FOR THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL!

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# Smash Fascism In Mexico!

GPU Stages Frame-Up Trial In Barcelona Workers Must

## Charge Seven Militants With **Assassination**

Stalin-Yezhov Methods Applied In Spain Against Revolutionists Who Have Been In Front Ranks Against Franco

### **BOLSHEVIK-LENINISTS ACCUSED**

PARIS.—Under the direct auspices of Joseph Stalin's G.P.U. a new "Moscow trial" is being staged in Barcelona where seven proletarian militants, fighters in the anti-Fascist ranks since the outbreak of the civil war, have been accused of the actual murder of a militia officer named Leon Narvitch and with plotting the assassination of heads of the Loyalist government.

The trial is an attempt to "prove" by "legal" methods that the Spanish Bolshevik-Leninists, heroic defenders of a revolutionary program for the working class of Spain, are "Fascist agents." The proceedings are not public and the "evidence" consists exclusively of the dossier provided by the Stalinist secret police.

Although the indictment in the case was dated March 10, news of the trial reached here only on May 2. The Parti Ouvrier Internationaliste (Workers Internationalist Party), French Section of the Fourth International, has issued a call to the Anarchist Union, the expelled Socialist Federation of the Seine, and other organizations, as well as the International Aid, for a united front action in defense of the accused militants.

#### Accused Militants

The accused men are: Manuel Fernandez Grandizo Munis, militant Bolshevik-Leninist, known to the revolutionary movement as one of the founders. along with Andres Nin and Andrade, of the "Communist Left." Long active in the Madrid labor movement, Munis went to Mexico before the Spanish revolution of 1931 and there became secretary of the Communist League of Mexico. When the Fascist rebellion broke out, he returned at once to Madrid and there took his place at the front in the ranks of the Young Socialist militia. He saw months of service on the Madrid front. He was forced underground when the Negrin-Stalin terror began against all revolutionary militants.

Adolfo Carlini, Italian comrade, member of the Italian Socialist Party, fighter in the anti-Fascist militia from the first on the Aragon front. Known in Marseille, in particular, as an honest militant, Carlini won public recognition for his heroism at Estrecho-Quinto and Monte- Aragon.

#### One Escaped

Aage Kielso, Bolshevik militant, who was arrested but succeeded in escaping his G. P. U.

Jaime Fernandez Rodriguez, Teodoro Sanz Hernandez, shevik-Leninist militants.

Louis Zanon, youth comrade who entered the movement after July 19, 1936, former translator "La Batalla," organ of the P. O. U. M., and "L'Editorial Marxista." Young and frail, Zanon was broken by weeks of torture and signed a confession of non-existent crimes. He subsequently repudiated this "conand demanded a new fession" hearing.

Victor Offdik, Czechoslovak worker, militiaman.

In Barcelona Prison

The indictment also mentioned a mysterious "Max" or "Joan' who is vaguely identified as a "political commissar" whose whereabouts are unknown. He had stated previously that he was German. His precise role in the (Continued on page 3)

## The Memorial Day Massacre



### If the Martyrs Could Speak

## For Workers Defense!

Memorial Day marks the first anniversary of the police-murder of ten workers and the wounding of many others in South Chicago during the strike against the Republic Steel Company.

The dramatic newsreel of the events, which was finally flashed on the theatre screens, gave a shocking and all-too-familiar picture of a peaceful picketing demonstration of striking workers being attacked with guns and tear gas bombs by a bestial police force. Into the defenseless ranks of workers, who asked only that the union of their choice be recognized by the steel barons, was poured a running fire of rifle and pistol slugs.

Ten workers, part of that vast army of toilers out of whose blood and sinews and nerves has been coined the fabulous wealth of American capitalism, fell as martyrs in the great cause of

In death, they joined the hundreds of other martyrs who fell under the clubs and pistols and revolvers and machine guns of "democratic" American capitalism in the massacres of Homestead, of Coeur d'Alene, of Cripple Creek, of Ludlow, of Everett, of scores of other battlefields where the organized murder bands of the ruling class moved down the workers fighting against industrial serfdom.

The blood of these heroes cries out for vengeance. But it cries out also a lesson and a warning.

The private and public thugs of capital, those in civilian clothes and those in uniform, are a direct and brutal threat not ony to the rights of the workers, but to their very lives.

(Continued on page 4)

## War Menace Looming In Czech Crisis

Britain, France Act To Forestall Forceful **Hitler Coup** 

The menacing shadow of imperialist war hung darkly over Europe last week-end as the Czechoslovakian government mobilized army reserves and closed all roads leading into Germany as precautionary measures against a possible attempt at a coup d'etat by the fascist Sudetan German party of Konrad Henlein during the Czech municipal elections.

French governments apparently deterred Hitler from military action against Czechoslovakia, for which election incidents to be created by his tool, Henlein, were to have been the official

#### Anglo-French Action

Imperialist Britain, desperately anxious to delay as long as possible the world war explosion which would be set in train by European conflict, warned Hitler against taking military City, State Authorities action. France bluntly threatened to come to the aid of Czechoslovakia if German troops attempted to move across the Czech frontier.

The tense situation in eastern Europe forced into the background the Italo-French conflict tion and would have little chance of the previous week. Faced with of success. Preparations for reand throughout the industrial of the previous week. Faced with actionary revolt against Cardestate of Ohio has become the oh coup, and nervous because of the nas had not yet achieved napresence of German troops at tional dimensions. between Republican Mayor Bur-Brenner Pass, Mussolini deemed it wise not to fan the flames of masses succeed now in smashing his dispute with the government the armed bands of the Fascist Cleveland is a city of basic of Daladier. The latter, fearful Cedillo, he will not only have industries such as auto and auto that Hitler might attempt a decapitated and disoriented the coup in Czechoslovakia and thus reaction, but will have disapcompel France to redeem its pointed for a long time to come pledge to aid in that country's the hopes of the "peace angels" defense against aggression, saw of the London and New York fit to soft-pedal the dispute with oil companies. Mussolini, which arose over the

# Mobilize To Fight Cedillo

Fascist General, Aspiring to Role of Mexican Franco, Has Backing Of British and American Oil Companies

### BREAK WASHINGTON'S BLOCKADE

General Saturnino Cedillo, long groomed by British and American oil interests to be the Franco of Mexico, revolted last week against the government of President Lazaro Cardenas.

After concentrating 20,000 Federal troops, equipped with the most modern arms and supported by a fleet of airplanes, in the state of San Luis Potosi, Cedillo's stronghold, Cardenas launched an audacious preventive attack Intervention by the British and in the very heart of the Fascist general's stronghold just as preparations for open revolt were coming to a head.

> The moment chosen by Cardenas had its advantages. The economic blockade instituted against the Mexican people by the British and American imperialists has not yet been able to overcome the enthusiasm of the masses over the hard blows struck at the foreign tyrants in the last few months.

Moreover, even if there are generals in the army who might not be unwilling to take their chances against Cardenas in hopes of securing foreign patronage, any act of rebellion now would fail completely to gain any popular support from any important section of the popula-

If Cardenas and the Mexican

Cedillo will not be a push-over. question of ending foreign in- He participated in the civil wars tervention in the Spanish civil of the past and fought with Pancho Villa, the peasant leader. By no means can it be said He is one of the extremely few generals who have managed up Fights Revolt



PRESIDENT CARDENAS.

(Continued on page 4)

to now to retain their own private armies. He has a force of about 10,000 men equipped with modern arms.

Cedillo was minister of agriculture in Cardenas' cabinet. Himself a big landowner, he refused to go along with Cardenas' land reform policies and used his position to strengthen his own armed bands. Nearly a year ago he was forced to resign.

While Cedillo retired to his retreat in San Luis Potosi and there prepared for rebellion, Cardenas did not remain inactive. The Federal army in the northern provinces was systematically reinforced

It is impossible at this point o predict the scope the struggle will take. Even should Cedillo pe defeated, his bands could carry on guerrilla warfare for a long time in the mountains of northern Mexico. But the very fact that Cardenas has grasped the initiative has reduced the chances of Cedillo becoming a rallying point for Mexico reaction and of the foreign capital-

In this struggle the adherents of the Fourth International support the left bourgeois nationalst Cardenas against the counterrevolutionary imperialist lackey Cedillo. In Mexico it is their task to give all national support to the military struggle led by Cardenas — as in recent times they have supported his antimperialist measures - at the same time propagating the methods of the independent struggle of the Mexican working class in its own interest.

For cessation of the economic and political sanctions against the Mexican government!

Vigilance against any attempt to support the Fascist rebels of

AN OPEN LETTER

**WORKERS QUIT** 

**AKRON PLANTS** 

Goodrich Plants Struck

In Fight Against

Wage Cuts

By B. J. WIDICK

Labor Secretary S.W.P.

AKRON, Ohio. - The recent

upsurge of the Akron labor mo-

vement received further impetus

this week when 9.000 rubber

workers completely shut down

the six plants of the Goodrich

Resentment over long-standing

grievances at the Goodrich plants

(Continued on page 2)

Rubber Company.

## To Members of the Communist Party

RELIEF CRISIS

IN CLEVELAND

Pass The Buck While

Jobless Starve

CLEVELAND.—The suffering

inflicted on hundreds of thous-

ands in the City of Cleveland

state of Ohio has become the ob-

ject of a political football game

con of Cleveland and Democratic

parts, steel, and electrical sup-

plies. It has probably the widest

diversity of heavy industry of

any city in the United States.

In the present crisis it has be-

come the hardest hit city in the

One in Three on Relief

(Continued on page 2)

Unemployment is so wide-

Governor Davey of Ohio.

You look to your Tenth party convention for policies defending the interests and needs of the working class. You still believe it is a party of class struggle and socialism, whose policies are determined by the member-

In reality, the Communist Party is communist in name alone; your leadership has trampled underfoot the most elementary working class principles; has abandoned any pretense of revolutionary struggle against American imperialism and for socialism. The convention is only a rubber stamp to set a formal seal of approval on policies already imposed upon you.

