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# G.P.U. KIDNAPS SEC'Y OF IV INTERNAT'L

# **Bosses Hurl Armed** Mobs Against C.I.O. Unions In 2 Strikes

California Lumber Workers Driven From Homes by Hoodlums; Cops Battle **New Orleans Taxi Drivers** 

Editorial Note.—The news stories below describe the methods workers against whom Justice used in a California lumber town and in New Orleans to crush and terrorize workers that dared give vent to their discontent-methods that the capitalist masters of America view with increasing favor.

As in Jersey City, the city administration of New Orleans combined with the lowest elements of the population—petty gangsters, hoodlums, riff-raff of the city-to drive C.I.O. unionists off the streets. In Westwood, certain sections of the workers, demoralized by years of a more subtle terror, the "company town," joined hands with imported thugs to carry out the company's well-laid plan to rid the town of union members.

In the face of open aggression on the part of the capitalists, the workers must prepare their own organized resistance. Against the guns, knives and blackjacks of the hoodlums the workers in the trade unions must mobilize their own defense groups. The brutal thugs of reaction must be repaid, blow for blow.

Egged on by the State legis-

Terror Reigns

more than 400, workers' homes

have been raided, union halls

looted, men picked up on the

brutally beaten and driven from

Taxi drivers were holding a

When strikers were informed

Threaten Strikers

Openly threatening armed as-

Utilizing this lead for a frame

When the C.I.O. Coordinating

revealing the tie-up between the

tion, Reyer seized thousands of

one distributing them would be

(Continued on page 2)

superintendent Grosn declar

Build Workers' Defense Guards!

WESTWOOD, Calif. - Armed NEW ORLEANS. - Mass arand deputized vigilantes last week rests, forcible deportations and drove striking lumberworkers illegal raids on union meetings and their families from this "com have made New Orleans a city of terror for C.I.O. unionists as boss pany" sawmill town, climaxing police continued for the fourth night of terror with an attack on week their ruthless campaign the strikers' picket line that resulted in the shooting of one and against striking taxicab drivers a horrible beating for 30 others. and drayage workers.

More than 1000 men, women and children camped on the highway between Westwood and Red Bluff, administration, Acting Police the latter town refused to permit the beginning of the strike, called the homeless sawmill workers to by the C.I.O. drivers union, that remain in the town. The harried he was going to run all the "C. strikers were permitted to return, one at a time, to Westwood in order to retrieve their belongings.

Strike Against Wage-Cut When a wage cut of 171/2 pe cent was instituted by the Red the C.I.O. from the state. River Lumber Company, which barrel, members of the C.I.O., International Woodworkers of America called a strike and successfully closed down the sawmill, one streets and charged with loiterof the largest in the world and ing. Three organizers have been the town's only industry.

As the strike held firm and an the city, their lives being threatattempt to reopen the mill with ened if they returned. members of the company union. called the "Industrial Employees Union," failed, company agents when more than 60 cops invaded aroused a lynch spirit amongst the hall and arrested 71 strikers. the non-union residents, many of All were booked for "disturbing them recently imported with just the peace." such a contingency in view.

At 1 A.M., the morning of July by their attorney that they would 13, organized groups of vigilantes be within their "legal rights" if began systematically visiting the they locked the doors of their hall homes of union members. Some and defended the rights of peacewere given an hour to get them- ful assembly by any means at selves and their families out of their command. Superintendent of town. Others were routed out of Police George Reyer announced their housees and herded at gun's that he, personally, would lead point to the town limits and the police against any meeting forced to flee. held by the strikers.

Mob Attacks Pickets

At 6 A.M. the town siren sounded a prearranged signal for sault, the police head said that a general attack on the picket "when we come for the purpose of line. A mob of more than 1,000 making a raid, if a single threa marched on the picket lines, is made to harm a police officer swinging pick handles, axes, at the time of this raid, there is knives and other weapons, and no telling how this thing wil overpowered the striking unionturn out." ists. Under the direction of the town constable fire hoses were up, police arrested J. W. Lovett turned on the pickets, rendering leader of the taxi drivers, and them helpless before the brutal charged him with threatening to blows of the vigilantes. kill a policeman. After being held

With many of the union lumberin jail for 96 hours, Lovett was jacks forced to flee with their released on \$5000 bail. families during the night, and the strikers' picket line crushed, the Committee issued a leaflet de nouncing police terrorism and mob took over the town and proceeded to terrorize the remaining union members. Armed with rifles. bosses and the city administra-800 men patrolled the streets. searched out every worker even leaflets and announced that anysuspected of belonging to the (Continued on page 2)

## **DOWN AGAIN ON** N. Y. STRIKERS Labor's Right Mere "Privileges," Says Jersey Judge

**COURTS CRACK** 

NEW YORK.-Following on the neels of the wave of injunctions ssued against union picketing by Justices Cotillo, Levy, McCooey in New York recently, new judagainst labor unions last week.

In the case of the Busch Jewelry Company strikers, the same Cotillo issued his anti-picketing injunction, Supreme Court Justice Aron Steuer handed down a decision holding the union, the United Optical Workers, C.I.O., liable to civil suits for damages "resulting from breach of contract."

The decision was termed unprecedented by labor and liberal circles and comparable only to the decision in the case of the Danbury hatters, handed down back in 1903. That decision, affecting union hatters in the town of Danbury, Connecticut, resulted in a law suit in which the United Hatters union of the A. F. of L., in spite of twelve years of legal the union was raising the money.

Union attorneys are preparing however, warn the Busch workers the capitalist judiciary was sufficiently illumined last week in another case, to serve as an adlature and the boss-owned city ditional warning.

dary" picketing, Vice Chancel-I.O.-communists" out of town Meeting in special session, the Louisiana legislature adopted unanimously a resolution calling on New Orleans officials to drive

goods from the Metropolitan Upholstery Company in Newark. In speaking as frankly as he did while handing down this de- pect of the "capture" of their orcision, Berry merely affirmed what intelligent workers have al- Party bureaucrats. As appears ways known. Namely, that capmeeting to discuss strike strategy italist law is based upon private they are not only taking the pracproperty and that in the protechuman rights of workers are, in Berry's own words, only "qualified constitutional rights." In other

> bosses' profits is endangered, the law regards it as a matter of (Continued on page 2)

## Auto Union Threatened By Split As Wreckers Force Fight For Power

Unscrupulous Tactics of Stalinists Paralyzes Militant Union: Lewis Intervention Danger

Following the expulsion of their stooge, George F. Addes, former to be intensified and the member chairman of the C.I.O., to intervene in the affairs of the Auto rank and file. union-in the course of which they appear to have garnered only some purely verbal concessions from the C.I.O. chief—they F. Addes, erstwhile secretaryare announcing veiled plans for a treasurer of the United Automorump convention in the near future. No shabby trick, no reac-all local unions to stop per capita tionary union-splitting maneuver, tax payments to the International

In self-protection, President man for their proposals to wreck contest, had to pay \$252,000 in Martin and the majority of the the International Union and to fidamages, the homes of 200 work- General Executive Board of the nance their proposed split. The ers being attached for years while union have had to resort to International Executive Board emergency measures - crude in quickly and gleefully pounced on many instances, but unavoidable, Addes, eager to take advantage for a legal battle. The experience given the character of the strug- of the hopelessly indefensible poof the Danbury hatters should, gle and the background of the sition in which he had placed union as well as the past policies himself, and on Friday, July 8th, that a court fight will hardly yield of its leadership—to save them- expelled him from the office and them satisfaction. The stand of selves from the threatening ruin membership in the union, after of the organization planned by he refused to answer all questhe Stalinist wrecking crew.

lor Major Leon Berry of Toms officers and their allies were cepted their advice. But Addes River, New Jersey, maintained kicked out, under the direction means very, very little to the that free speech was really a priv- of Bert Harris, representative of corrupt crew of blackguards and sure of the double depression is alleged ilege inferior, under the law, to the Executive Board, last week. adventurers that run the Commudriving inexorably toward new ffiliate, to restrain them from George Kiebler, president of the ions behind the War program of distributing circulars and carry- District Council of the union. President Roosevelt. To realize folds any mass tendencies toward ing on other picketing activities Kiebler was appointed temporary that reactionary program, the Third Party or Labor Party ac in the vicinity of stores that buy administrator of the Allis-Chal- Stalinists are ready to employ tion. mers unit.

Apparently, the union leadership is not resigned to the prosganization by the Communist from the article following below, tical steps dictated by the taction of private property rights, the tics of the disrupters but are also carrying on an educational campaign to protect the progressive anize the collapse of the union membership of the union from a words, when the welfare of the dictatorial regime under the as from an outright split machin- week to see Lewis and ask him ated by the Stalinists.

For a real solution of the difficulties of the Auto union, this educational campaign will have icial attacks were made here Secretary-Treasurer, from the ship drawn into more direct par-United Automobile Workers Un-ticipation in the struggle. The ion, the Stalinist union wreckers membership must be assured have been speeding their cam- that the measures taken are paign to bring about the collapse emergency measures, that their of this most militant and most democratic rights remain intact. progressive of C.I.O. unions. Af- The union leadership must make ter a whirlwind move to bring clear that the fight against the pressure upon John L. Lewis, Stalinist union wreckers is a fight to preserve the rights of the

> DETROIT.—Under the tutelage of his Stalinist masters, George is too low for these professional office and to send all monies to rule-or-ruin misleaders of the la- his private home. The Stalinists have thus made Addes the front tions at his trial.

> Locals Taken Over It is freely admitted by the Stanists that they were quite coglocal of the U.A.W. the Stalinist their victim, after he freely ac-

> > Ask Lewis' Aid After this brilliant stroke of

any means.

generalship, the Stalinist wreckers hied to Washington, where hey pleaded with John L. Lewis o save the union from collapse. They only omitted to mention hat it was they who were workng overtime, attempting to orin addition, a committee of seven rom the so-called "Peace Facblessings of John L. Lewis as well ion" went to Washington last (Continued on page 2)

## TRIP ACROSS **COUNTRY HAS** POLITICAL AIM

President Adds to Party Prestige By Tour

Climaxing his cross-country unket with an official review of the assembled battlefleet of American imperialism, President Roosevelt last week departed in search of fish in southern waters incidentally at the same time giving Mexico and the Central American nations ample opportating on the latest types of U.S. G.P.U. Navy construction.

In spite of Howard Hughes' lack of consideration in grabbing the headlines for a number of cussed. days, Roosevelt had good reason cent rise in the stock market and and Fortune polls, the turn-out of the crowds and the attitudes of the local politicians showed Roosevelt that he is still holding the whip hand.

