month ago a Harris County Grand Jury began an investigation of "labor violence" and "communist activities" in the Houston labor movement. This followed directly on the heels of a year of rapid progress of both the C.I.O. and the progressive A.F.L. unions. Houston has had some hard fought strikes: the C.I.O. Oil Workers Union, the A.F.L. Longshoremen's strikes, the 7-Up strike of the Teamsters and, recently, the N.M.U. Tanker strike. The courage and endurance of the organized labor movement having proved too much for the bosses, they have resorted to the law courts to stop the rapid organization of Houston.

Pretext and Reality
The immediate excuse for the Grand Jury investigation was the threat of American Can Co. to close its strike-bound plant for good, as the small Bewley Mills, where the Teamsters were striking, had done the week before. This old dodge failed to impress the striking members of the C.I.O. Steel Workers Union, but it served as an excuse for the bosses to throw the labor hating press into a panic.

The boss papers, including the "liberal" Scripps Howard Press, carried scare headlines day after day, predicting that Houston would become another "ghost city" like Akron is supposed to be, featuring fantastic statements of the Real Estate Board that "\$16,000,000 worth of investments was being driven away from Houston." This forced temporarily onto the back page the very news that gave the lie to the front page propaganda: the continued rise in 1940 building permits (industrial and residential) toward the second million dollars' worth, the fact that Houston is almost the only city in the United States that is building at the 1929 level.

Labor Skates Cowardly
The first move of the A.F.L. Central Trades Council, in which the progressives are in a minority, was to decree that no strike will receive their support unless they are consulted beforehand. This they followed

with newspaper statements promising to "clean house" of all radicals—thus giving their sanction to the boss lie that is being used to smear and smash the labor movement here.

A delegation of reactionaries from the Trades Council visited the Mayor to assure him that they were as worried as he over the influx of "radical agitators" and they would do everything possible to stop the violence that was ruining our fair city.

Violence Against Labor

Meanwhile the Grand Jury performed an amazing job of glossing over the real cause of violence here, while daily smearing the union movement. Frank Hamer, ex-Texas Ranger, and notorious anti-labor deputy, on the pay roll of most of the town's largest concerns, testified concerning the highly imaginary "beef-squads" imported from Chicago for various strikes, but entirely overlooked the role of the notorious men, commissioned by the state government, whom the companies hire at the first threat of a strike to "protect their property." These company police have followed, in strike after strike, the worst traditions of their kind, by provoking violence in order to hold their jobs longer. They have even offered to pay strikers to continue to "stir up disturbances."

Workers, beaten up by bosses' thugs are refused the right to file charges in the city courts. Notices are left on the doors of union members warning them to "get out of town." Bondsmen have been stopped from bonding union men.

Mayor Leads Pack

Mayor Holcombe, elected last fall as "labor's man," with the endorsement of most of the C.I.O. and A.F.L. unions secured by the Stalinist stooges and old line labor leaders, has taken the lead in this vicious anti-labor campaign. A true boss politician, as soon as the bosses needed him he dropped all pretence of being "pro-

labor." He has started his own investigation, and is making a blacklist of "agitators, communists, and bad eggs" in the local Teamsters and C.I.O. unions, whom he demands that the unions expel, or else, "the city will get rid of them its own way."

Monday, June 5, Sewall Meyers, city attorney, who is also retained by the State A.F.L. Federation, declared before the Ministerial Alliance that "28 Communists had been imported from Detroit" who were responsible for this "labor disorder"—as this A.F.L. lawyer terms the exercise of labor's right to picket and fight off boss violence. He also charged that a certain firm of labor lawyers—Mandell and Combes—who are retained by the Teamsters and C.I.O. unions, were responsible for the violence. This is a joke to those who know the real role of these legal parasites on the labor movement. They have done everything in their power to keep the workers from militant action by raising the fear of boss injunctions on each and every occasion, and by encouraging them to put complete confidence in the N.L.R.B. and the "liberal" Holcombe administration.

"Is it against the state law to be a communist?" asked E. J. Cunningham, N.M.U. strike chairman. "It is as far as I am concerned," replied the Stalinist-supported mayor.

Mandell and Combes have just counselled the N.M.U. Strike Committee to turn over their picket records to the Grand Jury. (Contrast this with the way the same problem was handled by the Minneapolis Teamsters.)

This boss offensive has well even closer together the progressive C.I.O. and A.F.L. unions.

The response of the progressive unions has included leaflets, protest delegations and newspaper statements. On Friday, June 10, there was a 10-hour boycott of The Rice, Houston's most aristocratic hotel, by the Taxi drivers in answer to unreasonable police restrictions. This showed the real fighting spirit of the Houston workers. They will fight for the unions they have built.

IN THIS CORNER

By Max Shachtman

Some Additional Comments On Earl Browder's Report

Elsewhere in this issue is reported the purge that has been going on quietly in the Communist Party for some time and is now openly proclaimed in Earl Browder's report to the party National Committee early in May.