In face of the current crisis that is convulsing the world, the party spreads the fatal illusion that capitalism can assure peace and provide jobs and plenty for all-if only "democracy" is preserved. In its support of Roosevelt "against reaction," the party has not raised a finger against the huge armament and naval program of American imperialism. Thus it gives support to American war plans. It has attacked those who demand the withdrawal of American troops from China as agents Japanese imperialism. It has become known throughout the country as the most vigorous

The Communist parties, formed in the struggle against those who in 1914-1918 rallied the workers around their own capitalist governments under the slogan "make the world safe for democracy," now brazenly repeat this treachery. The banner of Lenin and Liebknecht has been discarded for the banner of Wilson and Roosevelt!

In the struggle for "democracy against reaction" the new party constitution binds the members to act as

agents of the capitalist government in suppressing all revolutionary workers' movements against capitalism and its wars.

Thereby the Communist Party is pledged to destroy working class democracy. Whose democracy will it defend? The right of the exploiters to rule through democratic forms. For the democratic rights of the masses can be defended only by independent workers' action and not by alliance with so-called "democratic" sections of the ruling class. Not a "democratic union," but the united working class front can defeat reaction!

Learn from the experiences of post-war Europe: Social democracy, when faced with the crisis of capitalism, could offer the desperate masses nothing but the program of the "lesser evil"—a plan of stabilizing capitalism by supporting the "democratic" regimes which paved the way for Fascist victories. By destroying the independence of the labor organizations, by making them mere appendages to the parties of the ruling class, they drove the workers into passivity and the middle classes into the camp of Fascism. In Spain and in France, the People's Front "governments of victory" are in fact the governments of defeat!

Your leaders also promised to achieve collective security and provide the surest defense of the Soviet Union through the People's Front. This, above all, has been the apology for the abandonment of revolutionary policies. What has been achieved? The myth of collective security has been exploded. The "democratic" powers seek only to arrive at an agreement with the Fascists as to how to divide the world and how to reconcile their differences at the expense of the Soviet Union. Never before has the Soviet Union been in such an isolated and precarious position.

The Stalin regime has sapped the Soviet Union internally by destroying Bolshevism and the Bolsheviks. The greatest blows have been dealt to the Red Army. The Moscow frame-ups have demoralized and repelled broad sections of the world working class, thus further weakening the only reliable defenders of the Soviet Union. Only a break with the policy of People's Frontism, national unity, and frame-ups will make possible the defeat of reaction on all fronts, further the working class movement toward socialism, defend the Soviet Union and assure its development toward a class-

Not vestige remains today of the program on which the Communist Party was founded. Having betrayed the principles they originally professed, your leaders hate and fear above all those who remain true to those principles. They have written into the new constitution an unprecedented clause forbidding any member to have "any personal or political relationship with Trotskyites, Lovestoneites or other known enemies of the people." It is in this way that they seek to terrorize the party membership and keep them from any possible contact with the ideas of revolutionary Marxism. They will not succeed.

Your own experiences with the disastrous policies of the Communist Party will compel you to break down this barrier which your leaders seek to erect. It is your duty seriously to review the past and present policies of the party. It is your duty to familiarize yourselves with the program of the Socialist Workers Party, the banner-bearer and continuator of the principles, program and traditions of Lenin and the Bolsheviks.

(Continued from page 1)

on direct relief or W.P.A. Cle- solved. veland has the largest per capita allowance for W.P.A. of any of this allowance, there are still direct relief. Because of lack of planning

by the city and state governments, direct relief periodically starve until some stop-gap legis-

exhausted. Money spent in the county

end of April inclusive, was \$3,058,233, of which only \$94,-256 was direct cash relief. This means that for the rest

of the year, at the same ratio of increase, at least \$17,000.000 will be needed for the evergrowing numbers of jobless in

#### Twelve Cents A Day

For the month of May, \$2,000,-000 are needed, but the only action taken by the City Council has been the passage of an \$80,-000 stopgap for food orders only. This sum is to be provided by lay-offs and delaying promotion in 32 city divisions and bureaus. The largest sum, \$23,000, is taken from the street-cleaning ried a photograph of the picketdivision, which is to be reduced because even the horses are not getting anything to eat in Cle-terated the words on a sign in veland these days.

All supplementary relief has been cut off. Well did an impoverished working woman cry an insert to cover the words on out at the City Council meeting, a sign condemning Roosevelt's "Shame upon the richest coun- war budget, in order to conceal

This month, 500 families on direct relief have had to live on 12 cents per person per day. Relief office workers have been working for no pay since the first of May.

The unions and the Workers Aliance have demanded that the funds for relief be taken from the sinking fund of the city instead of other departments.

For weeks, a battle of words has been fought between the Republican city administration and the Democratic state admiristration. Mayor Burton and Governor Davey have delivered many radio talks, which have not, however, proved an effective substitute for bread margarine.

At last a special investigation committee of the Ohio legislature has got around to meeting. It aims to hunt for "chiselers on the relief rolls," people with bank accounts who are receiving public aid. This is an old standby when the politicians want to throw a partial cover over the plight of the unemployed.

#### Demonstration Opposed

However, the seriousness the problem forces these gentlement to also undertake a check of city financial affairs to find how much money Cleveland has available for relief. What the jobless may expect to get may be judged from the fact that only three of the committee are from cities, where the hunger clamor is heard close to their doors, while eight are from the supplying state relief for the jobless proletariat of the cities. and excise taxes.

In the committee, Cuyahoga County, with over 27,000 direct relief families, has one representative to counteract the influence of eight country counties that are responsible for from ninety to a few hundred cases

A resolution calling for a demonstration was introduced by Ed. Simpson, president of local 88, at the Cleveland Auto Council, which instructed him to bring it up at the Cleveland Industrial Council. The motion was supported by Bates, chairman of the unemployment and W.P.A. division of the auto union, but the Stalinists of the C.I.O. fought against it. These fake "Communists," not wanting to embarrass the Republican mayor, argued that it would be just as effective to send telegrams and hold an open hearing at the Monday night meeting of the City Council.

More than 1,000 jobless (according to the estimate of the local capitalist press) crowded the council chamber in a stormy

Isession. About 150 jobless staged a sit-down strike in the chamber, spread that one out of every declaring their intention of rethree people in the city is living maining until the relief crisis is

In the meantime, there had been spontaneous sit - down major American city. In spite strikes in all the relief stations. The Workers Alliance, which in 20,000 able-bodied workers certi- Cleveland is absolutely dominatfied for W.P.A. who cannot get ed by the Communist Party, did crisis which threw its entire jobs and have been forced on to not take the initiative in any of these sit-downs.

In the relief crisis of last fall, a huge and militant demonstration, organized under the leadbreaks down, and thousands ership of Bert Cochran, chief shop steward of local 217, was lation is passed by the city held on the public square by the tion, and in every way playing council or the state legislature. C.I.O. It was to forestall simil-Relief distribution broke down ar action that the Stalinists alcompletely at the end of April lowed the organization of a sitwhen all funds provided were down in City Hall, hoping gradrestless followers from all pub- similar crisis which was dragged for relief, from January to the lie action that might embarrass out over two months by having the ruling class.

#### Unity In Censorship

The Stalinists were also forced to leap into action by the activities of an independent group of militant unemployed, the Association of Unemployed on Direct and Work Relief, who organized a picket line against the starvation policies of the administration and are now planning to picket the sessions of the investigating committee of farmers. The determined efforts of this group, struggling against the inertia of the Workers Alliance, created such a stir that both the Cleveland Press and the Midwest Daily Record carers. However, the capitalist "liberal Republican" sheet oblithe photograph attacking Mayor Burton. The C.P. organ matched this venality by putting in the anti-Stalinist character of

## RELIEF CEASES AS 'RECESSION' HITS CHICAGO

34,000 Jobless Families **Face Starvation As Funds Fail** 

CHICAGO.—An empty treasclosed down Chicago's 23 relief stations last week leaving 34,000 families dependent on foodstuffs furnished by the Federal Surplus Commodities Corporation.

Funds made available by the state and local Ievy at the beginning of 1937 have proved inadequate in the deeping crisis, and Chicago finds itself short \$1,500,000 in funds needed to meet the bare necessities of the unemployed this month. For the rest of the year, there is required, \$14,000,000 above the present

Governor Horner proposes to increase the relief appropriation of the state by \$500,000 a month. Of this, Chicago may receive \$400,000, which would still leave a monthly deficit of \$1.100,000. City authorities wish the state to assume the complete deficit.

Horner has countered with proposed legislation empowering rural regions, which begrudge cities to borrow from existing funds, or to impose new licenses

While city and state authorities squabble over which department the funds are to come from, both assume that the money will be collected by new taxes on the masses of the people. No proposals for taxing the rich have come from any of the officials.

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## THE NEW INTERNATIONAL

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## Workers Alliance Fails | Chicago Case Workers' Union Falls Down Miserably In New Relief Crisis

By L. MALGRECKI

CHICAGO. - Once again an example of "respectable unionism" turned out to be a farce when the relief administration local of the Municipal Workers Union here proved completely helpless in the face of a relief membership out of work.

In this crisis, affecting 34,000 families on relief and 1,900 city workers, the union is tagging along after Relief Commissioner Lyons, changing all its policies to suit those of the administrathe role of a company union.

#### Second Crisis in Two Years

The present relief office shutually to wean their hungry and down follows two years after a the offices remain "in operation" on skeleton staffs, which catered to a very few extreme emergencies and kept the clients hanging on thin hopes, begging for crumbs at the offices instead of demonstrating at city hall.

To avoid a repetition of this prolonged misery the executive board of the State, County and Municipal workers of Chicago, finally demanded a complete shut-down of the offices this time to force the hand of the state legislators. The union leaders, however, made no preparations to enforce their demand. keeping the members busy with lobbying visits to "educate" the individual politicians on the legislative bodies.