Consolidates Position

Steering midway between the lrastic "purge" course advocated by certain of the younger White House group and the conciliatory policy favored by Farley, Roosevelt utilized his tour not merely to rally general mass sentiment to him, but in particular to consolidate his leadership within the Democratic Party, a leadership flicts during the past sessions of

Congress. Understanding that the presaddition, to mai

He expects 1940 to be the crucial test, and he aims to gain control of the 1940 convention, guarding it both against the opposition to him within the Democratic Party, now rumored to be headed by Vice-President Garner, and the new party tendencies to break outside the framework of the Democratic Party.

Intervenes in Primaries In pursuit of this aim, Roose

velt utilized the tour to inter vene skillfully in a number of the State Primaries; cautiously tak-

(Continued on page 2)

# Trotskyist Leader Seized In Paris; Taken To Spain

Young German Revolutionist in Hands of Stalin's Assassins; Clues Lead to Spanish Border

## FORGED LETTER POINTS TO FRAMEUP

(Cable to the Socialist Appeal)

PARIS, July 18.—Rudolph Klement, secretary of the Bureau tunities for observing and medi of the Fourth International, has been kidnapped from Paris by the

> The missing revolutionist was last seen by his comrades at midnight of Tuesday, July 12, when he left an important meeting at which problems of the international movement were being dis-

Prior to his retirement for the night, he sent a cablegram to the to be pleased with the results of American section of the International—the Socialist Workers Party his tour. Flushed with the re- informing it of the discussions that had just taken place.

The next afternoon, he was seen ! the findings of the latest Gallup | collecting his mail, and from that | actually ,in his handwriting moment on none of his comrades were included by him only afteror friends laid eyes on him again in Paris.

> Strange Letter Friday evening, July 15, one of the leaders of the Internationalist Workers Party, the French Trotskvist organization, received a most peculiar letter, or more accurately, a carbon copy of a letter ostensibly sent by Klement to

The letter was postmarked July 15 and had been mailed from Perpignan, a French town on the Spanish frontier.

Leon Trotsky in Mexico.

The communication stated, most inexpectedly for all those acwas breaking with the Fourth International, on the grounds that treason and of intelligence with it was impotent, because of its with the fascists," but declared "inherent rights" as "ac- The books and property of the nist Party. He is merely one political alignments in the United that the undersigned promised Spain, in the hope that he would quiring and protecting property." Allis-Chalmers local of the U.A.W. small pawn in the much larger States, Roosevelt is compelled to not "to make a public exposure" The decision was handed down in Milwaukee, Wisconsin, were and much more ambitious scheme maneuver both to keep within of the Fourth International. In physical tortures as will cause against members of Local 66 of seized by executive board repre- to create a People's Front in the controlling group of the face of these statements, the let-Furniture Workers Union, a C.I.O. sentatives under the guidance of America and to line up the un- Democratic Party itself, and, in ter to "Mr. Trotsky" was couched Stalinist "confessions" and per-All the circumstances surround- as a "witness" against the Troting the letter, as well as the letter

itself, immediately aroused the suspicion and fears of Klement's comrades in Paris. No Previous Sign

Up to the time of his disappearance, Klement had not given the slightest sign of any differences with the organization which he cablegram to New York. The letter, moreover, was type-

the signature "Rudolph Klement," an entirely unprecedented procedure on his part. In addition, the date-line on the letter was typed off as "July 1938", leaving in by hand. His comrades imthat the date and signature, if

ward and under duress. G.P.U. Earmarks

The contents of the letter are drafted in such a style as could only serve the interests of a G. P.U. frame-up

The hand of the G.P.U. is seen, furthermore, in the fact that the letter was postmarked from the Franco-Spanish frontier, thus indicating that Klement was in all probability being spirited away to Barcelona, Valencia or Madrid by his captors.

As is known, a group of Spanish Fourth Internationalists was recently arrested and imprisoned in the fascists. It is believed in Paris "objective collaboration that Klement was kidnapped by the G.P.U. for transportation to be subjected to such moral and haps appear in the coming trial

skyist defendants. Long Kidnap Trail

Knowledge of the record of the G.P.U. abroad only fortifies this feeling. It is known, for example, that the Stalinist secret service in Spain kidnapped or murdered such well-known radicals as Marc Rein, son of the prominent Menserved in such a prominent and shevik leader, Rafael Abramovich, responsible capacity. In fact, less and known for his sharp criticism than twenty-four hours before he of the Stalinist regime in the vanished from Paris, he had, as Scandinavian social democratic stated above, sent an important press; Erwin Wolfe, former private secretary of Leon Trotsky. who has not been heard of at all written in German, as was also since he was snatched by the G. P.U. in Barcelona; and Hans which, in turn, was countersigned Freund (Moulin), active and in ink with Klement's pen-name— prominent figure in the Trotskyist movement throughout the early months of the civil war in Spain. In addition, Klement's friends in Paris point out, the G.P.U. has the actual day-"14"-to be filled been active for some time in France in trailing, kidnapping mediately concluded that the let- and even murdering political opter had been typed out in advance ponents. Not only are the cases by Klement's kidnappers, and of Generals Kutiepov and Mueller (Continued on page 3)

## Socialist Appeal Needs Your Aid! EMERGENCY CALL FOR FUNDS

TO ALL COMRADES AND FRIENDS:

Our paper has run smack-up against the usual summer financial difficulties. It was only after the greatest squeezing that we were able to go to press this week. We don't know about next week!

We had thought it possible to avoid any such emergency financial call for help as this. By dint of atting our expenses not merely to the bone, but to its inner marrow, we had been going along satisfactorily. But this was based upon a minimum income every week. That minimum has dropped by over 25% for the past few weeks, with the result that the publication of the Appeal is seriously threatened. We must maintain a minimum income.

It was for this purpose of combatting the summer slump that we launched our present circulation campaign. We have to regretfully report that branches of the Party far from carrying out the campaign and thus helping us to tide over the summer months, have evidently succumbed to the summer heat! The results have been miserable. So few subscriptions came in this past week that we are ashamed to print our weekly Appeal

Can there be any doubt as to the absolute necessity of not only appearing regularly but expanding the size

and circulation of the Appeal? It is our elementary duty to the American working class. Those branches and literature agents who, for one reason or another, are failing in their duty of handling the paper properly, must be made aware of the fact that a heavy responsibility rests upon them if the Appeal skips any issues. There is many times more than enough due to us in debts on bundle orders from all branches throughout the country. In addition, if literature agents would see to it that the directives outlined for the present campaign were carried out, a flock of subs would come pouring in.

There will shortly be held in Europe the First World Congress of the Fourth International. We are planning to issue the largest and most important issue of our paper yet published, containing a full report on this momentous historic event. We have innumerable plans for the future of the Appeal.

But right now we're faced with the job of raising sufficient money for next week's issue. Frankly, only if a real amount comes in will there be a paper next week.

We urge all branches and locals to immediately make every effort to pay up on their back bills. We urge all comrades and sympathizers to rush contributions to us. So serious is this emergency that we request all funds to be sent via Air-Mail. The Appeal must not miss an —The Business Manager.

## Evian Conference Is Dismal Flop; Powers Offer No Aid To Refugees

After laboring for several|the world by the policy of the weeks, the Intergovernmental German Government. Except by Committee on Political Refugees gave birth to a mouse. Before ad- ican States, no doors were thrown journing, it set up an independent continuous committee which is scheduled to start work August 3rd in London under American direction. The committee's scope will be limited to assisting German refugees only. As foretold, the actions of this

conference of the world's mightiest powers mocked their preliminary pretensions of solving this social problem. The conference was converted by the powers into an auxiliary agency for exerting scope of its work some time in diplomatic pressure upon Germany and for appeasing the powerful pressure of public opinion upon the participating governconsistent with saving their faces. The N. Y. Times itself placed a low estimate upon the accom-

the future. The terrible plight of the Jewcannot be said that the confer-

gration."

ish and anti-fascist exiles has been little relieved by the events ments. As little was done as was at Evian. All the greater is the responsibility of the militants in the American labor movement to aid their suffering comrades plishments of the conference. "It across the Atlantic. That means support, and more support, to the ence solved the problem. It did current campaign of the Amernot find a landing place for the can Fund for Political Prisoners thousands of refugees cast upon and Refugees.

a few Central and South Amer-

open to the involuntary exiles

whose fate must now be deter-

mined by nations other than their

own. All the delegates professed

a sincere desire to do what they

could, but none offered to relax

the quotas and restrictions that

every country has put on immi-

Although the conference did

not open any doors, it let a thin

ray of light shine through by

vaguery promising to extend the

The East Side Workers Housparade through the lower East Side of New York on Saturday, July 30. Participating will be members of the S.W.P., YPSL, Workers Alliance Local 15.

The Committee is planning to ing Committee has set plans issue 10,000 leaflets to be disunder way for the holding of a tributed at the parade to draw attention and support to the fight for better housing. Also, plans are under way to approach trade unions for enother Progressive locals of the dorsement of the program and W A. A., United Handicapped aims of the Committee in prep-Workers of America, and mem- aration for calling a future conbers and sympathizers of other ference of labor to broaden the labor organizations. fight for better housing.

East Side Labor to Hold Housing Parade

## Gang Disrupts Astoria SWP Rally; Cops Look On

Harvey's Police, Like Hague's, Condones Fascist Tactics Against Labor Meetings; Workers Need Own Defense Guard

By FRANK GRAVES

NEW YORK .- A mob of hooligans, inspired with fascist ideology, succeeded in breaking up an open-air meeting of the Socialist Workers Party on July 14 at the corner of Second and Ditmars Avenues, Astoria, in the heart of the bailiwick of George U. Harvey, reactionary president of the Queens Borough, well-known for his red-baiting and hatred of the labor movement.

As soon as the meeting commenced, the rowdies, thirty or forty of them, closed in from all corners of the street intersection and set up a chorus of yelling and singing which made it impossible for the speaker to be heard.

"handling labor"-the method of

outright proscription and sup-

pression of labor's hard-won

Stalinists Also Attacked

Not only the S.W.P. but the

Stalinists, too, are finding it im-

possible to obtain a hearing on

the streets of Astoria. A Commu-

nist Party meeting, despite the

patriotic sooth-saying of its pub-

lic representatives, was broken

up by the same hoodlums at the

same spot (Second and Ditmars

Avenues) the night previous to

the S.W.P. meeting. To the fas-

cist-minded hoodlums ALL street

meetings are "suspect" as being

of foreign origin. Respectable

people, i.e., capitalist politicians,

The experiences in Astoria

war for the overthrow of capi-

The Contagion Spreads

(Brooklyn) Chamber of Com-

or LaGuardia and Police Com-

low Hague and Harvey.

Right now is needed a work-

tail the rights of free speech any-

the black plague of fascism.

ANNOUNCEMENTS

Insertions in this column are

25 cents for five lines. Copy must

be in at the APPEAL office be-

fore 6 o'clock Monday evening.

