

SOCIALIST APPEAL

Published Weekly as the Organ of the Socialist Party of New York, Left Wing Branches.

Vol. I. - No. 17. 401

Saturday, December 4, 1937

5 Cents per Copy

Labor Aroused By Midwest Murder

Economic Crisis Grows With More Lay-Offs And Rising Cost Of Living

By James Casey

The new capitalist crisis has definitely arrived.

Wall Street and its press are calling it a "business recession," while New Dealers, Stalinists and other faithful healers of the decaying "democracy" are frantically looking about for panaceas. Meanwhile, American workers and farmers are being lashed, buffeted and overwhelmed by this latest economic typhoon.

Here is a condensed word picture of the situation:

(1) Industrial activity has declined for the thirteenth consecutive week, according to the New York Times business index, and there are no signs of any immediate upward trends.

(2) Retail prices have soared 42.8 per cent as compared with the figures of April, 1933.

(3) Clothing costs have jumped 30 per cent for the same period.

(4) Rents have risen 40 per cent over the housing costs in January, 1934.

Jobs Drop

(5) Factory employment has dropped 5 per cent during Oct. in New York State, according to the State Department of Labor figures, while many Federal projects have been eliminated, thus adding to the number of jobless. Federal data on the number of unemployed are not available, but the government census now being completed will provide an approximate, though not an accurate figure.

(6) Relief expenditures have been cut by \$152,416,000 for the first nine months of the year, as compared with the 1936 total. Payments for all types of public assistance from Federal, State and local funds, wages under the works program and subsistence grants under the Farm Security Administration totaled \$1,685,491,000. This is a woefully inadequate sum, many members of Congress having admitted the need of two-and-a-half to six billion dollars to meet the national emergency.

(7) Stock market prices, which serve as one of the many barometers of general trade trends, are again toppling as in the period directly after the October, (Continued on page 6)

WHO KILLED PATRICK CORCORAN -- WHY?

By James P. Cannon

Minneapolis — The atrocious murder of Pat Corcoran, Secretary-Treasurer of the powerful Teamster's Joint Council, has once again brought the turbulent labor movement of Minneapolis into the center of national attention. Once again the keenest interest and concern of progressive labor circles from coast to coast have been aroused in this stormy outpost of labor in the Northwest, the pace-setter for the country. The forces of organized labor cried out with one voice for the apprehension of Corcoran's assassins. At the same time the dark forces of reaction, and their dubious agents and stooges, couldn't wait for the body of the martyr to be lowered into the grave before they began to sing in chorus, with a suspicious unanimity and enthusiasm—as though the song had been rehearsed and the parts assigned beforehand—for a police investigation of the trade union movement of Minneapolis.

For everything there is a reason. Here, on the ground in Minneapolis, the facts and the reason are clear for all to see. Who killed Pat Corcoran, and why? And who wants to cover up the crime and shield the criminals, and why? The search for the truth in reply to these questions, can proceed intelli-

gently only on the basis of the main facts standing in the back-ground of the murder. These can be established approximately as follows:

1. Advance of the Unions:

Minneapolis, once the open-shop colony of the Citizens' Alliance, is today the best organized city in the entire country. One must go to San Francisco for a near-comparison. The famous slogan of the 1934 strike, "Make Minneapolis a Union Town", has been realized in action.

And these unions are not fly-by-night paper organizations. The Minneapolis unions are real unions, tested in struggle, militant in their methods and capable of enforcing their demands. The "teamsters" who drive trucks and other automotive vehicles in this great distribution center of the Northwest are the dominating and inspiring force in the movement. From a membership of a few hundred men, four years ago, the driving trades in Minneapolis now embrace twelve thousand organized men. The same leadership directs a total of twenty-five thousand men in a joint council extending out into all the arteries of commerce over five North Central states tributary to the Twin Cities.

(Continued on page 4)

Rejects G.P.U. Plans to Smear Union Leaders

MINNEAPOLIS, Nov. 23. — While organized labor here closed ranks to fight for a thorough investigation to find Pat Corcoran's murderers, the boss press and the Stalinists joined hands to smear the labor movement with charges of union gangsterism as the source of Corcoran's death.

Thousands Pay Last Tribute To P. J. Corcoran

Ten thousand union workers paid their last tribute to Patrick Corcoran on Saturday, November 20, in funeral services acknowledged by the daily press to have been the largest ever held in this part of the country.

In an unprecedented move, the Minneapolis Teamsters Joint Council called a Holiday during the time of the funeral, and from 9 A. M. to noon no trucks or cabs moved in the city.

Delegations were present at the services from General Drivers Locals affiliated with the five-state North Central District Drivers Councils, of which Corcoran was chairman. Among the cities represented with drivers' delegates were Duluth, St. Paul, Willmar, Austin, Rochester, Brainerd, St. Cloud, etc.

In issuing the call for the stoppage of work, the Joint Council stated that "no member of the Teamsters Joint Council jeopardizes either his job or his standing in the union by observing the holiday." The membership of the driving crafts responded to a man to the call.

Over a hundred local labor officials acted as honorary pallbearers at the funeral. The church was packed to the doors half an hour before the ceremonies began, and thousands of workers stood outside on the steps during the services. Active pallbearers and ushers were drawn from the ranks of the various driving crafts. The procession to the cemetery tied up traffic for over an hour.

The capitalist press of the twin cities, Minneapolis and St. Paul, have attempted to raise a lynch spirit against unionism. Their animus is clear. Minneapolis drivers are 95 per cent organized and have inspired similar organization in other industries. Under the lead of the Minneapolis locals, a North Central District Drivers Council was set up a year ago to push the union in five states. A few months ago, the St. Paul locals joined this powerful council, and thus spelled the end of employer domination in St. Paul too. Twenty-five thousand drivers are united in the council.

Boss Press Leads Attack

The St. Paul Daily News, always an unrelenting foe of labor, is leading the pack in viciousness. Under the hypocritical slogan of "That is terrorism, not unionism," it is daily linking Pat Corcoran's death to "gangsterism" in the labor movement. Columns are devoted to references to "labor czars, levying tribute through violence," as the background out of which came Corcoran's murder.

The real interest of the Daily News is unconsciously revealed in a passing reference, in an editorial of November 19, to the power of the drivers: "It is apparent that the truck drivers' union is strategically the most effective labor weapon in this or any other community. It can paralyze almost any business." For this reason, this organ of the bosses tries to smear the drivers' unions.

Stalinists Follow Suit

Repeating word for word the slanderous charges of the boss press, the Stalinists here have called a meeting which is described, in their leaflet, as a "mass public hearing on gangster-

(Continued on page 2)

Organized Labor and the Corcoran Case

Answers Slanders of Boss Press and C. P. With Counter Attack

(Continued from page 1)

ism in the Minneapolis labor movement which resulted in the murder of Patrick J. Corcoran." Incredible as it may seem, this is a literal quotation of the Stalinist leaflet! Despairing of getting any attention by further parading under the name of the paper C.I.O. office here, which they control, the Stalinists issued this leaflet over the name of a "Volunteer Committee for driving gangsterism from Minneapolis."

Like the boss press propaganda, its Stalinist echo serves to exonerate in advance all enemies of the labor movement and to brand the labor movement as Pat Corcoran's murders. Like the boss press, the Stalinists are slandering a prominent leader of the trade union movement and shielding his assassins! The Stalinists are giving a blank check to all enemies of labor. If the Stalinist line prevails, any labor leader killed will not only be killed with impunity by labor's enemies, but dishonored in death!

Bosses Utilize C. P. Slander

The Minneapolis Star, less bold in its anti-labor moves than the other sheets here, found in the Stalinist charges a heaven-sent opportunity to stab labor unionism in the back. Concentrating its stories about the Corcoran murder around the Stalinist frame-up charges of racketeering in the unions, the Star puffs up the "charges made by union leaders"—meaning the Stalinists—as the issue of most importance.

As a result of labor's rising indignation at the way in which the Stalinists are joining the bosses in linking Corcoran to gangsterism in the unions, the Stalinists are trying now to get out from under, by claiming that it was the A.F. of L. here, and not the Stalinists, who first suggested the possibility that Corcoran's murder was the result of inter-union warfare.

In its only editorial so far on the Corcoran case, the only Stalinist-controlled labor paper in the state, Midwest Labor of Duluth, now tries to accuse the A.F. of L. here of first intimating "that the murder was an outgrowth of friction between the AFL and CIO."

The Stalinists lie, and they know they lie. Not a single A. F. of L. leader here has ever made that charge. But before Corcoran's body was even in the earth, the Stalinists had run to Mayor Leach: not to demand a search for Corcoran's murders, but to declare that Corcoran's slaying was the work of gangsters imported by the AFL and to dally upon Leach to investigate the "gangster and racketeering elements in the Minneapolis labor movement."

Labor Indignant at Tactics

Who is Mayor Leach! In a resolution of the Minnesota C.P. of July 10, 1937, Leach is characterized as "this ambitious Republican faker and fascist-minded general, who is the agent of the trike-breaking Citizens Alliance." It is to this man and his police that the Stalinists run "to clean gangsterism out of the Minneapolis labor movement." While the bona fide labor movement is demanding of all governmental agencies that they concentrate on finding Pat Corcoran's murder, the Stalinists provide the bosses and the "fascist-minded general" with a way to shield Pat's murderers.

Local trade unionists are recoiling with bitter indignation against the attempt of the Stalinists to link up alleged union gangsterism with the foul murder of Pat Corcoran, and their appeal to Mayor Leach for a police assault on the labor movement.

What the boss press is really after is revealed by the alleged acts, which the St. Paul Daily News lists under the slogan, "terrorism, not unionism." One of these is: "The Daily News knows of dozens of cases where out-of-town truckers were stopped at the city limits, threatened, forced to return to the town from which they had started." What are the facts? The North Central District Drivers Council is conducting a unionization campaign. Unorganized drivers are constantly hailed on the highways and urged to cease playing the game of the bosses. This is the most elementary, most traditional, and most fundamental method of building unions. To stop this, as the Daily News demands, would mean the end of the unions. And that is just what the capitalist press want. It is positively revolting to read these attacks on the North Central District Drivers Council, brazenly "linked up" by the kept press to the murder of Pat Corcoran, who was chairman of that Drivers Council! Thus the prostitute press seeks to make its own filthy capital out of the death of a union man. Every worker in the labor movement must help to combat this poison by pointing out to his shop-mates, to his neighbors, to all oppressed by the bosses, how the kept press does the work of the enemies of labor.