When the actual crisis was at hand the board ended up by betraying its demand and fell in tegy of Lyons, who took over his two present jobs, at a salary in were starving and the skeleton staffs were putting in two months of volunteer work. Lyons' strategy is, of course, a repetition of skeleton-staff "emergency aid" policy which worked so successfully at the time and saved LaSalle Street millions of dollars

#### Board Reverses Stand

After Lyons definitely announcnon-union, had unanimously votdown their office by a stoppage; not to do so.

Questioned by militants on the eve of the crisis, the union leaders "explained" that the workers "could not" go out on any walk- in breaking the strike, since outs because the Relief Admi- police are government workers nistration has an agreement with the Bell Company that it will club that organized workers can always keep phone operators at hold over their employers, hav-S.C.M.W.U. board was more basic right and weapon, the selfconcerned about preserving the emasculated S.C.M.W.U. can before the telephone company futile, pleading negotiations, than it was about the welfare with nothing to back them up. of the clients and the workers in the agencies.

The meeting was attended by the 1.900 workers about to be laid off the next day-concrete proof of the union's loss of influence among the workers and serves the leadership well-their own handful of yes - men can control all the meetings.

Even a motion for a 24-hour protest walk-out was defeated at necessary. the meeting, illustrating how the union's ruling clique, after having failed to gain a single thing for its members in five years of union history, having failed likewise to forestall the present

#### the administration. Climax of Years' Impotence

This final demonstration of the union's complete uselessness to its members under the present leadership comes as a culmination of its half a decade of futile existence, in the course of which it has not been able to organize a majority of the workers, des-1"mere" rank-and-filers in this pite the fact that it has a comp-|set-up dovetails perfectly with lete monopoly over the field and the Communist Party's policy of almost no opposition from the bureaucratic rule wherever its administration. It has not even henchmen are in control. Since once succeeded in bringing into the overwhelming majority of action the minority of workers the membership do not attend it does have enrolled on its lists meetings, in fact are not engagthis in a period of mighty labor ed in any real union activity of

Newspaper Guild, has participat-, pense of a strong organization ed energetically.

join the union, outside of purely intellectual adherence to the idea | "party line" on the question beof unionism, nor why, having fore acting on it. joined it, he should be active. Unless the union becomes an instrument for making concrete to remain in its present moribund condition.

What are the facts behind

#### Causes of Bankruptcy

1. The union is under a leadership whose idea of unionism consists of press releases and protest telegrams. This is in ceeping with the Communist Party's Moscow-dictated idea of avoiding all struggle in "democratic" countries as much as possible, at no matter what price for the workers. The "parlor pink" leadership, headed by Alinsky and Van Houten. playing the game of the Communist Party, which places its party line before the workers' interests. This must be said, not out of red-baiting, but for the epposite reason: the C.P. is today "red" by tradition only; what the union needs is more, not less, of a "red" policy in its original militant sense.

2. In 1936, when the C.P. was anxious to "make up" to the A.F. of L. leaders for its unionsmashing tactics, and stampede workers into the Federation at any price, the relief agency workers were split up into separate groups for the private 100 per cent with the trick stra- and public agencies, so that the latter could get into the corrupt American Federation of Governfive figures, in the very midst of ment Employees. This craft juristhe 1936 crisis, while reliefers dictional division broke the backbone of militancy in the profession. Agency workers of the two different groups have actually been forced to scab on each other - in the 1936 crisis the private agency workers had to take over some of the public relief cases and thus helped keep at the expense of the clients and their colleagues in the public agencies out of work.

#### Forbidden to Strike

3. In 1937, when the C.P. droped he was going through with ped its line of leaving pro-C.I.O. his treacherous plan, the union unions in the A.F. of L. (to board immediately reversed its work for unity), the public stand and came out in favor of skeleton staffs. To do this, it S.C.M.W.U. and the private actually had to play the role of seency workers the U.O.P.W.A strike-breaker; since already the In line with the Lewis-Roosevelt workers of one office, union and horse-deals at the time, when Roosevelt opined that govern ed on their own initiative to shut ment workers should be deprived of the right to strike, the and the board had to tell them S.C.M.W.U. forbade its members to strike, by a notorious article in its constitution. If the floor of a union meeting on the union had existed at the time of the Boston police strike, it would have had to unite with Coolidge

Having thrown away the only office switchboards! The ing deprived itself of labor's "honor" of the administration do nothing but spend its time in

#### Union Becomes An Office

betrayal of the elementary prin- and direct dealing with office scarcely more than a hundred of cipl of unionism, the S.C.M.W.U. supervisors over grievances. central office, with its conferences, top negotiations with the not merely in name, but by inrelief administration bureaucra-sistence on the maximum of of the fact that they no longer telegrams," carries on the sum emphasis on the importance of take it seriously or respect it. total of union activities; auto- rank-and-file action. This organizational bankruptcy matically the union office beorganization of the workers to build a union which could put work, is unimportant and un- unpaid overtime, the appalling

Since the union refuses to involve its membership in any acings as 1,000—the smaller numcrisis to the slightest degree, is ber can just as easily elect the now incapable and unwilling to executive board and pass resopursue any line of its own against lutions for it to forward to the administration or the legislature: on the other hand, this means that the officers have to trouble themselves less over sordid organizational work and can remain sure that the union stays in the hands of their own clique.

### Lack of Union Democracy

5. The unimportance of the struggles, in which the very their own, the C.P. clique can union which shares its office, the safely run everything at the ex-

Every time a new issue is brought The cause is very simple: as up on the floor of the union, it Open Shop Employers things stand, there is absolutely is immediately referred to the no reason why a worker should executive board, so that there can be an opportunity to get the

been a do-nothing policy smoke- shop, led by the Committee of screened by a great deal of talk. 43, an organization of leading gains for the workers, it is bound | For a long time the reaction of | anti-union employers, found ready the majority of the rank-and-response from Harry Bridges' pation in union activities either week, when George Wilson, preunion. This reaction of the work- Auditorium. ers resulted in abandoning the important role in effecting im- 43 against the labor movement

broken out over the leadership's putes. sell-out to Lyons in the relief crisis, added to a new feeling of responsibility caused by the realization that if those who are now dissatisfied had attended the meeting they might have changed the decision.

#### A Program of Action

Union militants feel that now s the time to lay the foundations of a militant group in the union which alone can make it into an instrument of the agency workers and a powerful ally of the unemployed. Such a group would be in a position to take over the reins rapidly from the present dique, in view of the latter's complete ineffectualness. Once in ower, it would undertake a seies of militant rank-and-file acship, by getting rid of deadwood, ing the workers into activity. As closing weeks of the strike. a result of this militance the union would immediately make concrete gains which would soon swell its ranks to far greater proportions than those of the present union rolls.

The program for such a militant group, as suggested by those include demands along the follow-

1. A fighting leadership, freed of the pussy-footing policies im- held recently, where the chair-Employee solidarity, not handolding with the administration. 2. One industrial union, unitagencies, with the principle that "an injury to one is an injury to all.

3. Reaffirmation of the right to strike, and immediate tests of the strike weapon by refusal to work overtime, short protest stoppages in the best organized offices over questions on which the office administration will not vield, etc. These could serve both to steel the membership and to show the administration that the union means business.

4. Organization by offices, with functioning office committees, regular office meetings, office bulletins, a dues rebate to the 4. By the very logic of this offices for organizational work,

5. Complete union democracy, cy, press releases and "protest rank-and-file participation, and With such a program, union

comes all-important, while the militants feel, it would be possible themselves, in their places of an end to immense case loads, sickness rate in offices from overwork, political favoritism, and other inexcusable abuses against tion requiring organizational which the union has hitherto not strength, it can just as well have raised a finger; to demand and 100 workers attending its meet- win higher wages, better hours, more vacation and sick leave, and a general security which no public agency worker has ever

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quin 4-7823.

## **BRIDGES GROUP BACKS BOSSES'** MASS MEETING

### Offered Forum By Frisco C. I. O.

SAN FRANCISCO. - San The total result of all this has Francisco's crusade for the open file in the offices was non-partici- C.I.O. Industrial Council last. because of open disgust or simply sident of the council, proposed because of a justified inability to cooperation with the bosses in see anything worth while in the holding a mass meeting in Civic

The mass meeting, scheduled union to the C.P. clique and, for June 3, is expected to be the even worse, of implanting the culmination of an eight-month notion that unionism can play no campaign by the Committee of provements of working condi-in this "union town." The Committee, outspoken opponent of Lately however, a new restive- the closed shop, has utilized ness and impatience is making jurisdictional disputes in San itself felt among the rank-and- Francisco to advance a scheme file. This reached a climax in a for a "joint mediation board" feeling of revolt which has now which would settle all labor dis-

#### Boss Plan Rejected

The A. F. of L. Labor Council has rejected the "impartial" plans of the bosses, and the action of the C.I.O. Industrial that Goodrich will attempt to de-Council is unlikely to find support there. San Francisco is still an A.F. of L. town, with less than 10,000 of its 100,000 union men enrolled in C.I.O. unions. The main base of the C.I.O.

council is the longshoremen's union, controlled by the Bridges' machine. Bridges, while militant | Company and the U.R.W.A.enough when it comes to breaking through picket lines of other unions, prefers to "talk it over"

One of the leading figures of the Committee of 43, Roger Lapham, president of the Ametions which might at first slight- rican-Hawaiian Steamship Line ly decrease the paper member- and head of the Waterfront Employers Association during the but would vastly increase the 1936-37 strike, engaged in a active membership by galvaniz- public debate with Bridges in the

#### Desires Coincide

As far as Bridges is concerned, the coming mass meeting is more likely to become a love ers. Victorious strikes by Akron feast than a debate, for actions truck drivers, and waiters and of the West Coast C.I.O. director recently have coincided rewho favor its formation, would markably with the desires of the employers.

