Workers Of The World Unite!

Socialist Appeal

OFFICIAL WEEKLY ORGAN OF THE SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY

For The Fourth International!

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MINNEAPOLIS, Minn. — In

a statement signed by the executive board, General Drivers

Local 544 refused to obey the

court order, directing the un-

ion to open its books to the inspection of the bosses'

agents masquerading as union

Declaring that they are

backed by the Minneapolis

Central Union, the Teamsters

Joint Council and the Inter-

national Brotherhood of Team-

sters, the executive board stat-

ed the union was ready to

throw its books open to any

responsible body of organized labor, but refuses to "permit

enemies of labor to have ac-

While members of the board

have not yet been cited for

contempt of court by Judge

Frank E. Reed, who issued

the order, union officials are

prepared to answer such ac-

tion. Most likely procedure by

the court will be to send an at-

torney for the bosses to the

union headquarters and, when

he is thrown out, institute the

In the long statement to the

public, the executive board

made clear the determination

of the union to resist to the

utmost the campaign to de-

stroy the powerful union

movement, of which the court

proceedings are only a part.

By CARLOS HUDSON

(Special to Socialist Appeal)

for undeserving people, etc.

Background of Plaintiffs

L. Taylor, and supported and fi-

nanced by the Associated Indus-

tries and Mayor George E. Leach.

Nick Wagner.

aments of every nature.

reaching Minneapolis.

Part of Nation-Wide Attack

The wave of anti-union terror

pegun mobilization to defend its

rights. The Minneapolis Central

attorney to work with Local 544's

movement. The General Drivers

Peril to All Unions

Should the union-smashers get

away with their attempt to stick

cess to our record."

contempt action.

Five Cents per Copy

AFTER 24 YEARS



Above: Sacrificed on the Altar of Imperialist Greed in the Last War. — Right: War Machine Primed for New Slaughter.

August 4th, 1914!

Twenty-four years ago, the massed armies of the nations of the world began the bloody carnage that exterminated the flower of the organized working class and for four long years spread death and destruction over the face of the European continent.

The peoples of the world are still groaning under the burdens of that war. They have not even begun to pay its tremendous

But once again, on the gruesome anniversary of the first world war, humanity awaits the dread beginning of a new conflict. Armies are being whipped into fighting shape. Munition factories work overtime. Bombing planes fill the air, and battleships cruise the seas. And all the while, the diplomats are shuffling the cards with big profits and human lives as the grim stakes.

The actual scene of the war cannot be foretold in advance. But the danger spots are multiplying. In the Far East. In Czechoslovakia. In Spain. In the Mediterranean. The actual time of the outbreak is still uncertain. Only the imminence of war is beyond

Twenty-four years after the first imperialist war and on the eve of the second, it is timely to draw the balance sheet and weigh the lessons.

The conflicts that engendered the last war have not lessened with the lapse of a quarter of a century. Profits decline, the working class is plunged into deeper misery, but the economic crisis remains. And once again the bankers and industrialists prepare to redivide the surface of the earth and to change masters for its exploited slaves.

As in 1914, capitalism can find no other solution to its crisis than war. By that fact alone, capitalism has pronounced its own doom. It becomes a life and death matter for the workers to begin the Socialist reorganization of society.

As in 1914, the lie machines are being built in equal pace

with the war machines. The words are changed to fit an altered situation, but the lie remains.

The "defense of democracy" against "kaiserism" has become "a struggle against fascism." "Bleeding Belgium" and "Little Serbia" have been supplanted by "Poor Czechoslovakia."

The lie remains. On the day that war begins, the "great democracies" of England, France and the United States are prepared to trample the labor movement underfoot. The plans are ready. The war against foreign fascism will be waged by establishing fascism at home.

The lie remains. As in the war of 1914-1918, the small nations, pawns in the imperialist struggle, will be treated once again like they were by the plunderers of Versailles. Under the banner of "collective security," which has led to the annihilation of the people of Spain by German and Italian Fascism with the benevolent support of Great Britain, the scope of imperialist murder will be enlarged to include the peoples of the world.

The lie machines are supplemented once again, as in 1914, by organized treachery in the ranks of the labor movement. Like their social democratic predecessors, Stalinism-more vicious and more dangerous—is poisoning the well of working-class thought. in order to drug the labor movement into docile support of its

One force alone can prevent a new August 4th: the organized working class! One program alone can arm the working class: the socialist revolution!

The Fourth internationalists, inheritors of the struggle begun by Lenin, Luxemburg and Liebknecht on August 4th, 1914, rededicate themselves to the only revolutionary banner in the war against imperialist war:

Organize the toiling millions and arm them with the program

TEAMSTERS DEFY Japan's Border Provocations Met REVEAL RECORDS With Firm Resistance by Soviet; Backs Stand of Danger of General War Growing Local 544 BULLETIN

Rank-and-File Seamen Revolt Against Scuttling of Union by Officials;

NEW YORK.—As pickets encircled the Martime Commission niring hall for the second week, the fight of the militant seamen gainst the government threat to their unions has already produced ignificant repercussions. Faced with increasing difficulty in finding Siberia meet, Japanese and Rusmen to man the merchant ships under control of the Maritime Commission, plans to transfer the fink hiring hall to Hoboken, N. J.-

With the picketing becoming more effective daily, as more and more seamen rally to the struggle, finks are being spirited to the docks in taxi-cabs, men are shipped "off the dock," but militants leave the government ships when they reach port. On the S.S. Southern Cross, one of the M.C. ships, the mate fired the crew, confident

the government hall. Unable to JURY IN HARLAN obtain a crew, the mate rehired the men that would accept and shipped the remainder of the

Deputies and Mine Owners Jubilant At Mistrial

First efforts of the federal govrnment to convict Harlan's coal operators and former deputy sheriffs of conspiring to nullify the Wagner Labor Act met with failure when, after an eleven weeks trial, the jury was dismissed last Monday, unable to reach a verdict. Brien McMahon, assistant attorney-general in charge of the prosecution, imme diately moved for a new trial ruary. Masquerading as an at- and the motion will be heard

September 17. room reveal that members split on the question of unionization of Kentucky coal miners, rather than on the question of the guilt of the coal barons and their hired thugs, the "peace officers" of Harlan County, Accumulated evidence of shootings, night raids, kidnappings and beatings, all carried out by deputy sheriffs under directions from the powerful Harlan County Coal Operators Association, pointed so convincingly to the guilt of the defendants that the week before

the jury was for conviction. 11

After the chief defense attorney, Forney Johnson, delivered his summary, devoted entirely to denunciation of the United Mine Workers, sentiment of the jury rapidly changed. Seven of the jurors were from Clay County, a section of small individuallyowned mines, and they refused to convict. As one of them put it, "He would rot before he would send a man to the penitentiary to help John L. Lewis, the U.M.W.

Defendants in the suit are Bill Brown, slain May 25, Carl Skog-In a trial that the government lund, Jack Smith, Farrell Dobbs, characterized as the most revolt-Grant Dunne, Miles Dunne and ing display of perjury in the history of the judiciary naturally Judge Reed ordered the union the chances of the jury being to open to the plaintiffs its books, "fixed" were not remote. Such its membership lists, its minutes, tricks as parading before the correspondence, reports, and docjury residence friends of the Clay County delegation arm in arm with the defendants received the admonishments of the court. A ism—judicial, police and military trial that had as a by-product -that is sweeping the country three murders and a kidnapping, in New York, New Orleans, Iowa and several cases of intimidation California, and Chicago, is now and bribery of witnesses, could not be expected to proceed with-Minneapolis labor has already

> ants, among them Harlan's most "respected" citizens and most notorious bar-room brawlers, throughout the trial has been one of beaming confidence. The long list of witnesses, recounting the acts of violence that earned the section the title "Bloody Harlan County," disturbed the accused but little and their attorneys made little attempt to disprove

> > (Continued on page 2)

Internal Crisis May Force Japan to Extend War

Hitler Holds Key

Japanese imperialism this week once more tested the feasibilty of an early attack on the Soviet Union. In a little hilly pocket south of Possiet Bay where the borders of Manchukuo, Korea, and Soviet sian soldiers fought a series of pitched battles. It was not merely another "incident." It was an undeclared war, still in miniature but threatening almost hourly to swell into a major conflagration.

An attack on the Soviet Union and an attempt to wrest the rich maritime province from Soviet control has been part of Japan's imperialist plans for more than two decades. Ever since the day when Red partisans drove the last Japanese invader from Siberian soil nearly 20 years ago, there has been no doubt that the Japanese intended to return and renew their attempt to bring eastern Siberia under the Rising Sun of Nippon.

Planned "Incidents"

"Incidents" along the Siberian rontier do not merely happen. They are always planned and always coincide with some specific aim on the part of the Japanese imperialists. From 1931 onwards the year Japan's hordes swept into Manchuria — hundreds of small border "incidents" have occurred. They made life impossible in Northern Manchuria for officials of the then-Soviet-owned Chinese Eastern railway, and the line was finally relinquished to the Japanese. Japanese militarists used the "incident" technique to make periodic tests of the temper and strength of Soviet forces along the border.