NEW YORK

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pices Latin-American Commit-

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for those who can bear it. Wear

tee. Admission, 25 cents.

hold their meetings in halls.

gogue-a Hitler.

Jersey City, and his method of In accordance with the customary procedure, the Astoria party branch had given advance notification to the police that the meeting was to be held and several cops were on hand, presumably to preserve "law and order" and the democratic right of free speech.

Police "Protection"

But they permitted the hooligans to carry out their disruptive tactics unhindered, without even a mild warning. Nor did they in tervene when the barrage of catcalls, yells and snatches of patriotic songs was supplemented by a barrage of over-ripe fruit.

After twenty minutes of vair effort to gain a hearing, during which the mob worked itself into a frenzy bordering on real violence, the handful of Astoria comrades were obliged to abandon the meeting.

While preparing to move from the spot, our comrades heard such characteristic remarks as, "Go back to where you came "Reds are not welcome here," "Don't come back to Astoria." One youth was heard to say that the breaking-up of meetings was his favorite pastime.

Object Lesson in Democracy On their way to the elevated station a block away, we were followed and "protected" by a solitary policeman who had watched the rowdies assail our meeting without attempting to put a stop to their hooliganism. Walking between our comrades and the yelling mob which followed them, he kept the hoodlums at a distance of a few yards, but this did not discourage them from harling fruit missiles at the departing S.W.P.'ers.

This guardian of "law and order" showed by his whole attitude that he was in sympathy with the aggressive mob and was doing only the minimum necessary to prevent an outright mon attack on our hopelessly outnumbered comrades. At the commencement of the meeting the mob displayed its cowardice when one of its more vociferous members asked another "How many are there?" referring to our party comrades.

A show of real resistance to the hooligans would have put the latter instantly to flight. It was not forthcoming from the police because they, and their inspirer, George U. Harvey, are fascist-inclined and hostile to the workers' movement.

## Defense Guard Needed

Which points the need for a well-organized, disciplined and sufficiently numerous defense guard to protect our meetings. The hooligans are bold and aggressive because they know or sense our weakness. They could easily be put to flight by organized, physical defense and given a lesson which would discourage them from repeating their July 14 performance.

This was not the first S.W.P. meeting disrupted in Astoria. A week previous, at the corner o Steinway Street and Jamaica Avenue, some distance away, young hoodlums inspired and egged on by Legionnaires and known members of a local fascist organization had carried out precisely the same tactics. The conduct of the police in this precinct, too, was the same as at the July 14 meeting. One of the cops on duty there told us plainly that he had no sympathy with our ideas but that nevertheless we had the right to expound them at meetings.

He permitted the hoodlums to disrupt the meeting and pelt our comrades with fruit and vegetables, and finally escorted the local comrades to their homes to protect them from threatened violence. Thus he performed his duty of "protecting" the democratic right of free speech.

Material for Fascism

Who are the rowdies? They are, for the most part, youthful people of both sexes, but a majority of them are young men in their 'teens or early 'twentiesthe type of youth which has not known the taste of a job since leaving school. They are the New Deal unemployed, fast degenerating into declassed slum proletarians of the most vicious type.

This is the social material upon which fascism draws for the creation of its storm troops. The Astoria hoodlums show by their conduct that they have already fallen to a considerable degree under the ideology of fascism as expounded by George U. Harvey, who proudly boasts of his admiration for Mayor Frank Hague, the embryonic Hitler of

## Skoglund Elected President of 544

MINNEAPOLIS .- Carl Skoglund, veteran of Minneapolis labor struggles, was formally installed in office as president of General Drivers Union Local 544, after returns of the election were reported to the membership.

The official tabulation, reported by the union's election board, gave Skoglund 788 votes, with Tom McCue polling 596. Two other candidates, Peter Harris and Frank McArdle, received 26 and 19 votes, respec-

tively. The election was held to fill the post left vacant by the death of Bill Brown, long-time leader of the Minneapolis team-

# TRIP ACROSS **COUNTRY HAS**

(Continued from page 1)

ing care not to stick his neck out too far, but to phrase his remarks in such a way that a victory for the 100 per cent New Deal faction in a given State could be interpreted as a personal triumph but a defeat could be passed off as no concern of the President's.

At the same time the timepoint to the growing danger of an tested Roosevelt demagogy was advancing fascist movement in directed over the heads of the lothe United States. The continuing cal politicians to the workers and and deepening social crisis, farmers. His wayside speeches throwing hundreds of thousands of the youth on to the scrap-heap generalities of "the more abunof unemployment each year, is dant life," with social insurance providing fascism with its human and dams and conservation and material, its army of the future. wages and hours and the praises This army awaits only an orof "the people." Since the only ganizer with the gifts of a demalarge-scale and organized national opposition to Roosevelt is pro-If the labor movement proves vided by the Republican Party, unable to organize these elements and since the policy of the Reand draw them into the class pulican Party promises only to reduce the miserable relief and talism, which has reduced them pitiful wages and hours standto their present social plight, they ards and shamefully inadequate will become recruits in the army conservation and social insurance provisions, the generalities of Roosevelt still have power to The fascist peril is here right move the masses in spite of the now. Jersey City—Newark—and glaring and brutal conflict benow Astoria! Hague and Harvey! tween them and the realities of

Only last week the Flatbush the current crisis. One other important card was merce addressed a letter to Maypulled from the Roosevelt hat during the course of this tour, Mayor would be permitted dismissioner Valentine "respectfully and we may be certain that we demanding" that future outdoor have not seen the last of this one. mass meetings scheduled for At Pueblo, Colorado, a petition Flatbush Avenue and Albemarle Road be held elsewhere. "Comsigned by 4,000 workers called strike breaking tasks, with scale upon Roosevelt to get ready to taxies accompanied by police as munists, Nazis, Friends of Spain, later, a similar sentiment was completely without routine police Catholics and non-Catholics draw as many as 2,000 spectators who publicly expressed by a group of create a nuisance and hinder the C.I.O. leaders in Ohio. Roosebusiness." the letter declared. velt has carefully avoided com-Thus Brooklyn is in line to folment upon either of these sum-

Third Term Talk

ers' defense organization to defy Roosevelt will find this thirdand contest every attempt to curterm talk a handy weapon, whatever his actual intentions-and it in hiding or in jail, and rank and where - and workers' defense squads to protect working-class meetings from fascist assaults. There is no other way to halt

concession. But it was the final continental speech, made in California just before the review of the fleet, that set the high mark in demagogy. There, preparing to survey the tremendous naval armament, for the maintenance and expansion of which he more than any other one man has systematically devoted his most strenuous efforts, Roosevelt called piously for -disarmament. The disarmament, he hastened to make clear, was to be started by the other fellow. Thus, as always, pacifism serves as the moral covering for

#### super-imperialism. OHIO

OHIO DISTRICT Y.P.S.L. CAMP The Ohio District is making extensive preparation for the Y. P.S.L. Camp to be held at Lake Milton, July 31 to August 7 This is to be the District school and Organizer training camp. Plus camp life, classes are being organized on technical instructions for newspaper and leaflet work, and principles of Marxism. There are still vacancies for a few more comrades. The total charge for the week is five dollars. For further information write at once to Sam Silvers, care of London, Box 396, Youngstown, Ohio.

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# BUILD THE SOCIALIST APPEAL!

FORWARD TO CIRCULATION OF 10,000!

# OHIO UNIONS TO **DEMAND BETTER** RELIEF SCALES

Example of Minneapolis Unions' Fight for Adequate Unemployed Relief Inspires **Akron Workers** 

Council publication, and

a union survey, and

Whereas, The solution was

achieved through the introduction

of a system of supplementary

employe whose wages were in-

sufficient to permit a family to

have a minimum standard of liv-

ing whose cost was determined by

Whereas, Under the system of

supplementary relief, the em-

ploye of either a private con-

cern or of the W.P.A. obtains in

cash the difference between his

wages and the amount needed for

Northwest Organizer, therefore,

Ask Supplementary Relief

record in favor of such a system

The campaign is not being made

it as a good supplementary move

to fight against the effects of the

Already, relief officials have an-

obtain W.P.A. jobs or relief while

of supplementary relief, and that

Be it resolved, That we go on

By B. J. WIDICK Labor Secretary, S.W.P.

AKRON, Ohio.-A campaign to provide for supplementary relief for W.P.A. and industrial employes along the lines of the "Minneapolis plan" was begun herethis week by the Akron C.I.O. relief for any company or W.P.A. council and Goodyear Local, United Rubber Workers of Amer-

By mobilizing the labor movement behind this fight, union leaders seek to revitalize the unions and to alleviate the suffering of thousands of families living on sub-existence levels.

#### Praise Local 544

The campaign was announced in the Summit County Labor the minimum standard, as shown News, which gave much credit to by the attached clipping from the the Minneapolis Teamsters Unions for initiating the system of supolementary relief on a sound

Over 110,000 of the 225,000 innabitants of Akron are on one we seek to institute a similar syskind of relief or another, and tem in Akron, in conjunction with thousands of rubber workers are the proper authorities, and that working less than two days a we urge the entire labor moveweek, thereby making a system ment and the Workers Alliance to of supplementary relief indispens- join with this union in the camwere crowded with the glittering | ible for the sheer existence of the | paign.

> The plan of the Akron unionists was indicated in a resolution as a substitute for jobs, or adpassed by Goodyear Local and equate wages. Union leaders see the C.I.O. council. It reads: Text of Resolution

> Whereas, The present amount social crisis and to place the burof wages received by W.P.A. den on the rich. workers and by part-time industrial employes is not sufficient to nounced giving of more liberal meet the minimum standard of allowances, and of permitting living needs, especially of large part time industrial employes to families, and

Whereas, This grave situation holding down their regular jobs.

(Continued from page 1)

arrested. He announced that no

Cops are busy at their usual

services, such as traffic direction,

as the whole department is con-

centrated on the brutal business

of crushing the C.I.O. union

Fight Legal Battles

With many of the strike leaders

tribution.

## New Orleans Police Mob Drives Mill Fight C.I.O. Unions Workers from Homes the streets of New York's business

(Continued from page 1) C.I.O. union. All were forced to flee the town leaflets not approved by the

Use Sound Truck

for the "purge" was revealed dicated by the expressions of when a sound truck appeared on the streets, manned by a group of Workers Union every day as well run for a third term. A few days guards. New Orleans is almost the yigilantes. Names of suspected as by the conferences called by union members or sympathizers the union and attended by more were called out over the loud-than 200 union delegates last speaker. When the men could be found they were forced to state their position. If at all in favor of the union, or resentful of the humiliation heaped upon them, they and their families were ordered to get out of town.