Executing G.P.U. Orders

But to do that job thoroughly, every decent union man must point out, too, how the Stalinists play the game of the bosses. Blind to all aims except the task dictated to them by the G.P.U.—get the Trotskyists by hook or crook!—the Stalinists have tarred the Minneapolis trade unions, have slandered a fallen leader, have seconded the boss propaganda, have made it possible for ene-

mies of labor to assassinate other labor leaders and blame it on labor! The clumsy stupidity with which the Stalinists have moved, in their desperate determination to frame-up the militants who lead the Minneapolis labor movement is simply an indication that they rush to obey their G.P.U. bosses at the crack of the whip, without daring to take the time even to make a good job of it. That servile obedience to their masters is the root of many of the blunders of the G.P.U.

The most notorious of all reactionary American papers, the Chicago Tribune, seizes upon the Stalinist charge of racketeering in the labor movement to draw the conclusion, in an editorial, "The Trouble with Minnesota," on November 27, that the "unprincipled racketeers" in the labor movement who "caused Corcoran's death" flourished because "Minnesota became the field of radicalism"! The Tribune concludes:

Reactionary "Tribune" Gloats

"The radical government of Minnesota has set up the principle that lawlessness used in disputes of employer and employees is a proper method of adjustment, and from that established principle it would follow that in any dispute crime may be the easiest and most conclusive method of gaining success. Of course, all other forms of lawlessness and vice, including kidnapping, take encouragement from such conditions, and Minnesota is a distressed state."

The strike weapon, say these Bourbons, leads to crime. Therefore? The remedy proposed by the Tribune on other occasions is: outlaw strikes. The absurd lengths to which the Tribune goes would be laughable—were it not for the protective-collaboration provided it by the identical Stalinist assertion that Pat Corcoran's death was caused by union gangsterism.

Has International Source

Only a clear understanding of the international plight of the Stalinists helps one understand what mad desperation drives them to such moves. The Moscow trials are universally discredited; their attempted Trotskyist frame-ups in Spain have not materialized; four G.P.U. agents seized red-handed are soon to be tried in Switzerland for the murder of Ignace Reiss; their attempt to frame up Grylewicz in Czechoslovakia as a Nazi agent was quickly exposed; the whole European labor movement charges them with having kidnapped and transported from Spain to Russia, Mark Rein, son of a leader of the Socialist International.

The police minds of the G.P.U. can think of only one kind of solution for their plight: try some more frame-ups. Europe hasn't been so good, let's try America. And in America, they are constantly plagued by the fact that "Trotskyist-Fascist assassins" are the acknowledged leaders of militant Minneapolis labor unionism. Orders go out from the G.P.U. The local flunkies rush to obey. Clumsily, stupidly, insensibly, but obey they must. Another bungled job of the G.P.U. But we must make every worker understand the frame-up methods of the G.P.U., now exposed to sight in Minneapolis.

Union Militants Meet To Map Campaign For Investigation

A few hours after Pat Corcoran was found murdered, the labor unions of Minneapolis launched a most vigorous campaign to get Pat's murderers.

The first action of the Minneapolis Teamsters Joint Council, meeting on Thursday morning, November 18, twelve hours after Corcoran's death, was to post a cash reward of ten thousand dollars for information leading to the arrest and conviction of his slayers.

The special edition of the Northwest Organizer, organ of the teamsters' council, which now has a paid circulation of twenty-five thousand, on November 18 called upon the Farmer-Laborite State Attorney General, Ervin, to appoint immediately a Special Investigator to be assigned to uncover Corcoran's murder.

Offer \$10,000 Reward

In radio speeches delivered the same day, Miles Dunne and other drivers' officials, in announcing plans for the city-wide cessation of work during the morning of Corcoran's funeral, broadcast to the country the offer of the ten thousand dollars reward.

Daily since then, General Drivers Union Local 544, the Minneapolis Teamsters Joint Council, the Minneapolis Board of Union Business Agents, and the Central Labor Union, have demanded of the authorities that they activate all possible agencies in the search for the assassins.

Spur Coroner to Act

On Tuesday, November 23, Miles Dunne presented to the County Coroner a resolution passed by the executive boards of Local 544 and the Teamsters Joint Council, demanding that Coroner Gilbert Seashore summon immediately a coroner's jury and proceed with an inquest into Corcoran's murder. The resolution was adopted unanimously by the Board of Business Agents also, and as a result Seashore has announced that the jury will be called and the inquest gotten under way, on Tuesday, Nov. 30.

General Drivers Local 544 and the Joint Council continued pressing the Attorney-General to appoint a Special Investigator, who would have the confidence of organized labor. On Tuesday a Council representative introduced a resolution to this effect before the Board of Business Agents, which unanimously approved it. Finally, the state's Attorney General, Ervin, granted an interview to a delegation from Drivers Local 544.

Press For Special Investigation

Pleading lack of funds, at the interview on November 24, Ervin refused to appoint a Special Investigator. Instead, Ervin referred the drivers' committee to the chief of the State Bureau of Criminal Investigation, Melvin C. Passolt, a former member of the Minneapolis police force. Passolt assured the delegation that his office was active in seeking a solution to the crime, as part of the bureau's regular activities.

The drivers' unions, however, continue to press the need for a special staff which could undertake to concentrate on finding Corcoran's slayers.

Dissatisfied with the reaction of the authorities to the assassination, on Monday evening, Nov. 29, a special meeting of all officers and business agents of all AFL local unions in Minneapolis will be held at the Pioneer Hall, where the present status of the investigation will be reviewed and plans laid to bring further pressure to bear to intensify the search for the murderers.

In its issue of November 25, the Northwest Organizer, weekly organ of the Teamsters Joint Council, reiterated its demand that a Special Investigator from the Attorney-General's office be assigned to the Corcoran case. In calling for a Coroner's Jury, the Northwest Organizer said: "Every agency which can throw additional light on the cowardly and brutal murder of Patrick C. Corcoran must be made to function immediately so that all facts may be obtained... There must be no delay. No possible agency must be permitted to withhold its powers... Labor demands an inquest by Coroner's Jury into Pat Corcoran's murder."

Benson Asks U. S. Help

Governor Benson, reacting to the union pressure to draw the state Attorney-General's office into the investigation, called upon the Federal Bureau of Criminal Investigation for aid in the search. After stalling for a few days, Attorney General Homer S. Cummings announced that the U. S. Department of Justice would not enter the case "unless evidence is produced that a federal crime was committed." As it is not a federal crime to assassinate progressive labor leaders, there seems but a slight chance that the G-men will be brought into the case.

From day to day, the Minneapolis police, according to the employer-press, anticipate a "break" in the case, only to confess at the end of each day that they are right back where the case started.

Whereas local authorities and the boss papers are showing an increasing disposition to drop the case and shunt it aside, the progressive labor movement is determined to press with the utmost energy until the murderers are discovered. The Teamsters Joint Council, and General Drivers Local 544 are determined to leave no stone uncovered until the brutal and cowardly murder of the martyred union leader is solved. Everything possible is being done to make the coroner's inquest a serious investigating body, to uncover new angles to the case.

It is hoped and anticipated that the special meeting of all AFL union officials and business agents to be held Monday evening, Nov. 29, will give new impetus to the search for the slayers.

STALINISM and BOLSHEVISM

by Leon TROTSKY

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PONTIAC WORKERS FORCED TO QUIT BY MARTIN MACHINE

By Clark

PONTIAC.—The evacuation of the Fisher Body plant marks the beginning of the most critical period in the history of the United Automobile Workers.

The eyes of the automobile workers were turned to Pontiac. General Motors was beginning its new offensive against the union. Faced with the repudiation of its agreement by the rank and file conference of G. M. workers, the corporation decided on a test case: to test the militancy of the men and the mettle of the leadership.

With thousands of Pontiac men already tramping the streets as a result of restricted production and the transference of work to Lindon, N. J., and Southgate, California, the layoff of hundreds of men on Monday, November 15, was the straw that broke the camel's back. The night shift sat down. For months they had suffered indignities at the hands of the plant manager, E. R. Leeder. Speed-up, constant abuses by foremen and sabotaging of the agreement finally drove the desperate Fisher Body men to resistance. Their local was being pounded to pieces. No other road was open.

Committeemen Fired

2500 men sitting in the Fisher plant constituted a threat to the entire peace fabric in the industry. Immediately upon notification by the local, the International office of the UAW dispatched two of its representatives to Pontiac. After they had promised the workers to resume negotiations with the corporation on their grievances, the men left the plant. Members of the plant's bargaining committee left for Detroit for discussions with the management. On Wednesday morning, just as negotiations were to begin, the company announced the firing of four committeemen: George Method, chairman of the bargaining committee, Otto Rollins, steward, Lester Cizmas, committeeman, and Tom Welch, steward. The committee had no alternative but to break off negotiations, rejecting the reprisals against the leading militants. On Wednesday night the plant was re-occupied and the sit-down was on in earnest. The Pontiac plant, using Fisher bodies, closed down, raising the total of strike-idle to almost 17,000.

The issue of the strike was a crucial one for the entire International. If General Motors could fire stewards and committeemen in Pontiac and get away with it, then they could repeat the performance in Flint, in Detroit, in Lansing, in all of their plants in the country. Chrysler, Hudson and Packard would follow suit. And the drive to organize Ford would be endangered. The Pontiac workers were fighting the battle of every worker in the union.

From the very beginning, the question mark hung over the strikers: would the Executive Board authorize the strike? Martin had already given indications of a hostile attitude. On Thursday, he issued a statement to the press promising General Motors "continuity of production" and "amicable relationships" and denouncing unauthorized strikes. Without mentioning the Pontiac strike, the implication was all too clear.

That same night Fred Pieper, member of the GEB and one of Martin's chief lieutenants, appeared before a meeting of the entire Pontiac local—consisting of Fisher Body, Pontiac Motor and Yellow Coach—and exhorted the men to return to work. His chief argument consisted of the specious economic analysis that the present slump is a conspiracy of big business to break the unions. Therefore, he concluded, the workers must wait until the conspiracy peters out before it is time to strike. As for the discharged committeemen? Give their cases to the Labor Relations Board and cross your fingers. His remarks were seconded by Dorr Mitchell, reactionary President of the local, who gave them emphasis by refusing to turn over local strike funds, maintaining that the sit-down was unauthorized. The answer of the 2000 workers present was quite unambiguous. They turned in an overwhelming vote of confidence in their brothers sitting down in the plant.

Despite the hostility of Pieper and Madden, Pontiac GEB member, the local militants refused to believe that Martin would not authorize the strike. The formula circulating among the militants was something on the following order: "Wait 'til Martin is fully acquainted with the facts of our sit-down, then there can be no question but he will authorize it." As a result, great uncertainty prevailed.