The stand of the Committee was made clear at a luncheon posed by the Communist Party. man frankly stated the organiza- a company stooge as he mounted tion's opposition to the closed the rostrum. Two hours later, shop, boycotts on "hot cargo, and "violence." The chairman cheering when the stooge desing workers in public and private disclaimed any wish to destroy or weaken the unions.

### ANNOUNCEMENTS

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

#### **NEW YORK**

PINS AND NEEDLES! theater party for the SWP to Pins And Needles will be held Wed. eve. June 1, and Tuesday eve. June 7. Tickets, all at \$1.65, can be secured from Miller or Paine by leaving an order at the City Office, 116 University Place.

SONGS AND BEER IN AN OUTDOOR GARDEN! The party has taken over the Terrace Beer Garden with its dance woor, orchestra and outdoor garden for festivities on Saturday eve, June 4 from 8 P.M. on. Admission at the door 25c. 1110 2nd Ave. (59th St.)

CAMP SEVEN OAKS, Decora tion Day Week-end, Friday evening through Monday dinner, \$6.50. Daily \$2.75. Fare 80 cents, Red Bank Station on the Jersey Central Railroad. sports. Good Food, No Tents. Plumbing. Address Stern, 58 E. 4 St., BR. 9-7620 before Saturday. Camp phone, Eatontown, 515.

#### MINNEAPOLIS

HAL DRAPER, National Secretary, Y.P.S.L., speaks at 669 Second Avenue North, Friday, June 3. on "Fascism in America?" V. R. Dunne, chairman. Auspices S.W.P. and Y.P.S.L. Admission 10 cents.

#### **Suburban Theatre** Ardmore, Pa.

CZAR TO LENIN Friday-Saturday, May 27-28

Philadelphians: You can't afford to miss this most remarkable film of the October Revolution!

## Akron Goodrich Plants Strike Against Pay Cuts

(Continued from page 1) flared into a sit-down late last arity of the rubber workers who week in protest against seniority have withstood a series of unionviolations among electricians. It busting attacks, ranging all the immediately received factory- way from "red apple" propawide support and the next day ganda to mass lay-offs which large picket lines closed the have made thousands destitute.

#### All Grievances Up

L. L. Callahan, president of Local 5, United Rubber Workers of America, announced that the negotiating committee would use the opportunity to settle all major grievances. Negotiations proceeding satisfactorily The strike climaxed a series

of victories over the past two weeks, which successfully stopped a vicious anti-labor offensive. sive Goodrich unionists against wage-cut proposals received a ed with no lay-offs until the 10 to 1 majority vote from the work week has gone down to 24 rank-and-file and inspired the hours, and the acceptance of the entire Akron labor movement.

The report of the United States Department of Labor, which followed the vote by a few days, ists that wage-cuts were unjustified. The company's claim that decentralization was ineviwas exploded by these actions. However, it may be expected penalize the union for its mili- ory negotiations are progressing. tant stand.

#### Firestone Contract Renewed

The solidarity of rubber workers led to a renewal of the contract between the Firestone a contract which included provisions for a standard six-hour day and maintenance of present wage scales.

Firestone broke the united employer front when it realized how costly the battle with the rubber workers would be. "If Firestone signed, so can

Goodrich!" progressive unionists declared in rallying Goodrich workers for direct action to settle grievances. Successful settlement of a

strike at the Sun Rubber Co. last week gave further incentive to the aroused Goodrich workwaitresses, added fuel to the rekindled labor movement. An "enthusiastic" welcome was

given last week by hundreds of U.R.W.A. rank-and-filers to a Goodyear company - sponsored rally. Thunderous cheers greeted cended from the platform in despair after being able to utter only a few words during the en-

tire period. The events are a remarkable

tribute to the courage and solid-

The well-laid strike-breaking plans of the Greater Akron Asosociation and the Chamber of Commerce have been punctured flatter than a worn out tire at the present time.

#### Union Position Better

Negotiators for the Goodrich union have been placed in a stronger position by the signing of the Firestone contract. Besides the six-hour day and no wage cuts, it includes vacations with pay — one week for five Recently the fight of progres- | years' service, two weeks for ten years, seniority rights guaranteunion's grievance committee set-

Goodrich this week issued secret orders to its office staff to consubstantiated the claim of union-sider this week of idleness as its vacation, indicating that the plant probably will not reopen until next Monday.

Because of this sign and the bitterness of management toward the union, the rubber workers are preparing for a prolongcentralize some production to ed strike, even though satisfact-

The famous slogan of the fiveweek Goodvear strike - "Hold That Line!"-has been revived, showing that the gum miners are returning to their old tradition of militancy.

#### **Next Issue To** Report Congress

The next issue of the Socialist Appeal will contain a report of the first All-American-Pacific Conference of the Fourth International which was held here recently.

With representatives mandated by sections of the Fourth International in the United States, Canada, China, Australia, Cuba, Puerto Rico and other countries, it followed on the Latin-American preconference held in Mexico City several weeks ago with representatives from a number of the most important countries of the Western Hemisphere.

A number of documents of primary importance for the revolutionary movement, especially of the New World. were adopted. Considerations of space prevent us from printing in this issue anything approaching a full report of the conference.

ASK FOR THE APPEAL AT YOUR NEWSSTAND

## Appeal Army

agents all over the country sit | are Cleveland, Toledo, Los Anup and take notice. Just look at geles? How about starting a Minneapolis, will you, jumping local sub campaign in these Here's the record for the week:

New York C								
Detroit				 				
St. Louis				 				
New Jersey				 	 		 	
Kansas				 				
Cleveland								
Rochester, N.	Y							
Chicago								
Miscellaneous								
T	OTA	11	١					
_		_						

Only one bundle order increase came in this week. This came from Ben Hubert, of Saskatchewan, Sask. (Canada).... Ben starts off with a modest bundle of five but we know he will raise it.... And Ben paid in advance! Congratulations to whoever is doing that fine work in Minneapolis..... Abe Miller is jealous and promises an early revenge... Detroit is the first of the auto that it gets there every week.

Socialist Appeal

Things are happening that | cities to get under way in getshould make party literature ting some subs.... Whereabouts right out in front and licking cities?.... And Chicago has New York City! And they've only been sinking lower and lower... started their sub campaign! Literature agent Karl Shier writes every week from Chicago about how much the Appeal is liked, but why not let some other people like it, too?

> National Appeal Campaign: Attention: All Literature Agents! In a few weeks we hope to have the campaign definitely under way. You will shortly receive all necessary information and instructions on what the campaign is all about. And don't worry-you'll have plenty of time to prepare it locally. We can tell you now that it will mean plenty of drive and keep everybody busy. A National Newsstand Week, Library Week, Street-Sales Week, etc. are being olanned.

Get your Appeal at your local newsstand! If the Appeal is not there ask for it and we'll see

16 University Place	Date	
New York City	ne Ne	
I enclose \$ fo	or which please send me	th
ocialist Appeal. One yes	ar—(\$2.00); Six Month	s-
\$1.00).		
I enclose \$	as my contribution towa	ar
uilding the Socialist Appe	eal.	
Name		
Address		

## **USSR** Entry Into IFTU Is Barred

Woll and Citrine Lead In Blocking Union **Affiliation** 

By a vote of 16 to 4 the general council of the International Federation of Trade Unions, meeting in Oslo, Norway, last week, rejected an application for affiliation by the trade unions of the U.S.S.R.

The vote came after two days of debate in which opposition to the Soviet application was led by Sir Walter Citrine of the British General Council of the Trade Union Congress, seconded by Matthew Woll of the American Federation of Labor. The minority vote was registered by the delegation from Spain and Mexico and two from France. Norway did not vote.

#### Soviet Isolation Increased

Rejection of the Soviet application by the I.F.T.U., which was followed by a decision to terminate negotiations with the Soviet unions, represents one more step toward completion of the isolation of the Soviet Union for which the policies of the Stalin regime are responsible. Isolation from the working class movement in the outside world complements the growing isolation of the Soviet Union amid the capitalist states whose democratic half Stalin has been so assiduously and futilely courting at the price of sacrificing the

working class movement. There can be no doubt that the cold shoulder Stalin has been given by the I.F.T.U. will increase the confidence of the capitalist powers in their moves to complete Soviet isolation preparatory to attempts to liquidate the Soviet Union by force of arms in the coming imperialist

#### A Pertinent Question

Those who could have fought, unions to the I.F.T.U. were dis- working class movement.

Union of New York. -Ed

One can say without exaggera-

sive, every honest union official,

all these people were in the van-

Fissure Opens In Chinese C. P. Ranks

Chang Kuo-tao, well-known revolutionist, has been expelled from the Chinese Communist Party of which together with Chen Tu-hsiu, leader of the Fourth Internationalists in China, he was one of the founders in 1921. ginal founders in 1921-22.

reporting the expulsion, do not disclose the "offense" for which Chang has been expelled, but declared that he has issued a public declaration stating that he is in complete disagreement with the present policies of the Chinese Communist Party. He also has denounced Wang Ming, Stalin's principal Chinese agent, who since his arrival in Hankow from Moscow has been carrying on a violent campaign of provocation and calumny against the Chinese Fourth Internationalists.

Chang Kuo-tao was one of the vice-presidents of the socalled Chinese Soviet Repub-

armed by Stalin himself. Matthew Woll, who certainly has no reoutation as a revolutionary miitant, doubtless had his own application. But none present answered him when he declared: if we go arm-in-arm with Sta-

Everyone present at the general council meeting in Oslo there are no such things as trade unions in the U.S.S.R. The Soviet trade unions, as instruments for the defense of the workers' interests, were long ago liquidated, as were the Soviets themselves. In their place are bureaucratized organs dedicated to the defense of the counter-revolutionary Stalin regime which oppresses the Russian workers.