During the early morning battle tion was adopted calling for seems clear that he has not yet file strikers afraid to appear on a call for National Guardsmen agitation against the Cotillo writ decided whether or not to make a the streets because of the cer- was sent to Governor Merriam. A by meetings, radio and mass pickbid to break the precedent. For tainty of arrest, defense of the platoon of 30 guardsmen started eting. To assure the movement the fear that he may run for a workers has been conducted al- to the lumber town, but were against the injunctions of the third term will serve to soften most wholely on the judicial turned back at Sacramento when greatest success, especial stress his inner-party opponents, and to make them ready for almost any night and day, attempting to protect the strikers according to restored. "Order" was restored by be involved in mass picketing the simple expedient of having the demonstrations. Only by a powersheriff deputize the 800 vigilantes ful show of labor solidarity in

> activity of the police, acting on inhabitants. the direct orders of the bossowned city and state government, sive document listing the specific the legal-minded defense attor-violations of the law by the offineys are preparing a comprehen-cial thugs of New Orleans.

## Yipsels Announce Membership Meet

A general membership meeting of the New York District of the Young Peoples Socialist League, to be held Friday evening, July 22, at 916 Ninth Ave., is announced by the District Committee.

As the meeting is to be held for internal discussion, admission is by red card only. The

# **DOWN AGAIN ON**

(Continued from page 1)

course that the workers' rights must be abrogated.

The surest way to protect the workers from the damage the capitalist courts intend to inflict upon them, is to bring the bosses to terms as rapidly as possible. While the lawyers engage the court in argument, the workers must resort to mass picketing that will break the injunctions in effect and hurl back the employ ers in actual practice.

It is gratifying to see that the Cotillo injunction has not stopped the Busch strikers. Their solidarity remains unimpaired. Picke ines continue to roam through listrict.

sentatives are aware of the implications of the Busch workers fight insofar as the whole union The extent of the preparations movement is concerned, is inweek. In line with this spirit of

At a meeting of this Committee, addressed by Alan Havwood regional director of the C.I.O., and other leading unionists, a resolu-In the face of the lawless engaged in terrorizing the town's action can the bosses and their judges be brought to their knees.

AT YOUR NEWSSTAND

#### meeting will be called to order sharply at 8:30 P.M. has been solved mainly in one city, Minneapolis, as indicated in a recent issue of the Northwest COURTS CRACK Organizer, official Teamsters Joint

By restricting themselves to merely legal contests against these lecisions, the workers affected would be contesting decisions in game in which the bosses have made all the rules for their own benefit. Obviously, the only way the Busch workers as well as al the others involved in these recent court decisions have of assuring themselves against the ravages of boss class "justice" is by implementing the lawyers' brief with strong doses of militant, mass action. That is also a means of obtaining a quick decision and of preventing their cases from dragging on and on until the union treasuries have been exhausted and the spirit of the militants sapped.

That responsible labor repre solidarity, a Labor's Anti-Injunc-

tion Committee has been formed.

ASK FOR THE APPEAL

## Auto Union Threatened With Split By Wreckers

(Continued from page 1)

to step into the Auto situation and bring about peace between the two warring factions. On this point, the S. P. program, insofar as this group has a program, is identical with the program of the Stalinists. What significance has this request for the Auto Union?

#### Independence Threatened The intervention of John I

Lewis into the auto union battle would mark the end of the autonomous and independent existence of the most militant union organization in this country. Lewis would only act as a re ceiver, in order to turn the union over to the Stalinists at the first the Martin administration has avorable opportunity. That not facilitated the path of the Lewis is not averse to turning unions over to the Stalinists, when he thinks that they are in union, the Martin leadership has a position of power, is attested to remained, by and large, unmindby the fact that he did not hesitate to hand over the West Coast C.I.O. movement to Harry Bridges, who has since been wrecking and discrediting the C.I.O. organizations on the Pacific of unionism it stood for and was Coast.

Martin was completely right when he stated that the Auto Union was an autonomous body, hat had voluntary affiliated with the C.I.O. and that the latter had no authority to intervene into any International's internal affairs. All progressives must repudiate the calling in of Lewis or any other high mediator from the outside. who will only throttle its autonomy and either reduce it to the pitiful status of committees, or else hand it over ock, stock and barrel to the Stalinist wrecking crew. The problems of the Automobile Union must be solved by the Automobile workers themselves, or they will not be solved at all.

#### Stalinists Prepare Split

After the Addes expulsion, the tions for a rump convention of

heir previous policy. At the to the present situation.

| Monday night meeting of the Detroit District Auto Council, S.P. members fought against the calling of a special convention and condemned the attempts of the Stalinists to stop payments of per capita tax to the International. The S. P. has not yet achieved a complete break with the Stalinists and their program, but the first moves have already been made. The path is now cleared for the creation of a broad progressive bloc standing on the program of democratic and militant unionism and fighting the reactionary policy of the Stalinist

It must be freely admitted that S. P. or other union groups. Ever since the present battle in the ful and ignorant of the actual desires and wishes of the rank and file membership. It has never clearly stated and certainly never clearly demonstrated, what kind prepared to establish. It has never put through a bold campaign to win the membership to its program and to condemn the reactionary program of the Communist Party, but has tried to solve this complicated task by premature and unexplained disciplinary measures against the opposition.

#### Martin Begins Campaign

The fact is the Martin group is not only composed of the most some of the C.I.O. organizing variegated and heterogeneous kinds of people, but includes red baiters as well. Only during the past few days has Martin begun an educational campaign to expose the Stalinists to the membership and to explain what kind of a union he proposes to build. He has already spoken at some major local union meetings and made several radio addresses ex-Stalinists began active prepara- plaining the position of his administration. But one swallow the Auto Workers Union. Such doesn't make a summer. Sureckless proportions did their rounded as Martin is, by many splitting campaign assume that opportunists, job-seekers and regreat dissatisfaction arose in- actionaries, his speech will bear ide the Socialist Party against no relation to the acts of his adcontinuing the bloc with the Sta- ministration, unless he makes a genuine attempt to unite all pro-Recently S. P. members have gressive elements around his registered a sharp change on twenty-point program concretized

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store at Grand and Attorney Sts; Candy Store, S. E. 9th St. and Second Ave; Biederman's Book Store, 12th St. and Second Ave; Wigerson, 145th St. and St. Nich olas Ave; 110th St. and Columbus BRONX: Jerome Ave. & 170th

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their "legal rights."

## EXAMPLE AND SYMPTOM

In the face of economic dedine and rsing reaction, the militant unity of he labor novement is imperative. The example of Philidelphia, therefore, should inspire workers every-

When the city councilmen of Philadelhia persisted in playing ghoulish politics with the suffering of the unemployed, the C.I.O. anothe A. F. of L. leadership buried their differeces. Together, they led hundreds of workers of the City Council last week. Together they brihed aside the police. And together with the wokers they "stormed the City Council Chamber-with demands for jobs for Philadelphia's temployed."

Once there, the workers denounced the ouncilmen. Before they left, James L. Mclvitt, president of the Pennsylvania Federati of Labor and head of the joint committee the C.I.O. and A.F. of L. set up to get prompt tion, warned the councilmen, "Continued reful to take action to safeguard the 50,000 WP jobs available to this city might have unformate

Symptom and Example Philadelphia is both a symptom and example.

It is a symptom that the workers cann tolerate a split labor movement. Pennsylvan the most industrialized state in the countribas the greatest proportion of unemployed, e to the economic decline. It is no accidenthen, that the unity of the C.I.O. and the A.Ff L. should take practical form in the style against unemployment. In the face of thuffering jobless, all other quarrels are vial. Only the unity of the labor movemercan wrest jobs for the jobless from the goverent. Any bureaucrat who stands against thisnity will find himself isolated and soon forsal. This unity can be forged today-nowhil-

adelphia stands as an example.

Unemployment is not a local problem. It is national in its scope. In each city, the C.I.O. and the A.F. of L. must set up joint committees to demand W.P.A. jobs for the unemployed. These should then be organized on a state-wide scale, and the state committees should be organized on a nation-wide scale. The aim of the committees must be a great,

Joint Committees

long-range public works program, paid for by taxes on capital and incomes of the speculators and financial and industrial dictators. The public works should be planned to expand as the depression deepens and unemployment increases. Private industry and public works must give jobs to all jobless. And workers should be able to shift freely between public works and private employment.

## Union Hours, Wages

Public works for all unemployed will also strengthen union conditions in private industry, if the fight is accompanied by the demand for "Union hours at union wages on all WPA jobs." In addition, all unemployed who are on WPA and who are not members of unions should be admitted into their appropriate trade or industrial union.

Thus only can the unemployed get jobs and the union standards in private industry be protected. Thus only can the unity of workers and unemployed be cemented against the demagogic promises of the fascists. Thus can the militant unity of the labor movement be forged in the fire of anti-governmental struggles.

Against the reactionary attacks on the labor movement and the unemployed, there is only one answer: the Unity of the C.I.O. and A.F. of L. Unity of the workers and unemployed! Unity of the working class as a whole against capitalism and its decay!

# Trotskyist Leader Seized In Paris; May **Be Spirited To Spain**

(Continued from page 1)

Navashine, former official in the Soviet embassy in Paris, who was shot down in cold blood in the Bois de Boulogne, because he was too well-informed about Stalinist illegal activities in France; the case of Ignace Reiss, former G. P.U. official who broke with the generally believed, perpetrated Front, was entirely lacking. foul play resulting in his strange death after an operation performed upon him.

#### Portfolio Missing

his mysterious disappearance, the fact that his portfolio, conwho, by the very nature of Kleminist intelligence department.

dicates that the G.P.U. had been the symbolism of the flags distrailing Klement for some time played is mirrored the whole perand was aware of his residence fidy of the Stalinist-reformist and his movements.

Rudolph Klement joined the revolutionary movement while still very young and was one of the most devoted and ablest comrades in the Trotskyist movement, with which he was associated from the very beginning of his activity in Hamburg.

#### Was Long Active

While Leon Trotsky was in exile in Turkey, Klement served for some time as his private German secretary, and also as translator of many of Trotsky's writings. The young militant also display of clenched fists and politbegan to develop an independent ical animosity even to the extent political and literary activity for of some disturbances. Last year which he became well-known in there was less Popular Front and the movement of the Fourth In- a far bigger display of military ternational.

Unable to return to Germany after Hitler seized power, Klemenc settled in France as a political refugee after Trotsky left Turkey. He then turned his activity to work in the International Secretariat of the Fourth International, devoting all his time and energy

It is not surprising that the G.P.U. turned its sinister attentions to him, knowing the post of importance he occupied in the ont which Stalin is determined to crush even if he must use the foulest methods to accomplish his aim.

