

troit. And in scarcely concealed whispers local unions are being advised to withhold all per capita payments to the International Union. At this writing it is difficult to tell what is the next step. But certain it is that they will stop at nothing in their perfidy. The sky is the limit in this reactionary game.

Victimization Pretense

The infernal din resounding through the International consists of one clamor: "We are the persecuted defenders of democracy!" The hypocrisy of this cry is almost too obvious to need contradiction. Unfortunately, however, many good militant elements among the rank-and-file have been deceived by it. These workers need only look at the record. "Democrat No. 1" in the ranks of the splitters is Richard T. Frankenstein. Six weeks ago this gentleman was taking disciplinary action against all groups to eliminate "factionalism." We quote from his letter sent to all board members at the time just to refresh the memory of those who might have forgotten:

"Agreement to take disciplinary action against any party, group or section of the membership which does not go down the line with the program." And "all caucuses to be abandoned immediately, specifically the Progressive and Unity caucuses will no longer exist and the program advocated is to be the program of the International Union. To enforce this we abolish and prohibit all factional groups within the U.A.W."

Democracy—Where?

What was there that even vaguely resembled democracy in this program? Just as much democracy as there is in one of Stalin's firing squads. Indeed Frankenstein is lined up with Stalin's American agents. It was only because this plot was uncovered and exposed that Frankenstein dropped it cold. But at the first new opportunity, on the advice of Earl Browder and Co., Frankenstein picked it up anew.

In the dark of night, when they were sure nobody was looking, the Stalinists decided to pull a fast one. What was the significance of this new move? Merely a factional maneuver to take control on the basis of a temporary majority? Not at all. Fact was that despite the complete and unanimous endorsement by the Board of the 20-point program, the Stalinists had never rec-

no W. P. A. worker can join Toledo has been a victim of this program. Result: only a handful of W.P.A. workers organized to date. In Detroit Secretary-Treasurer Addes was doing his best to throw a monkey-wrench in the W.P.A. Auxiliary.

We will have occasion to prove in the future how Mortimer, Frankenstein, Hall and Addes violated and sabotaged the 20-point program at every turn. Certainly no thinking worker can sympathize with a crew that will sign their names to a program and then turn around at the first opportunity and drop the program into a sewer. They whine that the union needs "unity" in the face of depression and wage-cuts. But they are in fact doing everything in their power to destroy and disunite the organization for their factional ends.

Receivership Sought

But let us return to this question of democracy. The key point of the resolution quoted above is the section calling on John L. Lewis to set up a receivership over the auto union. The auto union elected its officers at the last convention by democratic vote. The constitution gave Martin, as International president, power to remove any officer, subject to trial. Good or bad, the Unity Group voted to grant Martin these powers at the last convention. But there is nothing in the constitution anywhere—let Frankenstein dig it up—giving a John L. Lewis or any other leader, big or small, the authority to come in from Washington or anywhere else and throw out the elected leaders of the auto workers. When William Green and Francis Dillon tried this on the A.F.L. unions, everybody howled dictatorship. And they were right! And it doesn't make a particle of difference if the dictator is John L. Lewis or William Green. Let the people who want a dictator say so openly so the workers will know where they stand. But whether they admit it or no, there's not a trace of democracy in this agitation. The auto workers should vote down this resolution—emphatically.

The Real Struggle

If this is not a fight for democracy, what is it? It is a struggle for clique control of the auto union. And when this clique establishes its control there won't be any democracy left. It will be a miracle if there is a union left. There can be no new-

born one. The only way to be reformed after merely reaffirming the old policy of "reward your friends and punish your enemies."

Davey sat at the state house all afternoon awaiting a call to come to the conference, but he waited in vain.

Even the extremely conservative building trades delegates from Akron went to the conference determined to oppose Davey's endorsement.

ANNOUNCEMENTS

Insertions in this column are 25 cents for five lines. Copy must be in at the APPEAL office before six o'clock Monday evening.