Aid From Detroit

On Saturday, members of the Detroit Auto Workers Educational League, a group of UAW members organized for the purpose of promoting class struggle policies and rank and file democracy in the union, arrived in Pontiac. They met with the leading committeemen and shop stewards of the strike-bound plant, organized them into a strike committee, setting into motion the machinery for publicity, relief, etc., and hammering out a policy. The A.W.E.L. was the only group which came to Pontiac to offer the strikers its assistance and advice. None of the leaders of the Unity Group, neither Walter Reuther, Wyndham Mortimer nor any of the other self-appointed champions of the rank and file even put in an appearance. The issue was entirely too hot for them.

That same afternoon, word came through that Martin would be in Pontiac at 5 P. M. to consult with the strike committee. The committee waited in vain for the President in an appointed hotel for over four hours. Martin had been in Pontiac, but in his brazen bureaucratic manner had consulted with the reactionary local officialdom while the strike committee cooled its heels in the hotel. As the strike committee returned to the plant, enervated by doubt and anxiety, an ominous press statement of Martin's came over the radio to the effect that UAW would show the corporation that the union could discipline recalcitrant workers and unauthorized strikers unassisted. "There must be no unauthorized

strikes", Martin declared in another speech to Lansing workers, that same day, preventing the Lansing Auto workers, with his usual demagoguery, from following the Pontiac example.

Calls for G.E.B. Support

Yet Martin felt none too certain in his treacherous position. The next morning, Sunday, all members of the International Executive Board were summoned to Detroit to act on the Pontiac situation. It was clear that Martin refused to take sole responsibility—the Executive Board was also to be put on record. The members of the Fisher Body bargaining committee were called to this meeting to explain their actions before the Executive Board. Facing these workers with their just grievances, no one of the officers dared to express open opposition to their strike action. It is even reported that Walter Reuther and Wyndham Mortimer were in favor of authorizing the strike. Once again the committee returned to Pontiac without a decision from their International leadership. An answer had been promised them that same evening. Meanwhile, a meeting of 600 shop stewards in the Westside local, Detroit, answered an appeal of a Pontiac militant, with a promise of support.

At five o'clock the entire International Executive Board was transported from Detroit to the Hildenbrand Hotel in Pontiac where they went into executive session in order to prepare a decision for the membership meeting of the Pontiac local to be held that night. No reports were available at the time on the threats Martin used to intimidate the strike leaders present. But on the next day, Monday, the New York Times carried the story under a Pontiac dateline by its well-informed correspondent, Louis Stark, that uncovered part of the secret. Under the headline: "Murphy Threatens to End GM Strike with State Troops; Governor and Washington Urge Auto Union to Stop Outlaw Sit-Down at Pontiac" the article read:

Act Under Government Threat

"That Governor Murphy may have to take drastic action and order out the militia to oust the sit-downers in the Fisher Body plant was the message sent by the chief Executive to Mr. Martin. "At the same time a representative of the Administration at Washington indicated to the union its extreme interest in the situation and said that, in view of the economic recession, a further uncertain element in the business picture would be embarrassing".

The Executive board outlawed the strike with the following statement:

"...we unhesitatingly declare that the strike in Fisher Body plant is unauthorized and unsanctioned and is therefore contrary to the constitution and by-laws of the international union and is destructive of the best interests of the union. This illegal and unsanctioned strike jeopardizes the position of the international union."

With this statement in his pocket, Martin proceeded to the Pontiac local meeting to bludgeon the workers into submission. But the task was not an easy one. Before he was through he had run the gamut of all the demagogue's tricks in which he is so adept. He threatened, he cajoled, he pleaded, he denounced.

The workers were stunned. The sentiment of the unionists was unmistakable. A plea from Martin for a vote to sustain the action of the GEB brought Charles Souter, one of the strike leaders, to his feet demanding discussion. He got the floor. Souter declared that if the International refused to back the strike the job of every

Akron General Strike Planned Against Nat'l Guard Tactics

By B. J. Widick

AKRON, Ohio.—Behind the press reports of the "settlement" of the Goodyear sit-down by the acceptance of a betrayal compromise, are some facts which deserve and need wide-spread publication.

The hope of Goodyear and of the official union leadership that the difficulties in the plants over lay-offs and other grievances were settled by the eight-point agreement received a rude shattering last week.

A group of unionists circulated petitions in the plants calling on the executive board of Goodyear Local Union to hold a special union meeting to take a strike vote. The response to the petitions was good and indicated that the rank and file won't take any more blows from Goodyear without striking back.

The petitions were a "feeler" of the mood of the rank and file and were hailed as such by genuine progressive militants and revolutionary socialists, who pointed out, however, that a strike over lay-offs already consummated would be incorrect and bring defeat. New issues will arise shortly that can pose the question of strike action.

Role of Stalinists

The Daily Worker is striving to paint the betrayal in glowing terms of victory: "They (the rubber workers) went back grinning as the company had been forced to compromise on the union's demands protesting last Thursday's lay-offs of 1,600 workers." (D. W. Nov. 23.)

Unfortunately, 1,600 workers didn't go back grinning. They didn't go back to work at all. The betrayal agreement sent them into the army of unemployed.

And the circumstances under which the other workers returned to the shop were without precedent here. Although the entire city knew that the sit-down was called off, the city police force and Goodyear's thugs made a show of force that rankled in the heart of every worker punching his clock card that morning.

Over 150 cops, armed with tear gas and riot guns, stood lined up as the Goodyear workers marched into the plant. It was the most flagrant attempt to terrorize and intimidate the workers Akron has ever seen.

And the rubber workers were boiling mad at this insolence and

shop steward was in jeopardy and vigilantes would take hold of Pontiac. But the shop worker was no match for the trained orator. And when Martin interrupted him, spreading the oily promise of protection for the stewards, Souter could not regain the thread of his opening remarks. A weak speech by George Method and then another hammer blow by Martin brought the meeting to an end. The workers left the hall disillusioned and beaten. For all practical purposes the strike was over.

Those Responsible

For the first time since the Milwaukee convention last Aug., the lines were sharply drawn. Sitting on the fence had become impossible. It should be clear Martin alone does not bear responsibility for the smashing of the Fisher Body sit-down. The Pontiac Auto Workers (Nov. 24th) reporting the speeches of members of the Executive Board, at a meeting of Fisher Body men after the evacuation of the plant, quotes Wyndham Mortimer, lead-

contempt with which they were being treated. Convicts in a state prison never went to work with such a huge armed force watching them.

To top the insults, the bourgeois press carried pictures of the armed cops with the headline over the photos saying, "They were not needed!" But the implication was clear. Brute force is the only language which the rubber barons are going to speak.

Neither the bourgeois press nor the Daily Worker printed the very significant action of the CIO industrial union council during the Sunday when the National Guards were preparing to march into Akron.

Under progressive leadership, a general strike was planned against the use of the National Guard or any armed force in the Goodyear sit-down. The C.I.O. council met to plan this action.

Workers throughout the city anxiously awaited the decision of Goodyear Local at the Sunday meeting when they were voting on the proposals sponsored by the federal conciliator and the union leadership. The signal for beginning the general strike would have been the announcement of Goodyear Local's vote to strike. The National Guard would not be facing inexperienced and leaderless workers as they did in the "Little Steel" strike last spring.

Three years of militant strike struggle, three years of developing class-consciousness; three years of a growing militant and progressive leadership among the rank and file would have made Akron quite a different story than Youngstown.

Machinery and plans for a general strike have been developed by a permanent committee elected in the Central Labor Union. Although the labor split has ended this committee formally, its members are still active in the CIO council and the CLU.

A new chapter in labor history appears in the offing as company plans to announce more lay-offs will again pose the question of a strike, the use of the National Guard, and the workers' defense against military terror.

er of the Unity Group:

"Pointing out that the decision of the board was unanimous in declaring that unauthorized strikes must be stopped, Wyndham Mortimer, vice president of the International, declared, 'We are faced with an exceptionally difficult problem. But we were one in deciding for the only possible solution.'"

Rumors were rife that the vote of the Executive Board was split on authorizing the strike. But whatever the vote was, Mortimer's statement makes it clear that he takes full responsibility for the action of the Board. Moreover either Mortimer or Reuther or both had it in their power to stay the hand of Martin even after the vote had been taken in the Board. If instead of hiding in the hotel room they had gone to the local meeting and spoken in favor of the strike, there is no doubt that Martin would have received a crushing defeat and the sit-down continued. But they too were concerned with "respectability" before the capitalist class and the good-will of John L. Lewis, an old hand at outlawing strikes.

SOCIALIST APPEAL

Vol. I. - No. 17. Saturday, Dec. 4, 1937

Published every week by the
SOCIALIST APPEAL PUBLISHING ASS'N.
Published at 116 University Place, N. Y.
Subscriptions: \$2.00 per year; \$1.00 for 6
months. Foreign: \$2.50 per year. Bundle order
3 cents per copy. Single copies 5 cents.
All checks and money orders should be made
out to the Socialist Appeal.

Entered as second-class matter September 1,
1937 at the post office at New York, New York,
under the Act of March 3, 1879.

WHO KILLED PATRICK CORCORAN, AND WHY?

(Continued from page 1)

Wages: the great truck strike of July 1934 was settled on the basis of 42½ cents per hour minimum and 52½ cents maximum. Today the standard scale for drivers in the Twin Cities is 70 cents per hour, with time and one-half for over-time, and paid vacations!

These figures—of membership and wages—tell the real story. Call it "Trotskyism" or what you will—with its ruthless militancy and its unceasing pressure for more wages and better conditions, it has cost the once-arrogant bosses tens of millions of dollars since 1934 and driven the once all-powerful Citizens Alliance underground! No wonder they holler blue murder and denounce the Minneapolis union system as a "racket"! But in truth cleaner, more democratic and more scrupulously honest unions do not exist anywhere. That is no small part of the secret of their power and of the unchallenged authority of the leadership.

2. Pat Corcoran:

The martyred labor leader was a representative of the old school of trade unionism who, like not a few others, adapted himself to the spirit and methods of the great organizing campaigns inaugurated in 1934, and played a significant part in their further development. In the bitter inter-union struggle which followed the revocation of the charter of Local 574 in the summer of 1935, and lasting for one year, Corcoran, then head of the milk drivers, stood on the side of the A. F. of L. group and was bitterly and justly assailed by the leaders of Local 574 for his part in that reactionary jurisdictional war. But it was Corcoran who initiated the peace negotiations which led to the truce, then to the reinstatement of the "outlaw" union, and to the union of forces which led to the past year and a half. A Farmer-Laborite in politics, a Catholic and a man with a background of traditional, conservative unionism, Pat Corcoran nevertheless made a real peace with the terrible "Dunne brothers" and other leaders of Local 574 (now Local 544), found a common line with them in union policy and in building up the unions and making the bosses pay more wages. All hands testify to the admirable personal collaboration in the new set-up after the peace. How else account for the great gains, the expansion of union organization to St. Paul, Duluth and all points in the North Central District, the solid strength of the expanding unions, the firm unity, discipline and morale?