Such a test was the "Amur River incident" of June, 1937, when the Japanese sank a Soviet gunboat and satisfied themselves that they need fear no interference in that quarter in their plans to invade China, which they did a week later.

The fresh "incidents" of the past week-more serious in scope and casualties than any that have ever occurred-developed in a context laden with menace and desperation on the part of the apanese militarists. They also undoubtedly bear a direct relation to the expectation in Europe that Hitler intends some new armed coup this month or next. Thanks to the fact that the Ja-

(Continued on page 3) East Side Parade

Demands Housing

NEW YORK. - Winding through the tenement district of New York's lower East Side, where 50,000 persons live in squalid slums, a parade last Saturday by the East Side Housing Committee met a hearty response. The paraders bore banners demanding housing for low-paid workers, the unemployed and W.P.A. work ers and they shouted militant slogans for better housing.

Ironically enough, as the parade neared its end in the most crowded area of the tenement district, fire-engines came clanging through the crowd, in answer to one of the frequent fire alarms. The marchers' slogan: "Tear down the fire traps," took on dram-

The Housing Committee is proceeding with its campaign to rally the trade unions behind the program for decent housing and is calling for endorsements of a conference of organized labor to fight for bet-

Sales of the Socialist Appeal and the Challenge of Youth, organ of the Y.P.S.L., were reported as high. Both papers carried articles on the housing

Fight Against Fink Hall ${m Forces\, Show down\, In\, NMU}$

Raid Drives Out Stalinists

where picketing is virtually suppressed by the police—were speeded.

that they could be replaced from

TRIAL DISMISSED erew from the dock. Militants Lead Fight The determination to close the

MINNEAPOLIS, Minn.-A new development in the boss campaign against General Drivers Union, Local 544, occurred Thursday, July 28, when District Judge Reed ordered the union executive board to open its books to five finks suing for an accounting of The suit was initiated in Feb-

tempt by union members to secure a financial accounting through the courts, the move is actually an attack upon trade unionism. It called upon the court to break provisions of union contracts with the employers; to end. 'illegal picketing"; attacked employment by the union of organizers "to intimidate non-union drivers and owners"; charged that the union has secured unemployment relief from the city

Jurors Against Union

or the C.I.O.'

out jury tampering.

Defendants Confident

The demeanor of the defend-Labor Union has appointed an nounced it will fight all attempts the testimony.

The men who had for so long used the courts as a weapon against the mine workers had litturn be use against them. While

NEW WAGE CUTS Stage Set In Barcelona HIT WPA WORKERS For Frame-Up Of POUM. TO BE RESUMED

Directors Get Big Raise As Ranks Face Hunger

Wages of 26,262 W.P.A. workers in New York were slashed in June. The cuts ranged from \$4.70 to \$14.95 per month. All those af-Professional Division had their wages reduced from \$103.40 to \$98.70, supervising clerks from

Ostensibly, the wage cuts were due to an economy program instituted in order to prevent layoffs. Yet in this same period, the salaries of the top-notch bureaucrats were raised by thousands of dollars per month. Field direc- are charged with being agents tors received an increase from of fascism and the Stalinist-So-\$3,900 to \$5,200 in their annual cialist-Republican Popular Front

Apparently, there are enough for the death penalty for the W.P.A. funds on hand to grease principal defendants in order to the palms of the slave-drivers rid itself of an irksome political and their finks. It is only on the adversary. backs of the wage workers that

Plight of W.P.A. Workers The plight of the W.P.A. project employees who have undergone these wholesale reductions Spain for the purpose of investiin pay can well be imagined. Thousands of those in the lower brackets have applied for sup-

(Continued on page 2)

Long-Awaited "Moscow Trial" of Spanish Revolutionists Believed to Begin; **Defense Action Urged**

In line with its oft-enunciated policy of physical extermination of all its political opponents and critics, the Stalinist bureaucracy in Moscow, through its Spanish agents, has finally prevailed on the Automobile Workers is schedfected by the cuts came from the Barcelona government to go through with the long-delayed trial of uled to resume, and it is expected home relief rolls. Workers in the the leaders of the Workers Party of Marxian Unification (POUM). that the Executive Board will

The reports from Barcelona indicate that the trial, which, it is expected, will take place behind closer doors, will be opened shortly. \$103.35 to \$88.40—a drop of \$14.95 Other reports declare that, in accordance with the stereotyped for--and junior clerks and typists mulas of the Moscow frame-ups, defendants of all sorts-POUMfrom \$71.50 to \$60.45, a drop of ists, left-wing socialists, anarchists, syndicalists, real spies and fas- Stalinist-directed officers and atcists—will be thrown together under one head and tried jointly in torney, Maurice Sugar, brought order to add to the judicial crime

which is in preparation, an ele-all the organizations involved for

the purpose of exerting the nec-

essary pressure upon the Spanish

authorities and thereby helping

to smash the frame-up and save

the lives of the imperilled Span-

(For more detailed story of

Stalinist Slander

Robert Stiler, formerly con-

nected with the Steel Workers

Organizing Committee,

Youngstown area, will write

a complete exposure of the

scurrilous charges of alleged

connections with Republic

Steel agents made by the Sta-

linist Steuben before the La-

Follette Civil Liberties Com-

mittee. Watch for it in the

next issue of the APPEAL.

POUM trial, see page 3.)

Stiler to Answer

ish revolutionists.

ment of confusion. "Agents of Fascism

As in Moscow, the defendants government will undoubtedly ask

The "evidence" against the defendants has already been established as thoroughly fraudulent by representative labor and radical delegations who went to

gating the case of the POUM. In an effort to concentrate the maximum possible protest moveplementary relief. On the basis ment in this country against the of the new pay schedules, they frame-up, the National Commitfind it entirely impossible to sup- tee of the Socialist Workers Parport themselves and their fami- ty has sent an identical letter to the Socialist Party, the anarchists Thousands who had thought and the Lovestone group, urging joint conference and activities by

AUTO UNION TRIAL

Chief Task of U.A.W To Carry Out 20-

DETROIT, Aug. 2.—As we go complete its deliberations and

The riotous actions of the Stalinist-inspired delegations and the persistent filibustering of the the last session of the hearing to an early adjournment before

Expulsion Likely

From that point on, the strug-

(Continued on page 3)

The five truck owners who signed their names to the complaint and summons were, at various times and without too much enthusiasm, members of the Independent Truck Owners Section of Local 544. One had been disciplined by the union for un-

dercutting the stipulated price; another, for becoming an em-Point Program ployer; a third, for scabbing; etc. These people are now connected with the fink drivers' union, "Local Number One," headed by F.

to press, the trial of the four suspended officers of the United reach a verdict.

charges and evidence could be presented and testimony taken.

The defendants have been re

quested to answer the charges and submit all data and evidence prior to the re-opening of the trial, so that the Board can expedite its business and reach a speedy decision. These measures have been taken as a precaution against an outbreak attorney in defending the union similar to that at the last session. The Board will undoubtedly Union has already publicly anmove rapidly this time and judging from the temper of its mem- of labor's enemies to gain access to its books for inspection before bers and the weight of evidence against the suspended officers, a any group of responsible trade verdict of expulsion is a more unionists. than likely possibility.

gle in the ranks of the auto union, spurred and goaded by Sta- their noses into Local 544's reclinist machinations, will continue ords, the employers would have a with renewed intensity. Their tac- ready-made weapon by which the fear that the courts could, in tics may assume new forms, but | they could work havoc upon or-

(Continued on page 2)

(Continued on page 2) OFFICERS ARMED

government fink halls, which

threaten to undermine all the

gains won in the last four years

of grim struggle against the ship-

owners, has enlisted the support

of the most militant and loyal

union men of the waterfront. Of-

ficially supporting and leading the

picketing are the Sailors Union of

the Pacific, the Marine Firemen

(another West Coast Union) and

the Marine Transport Workers

In addition, members of the

National Maritime Union, dis-

gusted with the craven policy of

collaboration with the govern-

ment pursued by their Stalinist

officials, have joined the pickets

and are refusing to ship through

Within the N.M.U. events are

taking place that have national

importance to the trade union

movement. Under the complete

domination of the Communist

Party, the union leadership has

consistently thwarted any at-

tempt of the ranks to fight against

the shipowners, and the ship-

owners' greatest ally, the govern-

ment. Beginning two years ago

by advocating the Copeland Con-

tinuous Discharge Book, designed

to place the blacklist on a gov-

he Maritime Commission hall.

Union 510 (I.W.W.).

Police Supplied With Guns and Bombs; Used in Strike

The brazen methods used by the Republic Steel Corporation to smash the Steel Workers Organizing Committee were brought to light this week at the hearings of the Senate Civil Liberties Committee in Washington.