The Soviet "trade unions" are among the instruments of Sta- a traitorous bandit, then everylin's bureaucratic clique rule. The task of the world proletariat accuse his opponents. s to aid the Soviet workers to throw off the yoke of Stalinism which is leading the first workers' state to ruin. On the day that they succeed in this task and reestablish their own fighting organs, real trade unions, the whole world of militant labor will dewith some prospect of success, mand and secure their admission about this falsehood. We believe admission of the Soviet to the organs of the international all friends of Chen Tu-hsiu, like-

## Slanders Against Chen Tu-Hsiu Repudiated By **Noted Chinese Scholars**

Stalinist Calumnies That He Is Japanese Agent Indignantly Denounced In Hankow **Public Statement** 

A vigorous defense of Chen is uppermost, will feel the truth Tu-hsiu, leader of the Fourth of this declaration. Internationalists in China, who has been under a hail of calumny Huang Hsing-kung, Chow Fu-hai, by the Chinese Stalinists ever Hua Nyi-lin, Tien Shih-ping, since his release from a Kuo- Liang Han-chow, Ko Yi-han, mintang prison last autumn, has Chang Hsi-min, Tao Hsi-hsing, been published in Hankow, pre- Lin King-pei. sent seat of the Kuomintang government, by nine prominent Chinese scholars.

To the Stalinist slander that Chen Tu-hsiu is a Trotskyist bandit" and a "traitorous spy for the Japanese imperialists' the scholars reply:

#### Hit Stalinist Lying

"It is not necessary for us. as non-communists, to interfere in the internal theoretical controversies among the communist to the statement of the nine factions, which are always atreasons for fighting the Soviet tacking each other. But we were greatly surprised to discover false accusations against Chen if Chen Tu-hsiu openly renounces How can we fight dictatorship Tu-hsiu in two Communist periodicals, 'The Masses' and Emancipation.' Under the pretext of defending the unity of the opposition to Japanese imnew, moreover, that actually perialism, the ridiculous accusation is made that Chen Tu-hsiu is a traitorous bandit who receives money from and conducts spying activities for the Japan-

"But, as we know, our countrymen are well acquainted with the long career of Chen Tu-hsiu. His words and his deeds throughout this time of war are also known to everybody. If a man like Chen Tu-hsiu can be freely accused as one will have license to similarly

#### End This Slander

"We must put an end to this wise those in whose minds justice

#### stream of slander! We live beside Chen Tu-hsiu. We know him The following is a final acvery well. Whether on the score of friendship or for the sake of justice we cannot keep silent

China (Fourth Internationalists): Y.P.S.L. Lower East Side .65 Y.P.S.L. East Bronx ...... 1.00

Howling for Blood

Chen Tu-hsiu resides, are howl-

ng leaders of the Fourth Inter-

"New China," a Stalinist rag,

the organization of the Trotsky-

ist bandits and takes part im-

A letter received from China

this week by the Socialist Appeal

describes how agents of the

Chinese Communist Party have

been visiting bookshops and buy-

ng up wholesale the translated

works of Leon Trotsky and other

revolutionists, also all literature

in any way critical of the Stalin

murder regime in the Soviet

Union, and consigning it to the

flames in the best style of

Chinese Comrades

the campaign

nationalists.

mediately in

against them."

Adolph Hitler.

Philadelphia Branch

..\$173.73 writes as follows:

2.00

Dear Comrades: and international revolution.

of international and internal oppressors, and Stalinist slander, theoretically are entitled to proprovocation and terror.

Your response to our appeal is of tremendous aid and we will struggle firmly to merit your trust.

Warmest greetings to comrades of the Socialist Workers Party! For the Fourth International! For the International Revolution!

Communist League of China. Shanghai, April 19, 1938.

To understand why this is so, which was born during the Russian Revolution of October 1917, acquainted with the picture of became, in the hands of the Stathe present-day "Communist" lin gang, a bargaining agency with the capitalist governments. Each Communist Party, directed

#### Seeking Alliances

In recent years, with the danger of war drawing nearer, most elementary rights as a Russia, the "Communist" party the Stalinist machine, in order 2. Job discrimination by the endangered. The Stalinist flunk- group of job-holders, labor- has sought to gain favor of the capitalist governments for an mands a secret ballot, they shout else. The isolation of Russia, the and his henchmen have given up ber who, in spite of all this, the fact that the Soviet citizen capitalists of all countries, Stalin the defense will undoubtedly 3. Taxes and extravagance. Tax- nevertheless dares to oppose the began to long for peace and has killed off all of the leaders counter with a long list of oppos-

## Gov't Starts Harlan Mine

Long Record of Terror **Brings Federal** Prosecution

The statement was signed by LONDON, Ky.—With a jury time, the trial of 64 Harlan ties and colleges. The new reserve County coal mine operators and is designed to keep under control hired thugs got under way this of the War Department the 26, ed to call witnesses to prove leave the regular army. charges of conspiracy to terror-Pursuing in China the vicious ize union officials and mine work- in the new reserve, an applicant campaign against revolutionists ers belonging or sympathetic to must have completed an enlistwhich is being carried out by the union. Stalin's G.P.U. in Spain, the

The coal companies and ope-Stalinists in Hankow, where rators on trial are all members of age. In return for placing of the Harlan County Coal himself under orders from the ing for the blood of the outstand- Operators' Association, an organization whose primary purpose will receive \$24 a year for the has been to prevent, by the most term of his enrollment. ruthless means, organization of It is estimated that the Regcompelled to make some reply the rich coal fields of Harlan ular Army Reserve will cost County. Others on trial are \$450,000 the first year. At the scholars, asks: "Is it untrue that former deputy sheriffs, who used end of the fourth year the cost Chen Tu-hsiu is a traitor? Such their authority to carry out the is expected to be about \$1,800,a statement will be justified only instructions of the coal mine 000 annually.

#### Charge Conspiracy

While murder, arson and kidnapping were common methods used by the employers to suppress any attempt to organize the miners, the trial is being conducted on the basis of a conspiracy to evade the Wagner labor relations act. In the event of a conviction, the defendants face the possibility of prison terms, fines, and loss of civil rights.

Frame-ups played their role in the long and bitter struggle betworkers of Harlan County, and while the defendants in the curare still serving prison sentences for the crime of resisting the Acknowledge Fund for the crime of resisting the bosses' gummen and trying to organize the miners.

The indictment on which 44 companies and operators, plus counting of the fund raised by a score of "peace officers," are the Socialist Workers Party to being tried was returned by a Previously acknowledged \$168.58 which agents of the Department had been the defendant. of Justice questioned more than 1.00 1,000 witnesses.

#### Trial Follows Exposure

The investigation by the Federal agents began after hearings on conditions in Harlan County Acknowledging receipt of the by Senator Robert LaFollette's funds, our Chinese organization Committee on Civil Liberties thoroughly exposed the reign of further, "feels that it is the in terror that has extended over a heritor of some of the finest doc It is with a sense of deep re- period of years. Nation-wide at- trines of American democracy. volutionary gratitude that we tention has been focussed on the acknowledge your generous res- brutal suppression of elementary ston, Gerson said: "I emphaticalponse to our recent appeal for workers rights in this backwoods by state that I am opposed to funds. This money, given by mining territory time and again, poor comrades, shows that the but the present trial is the first conspirators who would seek to Pacific Ocean cannot interrupt move of the Federal government undermine the American govern-

ternational proletariat, a proof passed, it was no crime to cons- Constitution." which gives us further courage pire against labor organizations. to meet the tasks of the Chinese No legal check was placed on nator McNaboe put in. any efforts of the employers to Our forces are small, but we break unions and intimidate orproudly fly the banner of the ganizers. With the passage of Fourth International in the face the Wagner Act, labor unions Naboe shot back. achieved a "legal" status and tection by the government.

> government backing the provisions of the Wagner Act with belief that the Soviet Governcriminal proceedings. The defendants are being tried under an old volution was all the result of a statute of post-Civil War days, "misunderstanding"—a "comic under which persons conspiring misunderstanding." So why not to deprive citizens of any rights Gerson? guaranteed under the Constitution or laws of the United States went on to tell the red-baiting are guilty of a felony.

#### Long Fight Seen

coal operators have employed 19 Thomas Paine, Lincoln and defense lawyers, headed by a Washington. former Federal judge, Charles L. Dawson. The government is party has no more in common from Moscow, had to do the with communism, socialism or bidding of the Stalinist machine. McMahon, assistant attorneygeneral in charge of the Criminal Division.

During the first week of the trial three panels of more than 1.70 talesmen were needed to fill the jurors' box with persons satisfactory to both sides. Those engaged in coal mining or working accepted for jury service by the

The trial is expected to last

derived from such levies before Weinstock plants in each local. cut off by bloody suppression in are entirely non-existent now. More than that, the Stalinist the period after 1918—all these who have their principles in the parties of cracy—i.e., to capitalism. The only visible result of the machine is reinstituting an old historic causes gave the Stalin remained true to their working the Communist International and refused to be bribed and dictat- cratic Front," they are ready to With the Russian state machi- ed to, were expelled from the sell out the workers of their corrupted the Communist parties in Russia. Under slogans for a gime. The Communist International, in all countries so as to make "People's Front" or a "Demo- (To be concluded next week) pite the police terror.

### U. S. TO INCREASE

WASHINGTON. - A tremendous increase in the organized military forces of the United States during the next four vears will take place under bill signed recently by President Owners Trial Roosevelt that establishes a Regular Army Reserve of about

For many years the chief re serve strength of the army has been in the National Guard, a force that trains and keeps in a semi-mobilized state nearly 500. 000 troops. In addition, more than 100,000 officers are enrolled in the Officers Reserve Corps, finally selected after a week's largely recruited from universiweek as the government prepar- 000 enlisted men who each year To be eligible for enrollment

ment in the regular army, must be unmarried and under 36 years War Department, the reservist

### **Revvy-olution?** No Thank You, Gerson Pleads

NEW YORK .- Simon W. Gerson, Stalinist crooner of "The Star Spangled Banner" and presently the holder of a \$3,600-ayear city job as assistant to Borough President Stanley M. Isaacs of Manhattan, teld last week of the abandonment by the Communist Party of the socialist objective and the party's adherrent trial are free on bail, men ence to the defense of the system of capitalist "democracy."