NEW YORK

ASTORIA BRANCH SOCIAL at 916 Ninth Ave. (Upper West Side Branch headquarters) near 59th Street, on Saturday, June 25, 8:30 p. m. Swing music, Big Apple contest, drinks. Subscription 25 cents.

RED RIVINGTON REVELRIES. Join with the East Side Fire-trap Floogies, Saturday, June 25, 8:30 p.m., at 150 Rivington St. Admission 20 cents.

READ UNSER WORT, monthly organ of the German section of the IV International. No. 8 just out. Labor Book Shop, 28 E. 12 St., N.Y.C.

Y.P.S.L. DUES DRIVE. A reminder to all Y.P.S.L. districts: Convention Dues Drive closes July 15. How does your District stand? — National Finance Committee, Y.P.S.L.

BAND BEING FORMED. All those interested in learning to play musical instruments, and all those who already can perform on any musical instrument, communicate at once with L. Reynolds, National Office, 116 University Place. Al 4-5547.

READ THE RUSSIAN BULLETIN of the Opposition, organ of the Russian Bolshevik Leninists. Leading articles by Leon Trotsky. International news and letters. Single issue, 20 cents. Subscription rates, \$1 for six months. Order through Rae Spiegel, care of Socialist Appeal, 116 University Place.

CHICAGO

SUMMER FESTIVAL—Chicago S.W.P. picnic. Food, games, camp fire, at Schiller Park Forest Reserve (end of Irving Park Line, June 26, 10 a. m. to 12 midnight.

CAMPS

CAMP SEVEN OAKS. Eatantown, N. J. Excellent swimming pool and tennis court. Capacity 25. Good food and housing. No tents, no quilts. Fare 80 cents to bank. Inquire phone Br 9-7620 for train sched. June rates, daily \$2.50, week \$15.00.

"Please convey to Rodney's noble-hearted comrade and friend, rades our sorrow and condolence heavy blow to our movement and in him always a faithful champion are richer for having known him inspire us to keep up the good"

Rodney is survived by a wife, Jardis, Camille, and Gene and

Appeal

National Appeal Campaign: This past week, letters have been pouring in from all over the country describing plans and local campaigns being initiated July 1; the date for launching our 10,000 circulation drive. Ann Charloff, the new literature agent of Los Angeles, has requested extra sub-blanks, bulletins and other campaign material and has already ordered 100 extra copies of this week's Appeal.

From Frisco, El Booth writes, "We will launch into the campaign with enthusiasm, since good ground work has been laid for such a campaign." She also promises to make good use of the expired sub-lists that have been sent out. In Chicago, a special meeting of all literature agents was held with the aim of getting the Appeal more widely circulated in that city. And from Boston, comrade Leonard informs us that we can expect many new subscribers shortly.

Here's this week's result in new subscribers: Notice the splendid results of Minneapolis and the not so splendid results of New York City:

MINNEAPOLIS	15
St. Paul	4
Chicago	3
Pennsylvania	3
Detroit	2

The SOCIALIST APPEAL any of the follow

NEW YORK CITY

MANHATTAN: Fourteenth St. at University Place, S. E.; at Broadway, S. E.; at Fourth Ave., S. W.; at Fourth Ave., N. E.; at Fourth Ave., S. E. (1 and 2); at Third Ave., S. W.; at Third Ave., N. W.; opp. Jefferson Theatre; at Second Ave., N. W.; at Sixth Ave., N. E.; Rand Book Store, 7 E. 15th St.; 12th St. and University Pl., N. E.; Candy Store, 75 Greenwich Ave.

Forty-second St. at Fifth Ave.,

8838

store at Grand and Attorney Sts.

June 25, 1938

Two bills of amendment; 2.—The program to organize W.P.A. workers in the

are not advocating support of everything the Martin administration has done in the past or

Virginia Workers Vote Strike To Force Pact

ETTRICK, Va.—A six-months' controversy between the American Hardware Company and the Luggage Workers Union is near climax as workers laid plans for a strike to force a contract settlement, pending since last December when the original pact expired.

Power to call out the 1,200 workers in the factory was voted to the union's executive committee some time ago and strike sentiment is growing rapidly as the company refuses to concede the demands of the union. The luggage workers constitute the largest organized group in this area, only recently touched by labor's organizational drive.