The steel officials openly admitted their preparation for a bloody war against organized labor when they told of their purchase of tremendous supplies of arms and munitions coincidental with the organization of the S.W. O.C. These arms and munitions were later used in the Little Steel strike in 1937. The daily newspaper accounts of the strike told of the scores wounded and killed at the hands of the company police. Gift to the Sheriff

The most rewealing bit of in-

formation was an admission by J.

M. Woltz, chief of the Youngstown Sheet and Tube Company police, of the presentation of about \$1,700 worth of tear gas, gas guns, hand grenades, nightsticks and star shells to the sheriff of Mahoning County, O., for the purpose of suppressing the steel strikers. The link of the police and Republic Steel in Mahoning County was not unusual. The massacre of the workers on Memorial Day 1937 in Chicago had already

corporations and police. Further testimony before (Centinued on page 2)

shown the tie-up between steel

MEMBERS DENIED **VOTE IN TEACHERS** UNION ELECTION

Stalinists Pull Fake American Fund for Political Pris-Election to Pack Convention

In typical bureaucratic manner, the Stalinist-controlled administration of the New York W.P.A. Teachers Union, Local 453 of the American Federation of Teachers, has elected 20 delegates to the coming national convention. Although every previous membership meeting had been announced by a mailing to the membership, and although the executive board had the week previous decided on the usual mailing, the special meeting to elect delegates was held without a mailing. Instead, telegrams were sent to large job locations (as had also been decided by the executive, informing them of the meeting, but this by no means covered the entire membership.

Seating of Delegates Contested The legality of this meeting, attended by about 150 members, was challenged by a member of the executive board. A protest is being filed with the A.F.T. congates elected then, all of whom are supporters of the Union Administration.

paid-up members. Until about ten weeks ago, the Local was paying per capita to the A.F.T. on 100 CLEVELAND LABOR per capita to the A.F.T. on 100 members, entitling it to four delegates. At a cost of about \$170, the Stalinists then paid up back per capita on another 150 members, so that they would be entitled to a total of ten delegates. Packing Attempted

About a month ago the executive board was informed that several 'Progressive'—i.e. Stalinist send more delegates if possible. Since there was no money in the was authorized to pay up per now giving the Local a total of 20 delegates. The union cannot possibly afford to send anywhere near that number of delegates to Ohio, where the convention is being held. Most likely, a few will be sent with proxies from the non-attending delegates.

While the union is hard hit by wage cuts from the benevolent New Deal, while vacations for many teachers are cut in half, several projects are in danger of being liquidated, the Stalinists empty the treasury and even borrow money which should be used on these vital issues, for their own political purpose. They are desperately trying to pack the convention with their delegates in an attempt to capture the A.F.T.

Teamsters Defy Court Order To Reveal Records

(Continued from page 1)

ganized labor. All they would have to do would be to plant a couple of stool pigeons in every union. The stools would then ask for an accounting of funds, the court would back them up, the press would use the event to smear labor, the unions would drain their resources defending themselves, the employers would compile a list of every unionist which would form the basis for all sorts of anti-union activities The bosses could march right through the union movement smashing one section after an-

Judge Reed handed down his order on Thursday, the day after the Minneapolis Central Labor met, and the day after the Northwest Organizer went to

Further news of the Minneapo lis fight in defense of the union movement will follow.

JURY IN HARLAN TRIAL DISMISSED

(Continued from page 1)

government attorney Welly Hopkins made an impassioned eighthour plea for conviction, the defendants' women, dressed in the latest summer fashions, sat scattered through the courtroom. While they heard their men accused of resorting to almost every kind of vicious cruelty and petty meanness against union workers the women made plans among themselves for a "victory-dinner.

Judging by the first trial the confidence of the Harlan bosses was well justified. Despite the efforts of the federal government, intent on implementing enforcement of the Wagner Labor Act with criminal penalties, the courts ground out the familiar kind of "justice." A court of "filthy, reeking privilege," as Attorney McMahon called the Harlan court, is not confined to Harlan County alone. In this case, "filthy, reeking privilege" walked into the little London, Ky., courtroom with just as confident a county line in Harlan.

New York Local Leads Fund Drive

Returns from collection lists during the past week have pushed the Local New York Committee, with \$85, to the top of the list of contributors to the work of the oners and Refugees. With hundreds of collection lists still un reported the New York Committee hopes to be able to maintain its lead over the other committees throughout the country.

Emulating the example of Minneapolis, Cleveland and Detroit, New York plans to hold a series of Tag Days at the end of the month by which to reach with our appeal the masses of workers in the streets interested in the fate of their fellow-fighters against Fascism.

The first in a series of educational and social evenings will be held by the Local Committee on Wednesday evening at 8:30 at the home of Laura Woods, 45 Charles St., at which George Novack, National Secretary of the American Fund, will speak on "The Right of Asylum."

All people who are interested in the terrible plight of the political prisoners and refugees in virtually every country of the world, and who are anxious to participate in the work of the Committee are

ninistration. The union now has about 1,800 LOSE CONTROL OF

Teamsters Group In, After Bitter **Fight**

CLEVELAND, Ohio.-At a recent, bitterly fought, contest in the Cleveland Federation of La--locals had advised the union to bor the whole former leadership. headed by Albert Dalton of the building trades, was ousted and treasury, a special loan of \$200 the teamsters group, led by Edward Murphy, came into power. capita on another 250 members, The basis for this overthrow goes back to previous events and chiefly to the hard blows struck at the building trades by the long years of the depression. One phase of this struggle dis-

closed more plainly than before

the dual jurisdiction existing in some sections of the A. F. of L. One of Murphy's strongest supporters was Frank Converse, international representative of the Operating Engineers. Converse controls several locals of engineers and firemen, including Local 589A, stationary firemen. On the other side of the struggle, and supporting Dalton, was Roy Seitz, international representative of the Brotherhood of Firemen and Oilers, Local 52. Seitz also claims jurisdiction over stationary firemen. For years there has been a dirty fight between hese two organizations, and the Federation struggle made it dirtier than ever. At each national convention of the A. F. of L. cussed, but nothing is ever done offices involved to merge the two

organizations. Meantime the workers remain itterly confused and don't know where to turn. They usually refuse to join either organization. The employers, too, knowing of the struggle between the two groups take full advantage and pit one against the other, thus dealing heavy blows to both.

Blow to Building Trades Another factor in the Federa ion struggle was the distinctly anti-labor regime in the City Hall. While Mayor Burton is clever in assuming a "middle" position between Capital and Laor, his safety director. Eliot Ness, is strongly anti-labor and i prosecution by Ness, Don Jampbell, president of the Paintrs District Council, and John IcGee of the Building Laborers, vere given penitentiary terms on harges of racketeering.

It is difficult to say how guilty they were, but one thing is certain: their conviction dealt a neavy blow to the building trades here, as Ness doubtless intended it. For several weeks the painters have had a serious fight in their organization on whether or not they should further support Campbell and McGee. At present the Painters District Council is

split wide open on the matter. New Leaders to "Cooperate"

That the teamsters will be les militant than the building trades appears from reports of a recent meeting between some of the newly elected Federation officials and the mayor (with his cabinet) in City Hall. The Federation Committee complained weakly about the treatment accorded union men in the past, pointed out that a new group was in control who wanted to "harmonize" with the mayor and his officers. They did not want to be confused with

the former Federation leaders. The Federation Committee promised the mayor they strike. would not cause him any embarrassment if he would only let them organize "peacefully"—an tread as they had across the attitude warmly welcomed by Di-them with tracks. They bribed rector Ness.

Railroads Demand Wage Cuts

Fat From Years of Plunder, Rail Moguls Turn Guns On Workers

SOCIALIST APPEAL

The railroad moguls have launched a 15 per cent wage cut proposal in order, they claim, "to save the railroads.

This is still pending. It hangs like a sword of Damocles over the wage standards of a million railroad workers. Should it fall, it would do more than weaken the railroad unions and cut railroad vages. It would start an avalanche of wage cuts that will crush beneath it general wage scales and undermine the rest of the labor movement. The railroad moguls realize this and are vigorously pressing the attack.