The C.P. spokesman was testi fying before the Joint Legislative Committee on Law Administration and Enforcement headed by Senator John J. McNaboe, archreactionary and red-baiter, in the course of an inquiry into an alaid the Communist League of Federal grand jury last Sep- teration made in the court record tember, after an investigation in of a rent case in which Gerson

#### Gerson and Socialism

The Communist Party. said Gerson, "does not believe socialism here is a practical problem today." The party was therefore "working now for the defense of democratic rights.

The Communist Party, he said

Replying to Senator Livingour cooperation. Again, it is against the coal mine operators, ment as it is. But I do not surproof of the solidarity of the in- Until the Wagner Act was render my right to change the

"By democratic means?" Se-

"Yes," Gerson replied. "Then you are renouncing your Communist philosophy?"

"What I am denouncing is a The Harlan County case is the not Stalin several years pre-Scripps-Howard press that the and the mysterious "Max" helpment was devoted to world re-

This has-been revolutionist senator that in addition to the doctrines of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin the Communists Preparing for a long fight, the | follow the teachings of Jefferson,

#### Who Owns Jefferson?

But "we Jeffersonians don't want communism," McNaboe retorted.

"I'm not sure all Jeffersonians vant Jefferson," said Gerson. "We do," said McNaboe. "So do we," said Gerson.

There was a time when C.P.

members defended revolutionary doctrine against all comers, in-McNaboe. Those days are gone. Today the party spokesmen crawl on their bellies before the representatives of capital, lick their boots, explain how "respectable" they have become. They are yellower than the "socialist" leaders of the Second International, who also used to explain troops held in readiness for and the need for building a new to their bourgeois masters how, strike duty and assigned Adjt. revolutionary international. for them, socialism was just a Gen. E. A. Walsh to Duluth to

## MILITARY FORCES ROOSEVELT IS FORCED TO Take Notice Of Hague

Investigators Hunt for "Conspiracy" Against Democratic Rights In Realm of the Jersey City Fuehrer

The Democratic administra- effort to checkmate its consertion has finally taken notice of vative critics and satisfy its Boss Hague of Jersey City. After liberal and labor allies. It re-President Roosevelt and Post- mains to be seen whether anymaster General Farley had both thing will come out of this inasserted that they could do no-vestigation limited to "the legal thing against the national vice- aspect" of the affair. In any chairman of their own party, case, publication of its findings Attorney-General Cummings an- will probably be postponed until nounced last Wednesday that the after the 1938 elections. Department of Justice was conducting a secret investigation in fersey City to determine whether conspiracy existed there "to njure, oppress, threaten or in- the Senate Civil Liberties Comcimidate any citizen in the free

by the Constitution or law of the United States.' Apparently the administration officials do not read the newspapers and therefore do not know what is known to every informed person in the country: that the constitutional rights of free speech and free assembly have for years been a dead letter n Jersey City for any Hague critic and that "swift and severe repression," as Lee Pressman, C.I.O. counsel phrases it, has met all attempts of workers to exercise the rights granted them by the National Labor Relations

exercise or enjoyment of any

right or privilege secured to him

#### Roosevelt's Hand Forced

The Roosevelt regime was forced to change its front by the red speech against Hague next nation-wide protest following its Friday under the auspices of the expression of indifference toward C.I.O. Hague's dictatorship. The Democratic attitude was fiercely assailed, not only by such liberal supporters of the New Deal as the New York Post and the labor press, but also by conservative little kingdom are visibly crack-Republican sheets like the N.Y. Herald - Tribune, echoing exgovernor Landon, who suddenly plossomed forth as a defender of democratic rights in order to gain political capital from the clearly reactionary stand of Roosevelt.

Under pressure from the right and alarmed by the thunder on the left, the Roosevelt administration abruptly issued announce-throne. The C.I.O. should take ment of the investigation in an the lead in this struggle!

#### More Anti-Hague Moves

The administration's move was hastened by the fact that both mittee and the New Jersey State Assembly Committee to investigate frauds in Hudson County plan to undertake investigations during the summer.

Hague's opponents took various actions against him this week. The N. Y. Post obtained a temporary injunction in the federal court restraining Hague's officials from preventing its sale in Jersey City. Norman Thomas filed a damage suit for \$20,000 against Jersey City police for deporting him.

Arthur Garfield Hays, Ameican Civil Liberties Union attorney, who had been driven out of Jersey City a year ago, made an impromptu outdoor address without permit, for which the police refused to jail him. "Fighting" Jerry O'Connell announced that he would deliver his long-defer-

#### End In Sight

Many signs indicate that the days of Hague's rule are numbered. The foundations of his ing. His intransigent reactionary stand has not only raised a legion of enemies against him but has made him a liability even to his close political associates in the Democratic Party.

A concerted organized and determined mass offensive by militant labor in New Jersey would soon send him toppling from his

## Seven Militants Face Frame-up In Barcelona

(Continued from page 1) ffair is not clear and it was selves and in the best Kirov believed here that he might well manner, the G.P.U. is now e a G.P.U. provocateur who trying to pin his murder on the will appear at the trial to "cer- Bolshevik - Leninists. Narvitch tify" the "guilt" of the accused. first came into prominence in These militants have been or- the P.O.U.M. brigades. There ered to face trial before the he became, and reportedly declar-Court for Espionage and High ed himself openly to be, a sym-Treason and are now in the pathizer of the Fourth Inter-

tions with foreign elements."

They are also charged with used as evidence of murder by murdering Capt. Leon Narvitch, revolutionary militants! ed him.

killed by the Stalinists them-"Model Prison" at Barcelona. Intional, attacking the policies The indictment charges them and methods of the Communist with planning to assassinate lead- Party. He then met the fate that ing figures of the Republic, carry- so many other militants have ing on "propaganda contrary to met, a stab or a bullet in the the interests of the Republic," back in an empty street. Now his and of "maintaining direct rela- corpse, chosen from among thousands, is dragged out to be

Honest workers and intellectcommunism is," said Gerson. Had in Barcelona. Grandizo Munis uals everywhere, the P.O.I. dewas charged with doing the clared in its united front appeal, first instance of the Federal viously told Roy Howard of the actual killing, while Fernandez will join to battle this travesty of justice and demand either immediate liberation or an open Narvitch was in all probability trial for the accused militants.

#### Use Tear Gas On Orrs Tell of Spain At Louisville Meet **Duluth Pickets**

DULUTH, Minn.—Tear gas the Duluth News-Herald, closed six weeks by a strike called by into the plant. Lieutenant Jack Englert, head

of the Police Traffic Bureau, read the riot law to the crowd of 500 workers and ordered the pickets to permit the entry of story of the Spanish workers the strike-breakers. When the seizure of industry in the early crowd refused to move the police days of their resistance to Francluding red-baiting senators like fired tear gas bombs directly co and how the "proletarian" into their ranks.

bombs forced the pickets to flee, Spanish bourgeoisie. the police pursued them with

Carl Johnson, president of the Workers' Spain, a local united Lake Superior Newspaper Guild, front organization drawn from before lives are taken."

LOUISVILLE, Ky.-One hundbombs last Monday dispersed red and twenty-five persons picket lines about the plant of gathered here in the Tyler Hotel ballroom May 17 to hear addresses by Charles and Lois Orr, residents of this city, who rethe Lake Superior Newspaper turned only recently from Spain Guild. Police led strike-breakers where last year they participated in the May events in Barce-To a keenly-interested aud-

ience, including not a few Stalinists, Charles Orr unfolded the parties lead by the Stalinists When the fumes from the sold out their struggle to the

Lois Orr, drawing theoretical clubs. Over 40 persons, men and conclusions from the Spanish women, were injured in the melee. events, said the great lesson of In St. Paul, Governor Elmer Spain was the bankruptcy of the Benson ordered National Guard Second and Third Internationals

The meeting was held under the auspices of the Friends of

wired the governor after the Socialist Workers Party, Socialbombing, pleading with him "to ist Party and trade union elereturn peace to this community ments. Much literature was distributed and the Stalinists pre-Union officials stated that sent expressed a desire to hear mass picketing of the News- more about the revolutionary Herald plant would continue des- viewpoint expressed by the speakers.

#### Conditions in Industry

the painters union today.

painter in the union:

1. Conditions in the industry, instead of improving under Weinstock's domination, are worse than ever before. Kick - back flourishes to such an extent that the official wage of \$10.50 per day has become a bitter joke for the painter making an actual wage of \$7-\$8. Speed-up-the use of the spray-gun, dipping, etc. -is more wide-spread than at any other time. Unemployment engulfs ninety per cent of the union membership the greater part of the year-an entirely unprecedented condition.

bosses has been multiplied for ies, equipped with the "25 per skates, pie-cards and bureauthe rank and file of the union by cent slip," intimidate him from crats around Joseph Stalin. Like alliance. In order to have such on the W.P.A., principal occuthe job discrimination practiced expressing his opinions on the every gang of job-holders, this capitalist countries as France, pations of this region, were not under the 25 per cent rule by union floor and from casting his group is interested in hanging England and the United States the Stalinist administration. Only vote as he sees fit. When he de- on to its jobs before anything as allies in case of war, Stalin attorneys. close sympathizers and slavishly obedient followers of the Wein- him down as a Fascist, a stool- fact that the heroic Soviet masses every last shred of Communist several weeks, as the government stock machine can ever hope to pigeon, etc., etc. The union mem- were bled white in the civil wars, principle. To prove this to the plans to call 250 witnesses, while get a "25 per cent slip."

ation of the membership is heav- administration, stands in danger quiet, the fact that the aid to the of the October Revolution - ing witnesses. ier than under previous admi- of physical assault led by the workers' state there from other Zinoviev, Kamenev, Bukharin, nistrations while the benefits appointed "organizers" whom European working classes was Rykov—in Russia itself by means them willing tools for its aims. distant dream and how devoted survey the situation. heavy contributions made by the practice of the racketeers—vote glung of job-holders an oppor- class ideals. union painters to the present stealing-with the aid of all the tunity to entrench themselves ten times as big as any office control and whom they have wel- governments. staff under former administra- comed with open arms.

series of articles on the real the members.