Pat, a stalwart figure, a distinctive human personality and a militant unionist, won the confidence and esteem of the rank and file. He was elected Secretary-Treasurer of the Teamsters Joint Council of Minneapolis, and Chairman of the North Central District Drivers Council. Denounced habitually by the Stalinist wrecking crew as a "Trotskyite," he made no denials or apologies. When he was assassinated in the line of duty, ten thousand workers turned out to his funeral, stopping all trucks for the occasion. That silent testimony of the rank and file is a powerful answer to the slanders of Corcoran, to the blackguards who defame his memory.

3. Attitude of the Labor Movement:

The labor movement of Minneapolis does not follow the national pattern. The bona-fide labor movement here consists of a powerful group of A. F. of L. unions, revitalized by the organizing campaigns of the recent years and generally progressive in their policies. The C.I.O. movement here—so-called—outside the textile and clothing unions, consists for the most part of Stalinist paper organizations and split-offs from progressive A. F. of L. unions—split-offs criminally engineered by these buzzards of the labor movement. The C.I.O. as a national movement speaks in the name of millions of organized workers, but in Minneapolis it is only the Charlie McCarthy of the Communist party, the stooge for its crooked maneuvers and the scapegoat for its crimes.

The A. F. of L. unions, that is, the bona-fide labor movement as far as this section of the country is concerned, reacted militantly to the assassination of Corcoran. A flood of statements, letters and telegrams poured into the office of the Teamsters Joint Council and all struck the same note: sympathy and solidarity with the driver's unions, denunciation of the murder as a blow inspired by labor's enemies, esteem for the martyr. The honorary pall bearers at the funeral were a virtual roster of the officials of the trade union movement. The rank and file turned out ten thousand strong to honor the memory of the assassinated leader. Grief and rage and the militant will to carry on—these were and remain the sentiments of the Minneapolis labor movement as a whole, and of all that is honest, genuine and decent in it.

4. The Bosses and Their Press:

Who killed Pat Corcoran and why? Well, at any rate, you can say the bosses didn't shed any tears about the killing. They—or rather, their dirty tools—killed Henry Ness and John Belor in the 1934 strike and another union man's blood wouldn't make their union record any blacker. Beaten by the drivers in every test of strength since 1934, obliged to witness—and pay for—the consistent spread of unionism to other industries, discredited before the public and obliged to resort to various disguises and subterfuges—on the order of the Communist Party "innocent clubs"—the black gang of the Citizens Alliance sought to utilize the killing of Corcoran to cast discredit on the trade union movement. They began to moan and sigh about "racketeers" and "gangsters". If they displayed not the slightest interest in the apprehension of the murderers, they were ready to join a movement to start an "investigation" of the trade unions, out of which might come—who knows?—a "purge" of the movement and, perhaps, also a neat frame-up of its most authentic leaders.

Here, like a troupe of actors getting the cues, the agency of the G.P.U., the American contingent of the international frame-up and murder machine, otherwise known as the Communist party, and sometimes in Minneapolis as the "C.I.O.", took a hand in the game.

5. Enter the G.P.U.:

Who killed Pat Corcoran and why? Well, you can say one thing without fear of going wrong. The G.P.U. gang was ready—too ready!—to point the accusing finger at the unions represented by Corcoran and to his co-workers in the leadership. They didn't need any evidence and they didn't wait for any investigation. As for evidence they have a ready formula employed with such proficiency in Russia, Spain, Czecho-Slovakia, China and other places: frame it up! As for investigation, they have already finished it beforehand and have the verdict ready.

Nevertheless, Minneapolis is not Moscow. One must proceed more cautiously and deviously here. The adopted formula is: first smear the unions, slanders, and discredit the leaders, malign the dead man's memory and then—who knows?—something can be cooked up in the way of a legal frame-up.

The Minneapolis "C.I.O."—no relation to the national C.I.O.—bobs up with a statement batted out in the Communist party office to the effect that labor "gangsterism" is behind the assassination. The daily press and the press associations grab that up—it is right down their alley and turns attention and suspicion away from the forces which killed Henry Ness and John Belor. The Daily Worker manufactures "news" about the rising popular indignation against "gangsterism" which is "linked," of course, to the omniscient, omnipotent and omnipresent "Dunne brothers"—the Stalinist name for militancy, courage and incorruptibility in the Minneapolis labor movement.

The G.P.U. agency are past masters at the art of frame-up and other dark and bloody devices, and I don't for one minute wish to underrate their resources in this respect. At first glance it may appear that they have a good set-up here. They have the natural interest of the bosses to divert suspicion from themselves and deal another blow at their hated enemies—the leaders of the teamsters' unions. They have "church, social and civic organizations," to say nothing of "leading persons of the community" and "public spirited persons" in general, to whom they are now appealing in public statements and circulars and who can always be relied upon when an opportunity presents itself to stooge for the bosses and stab labor in the back. The Stalinists have money in unlimited amounts, vast agencies for slanderous publicity, and a retinue of conscienceless scoundrels ready for any infamy. They have what is known here

(Continued on page 8)

C.P. Faking of Signatures Hit by Mpls. Unionists

MINNEAPOLIS. — That agents of the Communist party attached the names of Minneapolis labor union officials to a leaflet, without the knowledge or consent of the union officials listed, was revealed at the Wednesday morning session of Coroner Seashore's inquest jury's investigation.

One after another, officers of local unions took the stand and testified that the vicious leaflet, issued by an anonymous "volunteer committee", had listed their names as "A. F. of L. sponsors" without their ever having been approached for authorization.

Among those testifying to this were Lewis Benecke, carpenters; Herman Osland, carpenters; W. H. Hackett, electricians; Ray Steffens, sign writers; Peter Murck, sheet metal worker; Carl Hagland, Building Trades Council; D. F. Desmond, floor layers local; F. J. Spitzemberger, cabinet makers; J. O. Johnson, carpenters; Ture Hendrickson, cement workers.

Meeting of Business Agents Denounces Daily Worker Lies

MINNEAPOLIS. — More than 150 officials of the Minneapolis labor movement assembled Monday night at the call of the Minneapolis Board of Union Agents voted almost unanimously to adopt a resolution on the murder of Patrick J. Corcoran which is a slashing condemnation of the fake "anti-gangsterism" meeting called by the Stalinists and their stooges and an exhortation of the foul slander campaign conducted against the best elements of the Minneapolis labor movement by the Daily Worker.

The stinging blow at the professional liars of the American G.P.U. organ, voted against by a tiny minority of the union officials led by the Stalinist Harold Bean, reads as follows:

"WHEREAS, The brutal murder of Patrick J. Corcoran, Secretary-Treasurer of the Teamsters Joint Council, was a blow at the labor movement of Minneapolis, obviously inspired by the enemies of organized labor, and

"WHEREAS, The Teamsters Joint Council has offered \$10,000 reward for information leading to the arrest and conviction of the assassins, and

"WHEREAS, In order to protect the labor movement and its chosen officers from a terroristic murder campaign, the most relentless efforts must be made to bring the assassins to deserved punishment, and

"WHEREAS, Every attempt to attribute the murder of Corcoran to forces inside the labor movement, and to besmirch the trade unions with the accusation that "gangsterism and racketeering" inside labor's ranks is responsible for the murder, constitutes a foul slander on the bona-fide labor movement and its martyred officer, and shields the real murderers and the dark forces behind them, and

HIT "DAILY WORKER"

"WHEREAS, the daily press controlled by the employers, and

the Daily Worker published by the Communist Party have joined in a campaign to smear and discredit the martyred Corcoran and the trade union movement, with the charge that his assassination was caused by "racketeering and gangsterism" in the trade unions, and

"WHEREAS, a public meeting has been called for Wednesday, December 1, at Eagles Hall, by an anonymous "Volunteer committee" under the announced slogan, "gangsterism in the Minneapolis labor movement resulted in the murder of Patrick J. Corcoran."

"THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED:

The assembled official representatives of the A. F. of L. unions of Minneapolis hereby call for the full concentration of all efforts in an unrelenting campaign to bring the murderers to justice,

"AND BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED:

We condemn the mass meeting announced for Wednesday, December 1, at Eagles Hall, as in no way representative of the attitude of organized labor, as being an aid to the mortal enemies of organized labor, and further evidence of an unscrupulous campaign by irresponsible elements to discredit and split the labor movement of Minneapolis."

Christmas Eve Dance

Friday, December 24th, at 9 P. M.