Their claim that wage cuts are necessary "to save the railroads" s sheer fraud. Its one aim is to hide and justify their predatory attack on the workers. And this is but the latest of a long history of graft, corruption, and plunder by means of which the railroad dictators rose to power-a power+

bare of pretension and exposes them for what they are: Robber

arons and lords of plunder. Plundering Public Lands From the very beginnings, the ailroad barons sucked on plunder. One source was the public ands. The eminent historian Charles A. Beard bears witness that in the short quarter of a century of railroad building ending 1872, "a chart of the railway land grants in the West looms up like the map of the Roman Empire in the Age of Augustus." The Northern Pacific, for instance, was "subsidized with land grants as large as a European country." The Southern Pacific received half as much in land grants. The Union Pacific not only received millions of acres of land as a subsidy, but both it and the Central Pacific received additional subsidies of \$16,000 to \$48,000 for each mile of construction. In fact, until the end of the second Cleve-

center for plunder.' **Bribery and Corruption** All this was accompanied by bribery and corruption. Government officials were bribed with passes on railroads, judges and legislators with shares of stock; and, where this was not sufficient roads put aside a regular corruption fund with which to complete the bribery. The Erie Railroad, to mention only one, used up in one year \$700,000 as corruption expenses. When the Southern Pacific Railroad was built, a federal investigation proved that its construction was accompanied by widespread corruption of high federal legislators, reaching up even to the vice-president.

land administration, says the

same historian, "the public land

Watering the Stocks Not content with plundering the government, they also milked the stockholders. According to the testimony of a former railroad president the "promoters of the N. Y. Central injected fifty thousthis matter of jurisdiction is dis- and dollars of 'absolute water' into the value of every mile between five years between 1868 and 1872. the share capital of the Erie Railroad jumped from \$17,000,000 to crease was pure fiction. And at regular intervals, the railroads were thrown into bankruptcy; the small stockholders were robbed of their ownership; and the widow and the orphan, over whom the railroad barons shed their crocodile tears whenever their rates were touched, were squeezed into the poor-house.

But this very watered stock served as an excuse for oppressing the farmers with high rates. The farmers had to use the railroads. They were the highways of commerce which carried the grain proves it every day. As a result to market. High rates for freight, exorbitant prices for elevators and public warehouses, - these were tolls which the modern railroad barons squeezed from the farmer network of railroads. They robbed even as the medieval baron did ment scored only a fleeting victory by limiting railroad rates and elevator charges. The Supreme Court first supported them, and then, as the railroad power grew, it reversed itself and emerged full blown as the defender of the ris-

ing monopolists. **Smashing Strikes**

sent out the militia to break the roads. strike and the workers met them were built after this strike, as the picket lines.

In the Pullman Strike of 1894. Eugene V. Debs led the railroad mained for the Federal government with its militia and courts to break the backbone of the

But despite all this, they did build railroads. They plundered the public lands, but they covered propriated railroads! and corrupted legislators. But and union hours!

which they now use against the workers. The briefest sketch of railroad history tears the mask off their cant and deception. It strips them

(Continued from page 1) themselves safe from the indig nities and complications of home relief are now forced once more to resort to government charity. This time, their situation is, if anything, even worse than before the creation of W.P.A. For, ir spite of having to work for a living, they are forced to spend precious time to cut through mazes of red tape to get supplementary grants in order to keep themselves and their families

The arbitrary slash perpetrated mass protest movement or to youth. prepare for adequate action against the cuts.

C. P. Scuttles Protest Instead of organizing the reoffice of the United States was little more than a distribution tile gestures. Delegation after from the family budget. delegation was sent to Washing ton. Thousands of ineffective petitions were circulated. The only result of this kind of activity was lulling the workers into false sense of security.

Now that the cut is here, the Workers Alliance is just as quiescent as before. Although rumbling on the project is wide-spread, there has been no way of channelizing the discontent into action. The project inions, once militant and in the forefront of the fight for the inerests of the W.P.A. workers have been reduced to impotence by the Stalinist leadership and its People's Front policies. Any action which is likely to embarrass the various government leaders of the unions.

In place of fighting the government, the boss of the W.P.A. workers, the Stalinist leaders are engaged in a campaign to exabout it. There are too many fat New York and Buffalo." In the terminate political opposition on the various projects. Under the cry of "Trotskyism," an attempt is being made to obtain the dis-\$78,000,000 and most of the in- missal of all those who fail to conform to the party "line" on all the white collar projects. No means—direct stool pigeon tactics. frame-ups, etc.-are too low for the C. P. leaders to use in order to achieve these ends.

Clearly, it is high time for all anti-Stalinist forces to unite. The bread-and-butter of all W.P.A workers is involved. The unions on the projects must be revived and reorganized, if the W.P.A. workers are not to be shoved back on the relief rolls once more. The first prerequisite for such action is unity of the anti-Stalinists on a program of progressive, militant struggle.

they also spread nationwide the

the farmers, wiped out stockthe peasants. The Granger move- holders, and oppressed the workers-but-they did build the greatest railroad system in the world. The day of building is 20 years past. All that they now do is plunder and profit. The methods are ing, clubbing, and using brass the same as before. They squeeze out stockholders in bankruptcy after bankruptcy. They milk farmers and workers with in-The workers, too, suffered from creased rates for freight and pasthe dictatorship of the railroad senger service. And they try to that all S.W.O.C. agents were barons. In the depression of 1877, increase their profits still further they slashed wages to the bone. by cutting wages 15 percent. And The workers answered with a with all these profits, they are general strike that spread thru- abandoning service on hundreds out the industry. The government and thousands of miles of rail-

This is characteristic of the dein pitched battles. The armories cline of capitalism. Before, profits was the stimulus to railroad buildgarrisons from which to crush ing. Today, with freight-loadings going down, and capitalism declining generally, profits can be kept up only by destroying railroads. his disapproval of the dictates of workers in a general strike That is the fact. Their claim that the steel barons and soon found against the wage-cut demands of the 15 percent wage cut is in- himself relieved of his church the railroad managements. It re- tended to "save the railroads" is duties. The finance director of sheer fraud.

> We have had enough of such deception and fraud. Let the government expropriate the railroads! Let the workers control the

Together Again?



ABE CAHAN

NORMAN THOMAS

Judging from the enthusiasm of the Socialist Call (See Editorial on page 4), it won't be long before Thomas' party returns to the

Minneapolis Unions Back Fight For Jobless Youth

MINNEAPOLIS. — Concrete steps to fight for the rights of unby Col. Brehon B. Somervell, lo- employed youth were taken last cal Works Progress Administra- week in Minneapolis when Gentor, caught most of the project eral Drivers Local 544's powerful workers unaware. The Stalinist- unemployed organization, Fedcontrolled Workers Alliance, al- eral Workers Section, set up a though well informed of the colo- Youth Committee and adopted a nel's plans, did nothing to arouse sweeping program of jobs for the

The program is based on the right to work and demands W.P.A. jobs for those between the ages of 16 and 25, regardless sistance of the W.P.A. workers of their relief status, and states the Communist Party officials of that earnings of any individual the Alliance wasted weeks in fu- vouth are not to be deducted

> Hits War Plans Other demands of the program ask that all military funds be di verted to work relief and that the Civilian Conservation Camps be transformed into non-military youth projects. Oscar Kohler was named as secretary of the Youth Committee, and the Northwest Organizer, official organ of the Minneapolis Teamsters Joint Council, is publishing a series of articles by Kohler on the probems of youth and unemployment. As is the case with the Federal Workers Section, the Youth Com-

mittee will urge all jobless youth or those with grievances to avail themselves of the aid of the organization. The Federal Workers TWO COMRADES WANT TO ction backed by the trade in ion movement and using militant labor action, has established an enviable record in gaining decent relief for the unemployed The new plan will enable the organization to devote more care and attention to the specific needs of the youth.

Sweeping Program Adopted

The program, as adopted, is: 1. We call for the establishment

of YOUTH W.P.A. PROJ-ECTS, for those between the ages of 16 to 25. No youth shall be kept off because he or she is single and regard-

OFFICERS ARMED STEEL BARONS

(Continued from page 1) Senate Committee disclosed how the company employed spies whose job it was to shadow union organizers continuously, day and night, to find out which steel workers were visited.

Union men were beaten by strong armed thugs of the Republic Steel Corporation when they distributed union leaflets. The thugs admitted to blackjackknuckles on union men.

The only reply made by the Republic police in answer to the scores of charges of brutality against the steel workers was "reds."

A former minister of the Plymouth Congregational Church of Youngstown told about a dinner given to thirty ministers of that steel community by the Youngstown Sheet and Tube Co., a Republic subsidiary, at which time the company demanded that the churches oppose the union. Rev. Orville C. Jones, who testified before the Senate Committee, voiced the church was an officer of the Carnegie-Illinois Steel Corp.

The company also admitted to hiring a countless number of spies and stooges to inform them of union activities. No amount of blood or money was spared to This will ensure union wages break unionization of the steel workers.

less of whether any other member of the family is on W.P.A. or any other federal or state agency. THE BASIS OF THIS DEMAND IS THE RIGHT TO WORK IF ONE WANTS A JOB, AND NOT ON THE BASIS OF NEED AS DETERMINED BY THE RELIEF DEPARTMENT. 2. N.Y.A. for all unemployed

youth, whether their families are on relief or not. 3. All youth work at the union

wage scale. 4. N.Y.A., C.C.C. and part-time ducted from the family relief budget.