## **Public Warned**

Every effort is being made by Klement's comrades in France to abouts and to delve into the manseized and made off with him.

being warned against the possibil- Front groups could not agree as ity of a frame-up against the to what they were to say . . .' Trotskyists in Spain, amalgamated, as is Stalin's custom, with up the whole result of the Stalinthe familiar "fascist elements" ist and reformist policy of and adorned with the usual "con- People's Front betrayals: apathy fessions." It is known that Stalin of the working class, paralyzation needs such a "demonstration of labor's power of action, in trial," not only in Moscow, but creasing discord instead of growright now in Spain, in order to ing unity, subjugation of the explain away or to cover up the interests of the proletariat to the succession of military defeats that needs of imperialist policy, selfhave been suffered by the Loyal- imposed speechlessness in the face ists as a direct result of the of mounting losses to the workers Stalinist policies which now dom- and in the face of an ever-grow inate the Valencia-Barcelona gov- ing war danger in which not even ernment. The numerous Fourth the much cherished Franco-Soviet Internationalists, members and alliance-in whose name all these leaders of the POUM and of the crimes were committed-is safe anarchist movement who are now from disruption. The fake "realheld in Loyalist dungeons are un- ism" of the People's Front is doubtedly scheduled to serve as heading the French working class the victim of Stalin's frame-up toward disaster. The fate of the

in light of this despicable plan. realism in France.

## recalled, but also the cases of FRENCH LABOR PASSIVE ON **BASTILLE DAY**

Just how deadening the effect Stalinists and joined the Fourth of the People's Front policy has International, and was sub- been for the French laboring popsequently lured to his death by ulation is well illustrated by the G.P.U. agents in Switzerland; and character of this year's Bastille the more recent case of Leon Day celebrations in Paris. Not Sedov, son of Leon Trotsky, who, only did the demonstrations on it was established by Paris police, July 14 take place under the sign had his home under constant sur- of the reactionary Anglo-French veillance by G.P.U. emissaries, orientation, but the participation who tried to snare him in a trap of the working masses, so marked laid in Strassburg and who, it is in recent years under the Popular

Whereas in previous years, the Tricolor waved side by side with red flags, this year it "seemed to have been dominated by the crisscross pattern of the Union Jack," to the fact that two weeks before according to the Times correspondent. The coupling of the red Klement reported to his comrades flag with the Tricolor in the treacherous demonstrations of taining important documents, had national unity arranged by the been stolen by unknown persons People's Front in the past has merely paved the way to the ent's work, could have been none coupling of the flags of the two other than operatives of the Stal- sated European imperialisms in their progress toward the new The stealing of the portfolio in- world slaughter. Thus, through "line" for the French working class.

#### Workers Dormant

Of greater importance, however than the symbolic flag display is the fact that this year's celebrations indicated a complete lack of interest on the part of the Parisian proletarians. "Two years ago," writes the

same Times correspondent, "it (the celebration) was held in the first flush of the united front victory at the polls with Leon Blum as Premier. There was a great strength with Camille Chautemps as Premier. This year amid this prodigality of Anglo-French decorations there was a restricted but effective representation of the most modern and also the most picturesque elements in the army and with Edouard Daladier as Premier no political activity at

## Separate Labor Parades

"How deep the change is," continues the same writer, "was best shown at the labor parade in the East End of the city during the afternoon. Two years ago it numhered hundreds of thousands, all with red banners singing the "Internationale." This year it was only a skeleton of that immense display of popular feeling and here was the most curious thing ascertain his exact present where- of all: there were no political speeches at the Place de la Naner in which the kidnappers tion (the scene of the labor parade) for this reason, that the Meanwhile, the labor public is leaders of the various Popular

There, in a nutshell, is summed entire European working class, of The kidnapping of Rudolph the world as a whole, rests on a Klement can be understood only rapid change to revolutionary

## NOT GUILTY

REPORT OF THE COMMISSION OF INQUIRY INTO THE CHARGES MADE AGAINST LEON TROTSKY IN THE MOSCOW TRIALS

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# Two Years of Civil War In Spain SUMMING UP THE BALANCE-SHEET OF THE PEOPLE'S FRONT GOVERNMENT IN ITS

FOR DEMOCRACY," AND THE RESULTS OF THE POLICIES FOLLOWED BY THE SOCIAL-DEMOCRATS, STALINISTS, ANARCHISTS AND THE P.O.U.M.

Two years have passed since the fascist rebellion opened up the civil war in Spain. The anniversary is an occasion for drawing up, soberly and objectively, a balance-sheet.

The unflagging heroism and tenacity of the workers, shaken to the depths by hatred for the fascists whose dominance they rightly fear, are a constant source of inspiration to all those throughout the world who have not grown tired in the struggle for proletarian emancipation, who have not lost faith in the resourcefulness and militancy of the oppressed.

How many would believe, two years ago, that the Spanish workers would hold out so long against such frightful odds? The entire capitalist world surrounded them like a strangling noose-the fascist powers aiding Franco's armies directly, the "democracies" indirectly; with even the Soviet Union giving its skinflint aid at such an enormous price (in gold and in political tribute) as to assure a fatal exchange to Lovalist Spain in the long run.

#### Men, Munitions at Franco's Command

On the side of Franco have stood the trained, professional soldiers of Spain, Morocco, Italy and Germany. The two last named poured an endless stream of arms, ammunition, artillery and airplanes into the fascist armies. On the Loyalist side, the forces were composed at least ninety per cent of workers and peasants, not only untrained, but unequipped, starved out by the Great Democracies whom they were taught to regard as their friends and saviors. And if they have fought with such amazing endurance, and held out so long against a technically superior foe, despite all the other handicaps under which they labored, it is because the masses understand that the victory of fascism means an end to their unions, to their own parties, to their cooperatives, to their most elementary rights. means they will be reduced to the same gagged and fettered serfs tormented under the heel of Hitler and Mussolini.

The fact that fascism, with all the material and technical advantages on its side, has been unable to crush the working class after two years of continuous assault, is living proof that, properly organized, the workers in Spain give the lie to the faint-hearts, dilletantes and do-nothings who poison the minds of the masses with the thought that fascism is destined to win anyhow. Militancy, courage, epic heroism, endurance, invincibility-all these the working class has, and is ready to display them in action once the reins of restraint with which its leadership checks it are released or broken.

Precisely there lies the fatal weakness of the struggle against the fascists. The leadership of the Spanish working class has been weighed and found wanting, and that regardless of the standard by which they are judged. A summary of the situation in the camp of the Loyalists demonstrates to all who are willing to see and to think that the Spanish workers would never have suffered defeat in one battle after another, and now be threatened with defeat in the war as a whole, were it not for the disastrous policies pursued by their own leaders. If the war should end in that horrible outcome which every worker even hates to think about, namely, the victory of fascism, it will have been due not so much and not even in the first place to the military superiority of Franco as to the course pursued by the traditional parties and groups of the labor movement.

## People's Front Defends Capitalism

The struggle of the Loyalists has been conducted under the leadership and policies of the so-called People's Front, to which all the old parties and groups-social-democrats. Stalinists. anarchists. POUMists-have adhered to one degree or another.

In a word, the People's Front has operated on the theory that the fight against fascism can be conducted only on the basis of a preservation of capitalist democracy and private property, and by methods which correspond to them and to the principle of acquiring and maintaining the friendship of the capitalist democracies, France, England and the United States.

The revolutionary criticism of the People's Front, which we have advanced even before the civil war began, may be summed up just as briefly: the failure to pursue a proletarian policy, the policy of the militant class struggle, will not only not bring the working class closer to socialism and emancipation, but will result in not even preserving the traditional institutions and rights of bourgeosie democracy. In other words, the People's Front policy will defeat its own avowed aims and facilitate the triumph of fascism.

## Fruits of the People's Front

Let us now examine the fruits of the People's Front policy. It is a primary duty to do it thoroughly, for tomorrow the workers in other countries, the United States not excluded, will face substantially the same problems as the workers of Spain.

When the civil war broke out, the workers realized, some consciously and some instinctively, that it was not a struggle between the abstractions of "democracy" and "fascism," but a class war between the proletariat and the bourgeosie. Except for a handful of politicians, the latter was ranged entirely on the side of Franco. The workers thereupon proceeded spontaneously to establish a government of their own, an army of their own, a police of their own; in one center after another, above all in the industrial heart of Spain, Catalonia, they took over the industries and the land.

Did the People's Front government consolidate these gains or did it destroy them? The difference between the Bolshevik government in Russia after 1917, which was confronted with the same problem of crushing the counter-revolution in the course of a civil war, and the Loyalist government lies precisely in the fact that the former solidified the rule of the masses, while the latter exploded it.

## Government Destroyed Militias

The popular and democratic anti-fascist militias, which offered the most effective resistance to Franco and Mola, which successfully defended Madrid, which kept the fascists in check and registered the smallest number of set-backs, has been destroyed completely by the Loyalist government. Its place has been taken by an army based upon the old capitalist style and commanded in the old way. The anti-fascist patrols

which preserved order at the rear, have met the same fate. Also demolished are the frontier police first set up by the masses.

The Central Council of anti-fascist militias, which, in centers like Barcelona, democratically expressed the will and enthusiasm of the masses and which was the embryonic government of the workers, has been crushed-not by fascists, but by the People's Front government, which restored the power to the bourgeois Generalidad whose power proved to be such a myth when the civil war broke out and for months thereafter. In this, the People's Front leaders carried through the same counter-revolutionary work that was accomplished by the German socialdemocrats after the November 1918 revolution, when they gradually smashed and dissolved the popular Workers' Councils and restored the power to the German bankers, industrialists and landlords.

Of workers' control of the factories, so widespread and promising in the early days of the civil war, there is scarcely a trace today. Where the People's Front could not get the workers to surrender their positions by means of chicanery and deception, it ousted them by means of armed force. The same holds true of the collective farming inaugurated by the radical elements among the peasants. In one large center, Aragon, the collective farms and the dominance of the militant peasants were shattered by as savage a punitive expedition-under command of the Stalinist, Lister-as might have been carried on by a fascist army of invasion.

#### Loyalists Suppress Democracy

If the socialist beginnings and aspirations of the masses have been rudely trampled under foot by the People's Front, what, at least, is the situation with reference to democracy? When the civil war broke out, Spain was the most democratic country in the world, with all sections of the toiling population enjoying the greatest freedom of action and expression. In the two years that have elapsed, the Loyalist leaders have steadily brought their political regime closer to that which the fascists have already established in their conquered territory and which they seek to extend throughout Spain.

The People's Front spokesmen declare that they are fighting for nothing more than democracy. But while they have suppressed the embryonic Soviets of the workers and peasants, they have at the same time reduced the old Cortes (Chamber of Deputies) to an empty shell, and are now ruling Loyalist Spain as a military dictatorship. In two years, there has not been a single opportunity for the masses to exercise their democratic right of suffrage-and a right which you are forbidden to exercise is no right at all. The argument that "we are in the midst of a civil war," is fraudulent from beginning to end. In the midst of an even more violent and extensive civil war in Russia, elections to the Soviets continued to take place wherever the country was free from reactionary domination; and the Soviets continued to meet for the purpose of freely discussing and deciding all the important questions of the day.