IRVING PLAZA

15th STREET AND IRVING PLACE

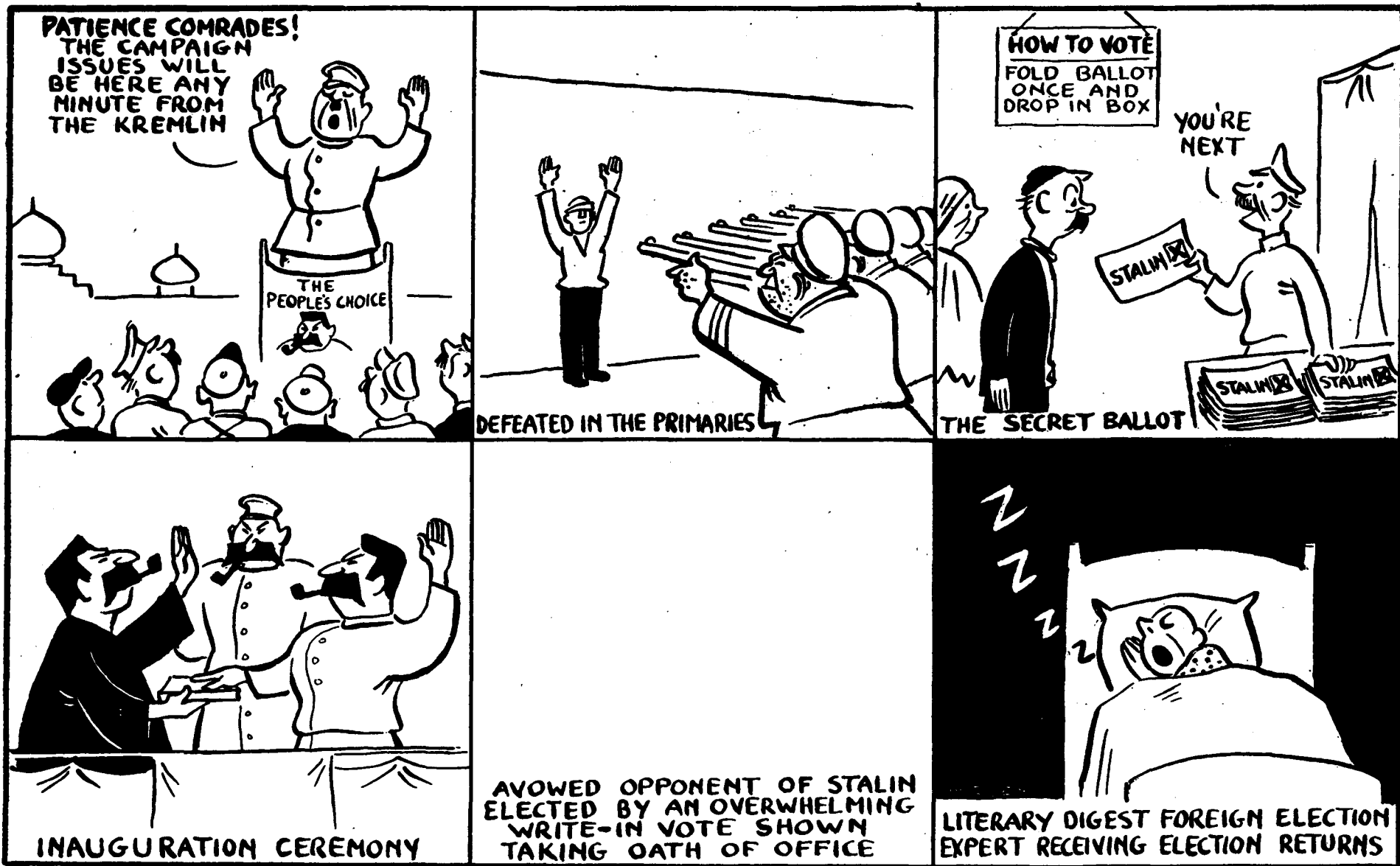
Tickets: In Advance 55 cents — At the door 75 cents

For Sale at: Labor Book Shop, 28 East 12th St.

AUSPICES: Convention Arrangements Committee
Socialist Party (Left Wing)

THE SOVIET ELECTIONS

By Carlo



Bertram Wolfe On The Moscow Trials

HIS SINCERE ACKNOWLEDGEMENT OF MISTAKEN JUDGEMENT MAKES NECESSARY, ON HIS PART, A REEVALUATION OF THE PROBLEM OF THE SOVIET REVOLUTION

By Leon Trotsky

Bertram Wolfe writes the following in regard to the stenographic transcript of the hearings in Coyoacan (*The New Republic*, November 24, 1937):

"The writer owns that his previous position was to give credence rather to Stalin than to Trotsky, but a rereading of the Moscow confessions together with the present work (*"The Case of Leon Trotsky"*), or rather its closing speech carried literally overwhelming conviction that Trotsky could not have done the things charged against him in the Zinoviev-Kamenev and Radek-Piatkov trials."

Such an acknowledgement attests that Bertram Wolfe is somewhat conscientious. If Wolfe were a bourgeois jurist or a mere psychologist, one could be satisfied with this acknowledgement. But Wolfe considers himself a Marxist and is, to my knowledge, a member of a political group. A Marxist should first of all have asked himself: how, during a number of years, he could have been so deeply mistaken about questions of the highest importance, since it is not at all a question of Stalin's personal accusations against Trotsky but of the struggle between two historical tendencies: bureaucratic and proletarian. The Moscow trials were a surprise only to bourgeois and petty-bourgeois philistines. In reality, the trials were being prepared openly, before the eyes of the whole world, during a period of no less than thirteen years. The documents, collected by me in my

book *The Stalin School of Falsification*, bear partial witness to that. Neither can one be silent about the fact that the group of Brandler-Lovestone, to which Bertram Wolfe belongs, has been reared in this school of falsification, and Lovestone himself, by no means a model of conscientiousness, has done his bit in the preparation of the Moscow trials.

Source of the Frame-Ups

This judicial frame-up, unprecedented in human history, is a result of the historically unprecedented reaction against the first proletarian revolution. Falsification—philosophical, historical, biographical, political, literary, judicial—is the inevitable ideological superstructure over the material foundation of the usurpation of state power and the exploitation of the conquest of the revolution by the new aristocracy. A Marxist who openly declares that the Moscow trials were an enigma to him until the appearance of the report of the Coyoacan hearing thereby admits that he has not understood the most important events and processes of contemporary history.

We would not begin to upbraid Wolfe a posteriori for this lack of understanding had he drawn the necessary political conclusions from his tardy discovery, i.e. had he re-examined the position he has taken during the past thirteen years. But Bertram Wolfe behaves in exactly the opposite manner. Having come to the conclusion that the Moscow accusations are a frame-up and that they thus confirm the prognosis of the Left Opposition about the degeneration and the decay of the Thermidor-

ian bureaucracy, Wolfe demands that... we re-examine our outlook. Unbelievable as this sounds, that is, nevertheless, what he demands. The Moscow trials and the subsequent development placed me—don't you see?—before a "new dilemma." I pointed out to the Commission and to the press that Stalin consciously brought several dozen former revolutionists to moral prostration and physical ruin with but one aim: that with their corpses he might deal a blow to the Fourth International and to me in particular. "Now it is becoming clear that he (Trotsky) has been made into a devil largely to make a case against others—leaders of a new opposition which has grown up against Stalin and his methods among his closest supporters." This is completely correct. Long before now we were aware of this "dialectic" of the frame-up. Stalin had to sacrifice dozens of his former comrades in order to create a fantastic figure of the counter-revolutionary arch-conspirator Trotsky. And then he used this figure in order to destroy all his adversaries. There were more of them than Stalin had thought. Their number is growing. It is exactly the coldly prepared bloody frame-up of innocent people, the builders of the Bolshevik party, which cannot help causing the ranks of the bureaucracy itself to shudder. There is nothing unexpected in all this. From 1931 we, the "Left Opposition," more than once foretold that the Thermidorian bureaucracy would come into deeper and deeper conflict with the development of the country and that this contradiction would decompose its own ranks. Organized control of the masses, like the democratic discipline of the party,

has long since ceased to exist. Only the completion of the Bonapartist regime can overcome the centrifugal forces within the bureaucracy. The new constitution prepares this completion. After the elections there will follow, in one form or another, the "coronation" of Stalin. Philistines will reduce all this to love of personal power. In reality, the Thermidorian regime has no perspective other than that of a Bonapartist coronation. But it is exactly now when our prognosis receives an irrefutable confirmation that Bertram Wolfe makes his completely unexpected demand—that we re-examine our views.

"What then happens," he writes, "to Trotsky's central theory that the entire military and police and party and state machinery were so degenerate that no opposition (?) could any more arise within the Party, and that a new revolution was necessary as the only road to renovation?"

We have never said that "no opposition" could ever arise within the "party." On the contrary, we have affirmed that the so-called "party," i.e. the political organization of the bureaucracy will, due to the centrifugal tendencies, further and further decompose. The right, — not Rykov-Bukharin, but the actual restorative tendencies, are immeasurably stronger in it than are the left. Under the label of "Trotskyite," Stalin is now shooting not only the remnants of the revolutionary generation but also the extremely impatient partisans of the bourgeois regime. The traditions of the October Revolution undoubtedly live in the masses. The hostility to the bureaucracy is growing. But the workers and peasants, even those who formally belong to the so-

called party, have no channels and levers through which they can influence the politics of the country. The present trials, arrests, exiles, judicial and extrajudicial shootings, represent a form of preventive civil war which the bureaucracy as a whole leads against the toiling masses and which the more consistent Bonapartist wing of the bureaucracy leads against the other less firm or less reliable elements. If the ruling clique manifestly approaches completed Bonapartism, then it is clear that every serious Left Oppositionist movement cannot help taking the road of a new revolution. But Wolfe concludes that inasmuch as Stalin is shooting many people, that shows the possibility... of a peaceful reorganization of the regime.

Bertram Wolfe saw a little piece of truth but, as has been said already, he saw it from a formally judicial and individually psychological point of view. That shows that he belongs to that generation of Marxists which is deft in organizational maneuvers and chess moves but completely unlearned in a Marxist approach to great problems. We value the sincerity of the acknowledgement of Wolfe and we say this without the least irony. But it is exactly because of this that we advise Wolfe to throw off the petty consideration of clannishness, to approach the problem without that cynicism which characterizes Brandler-Lovestone, to study anew the problem of the Soviet revolution and to re-examine his position from beginning to end. Otherwise, Wolfe will, with a delay of some years, have to make new discoveries. And time, meanwhile, does not wait. The problems are big. Important work is to be done.

Coyoacan, Nov. 25, 1937.

INTERNATIONAL NOTES

Soviet Election to Be "Uncontested". — List of Candidates Reveals New Social Composition of Ruling Stratum.

By John G. Wright

With the official registration of candidates "elected" to run for the Supreme Soviet, Stalin has stripped his plebiscite of all the ornaments and pretences that have hitherto adorned it. In the first place, the elections will be uncontested. That is to say in 99% of the electoral districts, if not in all of them, only one candidate will run. In his graciously worded dispatch to the N. Y. Times, Denny ventures to guess that in a few isolated instances, more than one candidate may perhaps appear on the ballot. That still remains to be seen. Thus far, there has not been any official notice of a "contested" election in the Soviet press. From the data already available, the possibility of such elections being held is reduced to a dozen or so districts still to be heard from.

A breakdown of the candidates already registered, and in effect, already "elected", reveals that among them there is not a single rank-and-file worker or peasant. The candidates have been hand-picked exclusively from among the ruling tops in the party and government and from among the new aristocracy of Stakhanovists and "well-to-do" kolkhozniki, and the Stalinist "intelligentsia".