5. Free text books and materials tuition at the University for all those on N.Y.A.

6. N.Y.A. and state-aid wages for high school students must be a minimum of \$15 per month, N.Y.A. wages for University students must be a minimum of \$60 per month

7. Transform the C.C.C.'s into non-military youth projects. 8. Divert all military funds to work relief.

WANT ADS

who are making an auto trip or vacation in August. Write care of Socialist Appeal.

DU LIEST DEUTSCH??? Dann abonniere sofort UNSER WORT, das Organ der Inter nationalen Kommunisten Deutschlands. 12 Nummern, 60 Cents. Zu beziehen vom Labor Book Shop, 28 East Twelfth

CAMPS

CAMP SEVEN OAKS, Eatontown, N.J. (Red Bank Station) Capacity 25, swimming pool tennis court and other sports facilities, good food, comfortable housing. Daily \$2.75, weekly \$16.00. Fare 80 cents. Further information phone BRyant 9-7620 or Eatontown 515.

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 Y.P.S.L. REGIONAL SCHOOL

JAMBOREE. Aug. 6, at 916 Ninth Ave. (cor. 59th St.). Meet the comrades from Boston, Newark and Philadelphia in a good old-fashioned get-together. Games, Bathing Beauty Contest and Refreshments. Admis-

BEAUTY CONTEST! GALA PARTY thrown by Wash. Hts. S.W.P. and Y.P.S.L. Saturday, August 6 at 9 P.M., at home of V. Fox, 247 Wadsworth Ave., near 185th St.. Admission 20c.

AN INFORMAL GATHERING OF ALL PEOPLE interested in the work of the American Fund for Political Prisoners Novack, national secretary of class the Fund, will speak on "The Ave. Right of Asylum" and on the work of the committee. Refreshments will follow the dis-

POLISH WORKERS CLUB and ment. Proceeds to be used to for the Polish workers' move- | Van Sinderen Aves. ment. Saturday eve, Aug. 13. Admission 25 cents.

Fight Against Fink Hall Forces Showdown In NMU

(Continued from page 1) ernmental basis, the C.P. union wreckers have supported every effort of the federal government to chain the seamen.

Stalinists For Fink Hall ception. Here the N.M.U. officials Communist Party stooges in the bend every effort toward getting N.M.U. leadership, the Mariners' the union membership to ship Club this week came out with a through the fink hall. "Pack the leaflet declaring they wanted to Fink Hall," is one slogan, coupled get rid of the Communists in to its mate, "you can't fight the order to better collaborate with government." Resentment of the the government. This at a time rank-and-file seamen in the N.M. U., stirred by the refusal of the Stalinist officials to join the united front against the fink hall and their brazen attempts to continue herding the seamen into the government hall, reached white heat last week and led to an assault on the union headquarters here. Provoked beyond restraint by the open betrayal of the union, made clear to every worker in the fight against the government, a crowd of N.M.U. members entered the headquarters and removed the Stalinist officials by physical

Anger Justified

While class-conscious militants force in inner union affairs resentment that found expression this crude way certainly is inderstandable. With their union looded with a horde of Stalinist stooges, their treasury milked by parasitic functionaries from Thirteenth Street, saddled with a constitution that places all power in the hands of the Communist party-dominated District Committee. and. above all. serving as the nunnets of a union-wrecking political party whose main purpose is to bind the working class to the war chariot of American imperialism, there is no reason for wonder at the wrath that visited the union despots one night last week,

While it may be true that cer tain reactionary elements on the waterfront attempt to turn the spontaneous movement of the ranks into the channels of reearnings are not to be de- action, such attempts are doomed to failure. The chance and episodic success of these reactionary plots reflect only the lack of conin the high schools and free scious, militant leadership on the picket line. The workers are on East Coast. Under no circumstances can it be argued that the fused to deal with their union more or less accidental presence of these reactionary currents with the Sharpe & Dohme Emshould serve as an excuse to ployees Organization, a company soften the struggle against the union.

Mariners' Club Leaflet

The speed with which these reactionaries will discredit themselves is shown by the example of the Mariners' Club, so-called "anti-The government hiring hall, al- | Communist" grouping on the hough it means death to all waterfront. Gathering support on marine unions, has proved no ex- the basis of a fight against the when the whole membership of the N.M.U. is up in arms because the Stalinists openly collaborate with the government!

Other elements within the union (and without) would start a witchhunt against "politicians" in general, believing that the betrayal of the Stalinists proves, in some manner or another that all politics are bad for unions. To concede for a moment that the Communist Party, with its international record of betraval and its evergrowing record in the U.S. for union-wrecking, is a party only interested in the aims of the working class, is absurd. A party, whose only interest is in following ealize that a resort to physical the orders of a corrupt bureaucracy in the Soviet Union, is most usually acts as a boomerang, the certainly not a working class party. Nor is the struggle against Stalinism an argument against genuine, class struggle politics. **Against Stalinist Politics**

It is against the politics of the Communist Party that the workers in the N.M.U. must direct their resentment. To sweep out of their way the treacherous tool of the shipowners and the government is the task before the rank-

Every class - conscious militant in the labor movement must join hands in combatting the plague of the union movement.

PHILADELPHIA WAREHOUSE

The Warehouse Employees Union, A.F.L., has halted the shipping of drugs and serums from the plant of Sharpe & Dohme, Inc., Philadelphia. Truck drivers, members of Local 107, A.F.L., have refused to pass through the strike because the firm has reand insists on negotiating only

Appeal

We are pleased to report that many more branches heeded our emergency plea of a few weeks back and sent in funds which considerably reduced their debt to the Appeal and our debt to the printer. There is every reason to believe that the emergency is over for the time and that no more cries of help will be necessary for the rest of summerperiod, providing branches do not lanse back into old habits and providing also that there is a pick-up in the number of new subscribers each week. We again want to thank all comrades and sympathizers who sent in individual contributions.

Notice: Watch for special anouncements which will be of remendous interest to all readers of the Socialist Appeal. They should appear a few weeks from now. We guarantee that they'll be good news to all!

Here is the list of new subs obtained last week. There is plenty of room for improvement:

New York City 5 New York State Pennsylvania Chicago Kansas Canada Boston Indiana Ohio ½ Total..... 32½ There are two new bundle or-

der agents this week . . . A comrade in Marysville, California, and one in Tel-Aviv, Palestine . . . And in distant Johannesburg, South Africa, our comrades have increased their weekly bundle order from 45 to 60! . . . These comrades in other countries can give real lessons to many of our own branches....

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NEW YORK CITY MANHATTAN: Fourteenth St. at University Place, S. E.; at

Broadway, S. E.; at Fourth Ave., S. W; at Fourth Ave., N. E.; a Fourth Ave., S.E. (1 and 2); at Third Ave., S.W.; at Third Ave., N.W; opp. Jefferson Theatre; at Second Ave., N.W.; at Sixth Ave N.E.; Rand Book Store, 7 E. 15th St.; 12th St. and University Pl. N.E.; Candy Store, 75 Greenwich Ave. Forty-second St. at Fifth Ave

S.W; at Sixth Ave., S.E.; at Sixth Ave., S.W.; at Seventh Ave., S.W. opposite Sterns: 103 W. 44th St. 23rd St. & Fourth Ave., S.W. Essex and Delancy Sts; Bookstore at Grand and Attorney Sts; and Refugees will be held Candy Store, S. E. 9th St. and Wednesday evening, Aug. 10, at Second Ave; Biederman's Book 8:30 P. M., at the home of Laura Store, 12th St. and Second Ave Woods, 45 Charles St. George | Wigerson, 145th St. and St. Nich olas Ave; 110th St. and Columbus

BRONX: Jerome Ave. & 170th St; Jerome Ave. and 167th St. (opp. Loew's Theatre); Sorkin, 206th St. and Bainbridge Ave Jerome and Burnside Aves: 160th St. and Prospect Ave; Allerton S.W.P. COMBINE to offer you Ave. Station; Freeman Ave. and an evening at the Terrace Beer | Southern Boulevard; 174th St. & Garden, 1110 Second Ave. (59th Boston Rd.; Kingsbridge Rd. & St.). Band, Beer, Entertain3897 Sedgwick Ave.

BROOKLYN: Havemeyer Ave publish a Polish pamphlet, out- nue and South 4th St.; Pitkin lining a class-struggle program | Ave. and Strauss St.; Sutter and

> ROCHESTER, N. Y. 257 N. Clinton St.

Cor. Cumberland & Clinton Sts. Cor. East Ave. & Chestnut St. S.E. cor. Main & Clinton Sts. S.W. Cor. Main & South Ave.

NEWARK, N. J. Reitman's, cor. Broad & William NEW HAVEN, Conn. Nodelman's Newsstand Church St., bet. Chapel & Center CHICAGO Cor. 57th & Blackstone

Cor. 12th & Kedzie P. O. News, 37 W. Monroe Ceshinsky Bookshop ALLENTOWN, PA. R. Zettlemeyer, 637 Hamilton St. PHILADELPHIA 1806 North Franklin St.