The rights of free speech, free press, free assemblage and of organization are now honored in the breach rather than in the observance. It is significant that all the professional critics of the Bolshevik revolution of 1917, who find "inacceptable" what the Bolsheviks did to limit or deny democratic rights to reactionaries in the interests of socialism, are among the most passionate apologists for the People's Front leaders in Spain, who have abolished the democratic rights of revolutionists in the interests of capitalism. What sort of monstrous hoax is all this blather about the "fight for democracy," when the POUM, a political party of the workers which rendered yeoman service in the fight to stem fascism, is outlawed as a party, when its leaders are flung into jail, confined without specific charges, and kept in prison for months on end without being brought to public trial? when the prisons of Loyalist Spain are filled with more working-class victims of despotism than are to be found in all the dungeons of Franco? when the anarchist and left-wing socialist periodicals are either suppressed outright, or else permitted to appear only with wide spaces carved out by the censor? when revolutionary militants, whose only crime is opposition to Stalinist-People's Front capitulation, are seized and imprisoned without the slightest pretense to legal procedure, kidnapped in the dark of the moon by extra-legal murder-bands who operate with the approval of the government, or assassinated by thugs who work with impunity in the knowledge that the "democratic" government will protect them?

## British and French Interests Rule

The truth is that the People's Fronters have completely subordinated their own declared fight for "democracy" to the interests of the two countries without whose approval they dare not breathe or budge: Great Britain and France. The interests of the two "Great Democracies" are exclusively imperialistic. They never were and are not now interested in any nonsense about "democracy" in Spain. The praise which they received from the People's Front as "our democratic friends and patrons" was grist to their mill for, with such a noble title, they found it all the easier to carry out their foul designs without fear of consequences from their own working

Among the greatest crimes of the social-democrats, Stalinists and anarchists in Spain has

been the perpetration of the great deception: the presentation of France and England-ruled by hoary, cynical bandits—as Great Democracies upon whom the Spanish workers could depend. The "democracies" never helped in the struggle against fascism, for their fear of a German-Italian domination of the peninsula is exceeded a hundred times by their fear of a successful proletarian revolution in Spain. If France and England allowed a paltry dribble of arms to seep into Loyalist Spain, it was only as part of their policy of upholding the lords of the People's Front just as long as it was required to crush the independent and revolutionary movement of Spanish labor-that greatest of all threats to British and French imperialism in

Now that this dirty job appears to have been accomplished by their People's Front agents, London and Paris come out more openly with their pre-determined plan to bring about "peace in Spain"-on the backs and bones of the Spanish workers and peasants. The hideous farce of "non-interventionism" - participated in and supported by Stalin-Litvinov and Co.-is drawing to a close. England's pact with Italy is a public bet on the victory of Franco, and France, that other Great Democracy, trails behind as

#### Leaders Continue Fatal Policy

Do the leaders of the People's Front at least draw up a balance-sheet now of their policy of dependence upon the "democracies"? Not for a minute, for such an action would be fatal to them in its revelations. It is true that they no longer acclaim their Democratic bosses so loudly; they are no longer so pat in their assurances of the salvation that is to be expedited from Paris and London. But while their enthusiasm has now been ritualized into a whisper, they nevertheless continue to base their policies on the commands and concerns of British and French imperialism. They are not leaders of the Spanish people; they are humble footmen of The City and the Paris Bourse.

Spain has not been merely the scene of heroic struggle of workers and peasants against fascist barbarism. It has been, especially in the last two years, a vast testing ground of the parties, currents, tendencies, policies that exist in the labor movement. An appraisal of all of them is not only possible, but inescapable—for the workers in every country must make a choice among them by learning the rich lessons

The social-democrats, the party of the Second International, have done nothing but seek to add another tragedy to the long list in their record, from which they refuse to learn anything. The social-democracy is the agent of the bourgeoisie in every country and when, as in Spain, the bourgeoisie no longer requires its assistance and seeks to dispose of it, it seeks the service of capitalism elsewhere-in France and England. Its motto, like that of the Prince of Wales, is "Ich dien"—and "it serves" capitalism.

## Second International Impotent

Just think of an "International" whose comrades are engaged in slitting each others' throats! Comrade Leon Blum, as prime minister of democratic France, did his level best to strangle comrades Largo Caballero and Juan Negrin, prime ministers of democratic Spain. Later, comrade Negrin proceeded to suppress the periodicals, imprison the supporters, and disrupt the trade unions of comrade Caballero. All three of these "socialist" statesmen are members and leaders of the same "International"! What then is the Second International for? It is an arena in which the Comrade-Ministers, acting in behalf of their respective capitalist classes, drive the most comradely knives into each other's backs. On May Day, they appear before the workers and declare: "Here are our wounds honorably won in battle. Long live the brotherhood of man!"

Caballero, who crushed the Barcelona workers in the 1937 May Days by sending a punitive expedition equipped with shiny Russian rifles supplied by Stalin; Negrin and Prieto, the willing tools of British and French imperalism; Leon Blum, and all the other gentlemen of the Second International-they have demonstrated that they are not only incapable and unwilling to lead the proletarian struggle for socialism, but are just as incapable of leading a fight for the democratic rights of the masses under capitalism. For the latter can be fought for only by socialist methods, by methods of the class struggle, and this whole crew has the same abhorrence for these methods that the pious Christian has for Beelzebub.

## Stalinist Bloodhounds Active

About the role of the Stalinists, one can write only after overcoming a feeling of physical revulsion. They have found no course too abominable, no arguments too mendacious. In their capacity of servitors of the Russian anti-Soviet bureaucracy, which is in turn completely bound up in its policy of currying favor with the Democratic Imperialists, they have been in the forefront of the movement to exterminate the proletarian revolutionists and the socialist hopes of Spain. No capitalist could be more candid and zealous in his defense of the sanctity of private property than has been the "communist" party in Spain. With hysterical frequency, like people with a guilty conscience, the Stalinist leaders have proclaimed their determination to prevent the workers from going beyond the confines of

## PICKETS INJURED IN NORTH CHICAGO POLICE ATTACK

comes of the brutal assault made sheriff was slightly injured. upon 500 pickets of the C.I.O. on strike against the Chicago Hard- jailed. ware Foundry of North Chicago,

with clubs and tear-gas. How heavy the odds were ers of North America.

Seven of the pickets were

workers is indicated by the fact the employers as usual, set up added weight to the imperative that at the end of a twenty-five their lines along the full length necessity of labor everywhere minute attack by the police and of the company property, some uniting its militant strength in deputies, more than 50 pickets, two and a half blocks. They com- Labor Defense Guards, for the ncluding six women, were over- manded the pickets to leave the purpose of protecting its life some by the fumes from the grounds, but the workers, insist- and rights from the reactionary tear-gas bombs; one woman was ing on their rights, refused to brutes of capitalism, in uniform trampled in the scurrying of the comply with the orders of the or out.

As we go to press, the report crowd; and only one deputy uniformed strike-breakers. tear-gas attack followed. Following on the heels of the

Hague dictatorship in Jersey The striking hardware workers City, and the assaults on the by two hundred deputies armed are all members of the Amalga- C.I.O. in New Orleans, San Anmated Iron, Steel and Tin Work- tonio, Newton (Iowa), and elsewhere, the bestial attack upon the against the peacefully picketing The police, at the service of North Chicago strikers gives

capitalism to a new social order.

Compared with them, Scheidemann and Noske, the blood-hounds of capitalism in the German revolution of 1919, were amateurs and dilettants. Under the latter's reign, they only protected the Junkers who murdered Luxemburg and Liebknecht. The Stalinists assassinated Berneri, Barbieri and Nin with their own hands. The prisons of the Loyalist Democracy were not large enough for them; they set up their own prisons, their own torture chambers, their own G.P.U. to ferret out revolutionists, to hound them, to slay them. Impatiently brushing aside the advocates of the gradualist method, they themselves sought to oust the workers from control of industry and plants—as in the Telephone building last year-by armed force; they sent their own troops to crush the democratic Aragon Council of peasant collectives in a manner that left little to be desired or added by Britain-or Franco. With might and main, they have prepared the soil of Spain for a totalita-

#### Anarchists Display Bankruptcy

The anarchists in Spain were so powerful a force that an enormous responsibility rested on their shoulders. In no other country could they be or were they put to the same test as in Spain. The civil war swept them completely off their feet and lost them all their bearings. What good is a philosophy, a policy, which is cast to the winds the minute the first shot is fired? The anarchist leaders-more accurately, the bureaucracy-violent verbal opponents of "the state," who made a political living for years by denouncing social-democratic parliamentarism, proved to be not one whit better than the ageold objects of their scorn. They rushed pell-mell into a government (O horrors!), and into a bourgeois government at that, one consecrated to the perpetuation of private property. The "anarchist" ministers piled up a most disgraceful record during their incumbency. And when they were no longer needed by the reaction which thereupon kicked them out unceremoniously, they spent the rest of their time insisting upon the fitness and necessity of having their ministerial posts restored to them. Yes, the "anti-state" anarchists!

As if this was not disgraceful enough, the anarcho-syndicalist bureaucracy sought to brazen out its indefensible and corrupt course—as it does to this very day-by the time-worn device of reference to the truly glorious record of devotion, militancy, selflessness and revolutionary spirit of the anarchist ranks. In the same manner, the Stalinists covered up their betrayal of the Chinese revolution in 1927 by pointing to the deathiess exploits of the Chinese masses who mistakenly followed them.

#### Events Teach Anarchists Nothing

And throughout the world, you must look with a microscope in the various anarchist periodicals, for a single strong line\_01 protest against the perfidious Montsenys and Olivieras, for a single serious re-examination of the anarchist dogmas, to say nothing of the practical policy of the C.N.T. and the F.A.I. in Spain. Everywhere, the tiny anarchist groups bask in the reflected glory of the epic feats of the anarchosyndicalist masses in Spain, and eagerly hope that nobody will notice the black, ineradicable mark of bankruptcy of anarchist policy. The hope is vain, for nothing can hide the fact that official anarchism in Spain proved to be nothing but a whimpering auxiliary of the bourgeois People's Front which inexorably smothered the proletarian revolution.