There is one part of Browder's report, however, which is so sensationally important and at the same time so deliberately obscured by its author, that it deserves and requires elaboration. Speaking of "spies" who "are always 'more revolutionary' than the Party leadership," Browder adds:

"A historical example was the government police agent, Morrow, who was sent to the Bridgeman Convention of the Communist Party in 1922, and cast the deciding vote between the two equal factions that deadlocked the convention. Those two factions, as we learned later, were the work of more clever and subtle wrecking agents, who came to blossom later as the Trotskyites and Lovestonites, who were not cleaned out of the Party until 1928-1929. Since that time, this type of agent has had a more difficult job, but they abound in the trade unions and work among the newer, less-experienced organizations of the Party."

And: "We know that some of them ('spies') have been or are members of state committees or work in state office technical staffs; some are found in section leading committees. This knowledge is the result of intensive investigation by the National Committee, without engaging the whole Party membership or even the leading cadres in a spy hunt."

Who Will Be the Victims?

Those familiar with the gradual but inexorable manner in which Stalin, starting with obscure figures, ended up with men like Zinoviev, Bukharin and Rakovsky, will not fail to recognize the stereotyped pattern disclosed by the quoted paragraphs. Those familiar with the history of the Communist Party in the United States will not fail to recognize, in Browder's anonymous references, the names of the victims slated for the American purge.

The first victims of the Stalin murder-bund following the death of S. M. Kirov were, it will be recalled, obscure and for the most part unnamed young communists in Leningrad. Zinoviev and Kamenov merely bore the "moral responsibility" for Kirov's assassination. Only later were they charged with directly plotting and organizing the killing of the Leningrad party boss. And still later, Zinoviev, Rakovsky, Bukharin and Trotsky had the origins of their crimes located at the very dawn of the revolution, which, considering the names of the men involved in these charges, "proved" that the Bolshevik Revolution was organized and led by a gang of German and British spies.

Following the same procedure, Browder now presents the "Trotskyists and Lovestonites" who have been counter-revolutionists and spies since they were expelled in 1928-1929, as having been spies and "more clever and subtle wrecking agents" as far back as 1922. And since it must have required some time before the convention to organize their "wrecking" they must have been at it for two or three years before 1922, that is, at the very birth of the Communist Party in the United States.

But more important, for the moment, is the self-evident fact that not all the leaders of the "two equal factions that deadlocked the convention" are expelled and triply-accused Trotskyists and Lovestonites. Many of them, and not the least important of those days in 1922 at Bridgeman, continue — "clever and subtle wrecking agents" that they are! — to occupy commanding posts in the Communist Party leadership today. And it is they — and not Cannon or Lovestone — whom Browder has in mind when he utters these ominous sentences.

A Few of the Men Involved

Who are the men involved in this "historical example"? Here are a few of the leaders of the two 1922 factions which, "as we learned later" (When? From whom? Who confessed?) "were the work of more clever and subtle wrecking agents."

There was William Weinstone, first New York and more recently Detroit party commissar; William Z. Foster, still chairman (as we go to press) of the Communist party; William F. Dunne, about whom so very little is heard nowadays; Max Bedacht, boss of the International Workers Order; the two New York state party satchems, Israel Amter (a violent opponent of the Comintern decision in favor of a legal party in 1922—looks bad for him!) and Charles Krumbeln; Herbert Benjamin (is he referred to in Browder's remark about "their main fields of work are in mass organizations of a progressive character"?); Alexander Bittelman, one of the fiercest factionalists of them all, and without doubt a British spy from that day to this; Alfred Wagenknecht, removed only the other day as St. Louis organizer of the C.P. (already! Remember Yagoda!); and last but far from least, BROWDER HIMSELF!

Now, if the two factions of 1922 were the "work of more clever and subtle wrecking agents," are we going to be so gullible as to believe that Browder, who led one of the factions, was only an innocent victim of the wreckers? To be sure, he will protest that he was guiltless and didn't know the foul ends he was being used for; so also, when their time comes, will Foster and Bittelman and Minor and Amter and God knows who else. But who will believe them? Didn't they all protest their innocence at first in Moscow—only to "confess the truth" in the end?

Fortunately for Foster and/or any of Browder's other intended victims, the "General Secretary" in this country does not have at his disposal all of Stalin's means for extorting confessions which Krivitsky describes in such horrifying detail in the current Saturday Evening Post. Browder has no armed bands of G.P.U. assassins, no private prisons, no concentration camps, no Siberia, no cemeteries for the recalcitrants. He only has a powerful machine for lying and the power of expulsion from the party.

But these two weapons he intends to use to the full. Foster, Weinstone, Dunne, Wagenknecht, Amter and Co. cannot possibly have any illusions on that score. Haven't they already used them against others?

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