Cor. 13th and Market Sts. (N.W.) Cor. 11th and Market Sts. (N.W.) BOSTON, MASS. Andelman's, Tremont St. (opp Hotel Bradford) CAMBRIDGE, MASS. Felix's, Massachusetts Ave. at Harvard Square

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Foster Book Company 410 Washington Blvd YOUNGSTOWN, Ohio Nick's, Wick St. and Commerce SAN FRANCISCO MacDonald's Bookstore, 65 6th St. SAN DIEGO, Calif.

Universal News Co., 242 B'way

Socialist Bares Barcelona Frame-Up Against POUM

Tells How Militants Are Persecuted By the Stalinist GPU

Import Moscow Trials Into Spain; Crush in Columbia this summer by the in this manner and used to supthe arrested strikers. Winch, the Revolutionary Movement in Name of "Democracy"

The following story of the persecution of the P.O.U.M. and the coming trial of its leading militants is written by a socialist in camps where 3,700 men had been Patullo for more cops. The latter ning another mass demonstration the pages of the latest issue of the French syndicalist magazine, mucking all winter for their grub tried vainly to break the strikers' saw 100 of the strikers off on the LA REVOLUTION PROLETARIENNE (July 25, 1938). While the and a monthly smell of cash, and ranks by shrieking that half of boat to the provincial capital at SOCIALIST APPEAL cannot agree with all the political evaluations which the author makes of the various tendencies in Spain streets. As in the previous sum- these "foreigners" back where land). Returning from the pier (P.O.U.M., Caballero, anarchists), the indisputable facts which he mer the government's policy was they came from. Promptly a the crowd demonstrated before records are of such vital importance in revealing the aims behind to make the jobless "get out and sympathetic youth organization the police station, then went the frame-up, that we are glad to present the article to our readers.—Ed.

We have received the indictment intended for the special a "work camp." We know their Tribunal against the leaders of the P.O.U.M. (Workers Party of cente de Castellet, Valentin Vila Marxist Unification of Spain). Anet, a member of the Iberian This strange document carries Communist Youth, 17 years old, the date line, July 11, 1938, Barcelona. According to law, the accused should have been brought to trial within twenty days. But those ill were asked to make this is the third time in the period of a year that a document that presented themselves was of this type has been issued.

Minister of Justice, declared that sentenced to thirty years in prisit was not possible to put the on in 1934 for his courageous at-P.O.U.M. on trial nor to free the titude during the Asturias uprisleaders, because "this entire af- ing. fair is dominated by reasons of state"-which in this instance refers only to the Soviet alliance. their surviving comrades who

Trial Legal Assassination The P.O.U.M. trial, if it takes place, will be an attempt by the a torturer named Astorga. Pedro real hidden rulers of the Spanish Vergnier, of the P.O.U.M., has Republic at assassination, with a legal pretext, of irreproachable May 8, twelve prisoners, among militants who have become par- them Francisco Pina Orza of the ticularly dangerous because of | Iberian Communist Youth, arresttheir honesty and their past. This ed for having written on a wall, at a time when food scarcity and "Down with the tyrants! Free defeats are threatening to bring dom for the anti-fascists!" were about a governmental crisis. In shot. Before executing Francisco order not to have to give an ac- Pina Orza, the camp chief said counting, the organizers of de- he regretted having to make an feat are intending to suppress example of him because the or-

Three Arguments The indictment of July 11 includes three kinds of arguments. the P.O.U.M. "The general line Spanish people to defend their independence," and having "slandered Soviet justice," no doubt by not approving that of the Moscow zations of rebel Spain and also with the international organizacism . . ." This is shamelessly to phlet by Georges Soria, published make the Barcelona procedure a in London.

Like the indictments of Prose- P.O.U.M. to the Minister of Juscutor Vishinsky, this document tice, dated June, 1938, I extract exudes bad faith, falsification, these details on the assassinaand lies that are utterly unten- tions of Juan Hervas, ex-commisable (it is true that everything sar of the School of Transmission can be made tenable by firing of the Generalidad, of Jaime Trosquads). The P.O.U.M., whose bat- pat, of a corporal (whose name talions have so frequently been I do not know), all three memheroic at the front, is accused of bers of the P.O.U.M. fighting on having retreated before the enemy. The kidnapping of Nin by member of the C.N.T., their comthe G.P.U., with the obvious rade in arms. During a Stalinist complicity-were it only from meeting at the front, a report of impotence-of the Negrin govern- which was transmitted to the ment, becomes the "mysterious Ministry of War, the physical escape" of the principal accused. suppression of the "Trotskyists" The P.O.U.M. is considered re- and "C.N.T.ists" was decided sponsible for the street fighting upon. in Barcelona in May, 1937, while it was in reality launched by the on the Carrascal road, not far anarcho-syndicalist militants of from Hesca, the four soldiers the C.N.T., much more numerous were slain by machine gun fire. than those of the P.O.U.M., as They were then listed as "desertall Spain knows. Finally, after ers to the enemy." An investigahaving several times abandoned tion carried out by the general alists), while Hal Draper esthe "N. Forgery," the indictment commissar, Cresenciano Bilbao, takes it up again in order to base brought these assassinations to upon it the thesis of espionage light, but the crumbling of the and obtain more surely the capital penalty.

Demands Counter-Trial Rhein, Tiolin, Erwin Wolf, Kurt Landau, and Moulin - and so many others-try to repeat in Barcelona the bloody judicial spectacles of Moscow, a countertrial will be demanded abroad.

names. At the station of San Viwas killed by a bullet in his face because he looked out of the car window. On arriving at the camp, themselves known. Among those Juan Ruiz Tomas, of the P.O.U. Not so long ago, Gonzalez Pena, M., seriously ill of tuberculosis,

Many Murdered

All these sick disappeared and write to us believe they were shot by order of the chief of the camp, also disappeared from the camp. men whose very existence in the der for his liberation had been prisons poses the question of re- signed three days before. Do they

do better in the camp at Dachau? I mentioned above the "N. Forgery," upon which part of the indictment rests. It is a map of It first discusses the ideology of Madrid, bearing on its reverse in invisible ink a coded text menof this party's propaganda was tioning a certain "N." (Nin? Nuthe suppression of the Republic nex? Numa? Nina? Negrin?), and its democratic governors by found with a fascist agent in violence and the installation of a Madrid, the architect Javier Ferdictatorship of the proletariat . " nandez Golfin. This Golfin must It reproaches the P.O.U.M. with then have been executed. A vital having attacked a "friendly coun- part of the indictment of the try, whose moral (!) and material P.O.U.M. rested on him. Then pear so soon? But we know the opinion of several men in the government on all this. The frightful concoction of the Mosexecutioners. It asserts that the cow trials could not get along leaders of the P.O.U.M. were "in without the blood of suspicious contact with the fascist organi- personages. The "N. Forgery' furnished the substance for the book by Max Rieger (what G.P.U. tions known under the general agent is hidden under this pseuname of "Trotskyists" and whose donym?) "Espionage in Spain," activity inside a friendly power with a preface by Jose Bergamin, shows that they are in the serv- who has decidedly fallen to the ice of European and Asiatic fas- lowest depths, and for a pam-

direct sequel to the Moscow From a protest—quite vain—by the Executive Committee of the the Aragon front, and of Noga,

Recalled behind the first lines, Aragon front prevented the arrest of the guilty-whom a certain Gen. Burillo would not have If the P.O.U.M. trial takes failed to protect in any case. But place, if in other words the why be astonished at the crummasked assassins of Nin, Marc bling of a front where the best fighters were thus stabbed in the tionably, the presentation of the back-or shot in the back?

The workers' organizations who believed they were saving themselves by sacrificing, first weaker organizations, and then We have at our disposition an their own militants-if they do enormous documentation, one so not come to themselves before it overwhelming that we frequently is too late, if they do not prove viously announced, writes a crithesitate to publish it in order not their courage in the presence of ical comment on Leon Trotsky's to injure, through those who dis- such a profound evil-strongly essay, "Their Morals and Ours" honor and ruin it, the cause of risk being reduced one day, when | (published in the June, 1938 New they will have lost their best | International) in his reply, Are recent facts desired? On blood and all their dignity, to "Means and Ends-Their Interthe night of April 23, 22 workers, kneeling before the executioners dependence." Leon Trotsky's anmembers of the P.O.U.M., left of the working class or receiving swer is anticipated in the Septhe Model Prison in Barcelona for from them the death blow.

Vancouver Jobless Fight For Right To Live

who have revolted against whole- ets. sale lay-offs from work relief. On May 15th, without warning, the provincial ("Liberal") govern- of Vancouver ranted red-baiting was properly congratulated by by the self-styled "democratic" ment closed down its forestry nonsense in the press and wired the bourgeois press). In the eveionable Georgia Hotel.

gas, and intimidated by the militried to wear the strikers down with waiting.