Centrism too was tested in Spain, on a larger scale than ever in recent years, in the form of the POUM. This substitute for revolutionary Marxism proved to be totally inadequate. Appealing to all possible considerations - geographic, biologic, national, temporal, spiritualto emphasize the meaningless platitude that "Spain is not Russia"—the leaders of the POUM themselves helped to destroy the promising movement they had organized. Instead of organizing an intransigent struggle against People's Frontism-that is, the subordination of the independent working-class movement to the bourgeoisie and its rule—they clung pathetically to it. Like the anarchists, they developed a feverish ambition to become ministers in the bourgeois government, and lamented bitterly when their only Catalonian cabinet member was impolitely dismissed. Instead of combatting the anarcho-syndicalist prejudices among the masses, they confined themselves to negotiations and never-realized combinations with the anarchist bureaucracy at the top. All their revolutionary intentions were nullified by their incurable waverings between the policy of class struggle and class collaboration. The bankruptcy of centrism in Spain is no less profound and thorough-going than the collapse of the Stalinist, social-democratic and anarcho-reformist movements.

## Class Action Only Road

Spain hammers home again the first lesson of our epoch which is to be read out of all the great events our generation has witnessed. For the working class, there is no substitute for the policy of militant and straightforward class struggle. This is the simplest and wisest and profoundest teaching of Marxism, confirmed a thousands times over in life. The working class that hands over the job of fulfilling its tasks to another class, to the bourgeoisie, is doomed to defeat from which not even the most miraculous feats of courage can redeem it.

Of all the currents in the labor movement. only the Fourth International, the Trotskyists. despised by all the bureaucrats who despise and fear the revolution no less, stand consistently and aggressively for the policy of class struggle. It is being tragically and negatively confirmed by the events of the past two years in Spain, just as it was magnificently and positively confirmed in Russia twenty years ago.

From its setbacks and defeats, as well as from its victories, the working class will learn. It absorbs the lesson slowly, with painful slowness at times, but all the more surely for that. And when that policy has triumphed in the ranks of the workers, their triumph over all enemies and obstacles will be a comparatively simple matter. We look forward to that time with confidence. Our every effort must be bent to bring

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MAX SHACHTMAN

FRANK GRAVES HAROLD ROBERTS

S. STANLEY

### Ludlow Retreats

Representative Louis Ludlow, author of the famous congressional bill to provide for a popular referendum before the declaration of war, has announced that he will introduce his bill again in the next session of Congress-but in a modified form.

Whereas the last version of his bill provided that war could not be declared by the government without a popular referendum to sanction it, unless there was an actual attack by a foreign power or powers, the latest form of the bill announced by Ludlow provides that the government may declare war without a referendum "in case of attack by armed forces, actual or immediately threatened."

This is the second important "modification" introduced into the Ludlow Bill by its sponsors. Originally it provided for taking from Congress the power to declare war unless the territory of the United States was actually invaded by armed forces. Under pressure of the very imperialists and war-mongers the bill was supposedly directed against, sponsors Ludlow and LaFollette amended their own proposal to provide that Congress can declare war without consulting the people and getting its approval, provided the armed forces of another nation or nations attacked "any country in the Western Hemisphere."

By this first "modification" Ludlow placed himself openly on an imperialist basis. He acknowledged thereby the "right" of Wall Street's Congress to hurl us into a war in order to protect its financial and industrial interests throughout Latin America. According to Ludlow and La-Follette, it is perfectly all right for Congress to declare war in order to uphold the American imperialist protectorate over the Western Hemisphere.

The second "modification" is, if anything, more revealing. Originally, the bill narrowed the powers of Congress by specifying its free-dom of action only if there was an actual invasion of U. S. territory. The revised bill permits Congress to declare war without a referendum if Congress believes that an invasion is "immediately threatened." Congress could easily interpret this proviso tomorrow in such a manner—assuming the bill were already law as to declare war upon Japan, on the ground that an invasion of the United States is "immediately threatened.

We have never believed, and do not now believe, that even if the original Ludlow amendment were adopted as the law of the land, it would actually prevent war. The imperialist masters of the U.S. have a thousand tricks at their disposal for circumventing any law on the statute books that stands in their way. But, as we declared in a recent issue, the sentiment aroused by the Ludlow Bill expressed an entirely progressive feeling among the American masses, reflecting their healthy distrust of the capitalist government and a determination to have a direct say in the vital life-and-death question of war. Such a sentiment deserves cordial support.

At the same time, however, all experience, the latest included, demonstrates that the capitalist and middle class politicians do not and cannot conduct a struggle against war, even if on a small scale. If they are in the struggle at all, they participate only in order to betray it to the imperialist war-mongers. Ludlow's second retreat is a sample of the sell-out. What little "guts" the original Ludlow Bill had, are being cut out of it by its very author.

Only if the working class, whose interest in fighting imperialist war is direct and decisive, takes the leadership in the struggle, and ceases to rely upon its capitalist "friends" and "patrons," is there any guarantee that the fight will be conducted seriously, consistently and triumph-

## T.V.A. and War

One of the outstanding enterprises of the New Deal, to which its advocates point with great pride, is the Tennessee Valley Authority (T.V.A.). Countless speeches and endless articles have sought to demonstrate what a great price of governmental benevolence it represents; how it is to bring cheap power to the people of the Valley, cheap fertilizer to the farmer, and in general, have the effect of an enormous social boon conferred upon the people by the Great Liberal President.

The reality is far from being quite so idyllic. The T.V.A., like so many other Roosevelt-New Deal enterprises, is another cog in the vast, complex, carefully constructed war machine which the government has been erecting in preparation for the next slaughter of the peoples. The benevolent appearance of the T.V.A. is only a peace-time mask which is to be ripped off at a moment's notice the minute war breaks

In connection with the visit to Tennessee of the Congressional T.V.A. Investigation Committee, the New York Times (July 17, 1938) reports the following highly significant item:

"Dr. Harry A. Curtis, T.V.A. chief chemist, explained to the Committee at nitrate plant No. B at Muscle Shoals that the plant, built during the World War, was now being used to produce concentrated fertilizers in connection with the T.V.A. farm improvement and soil conservation program, and was being kept in standard condition, so that it could be used to produce war materials.

"In case of war, he said, the plant could produce in a day twenty-seven tons of elemental phosphorus, used for incendiary bombs and smoke screens. He added that it has an 'enormous capacity' for that purpose." It might be added further that the T.V.A. itself is only a huge smoke screen behind which the war-preparations organized by President

Roosevelt are taking place. Capitalism prostitutes even most progressive social and economic possibilities to the cause of imperialist war and devastation.

Franklin ("Big Navy") D. ("I hate war")

## Watch Their Hands!

The more frequently, the more ardently, and the more eloquently the heads of capitalist states proclaim their devotion to peace and their desire for disarmament, the more assiduously and cunningly do they prepare to plunge the peoples into the shambles of an imperialist war. This has become axiomatic.

A New York Times dispatch from San Francisco on July 14 reported that President ("I Hate War") Roosevelt, "standing within sight of sixty-three gray-bulled men o' war at anchor in the bay today, declared that 1939 would be a year of 'world-wide rejoicing' if it saw 'definite steps toward permanent world peace.' He expressed the 'fervent hope' that the costly and dangerous world armaments race would be halted and stated that the United States was ready to help in this direction."

The circumstantial irony of this pretty little peace talk, as we observe, was not lost on the Times correspondent who wrote the news dispatch. He went on to quote Roosevelt as saying. "We fervently hope for the day when the other leading nations of the world will realize that their present course must inevitably lead them to disaster. We stand ready to meet them and encourage them in any efforts they make toward a definite reduction in world armament."

This "holier than thou" piece of sanctimonious hypocrisy stands out all the more boldly and revealingly in view of the fact that the last session of Congress, on Roosevelt's initiative, passed the greatest peacetime military and naval budget in the history of the United States. Even while Roosevelt was speaking his piece, navy yards were rushing work on two 35,000-ton battleships scheduled to be completed within two years. At the same time, blue-prints were being drawn for a super-battleship of 45,000

In the realm of political hypocrisy, the palm goes to the heads of the "democratic" capitalist states. The fascists can afford to be more outspoken. On July 15, the day following Roosevelt's San Francisco speech, Sir John Simon, chancellor of the exchequer in the British cabinet of Prime Minister Neville Chamberlain, warned in the House of Commons that civilization might perish "if every country goes on piling up armaments forever and ever."

What was the occasion for this speech? It was delivered in connection with a government plea for the passage of the 1938-39 army, navy and air force budget amounting to \$1,750,000,-000, which the House proceeded to pass without a single dissenting vote-meaning that it was also voted for by His Majesty's Loyal Opposition, the British Labor Party, whose parliamentary representatives are just as ready today as they were in 1914 to betray the interests of the workers by enlisting them in a war for the profit and aggrandizement of their imperialist exploiters.

Sir John Simon, wrote the Times correspondent, spoke "with emotion such as he seldom allows himself in public speeches," and declared that "if we do not succeed and the world does not succeed in finding some way to end the folly of this everlasting expenditure on armaments, then, indeed, the future we shall be preparing for our children is one at which we may shudder." To cap this: "While Sir John was speaking the Air Secretary, Sir Kingsley Wood, was announcing an order for 1,000 high-speed pursuit planes . . . the biggest aircraft order ever given to a single firm. . . ."

We seem to remember that in 1914, while actively preparing to plunge Britain into the world war shambles, the then British foreign secretary, Sir Edward Grey, did quite a bit of public emoting and shuddering in order to deceive the workers he was planning to send to the trenches. A little later, the pacifist Woodrow Wilson repeated the act in the United States.

All of which goes to show that the workers in this and every other country, if they are to be ready to smash the war plans of the imperialists, must watch the hands of the capitalist politicians—not their mouths. Deeds are what count. The pacifist, humanitarian words are merely a cover for deeds leading inevitably to warhumbug to deceive the masses into believing that "their own" imperialists will plunge the nation into war if the country is first attacked or in order to serve some lofty ideal—such as the preservation of democracy and the independence

Eternal vigilance! Watch their hands-not their mouths!

of small nations.

## **Paul Revere . . . 1938!**



# **Democracy and Communism**

How Browder Has Abandoned the Traditional Revolutionary Teachings of Marxism on Decisive and Basic Questions

By M. J. OLGIN

tions of American democracy." Trotskyists and Lovestoneites at- them by the ruling class. . . . tributed to the Communist Party position against capitalist de-

this democracy. motations which we reprint betion, issued by the Workers Library Publishers, in May 1935, that is, two years after Hitler came to power. The quotations are merely a statement by Olgin of the traditional Marxist and communist position, which has now been completely abandoned by the Stalinists-Ed.)

You have been taught that we ive in a democracy, that the institutions of this country are bulwarks of freedom, that the government of the U.S.A. is a government by, for and of the people. From time to time you are allowed to cast your vote, and on this occasion you are told that by universal suffrage the "sovcreign will of the people" is exoressed....

The truth of the matter is that this is a rich man's State and a rich man's government. The State is there to act on behalf of finance capital and to protect its interests against the people. The government is the executive committee of the big trusts . . .