Inside the N. Y. Painters' Union

Deals With Bosses

situation in the Painters' Class collaboration. Deals with the bosses in every day tinued misrule of the Thirteenth tion that nearly every progrespractice as well as in the calling Street "leadership" in District of fake "strikes" (to aid the Council No. 9. The only things in District Council No. 9 is tobosses in bringing pressure on that still puzzle him are: How their clients) are as thick as can "Communists" work in caday unalterably opposed to the under any previous leadership. hoots with the bosses? How can Stalinist Weinstock administration. When one remembers that The only difference is that this "Communists" be against a working in cahoots with the em- militant fight? How can "Comguard of the fight against corployers is carried on with greater rupt administrations in the past, ease under the cover of "Com-

that almost every one of them munist" coloration. at one time or another lent his 5. Incompetence. Not a single confidence and his trust to the problem of the trade has been Weinstock crowd, this fact besolved by the Stalinist adminiscomes all the more impressive. tration. Kick-back, speed-up, lack ever? No honest, progressive, devotof protection on the job, unemed union member finds it possible oloyment—all this is "solved" by to work with the Stalinists in the Weinstock machine by simply throwing up their hands and crying: "Blame it on capitalism Why? The answer may be summed up briefly from the and the crisis!" or "The bosses point of view of the average are stronger than we are." Even from the point of view of the oosses, the Weinstock administration is regarded as incomhailed "organization drives" has in the slightest affected the open shops and cut down to any degree the competition from the

#### to union conditions. Union Rights in Danger

non-union shops. Quite the con-

trary: the non-union shops are

becoming an even greater menace

4. Who Are The Wreckers? This is the fourth of a tions-hanging on the backs of | From every point of view the average, thinking worker in the painters' union sees only a threat to his livelihood, to his union standards, to the very existence of his union in the conmunists" join with all the discredited hoodlums to suppress democracy, which they have always shouted for in the past and which their party shouts for at

### the present time louder than

Not Red, Yellow

working class progress in general 6. Danger to Democracy. To than the Daughters of the Ametop off an already bad enough rican Revolution have with the situation, the union painter's American Revolution of 1776. In member of the Brotherhood are was long ago captured by a to protect its jobs in Russia,

But even such questions are beginning to be less and less of puzzle to the union painter. He is beginning to realize—the mass meetings of the Progressives show that very clearlythat these "Communists" are no petent: for, none of the widely- longer red, but as yellow as any

union fakers ever were. the union painter must become party as a whole. The Stalinized "Communist"

District Council treasury is a strong-arm men and old-time and gradually to throw off all nery in its power and with un- Stalinist organizations. Those country to the bosses in exchange flock of Stalinist parasites - a fakers who jumped on their revolutionary principles in re- limited financial resources at its who remained are nothing more for an alliance of the capitalist staff of office appointees five to band-wagon when they came into turn for deals with the capitalist disposal, the Stalin gang has than agents of Stalin's job-trust government with the Stalin re-

### Socialist Appeal

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Editor. FRANK GRAVES HAROLD ROBERTS Associate Editors. S. STANLEY Business Manager.

### The Pennsylvania Primaries

The working class, as an organized force, is today entering politics on a scale unprecedented in the history of this country.

The days of that particular brand of class neutrality, of political indifferentism, which was summed up in the Gompers' "reward your friends and punish your enemies" formula, are drawing to

Labor's hat is in the ring. The question is no longer whether labor is to enter politics, but how and to what end. The mere entry of labor, as an organized force, into politics does not in the least guarantée independent class action, or a strategy which will in actuality be to labor's interest. Caught in the meshes of a false policy, labor's political awakening can be utilized to forge new chains rather than new class weapons.

We are now going through a testing period. The first great expression of labor's political upsurge is the C. I. O .stimulated Labor's Non-Partisan League with the strategy outlined for it by its leading national spokesmen. The first major experiment in this strategy was the Pennsylvania Democratic primaries.

It is of decisive importance for the labor movement to assimilate the results and lessons of this crucial experiment. It is not a matter for hasty, over-night comprehension. Let us, however, summarize those first conclusions which stand out even on the surface of the Pennsylvania events:

1. It is not nearly so easy to capture the Democratic party machinery (the main line of present L. N. P. L. strategy) as some optimists of the labor movement have fondly imagined. The machine, sustained by patronage, graft, propaganda facilities, and more than a century's traditions, is solidly entrenched. The mere fight for its control is not a sufficient political and social motivation to lead the masses to break away from its old leadership in overwhelming num-

2. Much more important: From the point of view of labor, the Democratic Party is not worth "capturing" even if or where this might be possible. It is like trying to capture a jail, only to discover when you have succeeded that you have locked yourself inside the cell-block.

In order to make his campaign in Pennsylvania, Thomas Kennedy was compelled to come to terms with the notorious Guffey machine, to fight for a slate on which he was the sole labor representative, to make promises and engage in practises which decreed, necessarily, that even if he had won the nomination he and the mighty labor movement behind him would have found themselves the captives of old-line Democratic politicians, not the other way around.

This is the case not only in Pennsylvania, but generally. Labor needs its own instruments to serve its own ends. The political gun of another class, when triggered by labor, always backfires.

The Pennsylvania gun has already begun sputtering. The L. N. P. L. tactic leaves the Pennsylvania workers holding a very empty bag: for it compels Lewis to order them, now, to support in next autumn's elections the very slate (Jones-Earle) which Kennedy branded as the enemy and betrayer of the C. I. O. and the entire labor movement.

3. On a still more extended level, the Pennsylvania experience again indicates, as has been so often demonstrated elsewhere and at other times, that even from the point of view of specific practical results, the primary and central business of working class politics is not to gain immediate and extensive electoral posts.

L. N. P. L.'s present strategy makes immediate electoral posts its dominating aim, on the ground that this brings the quickest practical result for labor. Experience teaches otherwise. There is a qualitative as well as a quantitative factor in politics. Quite apart from longer-

time aims, even in terms of concrete practical results, labor gains most from its independent organization and action

Such independent organization and action is what makes governments sit up and take notice, far more than speedy elections to office accomplished at the cost of firmer and more conscious class action—at the cost, thus, of decreasing rather than increasing the class strength of the workers.

Kennedy's half a million votes did not win the nomination for him; but they are not forgotten, and they play a larger role than those same votes would have had if they had gone down the line for the State Committee's slate. But that same half a million votes, or a half or a quarter of that half million, would have been ten times more effective in advancing labor's cause if they had been dynamited altogether out of the capitalist party political framework, and had been assembled in terms of some form, even if only partly developed, of independent working class action.

To elect a senator at the price of weakening the class strength of the workers does not for a minute fool the astute leaders of capitalism and reaction. To deepen and invigorate the independent class power of the workers, whether or not anyone is elected today as a result—whether, for that matter, the process occurs on the parliamentary field or on any other: this and this alone serves the interests, immediate and remote, of the workers. Through this means and this alone will the voice of labor ring louder in the land.

#### The Relief Crisis

The statements currently being made by Harry Hopkins and other Administration spokesmen before the Congressional Committees conducting hearings on the new "Spending Program" sum up to a recognition of an impending general crisis in the relief situation.

This impending crisis in pointed to only the more dramatically by the crises already present in the states of Ohio and Illinois.

It is absolutely clear, from Hopkins' testimony itself, that the Spending Program, even if passed by Congress without curtailment or restriction, is no more than a drop in the bucket. The \$177,000,000 a month for W.P.A. will not provide half the jobs that are and will be needed. The provisions for cash relief will not keep millions from slow starvation.

In this situation, the purely legalistic and parliamentary activities now being pursued by the Workers' Alliance under the guidance of the Stalinists are criminal. Lasser and Benjamin get their names in the paper, but the unemployed get neither jobs nor cash.

For the sake of the most elementary self-defense, if for nothing more, the time has come for the unemployed to snap out of it if they are not to be literally mowed down next winter-or even sooner-by malnutrition, cold and di-

The unemployed movement, which has in its past glorious and mightily effective traditions of struggle, has got to recognize that what is needed now is mass action and not names in the paper.

Militant demonstrations, a series of uncompromising sit-downs, will open up funds which all the "legislative campaigns" from now till Doomsday will never unlock.

### A "Peace" Banquet

The Keep America Out of War Committee, among the original sponsors of which are Norman Thomas and the Lovestoneites, were holding a "planningfor-peace" dinner in Washington on Friday of this week, preparatory to a week-end anti-war congress to which the usual "leaders in religious, educational, farm and labor organizations" were being invited.

This precious committee of befuddled pacifists opposes, among other things, a big navy program. Is that why they had President Roosevelt, greatest big navy planner of all time, on the list of guests invited to the dinner?

Perhaps they think they can persuade Roosevelt of the error of his ways! But would any serious prohibitionist think of inviting whisky manufacturers and brewers to join in a crusade against intoxicating liquor?

Here we get the true measure of the pacifists. Afraid to lead the workers into action against war, they are always to be found on bended knees praying to the imperialist war-makers to keep peace. And when war does break out, these gentlemen usually climb on the imperialist bandwagon. Will Norman Thomas and Jay Lovestone explain what they are doing in this crew?

## The Spanish "United Front"

SOCIALIST APPEAL



## Felix Morrow Writes a Marxist Study of the Events in Spain

ution in Spain, by Felix Morrow. Published by Pioneer Publishers, New York (203 pp., 50 cents).