Breakdown of Candidates' List

1) Party and government functionaries	138	41+
2) Army, Navy, Air Corps officers	37	11+
3) G.P.U.	18	5+
4) Stakhanovists etc	50	15+
5) Kolkhoz aristocracy	55	16+
6) "Intellectuals"	21	6+
Total	319	96+

The remaining 12 candidates are "miscellaneous" i.e., they may be assigned to any one of the last four groups. It goes without saying that a few among those listed in groups 4, 5, and 6 may be party members. But these figures constitute incontestable proof that the "non-party Bolsheviks" compose in point of number a bloc as large as that of the "party Bolsheviks", with the G.P.U. and the military functionaries holding the "majority" in a bloc with either one of these two groups—an item which may prove of decisive significance in future developments. In our previous comments we had forecasted that the mechanics of the election would reveal Stalin's plan to shift his base from his previous supporters in the old bureaucracy to a new "base". In the above data, we observe the concrete realization of this plan. It is further to be borne in mind that Stalin has in addition "renovated" thoroughly his old "Bolshevik" base. Many of the "party" candidates appear in the lists with a significant notation that this or that candidate is "fulfilling the duties" of this or that party or Soviet functionary, i.e., the original incumbent had been purged, and a "substitute" appointed at the very last moment without even the formalities having been observed.

Fear Boycott of Elections

One should imagine that with a set-up such as Stalin has engineered, there is nothing for him to worry about. Yet the press continues to be filled with "alarm signals" that the "class enemy" will attempt to "disrupt" the elections, and "do dirt". Says Pravda: "It is impermissible to forget that the good nature and dopiness of several party and Soviet organizations is being utilized by enemy elements who are attempting and will continue to attempt in every way imaginable to do us dirt in the election campaign". (Nov. 15). This enigmatic language covers up the mortal fear of the ruling clique of a boycott of the elections. According to the provisions of the constitution each candidate must poll over one-half of the votes in his district to be elected. Should the voters stay away from the polls, or should they pursue the less dangerous course of going to the polls, and "scratching" the lone delegate, a very compromising situation would ensue. Pencils are no longer necessary in Stalin's election. But every man with a pencil is a potential threat. The dread of this possibility crops out in the campaign to turn out 100% of the votes; and much more directly in the speeches of the dignitaries themselves. Thus Kossarev a member of the Central Electoral Committee, recently issued an appeal to the youth regarding their role in the elections. He stressed their duty to expose and agitate against the enemy elements, and he indicated three infallible signs whereby any dutiful youth could immediately discover elements "hostile to the Soviet system, and the Communist Party".

We list them, as given by Kossarev: (1) Those who attempt to "talk the populace out of active participation in the elections" (i.e., the advocates of boycott!) (2) those who "attempt to put forward their own hostile candidates"; (3) those who "spread anti-Soviet anecdotes" and generally "carry on hostile agitation." Where? "Sometimes," says Kossarev cautiously, "even at political meetings," but as rule, he continues "in stores, baths, barber shops, street cars, foyers of movie houses, bazars and houses of prayer."

Diplomats in Grip of Purge

With the latest purge of the Soviet consulate in China, the list of foreign offices thus far affected now includes: Germany, Poland (Davtyan), Lithuania (Podolsky); Finland (Asmus); Latvia (Brodersky); Estonia (Ustinov—he committed suicide) and Spain (Antonov-Ovseyenko). While the head of the English embassy, Maisky is still intact, his staff has been riddled. A. Shuster, one of the embassy's secretaries is being held in Russia. The naval attaché, Antipa-Chikunsky; the military attaches A. K. Sirkov, and Ivan Cherny have been "recalled." Sirkov and Cherny were appointed in Putna's place. The arrest of Yurenev, one of Litvinov's most intimate friends raises of course the question of Litvinov's impending demise. A persistent rumor is circulating in the European press that a Moscow trial of ambassadors is now in preparation. It is said that Yurenev, Karsky, Krestinsky and Antonov-Ovseyenko have already "confessed."

Economic Crisis Grows With More Lay-Offs And Rising Cost Of Living

(Continued from page 1)

1929, crash. Seventy so-called representative industrial issues are down 100 points from the 1929 high, after having recorded a recovery of 30 points in 1937, according to the New York Herald-Tribune stock market chart of November 22. Leading railroad stocks have shown similar losses.

(8) Construction contracts have decreased in thirty-seven States in October as compared with the corresponding month of 1936, according to the Herald-Tribune index, and cotton sales slumped more than 100,000 bales in one month.

(9) All the large commercial banks have reported a halt in the demand for business expansion loans. Instead of extending credits the banks, to build up earnings assets, are purchasing Federal securities. This is the procedure followed by these institutions during the entire period of the last crisis.

(10) The National public debt, totaling more than 37 billion dollars is 20 billions higher than in 1932 and the government is increasing its monetary gold stocks, apparently in anticipation of inflation measures.

(11) Always ready to make the workers pay, the powerful industrial corporations have launched new drives to cut wages, increase hours and establish company unions. As a result, strikes have multiplied and militant trade unions are fighting with their backs to the wall before the savage onslaughts of Big Business.

(12) Department of Commerce figures show a slump in exports to China, Japan, Spain and other countries.

The foreign summary, while reflecting the seriousness of the situation, does not, of course tell the whole story.

Repetition of 1929

In 1932 the Democrats blamed the economic cataclysm, which brought distress to one-third of the nation's population, upon the Hoover administration and Franklin D. Roosevelt, then governor, promised a "New Deal" for the "forgotten man." Now, after four years of the "New Deal", America's workers and farmers are facing under Roosevelt almost a repetition of the bitter days of 1929-33. The "forgotten man" has been forgotten with a vengeance.

Mindful that statistics make very dull reading they are, nevertheless, necessary in any candid study of economic conditions and since activity in heavy industry serves as a barometer for judging trade gains or sluggishness, it is vital to make at least a brief survey of that sphere of opera-

tions.

The United States Iron and Steel Institute estimated on November 22 that steel ingot production was at 33 per cent of capacity.

The Iron Age of the same date pointed out... "that the automobile industry upon which the steel industry's hopes had been pinned for many weeks is not only taking less steel but its December production schedules have been revised downward to an extent that promises little aid for the mills unless orders should be placed sometime next month for January shipment." This blunt announcement foretells layoffs for thousands in the steel and auto plants in the East and Middle Western States, in addition to the 200,000 already dropped from the pay-rolls.

Ingot production has dropped from 4,543,246 tons in October, 1936, to 3,392,691 tons for the same month this year. Shipments of the United States Steel Corp. have been cut from 1,007,417 tons in October, 1936, to 792,310 in October last. And now a glance at conditions in the country's light industry.

Cost of Living Rises

According to the cost of living index of the National Industrial Conference Board, all items entering into the cost of living have advanced from the depression low of 71.5 in April, 1933 to 89.5, an increase of 18 points or 25 per cent. In this index the 1923 costs are used as a base of reference.

The cost of living index has five component parts, namely, food, housing, clothes, fuel and light, and sundries.

The cost of fuel and light has gone up about 1 per cent in the four-and-a-half-year period. The next smallest increase has been in sundries, a rise of 9.8 per cent.

In this period the cost of clothing in the family budget has jumped 30 per cent. The next largest increase in the cost of living subdivisions has been in rent. Taking the period from April, 1933, to October, 1937, the cost of housing has gone up 40 per cent.

Most striking of the increases in the essentials of life has been in food. At the high point for the business recovery, attained in May, 1937, the cost of food increased 42.8 per cent.

The index of the Department of Labor throws more light on how the cost of living has risen under the Roosevelt Administration, with, by no means, a proportionate rise in wages.

Higher Prices Coming

From March 15, 1933 until Oct. 12, 1937, the department's food

index has gone up 42 per cent. The index shows that the price of eggs has increased 90 per cent in this period. The cost of meat is up 70 per cent. Cereal and bakery products, at retail, are 36.6 per cent higher. Fruits and vegetables have increased 8 per cent and sugar and sweets are up 17.4 per cent.

With prices still rising, the public debt mounting, unemployment growing and Big Business demanding a reduction on the profits and other taxes, the government has taken preliminary steps for further devaluation of the dollar, if necessary. The consequence would be still higher prices, a slash in real wages and another blow to the workers' living standard.

On November 22, the U. S. Treasury reported monetary gold stocks of \$12,789,000,000 as compared with \$11,127,000,000, for the same date last year, indicating the government's inclination to amass the metal as a forerunner to possible devaluation of the currency.

Insistence by Wall Street upon the special session of Congress for a slash in taxes on corporation profits has quickly borne results. In his message to Congress, Roosevelt made it plain that government projects and home relief funds would be cut drastically and that the jobless and their families would be thrown upon the mercies of local charities and private business.

Big Business Reassured

Senate Democratic Leader Barkley announced on November 24 that "we will pass a tax revision bill before corporations have to file their returns on March 15." This statement carried double assurance that the government intended to raise its revenues by means that would be satisfactory to Finance Capital—means that, inevitably, would be against the interests of the masses of the people.

While thus reassuring Big Business, the Roosevelt Administration still seeks to hold the confidence of misled workers and farmers. Accordingly, Roosevelt has drafted a renovated "New Deal" program, which boasts a Wages and Hours Bill and a "crop control" plan.

The Wages and Hours Bill, if enacted into law, will be used as a bludgeon over the workers even as is the Wagner Act today. Bosses may utilize the spread-work and hour-reduction legislation to slash wages and inaugurate the new speed-up methods. The law may culminate into another share-the-misery program, as first introduced by Walter C. Teagle of Standard Oil during the early days of the last crisis.

As to the crop control program, it is sheer insanity. Cotton and grain products would be curtailed or plantations levelled. Crops would be destroyed at a time when millions face hunger and, many, utter starvation. While some farmers, especially those owning their own farms would benefit by the government aid and a slight increase in the price for raw material, the reduced output would offer the big manufacturers a golden opportunity to skyrocket prices and swell profits at the expense of the consumers.

It is patent that the flimsy patch-work legislation proposed by the administration will neither solve the new crisis nor make easier a severe winter for the nation's toilers.

(Wall Street's view of the economic situation will be dealt with in a forthcoming article).

The Truth About The Moscow Trials! IS TROTSKY INNOCENT OR GUILTY?

Hear the

FINAL REPORT

of the Commission of Inquiry into the Charges made against Leon Trotsky in the Moscow trials.

SPEAKERS:

JOHN DEWEY

Suzanne La Follette

Benjamin Stolberg

Carlo Tresca

John Chamberlain

Wendelin Thomas

John Finerty

Sunday, December 12th, 8:00 P. M.

at the HOTEL CENTER 108 West 43rd Street

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American Committee for the Defense of
Of Leon Trotsky

100 Fifth Avenue, New York City ALgonquin4-4950

"Partisan Review:" A Revolt Against Stalinism Among The Intellectuals

This week we salute the appearance of a new literary magazine of the left under an old name: the *Partisan Review*. Originally an off spring of the John Reed Clubs under the bureaucratic despotism of the Communist Party apparatus, the *Partisan Review* has undergone a metamorphosis. It has declared its independence of the Stalinists and their literary policies and struck out upon its own. Since to break openly, clearly, cleanly with Stalinism is the primary condition of progress in any sphere of the radical movement and requires not a little backbone, we can only congratulate the editors of the new venture upon their bold decision and wish them well.