At the insistence of Murray Baron, international representative of the union, a Federal labor conciliator is due to arrive and attempt to avert the strike by participation in parleys between the company and the union. Local union spokesmen, however, stated that plans for the strike

will be carried out despite Federal intervention.

Optical Men Organize

Another union, organized in recent months, is the Optical Workers Union, which this week is voting under supervision of the National Labor Relations Board to determine the collective bargaining agency for the workers of the Titmus Optical Company. Workers of the production and shipping department will participate in the balloting.

The company has carried on a bitter campaign against the workers and numerous men have been discharged for union activity. A recent investigation by an agent of the N.L.R.B. resulted in the investigator recommending to the board that the company be compelled to reinstate four union members and that the company be instructed to desist from anti-union activities. The N.L.R.B. has not yet acted on the investigator's report.

Drive For Fund To Aid Revolutionists Gathers Momentum In Country

The campaign of the American Fund for Political Prisoners and Refugees is getting under way fast in many parts of the country. Following New York, local committees are being set up in Philadelphia and Newark. Friends in Detroit are planning to hold a meeting to organize activities in the auto area. Other cities have written for information before launching their local campaign.

Since its formation two weeks ago, several new cases requiring assistance have come to its attention, the committee of the American Fund reports.

The Need Is Urgent

Several Austrian revolutionists hiding from the Nazi persecutors in that country require money to enable them to go to other lands. One Austrian revolutionist who was freed from jail by the Schusnigg amnesty before the Nazi occupation of Austria, is living

under difficulties in another country. This comrade is suffering from a serious lung disease. Funds are required both to give him medical care and enable him to travel to another country.

A well-known Polish revolutionist, formerly a member of the Executive Committee of the Communist International, expelled from Poland and several other countries for revolutionary activity, and now living in Europe illegally with his wife and baby, has written asking for aid.

A folder giving detailed information on the activities of the American Fund and describing what can be done with each dollar you are able to give, was being prepared this week. Copies can be obtained from the office of the American Fund for Political Prisoners and Refugees, Room 1600, 100 Fifth Avenue, New York City.

Russian-Speaking Comrades Form Club

NEW YORK—Plans for the formation of a club to be known as the "Friends of the Bulletin of the Opposition (Bolshevik-Leninists)" were laid by a group of Russian-speaking comrades and sympathizers meeting here last Tuesday.

Members of the club will participate in cultural and social activities and will receive information and correspondence from Oppositionists living in Europe. The group is expected to be organized on a national scale and clubs are being formed now in Chicago and California.

The first activity of the New York group will be to arrange a lecture in Russian, to be followed by a "vechirinka." Announcement of the date will be made later.

All Russian-speaking persons interested in such a club, both comrades and sympathizers, are urged to communicate with Rae Spiegel, 5 Washington Square North, N.Y.C.

Soviet Economy As Purge

Denny Succeeds Duranty Stalin; But Facts Still Digging Grave Of

By JOHN G. WRIGHT

At the beginning of May we wrote that "judging from the past procedure, it can be stated with virtual certainty that the present wave of arrests will reach its crest early in June, in the days immediately preceding the elections, and that shortly after the elections the next trials will be staged." (Socialist Appeal, May 7, 1938.)

The first part of this forecast has been completely confirmed by recent dispatches from Moscow. Kossior and Chubar, two of Molotov's deputies and yesterday pillars of Stalinism, have been "missing" for weeks. The secretaries of party organizations in the Ukraine, Kazakhstan, Kirghizia, and Bashkiria have been removed.

Sukhomlin Out

Sukhomlin, former member of the Ukrainian Political Bureau, has been removed from his post as vice-chairman of the Ukrainian Council of People's Commissars. Sukhomlin's downfall leaves only one member still remaining of the 13 who composed the Ukrainian Political Bureau at the beginning of the latest purge.