#### By ERNEST ERBER

The need for a Marxist analysis and interpretation of the worldshaking events in Spain has long een keenly felt by those fightng for the ideas of Bolshevism. This indispensable and longawaited work has made its appearance with the publication of the above volume.

The revolutionary movement will find in this book an invaluaole weapon in the fight for the program of the Fourth International. Utilizing the concrete experience of Spain it drives nome the lessons of the diference between class collaboration and class struggle as n doing.

previous work, "The Civil War in Spain." The latter, now unfortunately out of print, serves present volume, since it gives a on Spanish political developments since 1931, unavailable elsewhere in such comprehensive form. It is not, however, necesary to an understanding of the events dealt with in the present

In his effort to achieve conciseness, the author has not fallen into the error of making unsubstantiated assertions. The book abounds with quotations

## War Menace Looming In Czech Crisis

(Continued from page 1) that the war danger is past. The antagonism between Italian and French imperialism, heightened by the movement of Italian troops in Libya near the border of French Tunisia, remains a fruitful source of armed conflict. Likewise Hitler's ambition, in no wise dampened by the Anglo-French demarches of last weekend, to carve up Czechoslovakia for the greater power and glory of the Third Reich, remains a live spark in the neighborhood

of the European powder barrel. Europe is a series of armed camps poised on the precipice of war. The piling up of "incidents' and the continuous nervous ten sion of the rival states are testi nony to the unbearable contradictions born of the system of capitalism in decay. The only so lution to the problem is the razing of the state boundaries and the creation of a Soviet United States of Europe. This-the socialist revolution-and not a lineup of the "democracies" against the fascist states for a new imperialist slaughter is the road to peace for the tortured peoples of the Old Continent,

fact, the wealth of the material presented should make the work a valuable source book on the ed with the shortcomings of a important governmental decrees chronological treatment of the and the political declarations of the various parties.

Approaching the question as a Marxist historian, Comrade Morrow makes no pretense at the problem very ably by combeing "objective" in the sense of bining a chronological treatment the bourgeois historian's object- of the events with special chapivity. Historical phenomena are ters devoted to specific questions. of the participants judged by the war give a new insight into the of the English-speaking world criterion of the struggle for fundamental link between the working class power.

This approach reveals the leaders of the Spanish workingclass in a sordid light. One is at a loss to find an analogy in history for such a concentration of treachery, betrayal, and blundering stupidity in one epoch. The no abstract thesis could succeed roles of the cynical mercenaries of the Stalinist movement, the front lines by 'republican' offic-Prieto school, the naivete and political dishonesty of the Caballero wing of social democracy, accumulation of betrayals and as a valuable introduction to the and the whining centrists of the vacillating P.O.U.M. are analys- this sentence could sum up the wealth of background material ed at every decisive stage of whole experience of the Spanish the struggle.

policy of the opportunists is con- pair, despite the sordidness of lutionary strategy advocated by else is the unforgettable heroism military struggle composes a pro- in the attempt. For as Comrade from a variety of sources which gram for the Spanish revolution. Morrow points out: "Pessimism

#### New Facts Presented

many facts which are new even to those of us who made a special point of keeping informed on the Spanish events. These facts, papers, government documents, accounts, attest to the wide re- book.

masses themselves.

with the armed murderers of capital.

serfs. Militant action is for men.

Revolution and Counter-Revo- | bolster the argumentation. In | search conducted by the author. In writing an analytical history, one is inevitably confrontevents, since it does not permit exhaustive treatment of the special problems that come to the fore. Comrade Morrow solves treated from the standpoint of The chapters devoted to the the class struggle and the roles military questions raised by the politics and the military policy of the Loyalist government.

The author sums up the las six months of the struggle with the following terse sentence:

"The jailing of workers and peasants and the opening of the The present work begins, with bewildered opportunists of the ers to the fascists: that is the only a slight overlapping, anarchist bureaucracy, the story of Loyalist Spain from where the author left off in his "practical" politicians of the November 1937 to May 1938."

diate impressions of the ugly treacheries, cannot but feel that masses under the banner of the The author does not, however, People's Front. But the reader limit himself to criticism. The is not left with a feeling of desstantly contrasted to the revo- the story, for transcending all the Fourth Internationalists. of the workers and peasants of Their strategy on the struggle Spain, deceived again and again for power, the economy, the na- since they took to the road of tional and colonial question, the revolution in 1931, but grimly international situation, and the determined to conquer or perish and skepticism are luxuries for the few. The masses have no other Comrade Morrow presents choice except to fight for their lives and the future of their children.'

But this fight will only be successful when the workers of dug out of little-known provincial Spain and the world will have learned the lessons of Spain so or the abundance of eye-witness graphically portrayed in this

For Workers' Defense!

(Continued from page 1)

the Roosevelt government? Even when it bestirs itself to an

"investigation," it cannot bring to life labor's dead. It is not

labor's government, but the government to preserve that system

out of which South Chicago massacres grow inevitably. Rely

on the courts? They are the legal bulkwarks of private property

owners—the sworn enemies of labor. On the police and National

Guard? They are the hirelings of capital, their strikebreakers in

The only defense of the workers and their rights is self-defense.

The only one labor can rely upon is itself! The only shield that

labor can create against strikebreaking thugs, strikebreaking

police—the assassins of the workers—is a WORKERS' DEFENSE

GUARD, organized by the masses themselves, controlled by the

Only with such a Guard-conscious, resolute, militant-can

That is the lesson of the South Chicago massacre. That is

the appeal that labor's fallen dead have written in their own

blood. Prayer and supplication for mercy to the enemy is for

On to a Workers' Defense Guard! Its creation will be the best

memorial to the heroic steel workers who were murdered a year

labor defend itself and give a good account of itself in conflicts

On whom can the workers rely for elementary protection? On

### Once More-

## On Housing

Senator Robert F. Wagner, who fathered the Housing Act of 1937, says there is an "immediate shortage of over five and one-half million homes, with an additional need for over ten and one-half million homes for the period between today and 1950."

Mr. Miles L. Colean, deputy administrator in charge of large-scale housing for the Federal Housing Administration, admits that "the program permitted by the Act is not an extensive one. With its lending power for a three-year period limited to a total of \$500,000,-000, the Authority will not likely be able to produce more than an average of 40,000 to 50,000 dwellings a year."

#### One For Every 100 Needed

Forty to fifty thousand a year—to meet an existing shortage of five and a half million homes, means one house built for every hundred needed. A drop in the

And even those homes and houses-who can buy them or rent them? Certainly not the millions who are most in need of decent housing. They cannot afford the large down payments and monthly installments; the others cannot afford the steep rents.

All the Housing Act does for them is—guarantee the profits of the banks and builders. Nothing more! In Mr. Colean's own words: "Probably the most significant contribution of the Home Loan Bank Board... has been in rescuing savings and loan institutions and increasing in some degree the funds available for home finance."

Roosevelt pours countless millions into bankrupt railroads through the Reconstruction Finance Corporation. He insures bank loans and builders' profits. But he doesn't do the first thing necessary to answer the burning housing question: BUILD HOUSES!

#### There Is Money Enough!

A minimum of FIVE BILLION DOLLARS is needed to launch a genuine government-subsidized building program, on a three point basis: sound construction, union labor, low cost, low rent. The five billion dollars are not as hard to get as may be thought. They are in the hands of the "Economic Royalists", of the "Sixty Families," and their associated multi-millionaires. They are there for the taking.

The New Dealers talk a lot about the "Economic Rovalists" and their social abuse of their stupendous wealth. What about doing something? What about a serious capital tax that would reduce private control of "socially-abused wealth" and help launch a substantial building program?

The Economic Royalists can afford it, be sure of

Millionaire radio manufacturer, W. C. Grunow, owns. according to Ferdinand Lundberg's excellent study, America's Sixty Families, a bath-tub made from a single slab of Mexican onyx marble, costing \$12,000 and equipped with fixtures of 24-carat gold plate." The various establishments of the Du Pont family have at least 723 bathrooms alone.

Millions of families in the United States live in shacks and flats without even an indoor toilet!

#### How the Plutocrats Live

The Southampton estate of the late Henry H. Rogers has a swimming pool that set him back a cool quarter of a million-\$250,000. Millions of families in the United States do not even have running water at home!

Pierre Du Pont spent \$25,000 to have a single bush brought to his Longwood estate. The late Rodman Wanamaker spent \$1,000,000 to have his estate decorated with fine specimens of small-leafed box.

How many workers' and farmers' families enjoy even electric light in what they call "home?"

The Henry Du Pont residence at Winterthur, Del., has 150 rooms, 40 of them bedrooms. The Pierre Du Pont residence at Longwood, Del., has near 200 rooms and over 100 servants. The Vanderbilt family alone has some 30 separate residences, "most of them very ornate." The main Marshall Field estate in Lloyd's Neck, Long Island, is estimated at a value of \$15,000,-000. The Philadelphia estate of the Stotesburys has

145 rooms, 45 baths and 14 elevators! But how many families sleep two and three and even more in one room?

#### Rich Must Be Made to Pay

The government must have a housing program of its own. It must undertake to build small homes and apartment buildings. It must subsidize the building of these houses, so that the millions of cruelly underpaid can afford to move into them.

The money for such a program is available. It is in the hands of the fabulously wealthy plutocracy of the United States, which now spends it on rosebushes, million-dollar swimming pools, gold-plated bathroom fixtures, fairyland yachts, hundred-thousand-dollar booze parties and private railroads on its estates.

Demand that the Roosevelt government crack down on those who are wallowing in wealth! Demand a capital tax that will make possible a program for wiping out the slums and really housing the shack and firetrap dwellers of the United States!

## N. Y. Mass Meeting

under the Auspices of the

#### SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY

Analysis of the Communist Party National Convention and the Stalinist Constitution For the United States BEETHOVEN HALL

210 East 10th Street FRIDAY, JUNE 3, AT 8:30 P. M.