Significant Step

This divorce of a talented group of radical intellectuals from Stalinism signifies anew that the most sensitive and searching members of the younger generation can no longer live in the poisoned atmosphere arising from the decay of that once virile movement. They must break out of that prison house of the Dead to breathe fresh air and to make for themselves a place where creative and independent revolutionary thinking and writing can flourish without police regulations and restrictions. In the struggle that has raged around the Moscow Trials in the past year, a distinguished contingent of advanced American intellectuals proved to be more alert to the issues involved and more firm in their determination to fight the Stalinist rule of lies and terror than their less fortunately situated colleagues across the Atlantic. The stand of the *Partisan Reviewers* is a fresh manifestation of the same healthy trend.

According to its editorial manifesto, the *Partisan Review* aspires to be revolutionary in tendency and Marxist in character. The indispensable foundation for any kind of revolutionary Marxist organ, political, or trade union, is a clear and correct policy. One of the principal questions confronting the editors of a revolutionary review is the relation between literature and politics, or, in this concrete case, the relationship between the *Partisan Review* and the existing revolutionary tendencies. What answer do they give to this problem?

The editors counterpose two policies to each other. One is the Stalinist conception which "equates the interests of literature with those of factional politics"; imposes a party line on literature; and sets up a bureaucratic board of censors, armed with police powers, to enforce that line. They categorically reject this "totalitarian trend" of the Stalinist commissars of culture, ruinous to the development of living art and science. So far, so good.

But, in their revulsion against the vicious ideas and practices of Stalinism, the *Partisan Reviewers* have swung over to the opposite extreme. They aspire "to independence in politics as well as in art." What precisely is meant by this? Obviously, they do not intend to ignore the influence of past or present politics upon cultural productions. See the articles on Flaubert's politics and Picasso's contributions. They

have another end in view. They propose to remain independent, i.e. neutral and indifferent, not toward politics in general, but only toward the revolutionary politics of the labor movement. Is it not exceedingly anomalous for a revolutionary Marxist magazine to proclaim above all its independence... of revolutionary Marxist politics?

But, the editors may protest, we wish to be independent, not in regard to revolutionary politics, but only in regard to its "organized political expressions." Unfortunately, in real life, the two are inseparable. Revolutionary politics does not exist in *vacuo*, but among living groups of people, bound together by common ideas and organized into political parties. Moreover, revolutionary Marxist politics did not begin yesterday. It has almost a century of development behind it.

Which one among the tendencies struggling for supremacy within the ranks of the American working class most clearly and consistently expresses and fights for the ideas, interests, and aims of Socialism and most faithfully carries on the best traditions of Marxism? Which must be considered the vanguard of the revolutionary movement? This question confronts the editors of the *Partisan Review*, and not them alone. They wish, however, to evade a direct answer to it.

Two Wrong Views

The *Partisan Review* was founded, they say, "precisely to fight the tendency to confuse literature and party politics." Not all the confusion on this point, however, is on the side of their antagonist. If the Stalinist sectarians are guilty of identifying literature and politics, the *Partisan Reviewers* are likewise culpable of ignoring, and thus denying in practice, the close bonds between them. Their error consists in mistaking sectarian politics for politics in general. In reality, no such thing exists as "non-partisan politics." Politics may be good or bad, correct or incorrect, proletarian, non-proletarian, or anti-proletarian, but never "non-partisan."

Both the Stalinist conception of the absolute subordination of literature to politics and the *Partisan Reviewers'* conception of its absolute independence are one-sided and false. But there is a third conception which bases itself upon the interdependence of the two. According to this conception, which is, in our opinion, the correct Marxist position, there need be no discord between revolutionary politics and revolutionary literature, but on the contrary, a profound harmony between them. All depends upon establishing a correct working relationship between them and their organized expressions.

What should be the nature of this relationship? Not one of despotism and servile dependence, as the Stalinists demand, nor one of toplofty indifference, and alienation, as the *Partisan Reviewers* think necessary. The normal and natural relationship between a revolutionary Marxist cultural organ and a genuinely Marxist party should be one of fraternal

collaboration in a common work. Is it not strange that the two should be considered mutually incompatible and hostile? For this misconception, as for many others prevalent among the radical (and ultra-radical) intellectuals, the corrupting influence of Stalinist authoritarianism is responsible. The forms of this collaboration do not matter so much as its real content. Once the necessity of joint work is recognized, it will be easy enough to find the most fruitful conditions for collaboration.

Cannot Be Indifferent

In any case, the editors of the *Partisan Review* cannot remain true to their revolutionary Marxist aspirations and remain indifferent to living politics. Politics omniates everything in our world, including literature. In order to survive, progress, and become a real force in literature, no less than in politics, it is necessary not to turn one's back upon political questions, but to define clearly one's attitude toward contending ideas and forces. Not indifference but intelligence; not anti-politics but correct politics; such is the Marxist approach to the problem.

The *Partisan Review* experienced the impossibility of ignoring politics even before the appearance of its first issue. No sooner was its publication announced than the Stalinist press launched a formidable lynch campaign against the magazine and its editors. The Stalinists fear the consequences of this defection from the ranks of their intellectual sympathizers; they have already suffered heavily in the past year. No longer able to allow a hand's breadth of independence to their followers, their grip upon the most critical and honest among them is visibly weakening. They must quarantine dissidents at all cost, and in every quarter. Thus the whole frame-up technique has been unlimbered against the *Partisan Reviewers*.

The answer of the editors to these abominable and outrageous attacks is, to say the least, woefully weak. The *Daily Worker*, among other things, assails them as "of the same ilk that murdered Kirov, that turned the guns on the backs of Loyalist civilians in Spain and betrayed the Army's front line, that have been caught red-handed in plots with the Gestapo and Japanese militarists to dismember the Soviet Union." In a word as "Trotskyists." All this merely proves, according to the editors, "the degenerative effect of imposing a Party Line on Literature" and, what "it is painful to us, as radicals, to realize, the intellectual bankruptcy of the Communist Party leadership." One is irresistibly reminded of that brave husbandman, who shouted after a gang of bandits and assassins: "You have killed my wife, raped my daughter, robbed my money, and burned down my house, but don't you dare touch my garden, or I will get mad!"

If an honest but misguided worker or intellectual voices such accusations, it is necessary to explain how false and vile they are. But when a pack of conscienceless scoundrels in the service of the great corrupter and destroyer of the Socialist revolution contrives a frame-up, it is imperative to defend oneself with the utmost vigor and to expose the motives and real roots of this villainy. Does not the timid and

With The Party

Kansas City Local Endorses Chicago Rank and File Convention

The Kansas City, Missouri, local of the Socialist Party has come out solidly for the Left Wing and will send delegates to the Chicago convention on Dec. 31. In a letter sent to us, the Kansas City comrades enclose the following resolution for publication:

Resolution of Kansas City Local Of the Socialist Party

Whereas: the National Executive Committee has separated itself from the members of the Socialist Party by disregarding the dictates of the rank and file and by expelling party members for expressing differences of opinion within the party, and

Whereas: repeated demands to cease these expulsions and this "gagging" of the party have been

disregarded by the N.E.C. and Whereas: the result of this has been to split the party and to allow it to leave the path of the class struggle (as in the recent New York election disgrace) and

Whereas: the rank and file of the party has the inalienable right and duty to determine its own and the party's destiny, Therefore Be It Resolved: that we endorse a convention of the rank and file to be opened in Chicago on December 31, 1937 to determine the future policies of the party.

(Signed) Socialist Party, Kansas City, Mo.
C. O'Hara, Secretary.
The resolution was adopted at the last meeting of the local with all votes of those present, except one. Funds are being raised for the delegates.

Attempt to Split Rochester Party Fails

ROCHESTER, N. Y.—The attempt of the LaGuardia "Socialists" James Lipsig and Hans Peters to split the Monroe County (Rochester) Local of the Socialist Party has failed miserably.

After announcing in the capitalist press the expulsion of B. C. Bennem, County Chairman, and other leading officers, Lipsig and Peters issued boastful press releases about their "reorganization" plans. Actually, their "reorganization" activities have re-

sulted in a complete flop. At its last meeting, Local Rochester upheld the expelled officers almost unanimously. The Right Wing "reorganizers" scooped up all of two stalwarts for their "luxe" in the whole of Monroe County.

Local Rochester is continuing with regular party activity as before. Preparations are being made to send delegates to the Chicago Convention of the Left Wing at the end of the month.

Greetings From India

Greetings to the First Convention of the Revolutionary Socialist Party of the U. S.

May the independent workers party in the United States be the true organizer of the working class. May it become the stimulating force that will awake the sleeping masses in colonial countries. May it help to create

the First Revolutionary Party of India under the Banner of the Fourth International.

Paul Schwalbe,
Calcutta, India, Nov. 10, 1937.

NEW "CHALLENGE" OUT
The December anti-war issue of the *Challenge of Youth* is just off the press. Buy it now.

ineffective "riposte" of the editors belong "to the petty-bourgeois tradition of gentility," that editor MacDonald sees as characteristic of the New Yorker, rather than to the polemical, militant character of Marxism?

Fills a Need

The best critical and creative spirits among the younger generation, imbued with revolutionary ideas and emotions and disgusted with Stalinism, have long wanted such a medium of expression as the *Partisan Review* proposes to provide. This growing company of writers and artists has hitherto lacked an organ free of the intolerable grip of the Stalinist Inquisition, whose fingers reach out in all directions to strangle their talents. The new review comes to fill a gaping hole in the radical cultural movement.

Together with the editors of the *Partisan Review* we oppose a politically managed art and science. We believe that there should be the widest latitude for experimentation and a complete autonomy within their own field for the workers in the arts and sciences. To allow free scope for the struggle of contending liter-

ary and artistic tendencies and their mutual influence, we believe that a revolutionary literary organ should be open to the best productions of living literature, regardless of the special political ideas of their authors. A sectarian policy in this sphere is absolutely fatal.

In avowing itself hospitable, experimental, democratic, the *Partisan Review* has set its foot on the right road. But it is not enough to have a broad circumference; it is equally necessary to have an ideological and political center from which all the rest logically radiates. Such a center is required for the orientation of the magazine amongst the ideas and forces of our time. It alone can give character, strength, and direction to its editorial policy and enable it to become a genuine force among the intellectuals of the rising revolutionary generation.