## State Exploiters' Weapon

The State is an instrument of power in the hands of the big industrialists, bankers and landlords, who by this token are the ruling class. The State is there to effect the exploitation and oppression of the workers and the poor and small farmers, and also of the subjugated colonial peoples, by the ruling class. The Constitution, the government, its laws, its agencies: the army, the militia, the police, the courts, the jails, the legislatures — all are there to effect the exploitation and oppression of you and millions like you. . . .

At a time when it is necessary for the workers to understand the real nature of the State as an instrument of exploitation and oppression they [the leaders of Socialist Party. — Ed.] tell the workers that the State, as constituted at present, can be a means of liberating them from exploitation and oppression. At a time when it is necessary for the workers to gather strength and fight against the capitalist State and its laws, the Socialists

(At its recent convention, the on this very State and its laws. tion: they were opposed even to Communist Party adopted a new At a time when it is necessary the united front against war and Revolution only Answer

mendacious the new Stalinist po- of war and peace. Did they sug- ish wars. . . . sition is, may be seen from the gest any effective remedy against We communists say that there sion of capitalism. fascism? The only real remedy were opposed not only to revolu- capitalism and destroy it.

constitution which says that the for the workers to develop the fascism. The Socialist leaders 'party opposes with all its power | will to power which shall ulti- | again talked "democracy" instead any clique, group, circle, faction mately crush the capitalist of revolution. They talked great stimulant of recovery is or party which conspires or acts State and make the workers and League of Nations and disarma- government aid. In 1933, governto subvert, undermine, weaken or farmers the ruling power in a ment conferences instead of a ment aid in the form of pumpoverthrow any or all the institu- State of their own making, the real struggle against war. What priming and credit - expansion Socialists tell the workers that was the actual achievement of gave the impetus to recovery. The And in his formal statement to nothing of the kind is needed and the Socialist conference? It current crash began in the early the McNaboe Commission, Exri that they have to remain within spread illusions among the work- seenths of 1937, when government Browder declared that while the the legal limits prescribed for ers to the effect that by using the aid dwindled away. Today, too instrumentality of the capitalist government spending and credit State, they can abolish the evils expansion have begun the work An extraordinary international of capitalist oppression and by of recovery and excited the stock mocracy, the party was in fact Socialist Conference met in Paris using the instrumentality of ca- market with hopes of profit. The always the staunchest advocate of at the end of August, 1933. The pitalist international institutions stock market, therefore, has be-Socialist leaders discussed the like the League of Nations or the come an indicator of hopes of How utterly hypocritical and question of fascism, the question | Hague Tribunal, they can abol- profits based on government

is one way to abolish

## Stock Market Rises; Basic Crisis Continues

By DAVE COWLES

able of restoring prosperity. And dustries, some of which are dealready there is an answering pendent upon it almost entirely echo of pious hope among un- for their market. Furthermore, as ceiving scoundrels in the ranks of the working class.

ment houses are not so optimistic. As late as June 18, Poor's Investment Service wrote, "The stock narket is gradually working itself oward a point from which a sizeable move may develop. Direction cannot be predicted with certainty, although the economic background suggests the downside." And their judgment of the that recovery was around the economic background was that proverbial corner. Some of the 'Only in the January 1932—April more important indicators of cyc-1933 interval of the Great Depres- lical revival began to appear. The sion was business activity so low."

#### Economic Activity Falls

The fact that the stock market indicates that the stock market no longer reflects the self-recuper- and April. The index of total ative powers of capitalism. The residential building contracts present stock upsurge, for instance, did not begin June 20th. Actually, it began two and a half way operating income, which demonths before, in the opening clined very sharply during March days of April. From that time on to April 1937, smoothed out its it climbed slowly and waveringly decline during the same months until it began its sharp rise on of 1938. The most comprehensive Monday, June 20th. At no time indexes have either slowed up did this rise reflect rising pro- their decline or made slight up duction and expanding business activity. Both these continued to decline. They gave decreasing profits in the present and even real questions now are: How less hope of profits for the future Such prospects could not sustain a falling market, much less stimlate a rising one. Looking only toward private industry, Poor's could see no justification for a over three months ago, when the rising stock market and con-Roosevelt "recovery and relief" cluded logically that "the economic background suggests the downside" in the stock market. Were capitalism dependent upon

itself for recovery, Poor's prediction would have come true. However, capitalism today is incapable of self-recovery. Today the spending and not on the expan-

low. They are taken from an of- is a revolution of the working ist State, and that is to smash yound question if we compare the ficial Communist Party pamphlet class to overthrow capitalism by it by force. To make Communism stock market trends with governentitled "Why Communism?" by first destroying the capitalist possible the workers must take ment spending. The stock market M. J. Olgin, second revised edi- State. But the Socialist leaders hold of the State machinery of rise that began in April reflected increased government spending

The upward spurt on the stock tween February and March, govmarket which began June 20, and ernment spending for public conhas continued since, has had im- struction in 37 states had inmediate reactions. Capitalist eco- creased from \$50,000,000 to little nomists are affutter with hopes of less than \$100,000,000. This fact is new prosperity. The capitalist doubly important. As a user of press magnifies the spurt with capital goods, the construction front-page headlines, seizing upon industry is interwoven with pracit as proof that capitalism is cap- tically all the durable goods intutored labor leaders, pink-tea a disburser of purchasing power, liberals and plain, ordinary de- construction activity distributes purchasing power in greater degree than average industries. And Responsible Wall Street invest- the purchasing power it distributes goes almost entirely into stimulating the consumption goods industries.

#### Indexes Rise

By April there were growing signs that the depression was scraping bottom, that government spending was taking hold and unadjusted index of automobile production began to rise slowly in February and continued upward into April. The unadjusted index ose while economic activity fell of new passenger car sales rose over 50 percent between February awarded rose almost 100 percent during the same interval. Net railturns.

The question is no more one of when the decline will end. The great will be the recovery? How long will it last? What will it mean to the workers?

We gave the answer to these questions in the Socialist Appeal, program was accepted by Congress. What we said then is still true today and is worth repeating.

"At best, the program will bring a feverish recovery that will be short in duration, precipitate in decline, and at all times will press down the living standards of the workers and farmers. The public works program will employ a portion of those displaced from private industry by the current depression. The major portion, however, will still he unemployed In addition, there will remain the 9,000,000 who were unemployed at the peak of economic activity in 1937. The housing program will increase employment in the building industry as well as in the auxiliary capital goods industries. However, all this will fail of its purpose unless private industry joins in the expansion. The Roosevelt administration realizes this. The purpose of desterilization of gold and the expansion of credit is to stimulate expansion in private industry by inflation.

"The inflation program will cause a spurt in economic activity, causing a further increase in employment, although it will never absorb all the millions of unemployed. However, it will also increase prices and the cost of living for the workers. Workers now employed will suffer substantial cuts in real wages. The unemployed who are now on relief or getting \$54 a month on works projects, will be even more depressed. Those unemployed only will get temporary relief who get jobs in private industry as a result of this inflationary upswing.

"But this relief will be shortlived. Inflation will cut the purchasing power of the workers and unemployed. Surplus products will pile up as capitalists prepare themselves against future price rises. Consumption will have lagged again behind production. And the illusion of recovery will crash into the reality of depression.'

One modification only has to be made to this conclusion. The inflationary upswing will at the same time have tuned up the productive machinery in preparation for war. Within less than two years the alternatives-of catastrophic depression accompanied by the danger of social upheavals or war of imperialist expansionwill present themselves. Wilson before him had chosen the alternative of World War. Roosevelt, far more than Wilson, has prepared for this alternative and will take it when the occasion arises.

The present stock upsurge not only reflects the government's inflationary policy of stimulating recovery but it also presages the coming war for American imperialism.

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# The Case of Joseph Zack

The case of Joseph Zack demands the active attention of every worker, every labor organization, every progressive in the country.

Joseph Zack is threatened with an order issued by the Immigration authorities for his deportation to Czechoslovakia. The order was issued despite the fact that Zack was born in Scranton, Pa., and is therefore an American

The circumstances of Zack's planned deportation are what lifts the case far above the ordi-

A socialist party member before the war, Zack became one of the founders of the Communist Party in 1919 and one of its leaders. For years he was a member of the Central Committee of the C. P., more than once a delegate to Moscow, and before his separation from the party, he was in charge of its trade union work.

Broke With Communists Party in 1935 In 1935, Zack broke with the Stalinist party,

joined the then Workers Party for a short time, and has since been active in small left-wing

In 1936, Zack wrote to the State Department in Washington, asking it to intervene in an attempt to get his wife and son, held in Russia as virtual hostages, to the United States. The State Department, far more interested in maintaining friendship with the Stalin bureaucracy than in "helping an American citizen," showed no interest in Zack's request.

They did show a great interest in getting rid of Zack. And in their efforts, Zack now charges, the Communist Party gave signal assistance. In a word-and those who know the present Stalinist line will not be astonished—the Browderites turned coppers and deportation-agents at the same time. That's what is called service to America's "democratic institutions"!

## Able to Prove American Citizenship

The claims of the State Department in backing up the deportation warrant are that Zack is not an American citizen, because there is a record of his baptism in Czechoslovakia. In repreach to the workers a reliance | ply, Zack is able to prove that his baptism took

place in Czechoslovakia, on his mother's initiative, two years after his birth in Scranton, Pa., from which he and his mother left for her native land. Furthermore, Zack has not only been given regular U.S.A. passports in the past, but the validity of his claim to American nationality was recognized by the Immigration Division of the Labor Department when it cancelled the deportation proceedings in 1934 which had originated with the Michigan Criminal Syndicalism cases in 1923—in which he was involved together with Foster, Browder and Amter, that is, the same gentlemen who have now testified against him before the Department of Labor!

#### The Browders Act in Silence The deportation warrant against Zack is in

every possible respect a shame and a disgrace. The Browder gang keeps silent in its press, because even it does not yet have the brass to avow and urge in public the perfectly infamous thing they did in the closed chambers of the government's deportation experts.

As for the latter, they are, we believe, part of President Roosevelt's political and administrative machine. Roosevelt today poses as the great friend of the political refugees. He has just arranged an elaborate farce in Evian, to discuss the question of allowing the politically persecuted to find refuge in the "democratic countries."

At the same time, his Department of Labor deports, each year, more people than are admitted under all the immigration quotas! That is a statistical fact. More than that, it now proposes to deport a U. S. citizen, solely because he is a revolutionary worker and does not suit the Stalinist machine in Moscow and on

This revolting plan of Browder and the Labor Department must be scotched in the bud-right now. Every voice must be raised against it immediately, and out loud, for everyone to hear.

Silence or indifference to this unique case is not only a crime, but means that the case will cease to be unique and be turned into just another American Custom!