The purge has been extended to lower officials in Biro-Bidjan. Harold Denny, in reporting the latest purge in the Ukraine, cites the arrest of 10 important party officials and comments as follows: "The fact that confessions have been obtained indicates a trial will be held or that a secret one has been held." (N. Y. Times, June 20.) On June 21, the Times carried a dispatch concerning "an intensive purge in the political ranks of the army" which is being directed by Mekhlis, Stalin's former private secretary. These and many other additional facts are indubitable proof that the current purge is as widespread and intensive as the preceding ones.

Everlasting Purge

8839

S.P. ADVANCES PHONY U.A.W. PEACE PLAN

(Continued from page 1)

the verdict. The fact is that Martin has made no effort to convince the membership of the justice of his position or to expose the heinous role of the Stalinists where it would really count—in the local union meetings!

Split Menaces Union

Unless Martin veers in his course immediately, the danger of split immediately after the trial is a menacing possibility. Against this danger Martin will have no other course than further autocratic actions. Every step in this direction will drive him deeper and deeper into rule by fiat alone, until he reaches the realm of John L. Lewis, where lifting charters and suspending whole batches of members is no more important than flicking a fly from one's nose to disast-

The St. Paul position in which the Socialist clique is situated, and the mechanics whereby it has thus far maintained itself in power

The Most Persecuted People

compensate for its lack of political training and its own political party.

THE GREAT JOB AT FORD'S

Organize the Ford workers, sign a good union contract with the company!—and the G.M. strike will pale by comparison. The G.M. strike occurred when the mass production industries were still largely unorganized and the mass movement for labor political action almost non-existent. That strike electrified the workers sufficiently to call forth millions of them out of indifference and timidity to economic and political life. A successful Ford drive would grip America's organized millions and hurl them in a new attack against the citadels of capitalism in a more profound manner than ever before. The threatened reaction on the part of the manufacturers would be abruptly stopped and the labor movement, more resolute and self-confident, would launch an offensive all along the line.

At the Milwaukee convention of the United Automobile Workers of America, held August, 1937, the officers vied with each other in eloquent speeches pointing to the necessity of organizing the Ford workers, and every one of the orators pledged his undying support towards its accomplishment. A one dollar assessment was unanimously approved by the convention to finance the drive. Immediately after the convention Richard Frankenstein, union Vice-President, was appointed Director of the Ford Drive and a similar much publicity the national campaign was launched. Today, a year later, the campaign has completely bogged down; the Ford workers are still unorganized.

What has been wrong with the Ford Drive launched with so much noise and fanfare a year ago?

WORKERS WANT UNION

The Ford workers know the necessity of being organized. They want a union in their plant. They want to abolish the pitiless blacklist and the shame of the system of espionage. On every side they are surrounded by automobile workers who work in union shops, who enjoy the protection of union contracts, who are represented by union stewards and committees. The automobile workers union, young, vibrant and full of optimism, is in addition a major factor in the life of the city of Detroit. But the Ford workers are held down by long years of submission to a ruthless despotic power.

They know that for years Ford has successfully crushed all that would not bend to his will. They know that practically all the officials of the City of Dearborn are controlled body and soul by the Ford Motor Co. They know of the deadly spy system in operation at his plant and the hundreds of Ford workers who have sum-

med the U.A.W. was at the high water mark of its career. The auto workers union had not yet tasted defeat. The whole labor movement was on the move and Detroit especially was literally swamped with the U.A.W. members and their activities.

WHY THE DRIVE FAILED

Precisely this boldness, this conception of a swift dramatic attack that would sweep everything before it, was lacking.

First, the organizing staff of the Ford drive was woefully incompetent for the strenuous tasks the drive imposed. The union's ace organizers, men who were enthused about the prospect of participating in this great world should have been placed in the Ford organizing office; instead, the Ford drive was overloaded with incompetents, petty maneuverers and opportunists. The few sincere young men were lost completely in the noise, confusion and disorder.

At the head of the drive stood Frankenstein, inexperienced for such a difficult task, but consumed with an undying ambition to carve out a career for himself. Even as a careerist, however, he did not possess the imagination and the sweep of thought to realize the vast opportunities that the Ford drive offered. The job to him was in the nature of an honorary post, something like the Postmaster Generalship is to Jim Farley. He confined himself to the making of speeches and an occasional visit to the Ford organizing office to find out how things were going. With such top leadership and direction, no hurricane drive—or any other kind of drive—was possible.