In breaking with Stalinism and launching upon a new career, great opportunities and perspectives are opened up to the *Partisan Review*. Let it continue to clarify its ideas along Marxist lines, and these opportunities can be richly realized.

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Dancing—Dining—Drinking
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Are You Ready for War?

A Discussion on Imperialist War, Past and Present, on the Presidential "Peace-Lovers" and How They Prepare the Minds of the Masses in Support of a New World-Wide War for Plunder and Exploitation.

The Second Principle of the War-Makers

The second principle of the war-makers is to split the working class opposition to war, winning over sections of the workers. No army ever goes into battle against the foe in front when its rear is threatened by another army. And no capitalist government goes to war against the foreign foe when its rear (at home) is menaced by a hostile working class. It must first assure the support of the workers. To split the working-class opposition to war is a life-and-death question for it.

The greatest deterrent to imperialist war, therefore, is the threat by the workers that the outbreak of war means class struggle, strikes, internal disturbances, the threat of revolution behind the lines—a threat expressed not alone in words but mainly in daily class struggle now against the government. This is how to postpone the war which is inevitable as long as world capitalism lasts.

And conversely, when the workers' organizations announce voluntarily, in advance, that they are behind the government's war policy, or that in any event they will support war when it comes—that is a greater encouragement to the outbreak of war than all the Hearst editorials and big-navy propaganda put together. It is the green light which signals to Engineer Roosevelt of the war-machine: "The way is clear. Full speed ahead."

Jumping on the Bandwagon for War

And Roosevelt opened up the throttle in Chicago on October 5: "Quarantine the aggressor—organize the peace-loving democratic nations against the aggressors—against Japan." All the forces of American imperialism hitched themselves behind him and loudly applauded his policy: Col. Knox, Landon's running mate in 1936; Stimson, Hoover's Secretary of State; Sen. Borah, a leading Republican and (hitherto) isolationist; the N. Y. Herald-Tribune, organ of reactionary Republicanism; these Republicans found no difficulty agreeing with the unanimous chorus of approval that rose from the Democratic ranks. (It is interesting to note also the favorable reaction of Fascist Austria and Poland and of the reactionary National Government of England.)

The labor agents of imperialism also came through. William Green of the American Federation of Labor backed Roosevelt in an enthusiastic speech. And there is no doubt of John L. Lewis's attitude on the question. These rivals on the trade union field, the one conservative, the other "progressive", both unite on the basis of American imperialism. And not to be left out of this People's Front of American imperialism, the Communist Party rushed to join the bandwagon, endorsing Roosevelt's speech 150%, without reservations. But the war position of the Communist Party and Young Communist League (the Stalinists) may be seen most clearly in its latest expression—the replies given by their leaders to the inquiry by the Massachusetts Legislative Committee investigating "subversive propaganda."

The "Communists" Pledge Allegiance

Queried by the Committee with regard to his patriotism, Earl Browder, leader of the C. P., replied clearly and vigorously. "In 1917 I tried to prevent war and I went to prison," said Browder,

"but in a war against the fascists I would join the armies of the United States." (Boston Herald, Oct. 1, 1937.)

Just as clear were the replies of Dave Grant who testified as the representative of the Y.C.L.:

Sen. Burke: Do you believe in teaching boys they shouldn't be connected with the National Defence of the country?

Grant: I have never said anything of the sort. I don't believe it.

Burke: Do you believe in doing away with the National Guard, the CMTC, the ROTC and turning any war into civil war according to the resolution of the 8th Congress of the CP?

Grant: No.

Burke: Do you support the resolution of the 8th Congress of the Communist Party calling for the abolition of the ROTC?

Grant: No.

Burke: The resolution calling for the abolition of the National Guard and the CMTC?

Grant: No.

Burke: Do you believe in defending your country in case of war, would you fight?

Grant: Yes!

Groves: Do you know what the Oxford Pledge is?

Grant: Yes!

Groves: Do you know the Young Communists support the Pledge which urges students to refuse to support the government in war?

Grant: No, we don't.

Groves: Do members of the YCL take the pledge in the American Student Union?

Grant: No, they don't.

Holmes: Do you differentiate, as did your leader Lenin, between "imperialist democracy and soviet democracy" as quoted by another member of the Commission?

Grant: No, we don't differentiate.

(Concluded in next issue)

WHO KILLED PATRICK CORCORAN, AND WHY?

(Continued from page 4) as the "C.I.O."

But with all that, in my opinion, they haven't got enough in Minneapolis. Their intended victims are too closely integrated in the labor movement here. It is too clear that the frame-up gang, in striking at the hated Trotskyites, the "Dunne brothers", are trying to smear and discredit the great trade union movement they represent. The labor movement of Minneapolis is on guard against the frame-up gang. The elementary class interest of the national labor movement—C.I.O. as well as A. F. of L.—is against them. The truth, the evidence, the circumstances, the motivation for the murder of Pat Corcoran are all against them. But, above all, against them stands the record of the Stalinists, on an international scale, a bloody and terrible record of frame-up, of murder, or character-assassination, of corruption—which has revolted the conscience of the world and warned enlightened workers everywhere to be on guard.

The labor movement of Minneapolis is on guard. The frame-up gang has to operate in the full light of publicity here. The attempt to stage a Minneapolis version of the Moscow trials has already become, instead, a trial of the Stalinist frame-up gang, and will result in their exposure and their conviction before the public opinion of the working class!

drive for subscriptions and contributions. The subscription total will be a good barometer of the growth of our party.

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Progressives Win in Akron C I O Council

Wilmer Tate, ex-CLU Chairman, Is Chosen As New President

AKRON, Ohio.—Progressive forces in the labor movement here won a decisive victory recently when their slate of candidates for offices in the CIO industrial union council was elected.

Wilmer Tate, well-known Akron labor leader, was chosen president of the council. He had been ousted as president of the A.F. of L. Central Labor Union by direct orders of William Green because Tate strongly advocated industrial unionism and condemned publicly the splitting policies of the A.F. of L. executive council.

The vice president of the council is Charles Collins, president of General Local, URWA. He is recognized as the most militant and progressive rubber workers union president in this area.

The post of corresponding secretary was won by Redmond Greer, Goodrich Local. He had been floor leader of the progressive caucus in the CLU during the past two years. Financial secretary elected was A. L. Calhoun, of the Bus drivers union, and recording secretary is Ann Tahensky, of the CIO office workers union.

The temporary officers who had been chosen with the approval of the leadership of the international officers of the United Rubber Workers did not run against the progressive slate since defeat was impending.

Frisco WPA Workers Face Mass Dismissals

SAN FRANCISCO.—More than 300 WPA workers employed in the Area Statistical and Research Office here are faced with immediate dismissal according to an announcement made by WPA Director of Research Emerson Ross. This slash into the work relief program is in line with the nation-wide "economy" drive now being conducted by the Roosevelt Administration.

Ross's announcement, which declared that the research office would be discontinued, came on the heels of reports that similar action had already been taken in the Area offices in New York, Philadelphia and Chicago.

Very weak resistance is being put up against the cuts by the United Federal Workers of America, a CIO affiliate which is pledged not to strike. Delegates are being sent to Washington where they will be given a ride on the famous merry-go-round, and protests (!) are being sent to state, local and federal officials. That the workers involved want action is to be seen in the fact that joint committees of union and non-union workers have been set up to campaign for continuation of the projects. These non-union workers will support a joint committee while refusing to join a union that has already tied its own hands.

Left Jobs

Stalin Stages an Election

President Kalinin speaking on the Soviet elections said, "But if in our country, in a number of places, candidates withdraw their names for the benefit of some candidate, it is a result of their social kinship and common political purpose."—Of course, of course, but isn't it just possible that the rattle of the firing squads was a contributing factor?

Back to '76!

Among the many persistent rumors of a patched up peace in Spain the most amazing was the one that proposed a "Monarchy under the Constitution of 1876." That this proposal can be seriously put forward is indicative of the success of the People's Front Government and its Stalinist hatchet-men in destroying the Revolution.

"Seeing Things"

The Socialist Call reports H. Zam speaking to the tattered remnants in Reading, "I see a particularly bright future for the Party."—Boy, that's optimism for you!!! The brightness of the future pictured by Zam officially is only surpassed by the gloomy darkness of his internal documents.

The Murder of Andres Nin!

Anyone wishing to see the squirmings of a poisonous rat should read George Soria's article in the Daily Worker attempting to explain away the Stalinist murder of Nin. The frame-up artists are getting panicky. Soria's attempt will convince nobody outside the circle of 20th Century Morons.

Unity in the Opium Trade!

"Unity between Catholics and Communists is necessary, is possible, is on the way to accomplishment."—Thorez, French Stalinist leader as quoted in the Daily Worker. With the "dictum of Saint Paul" the "Pope's Encyclicals" and Stalin's speeches for theory and the murder of revolutionists for practice, we can see a real basis for unity. Certainly, no questions of principle divide them.

Ludendorff and Hitler!

General Ludendorff who, after a period of antagonism, again joined Hitler last March, is reported to be near death. Turn about being fair-play, let's hope that the German workers see to it that Hitler rejoins the General at an early date.

"The Great Democrat"

That hoary old wage-cutting slogan "Lower wages and steady work", is trotted out by "our great democratic president" in his housing proposal. "Labor's candidate" is certainly handing out "labor's reward!"

THE NEW INTERNATIONAL

The first number of the revived NEW INTERNATIONAL magazine is now on the press and can be obtained in another day or two.

The Subscription rate is \$2.00 per year. Bundle Rates are 14 cents per copy in bundles of five or more. Canadian and Foreign Rates: Subscriptions: \$2.50 per year; Bundle rate: 16 cents per copy.

THE NEW INTERNATIONAL,
116, UNIVERSITY PLACE,
NEW YORK, N. Y.

Growing Pains

Over three months have elapsed since the new Appeal appeared on the revolutionary horizon. At times that horizon has seemed dark—so dark that we found it necessary to resort to an emergency appeal to prevent suspension of publication. At other times, when locals like Minneapolis came through in the nick of time and contributions came in from unexpected sources, the horizon brightened.

The fluctuating financial condition of the Socialist Appeal is not an unusual one. Without exception, every organ of a revolutionary party in the past has had

its period of growing pains. But it has come to the point where the pains must be eliminated and our income stabilized.

Through this column in the near future, unless there is response from the lagging locals, we shall report the progress—or lack of progress being made in various sections of the country. We shall report the failure of some locals to pay for bundle orders. There is no reason why one or two locals should bear the burden of financing the Appeal.

From now until the convention of the Socialist Party (Left Wing) let us make a concerted