Public Supported Strikers In line with the radical traditions of Vancouver, the sitdowners got large spontaneous support from citizens, including even small shopkeepers and the (socialists) with seven members representatives in the City Council demanded that Patullo's government get out or make good begged to be arrested en masse, the "work and wage" program it but when they saw the mounties had used as suckerbait for power.

The Communist Party charac-

teristically dodged admission of its share in the strike leadership, but noisily championed the sitdown through its myriad ladies' and gentlemen's peace societies. Instead of enlisting the willing trade unionists for sympathetic leader, was slugged by half a strike action the Stalinite Work- dozen mounties at once and left ers' Alliance petitioned the city unconscious in the gutter. Thirtycouncil to petition the govern- four other workless were loaded ment to inaugurate a rearma- into ambulances and 22 more into ment campaign which would ab- the Black Maria. But the main sorb the unemployed! A local body of the strikers broke free parson and Stalinite fall-guy, and, joining their comrades who 'art treasures" than the his flock he apologized for his lib- them off and bombed their headeralism with the reminder that quarters; maddened, the work-demand for food for the men, ical Prisoners and Refugees is have to call on them to give their | for blocks before being scattered. | food collections, while shopkeep- | sistance to these refugees. Every lives for their country."

outstanding organ of revolution-

mitted by James Burnham-Max

Shachtman and Hal Draper.

a pro position on the question

now being discussed in an inter-

nal discussion within the ranks

of the Socialist Workers Party

and Y.P.S.L. (Fourth Internation-

pouses the minority attitude.

These discussion articles are pre-

ceded by a statement by the Po-

tical Committee of the Socialist

Workers Party, explaining why

the major issues being discussed

by the party and youth organi-

zation are also brought to the

outside for consideration. Unques-

Labor Party problem in the col-

umns of The New International,

from an altogether fresh view-

point, will arouse the greatest in-

Article by John Dewey

tember number of the magazine.

Professor John Dewey, as pre-

terest in all labor circles.

ary Marxism.

Another heroic chapter in the and their places monotonously government's resignation. Some struggles of the Canadian work- filled until the cops gave up. of the crowd shifted to the police ing class is being written in Brit- Thousands of dollars were raised station and threatened to release thousands of single unemployed ply the men with food and blank- C.C.F. parliamentary leader,

Mayor Mobilized Forces

shipped their occupants down to them were non-residents and of-Victoria (on Vancouver Island-Vancouver to walk destitute in its | fering magnanimously to ship | Vancouver itself is on the mainrustle," to use the favorite phrase took a census and announced down and completed the wreck- the Legion, five others the cerof B. C.'s Premier Patullo. But that 73 per cent of the strikers ing of the post office. this year the unemployed were had been in the province at least ready to fight. Organized in a five years and most of the rest loads of firemen, returning from man refugees were sent back Relief Project Workers Union, were Canadians who had been an early alarm at the time of from the Belgian frontier to Ger-,500 of them marched into the kept on the run so long by the the eviction, had converged on man territory. main streets and sat down in buck-passing authorities that the post office and backed by three of Vancouver's chief build- they no longer had a legal home. ings, the Art Gallery, the new The strikers themselves pointed Federal Post Office, and the fash- out they were willing to go anywhere if they were guaranteed The 300 in the latter were work at fair wages. Patullo wired quickly bought out, by a panicky the Dominion Government at Ot-City Council, with cash and prom- tawa, also "Liberal," not for work ses of arbitration-which were for the men, but to get the use immediately broken. But the ma- of the federal "mounties" and to even the city police (not the jority sat firm for a round month secure a blockade against the while the police heads, fearing entry of any more unemployed volt against their morning's prospect of being returned to the injury to the gallery paintings into B. C. Ottawa stalled and and the mail if they used tear- then wired its O.K. At dawn the next morning, Sunday, the yeltancy of the men, blustered and low-striped heroes of American pulp magazines stormed the Post Office with tear-gas and threw the strikers out the doors or through the broken plate-glass

Outside more mounties, swinging the butts of their heavy riding quirts, cracked the skulls of Protestant churches. The CCF the blinded workless as they staggered out. The mounties were in the provincial parliament and backed by city police with clubs and dicks with rubber hose. The wanted blood, they fought back. Though outnumbered and weaponless, they tore bars from the post-office wickets and sent five cops to the hospital before they were driven out.

> Steve Brodie, the unemployed hombed out of the Art Gallery.

Continuing its policy of free

discussions, aimed to bring clar-

mize on one another's concep-

tions of socialism, the Soviet

with Burnham presenting the

views of the Socialist Workers

Party and the Fourth Interna-

Stalinists' Record on Roosevelt

A thorough expose is made of

the hideously hypocritical and

chameleon positions of the Com-

munist Party of the United States

when Albert Gates reviews the

attitudes taken by the Stalinist

leadership (Browder, Hathaway,

Gannes, et al) on the Roosevelt

regime on War and other decisive

issues. "Browder's Two Roose-

velts" by Albert Gates displays

the antics of the chauvinistic

Increased demands for the ma-

gazine have resulted in the print-

ing of an additional allotment of

the August issue, and everything

points to a complete sale of the

edition. The price of a single

copy is 20 cents. The subscription

rate continues at \$2.00 per year.

Anyone wishing information

THE NEW INTERNAIONAL

116 University Place

New York City, N.Y.

tionalists generally.

Communist Party.

should address:

New Internat'l Features

Debate On Labor Party

Another excellent number of This polemic, between the out

The New International is off the standing American philosopher

press and on sale. The August and the revolutionist, Trotsky,

fully up to the high standard issue may still do so by address-

The question of a Labor Party ity into labor's ranks, Max East-

Burnham and Shachtman adopt Union, dialectical materialism-

one has come to expect of this ing The New International.

by appearing and persuading the sive treatment accorded German In the meantime Mayor Miller "mob" to disperse (for which he

> It became known that truckwaitresses from restaurants lin- extradition of a young man ing the streets, had jeered the police. The Mayor moved to can the assistant fire-chief and the scores of firemen involved but was forced eventually to ignore the incident because of working-class feeling, which was now so strong that

> > Triumphal March

A hastily convened delegate conference of the city's unions voted to sponsor a protest campaign, but the heads of the Trades and Labor Council sabotaged action. Lacking the indispensable fighting support of the unions, and confused by the Stalinite and C.C.F. tactics of "appealing and deploring," the unemployed's strength was gradually spent, but not before 700 in Victoria. These crossed first to Nanaimo and made a hundredmile triumphal trek down the island, stopping en route as guests of the little mining and lumbering towns. In Victoria the men demanded work from the province or rail tickets to Ottawa, where they planned a sit-down siege to force a federal works program. When Patullo refused to meet their delegations the 800 marched four abreast, singing "Hold the Fort," through rows of helpless police into the swank Beacon Hill Park and again sat

loggers from a nearby camp, and two Internationals. Their main worrying more about Vancouver's were simultaneously being tear- once more given popular support, hope for assistance rests in quartdespite the fact that Victoria, ers unaffiliated with the two In- the union has gone to bat fo health of the unemployed, offered began marching to their union home of retired English colonels, ternationals and above all, with them his church to sleep in if headquarters. But the mounties, is traditionally the most conserv- the friends and sympathizers of they would vacate the gallery. To eager to split more heads, beat ative city in Canada. A group of the Fourth International. leading medical men issued a The American Fund for Polit-"these are honest men and we less stormed down the main which the government met with cooperating with similar organdon't know how soon we will streets, smashing shop windows silence; housewives organized izations in Europe to provide as-When news of the brutal club- ers stood in line for riot insur- cent contributed to its present But against such treacherous bing spread, Vancouver was in ance. Once more the strikers campaign fund will go to lighten aid the unemployed remained an uproar. By the afternoon, while sent their tin-canners into the the lot of these front-line fighters firm. Those not in the occupied street cleaners mopped up the streets, again replacing canvass- against the fascist reaction. Send buildings sent taggers into the \$30,000 worth of broken plate ers as fast as the cops threw all contributions to the American main drags with tin cans; the glass, 10,000 people gathered in a them into stir. Within a day the Fund for Political Prisoners and taggers were chucked into jail- city park and shouted for the jails were full and the unem-Refugees at 100 Fifth Avenue, ployed had tagged another \$1,000. New York.