Secondly, there never was a well-thought-out and well-defined plan as to how the Ford workers would be organized. Everyone went about his own way, doing what he thought best in the manner he thought best. Added to the disorganization and confusion was the factional strife that was beginning to eat away at the vitals of union activity. Everyone was anxious to prevent the opposing faction from getting the credit for a successful drive and getting control over the Ford workers.

HIGH POINT MISSED

The high point of the drive, such as it was, was reached when the U.A.W. representatives were mercilessly beaten by Ford service men at the gates of the River Rouge plant, in open sight of newspaper photographers and reporters. That day thousands of Detroit automobile workers were aroused to a white fury at this brutality; the Ford drive had become national news and the Ford workers, stirring uneasily, were watching with bated breath the next union move. If 25,000 workers were mobilized the next day to march on Dearborn, it is an almost foregone conclusion that a real dent would have been made among the Ford workers and the

agenda. The U.A.W. itself has not the financial resources at the present time, nor the experienced organizers, to properly launch a new major drive for the Ford workers. If Ford is to be organized now, the other C.I.O. unions will have to put in some real money for the job.

Proposals are in order to elect a representative committee from the key unions to furnish moral and financial aid to the great drive. It is most important to impress the Ford workers that a new gigantic effort is being made, by the whole labor movement, in order to overcome the feeling of helplessness and scepticism which has seized the Ford workers. A solemn pronouncement by the C.I.O. convention that it pledges such help will go a long way towards bringing back new hope to the Ford men.

A PLAN OF ORGANIZATION

Then it is up to the U.A.W. to get into action. Assigned to the drive should be a crack regiment of field workers, who are inspired with the determination to see the Ford plants organized. At the head of the drive should be placed a person with experience and authority, a person whose presence will constitute a partial guarantee that the Ford drive will this time proceed in an energetic and serious manner.

The presidents of all local unions in the Detroit area should be constituted as a special action and advisory committee, who will make the Ford drive a special order of business in their local unions and will involve every active union member in the great union campaign.

Especially important is the setting up of a special Negro committee of prominent Negro educators and leaders, who will aid the union in winning the good will and faith of the Negro workers in the drive and its purposes. Once the colored workers are set in motion at the great River Rouge plant, they will constitute one of the steel girders of the Ford union as well as the battering ram towards organizing the rest of the Ford workers.

The whole drive must be given shape and continuity by the establishment and the regular issuance of a weekly Ford Drive Bulletin, REGULARLY recording the plans, the aims and the achievements of the campaign. The Bulletin can become the most effective organizer of Ford workers and the means of infusing the new membership with zeal and enthusiasm. The Bulletin should be the

the
the
no
lab
drive will continue this time full steam ahead until it has accomplished its objective; that the unions mean business this

oughly and had "gone as far as it could go. . . Unless there is some new development—and none appears in sight at this time—this case appears to be closed as far as the police are concerned."

Rumors were current that enemies of the Minneapolis labor movement, frustrated in their attempts to use Arnold Johnson's trial to smear organized labor, were seeking ways and means to launch a new attack on the unions.

The direction taken by the defense attorneys, Morgan and Hughes, who seized the occasion to launch a vicious attack on drivers' union leaders, piling up insinuations that the union leadership had not told the truth, is a warning indication of what may come. The particularly hostile onslaught on the union leadership by Morgan in his closing statement to the jury, an attack which could have no direct bearing on Arnold Johnson's case, could only be designed to undermine trusted union leadership.

Friends of organized labor are warned to be on guard against further developments in this direction.

READERS COMMEMORATE BULLETIN ANNIVERSARY

NEW YORK—Readers and friends of the Russian Bulletin of the Opposition gathered here on Oct. 29 to celebrate the tenth anniversary of the Bulletin's existence and to do honor to the memory of Leon Sedoff, who edited it from the time of its inception to his untimely death. Dr. Antonette Konikow was the main speaker of the evening. Rae Spiegel also spoke about the life of Leon Trotsky.

late the grievance of the men and demand a conference with Henry Ford to negotiate a union agreement.

While the campaign must be national in scope, obviously all organizational work must be centered and concentrated on the River Rouge plant, the heart of the Ford empire.

THE JOB MUST BE DONE

As everybody knows, the best-laid plans are worthless unless properly executed. It is impossible on paper to lay out a blueprint for an organizational campaign, especially one so difficult and on such a gigantic scale as the Ford Drive.

What is important, however, beyond this or that detail, is to overcome the handicap of the unsuccessful first drive and the discouragement and moods of pessimism engendered thereby.

Париж, 12-го января 1939г.

Дорогой товарищ Рая,

Должна Вам признаться, что я очень огорчена тем положением, которое сейчас создалось для Бюллетеня в Америке. Получилось именно то, что можно было ожидать. Вы в Вашингтоне не можете заниматься этим делом - это совершенно понятно, Сара всегда очень слаба по части переписки, Сильвию я не знаю, знаю только что и Вы и Сара о ней хорошего мнения, пишете, что она энергичная и т.д. Все это очень хорошо, но писем я ни от кого не получаю, а что еще хуже того ни от кого не получаю денег. А это меня сильно беспокоит. За последнее время - за много месяцев - получился только один чек в 39.70 долларов, из коих ведь 30 долларов были собраны на вечеринке. Значит, регулярно поступило всего 10 долларов. А перспектив, ведь были такие хорошие. В чем же дело? Почему нет денег? В каком положении вообще дело с Бюллетенем сейчас.

Поймите меня правильно, я не с претензиями к Вам обращаюсь, а хочу от Вас узнать, как обстоит дело. Между прочим, я Вам уже довольно давно написала письмо, но до сих пор не получила на него ответа и поэтому до сих пор еще не послала счет в Индию, хотя и посылаю им экземпляры. Очень прошу Вас мне ответить: кто эти люди, как к ним обращаться - товарищи ли это, давать ли им скидку. Неудобно как то посылать экземпляры и не подавать никаких признаков жизни, неправда ли? Да и кроме того, если это близкая нам организация не жалко и посылать бесплатно, но если это люди далеко от нас стоящие, то неловко как то посылать им бесплатно, не так ли? Жду от Вас ответа по этому вопросу.

Что стало с комплектом? Нам жалко было с ним расстаться, но поскольку это уже произошло, я уже настроилась на то, что мы за него получим 50 долларов и уже строила всякие планы в связи с возможностями немного расширить дело. Думаете ли Вы, что Вам удастся его продать? Очевидно эта библиотека, которую Вы имели в виду комплект не взяла. Сообщите в каком положении дело с комплектом.

Сообщите мне пожалуйста, также в каком положении дело с продажей Бюллетеня вообще, справляется ли Сильвия и т.п. Она может мне спокойно писать по английски, если она хочет. Боюсь все же, что это слишком сложно, чтоб она сносилась со мной через Сару, так как Сара всего раз в неделю бывает в Нью-Йорке. Сара, правда, свято обещалась аккуратно отвечать на письма, но пока что то не видно.

Ближайший номер - 73 - выходит, как обычно 16.1. В нем будет: Часть резолюции по делу вневосточному вопросу, За стенами Кремля - к годовщине расстрела Бухаридзе, 21-ая годовщина революции, довольно большая и актуальная статья о последних декретах в советской России - по вопросам о труде и социальном страховании, заметка о Каутском, заявление редакции о Викторе Серге и др. мелочи. Кажется этот номер будет ничего. А следующий - февральский - уже выйдет к годовщине смерти Ленина. Как время идет, ужас.

Жду обязательно от Вас подробного письма. Можете писать по адресу мадам, если хотите, она очень аккуратная и тотчас же мне передаст. Сообщите, пожалуйста, каковы перспективы насчет денег, меня это беспокоит.

Крепко жму руку и жду от Вас весточки

8841