Struggle Continues

now been forced, after three scent a of the unions the strikers have compromise. The federal government promises direct relief until August 15 to strikers from outside the province, and the B. C. authorities are arranging roadissue of the magazine contains a is stirring wide interest. Those variety of outstanding articles, who failed to obtain the June a day, for resident single unemmove, looking for the job which road-work at different towns each is presented in two articles sub- man and James Burnham pole-

> B. C. single men, the immediate with the Soviet Union in the outlook for the million and more hope of somehow extricating in the unions to the detriment of world conflagration. militant support for the jobless. houses do nothing. Both are ler as to the probable course of afraid to continue the camp sys- events in coming weeks in Eutem because it allows the unem- rope. Whether the Japanese will There continues to be no federal whether Stalin, desperate over system of relief for any type of the growing isolation of the U.S. unemployed and no guarantee of S.R. in European affairs and rod-riding, jails, starvation, and critical situation. them a 3,000-mile no-man's land to the Soviet Union is grave, cials and organizers, this work ernment gathers them in for can- and it is the duty of revolutionnon fodder or until a militant ists the world over to give flesh leadership in the trade unions and substance to the slogan: extends them hands of solidarity "Hands off the Soviet Union!"-

REFUGEES FLEE BY 'DEMOCRACY'

Cite Cases of Exiles Sent Back to Concentration Camps

The Belgian La Lutte Ouvriere of July 9th describes the represand Austrian exiles from Fascism governments.

The following four cases ar characteristic:

(a) Eleven Austrian refugees, topped at the Franco-Luxemchoice of entering the Foreign Legion or returning to the Hitlerian jails. Six have "accepted" tainty of concentration camps. (b) Eighteen Austrian and Ger-

(c) An eye-witness describes the

twenty-five years old, either Austrian or German, effected by two Belgian policemen who did not hesitate to cross over into German territory to place their prisoner in the hands of Hitler's police.

(d) The refugee Baldus, a German, hung himself in the cell of a Dutch prison, faced with the Nazi authorities

Unable to Find Work

Numerous refugees allowed to remain in Belgium live only thanks to occasional and individual support. All these exiles are strictly prohibited from living by their labor. Their labor power cannot be bought. This produces among most of them, unemployed and living in the most deplorable conditions, a demoralizing effect that few can surmount. those among the exiles who best more had joined the delegation have understood the experience that they have lived through. Many of these refugees, who

have fled Fascism in the hope of finding a freer atmosphere in which to live and work, have been bitterly disillusioned by their experiences and have turned away from the workers' political organizations of the 2nd and 3rd Internationals who, in their propaganda for "Democracy against Fascism," have created the illusion, especially in Schussnigg's Austria, that genuine democracy exists in parliamentary countries. These working class militants

in turn are denied relief by the Here they were joined by 200 organizations controlled by the

Still lacking the active support JAPAN PROVOKES

(Continued from page 1)

panese are now so heavily embroiled along vast fronts in Chiwork in three-day spells, at \$3.20 na, the Soviet government was ployed. The joker in the deal is against the new provocation and that the men must keep on the as far as can be gauged from dispatches, the Red Army patrols doesn't exist, and accepting their have given the Japanese pause. But it is precisely because Japan is having such difficulties in China and on the home front Despite their partial victory that its ruling generals may and the heroic militancy of the plunge ahead into a suicidal war Canadian unemployed is still themselves from their predicableak. Both the Stalinites and the ment by precipitating what C.C.F. play a conciliationist role would necessarily become a In this, however, there can be

Secure in the knowledge of this, little doubt that the Tokyo genthe dominion and provincial erals will await word from Hitployed to become concentrated be able to keep developments local relief. For the tens of thou- over the continuing internal cri-

the Soviet Union!"

French Party Brands NAZIS; SPURNED | Klement Kidnapping As Work Of GPU Agents

TO BE RESUMED

(Continued from page 1)

the essential object will remain the same, and the auto union will remain in constant danger of convulsions and schism as long as the Stalinists can influence appreciable sections of the membership. It will continue a per bourg border, were given the manent necessity that the union wreckers be subjected to a withering fire of progressive union

A progressive course will obviate the necessity of bureaucratic measures and win rank-and-file support for whatever organizational steps may prove necessary. This course is clearly dictated by the needs of the union to Homer Martin, and above all to the militant membership.

Revive 20-Point Program But it is of cardinal importance

now that the original basis of the controversy is not lost from view, and that the struggle does not degenerate into a wrangle for spoils and a scramble for positions. The issue which precipitated the factional conflict was a flagrant violation of the 20point program unanimously adopted by the Executive Board and by the Stalinists. The 20- July 16: point program was and remains the weapon against the depression attacks of the employers and is the road for union builders. Wage cuts, temporarily post-

poned by the employers waiting for the proper moment and carefully feeling out the union, will soon bulk up large as the major his residence. At the same time, problem before the auto workers. Reading's cops are not likely to soften up with the passing of time. The 20-point program demands a vigorous and organized fight against wage cuts. The union can successfully cope with Stalinism only if it can survive the wage cuts.

UAW Organizes WPA

The U.A.W. took a great historic step, unparalleled in labor history, when it set out to organize the tens of thousands of laid-off factory workers into a W.P.A Auxiliary directly tied to the union. The thousands of W.P.A. workers in Detroit and in Michigan, holding U.A.W. cards, have not been cast from the union because they were turned out of the factories. On the contrary, them on the projects and has rolled up considerable achievements for the men on W.P.A. This work must be pressed forward.

Scheming Stalinists, currying favor with Roosevelt, have moved heaven and earth to sidetrack and smash this splendid organization. Reactionaries for whom an unemployed organization is only a "trouble-making liability." would like to see the W.P.A Auxiliary shelved. But close to 200,000 Michigan auto workers believe the Auxiliary vital to their very existence and to the preservation of their union. Neither reactionaries nor Stalinists must be allowed to wreck the WPA Auxiliary. The ardent and determined effort of a militant rank and file must keep the Auxiliary intact and build it to invincible proportions.

Drive on Competitive Plants high on the list of its activities.

the organization of the competitive plants. Little or nothing has been done to place the run-away to Moscow via Spain like Erwin and decentralized plants under contracts. Yet the problem remains as urgent as ever. Failure to seriously undertake a program of organization can in this sphere jeopardize and eventually crack the entire wage structure of the unionized section of the industry. Undoubtedly, Stalinist sabotage has seriously impeded the actual execution of this program. But of the Stalinist inquisition for the daily needs of the auto workers make imperative an immediate undertaking of concrete or ganizational measures. A constructive program must be undertaken even as the enemy is ferretted out from within. Otherwise

this program through to the end. A democratic and militant union

AUTO UNION TRIAL Plan Joint Action to Combat Stalin's Terror System

> PARIS, France.—Members of the Internationalist Workers Party (P.O.I.), French section of the Fourth International, declared here that all signs definitely point to the disappearance of Rudolph Klement as a kidnapping job perpetrated by Stalin's G.P.U. Klement is a German emigrant who served as administrative secretary of the Fourth International.

At the same time, the leadership of the P.O.I. announced that the constituent congress of the newly formed Workers and Peasants Socialist Party (P.S.O.P.), a left wing of some 15,000 members whose leaders were recently expelled from the Socialist Party of France, voted to accept a proposal for joint action with the French Fourth Internationalists. One of the first points to come up for joint action between the two parties will be the Klement case.

The Press Bureau of the P.O.I. issued the following release on

"This morning French members of the Fourth International, disturbed by a two days' absence of Rudolf Klement (alias Camille), engaged in administrative and technical work for the Fourth International for some time, discovered that he had disappeared from a copy of a letter addressed to Leon Trotsky and signed Rudolph Klement was received by one of them. It was postmarked at Perpignan, on the frontier of governmental Spain, which is controlled by the G.P.U. police occupying, as is well known, the commanding positions in the "governmental" police forces of Spain.

"We don't doubt but that we are confronted here with another gangster act perpetrated by Stalin's police, known as the G.P. U., right in the heart of Paris. This police requires falsifications, fabricated witnesses, etc. for the trial being built up against the Workers Party of Marxist Unification (P.O.U.M.) and the Fourth International at Barcelona.

A Russian Hand

"The text of the document (the which the G.P.U. apparently intends to use for the purpose indicated, is written in German, but the spelling of some of the words can be traced directly to Russian orthography. For instance, the name Beals (Carlton Beals, the journalist who was exposed as a Stalinist agent in the Mexico City hearings of the Dewey Commission, having served the Soviet T.A.S.S. press agency for a number of years previously.-Ed.) is spelled Bills in accordance with the orthography used by Russian Stalinist papers.

"As to the content of this document, it is built around the central theses of the Moscow trials and follows them point by point: the so-called alliance ("Bloc") between Trotsky and the Fascist

"Is it a forgery fabricated by G.P.U. specialists on the basis of the burglarization of private ar-The 20-point program placed chives? How was this document forged? Was the signature extorted? Where has Klement been taken? Has he been carried off Wolf or Marc Rein, the son of the well-known Russian socialist leader Abramovitch? Does the G.P.U. intend, by means of this document which is meant to cover up its crime, to produce a fabricated "new witness" against Trotsky and the Fourth International? Is such a "new witness" to become another wheel in the mechanism some new machination against our movement?

New Provocation of G.P.U. "The Internationalist Workers Party denonuces this new provocation, this new criminal attack the union faces the danger of of the G.P.U. perpetrated right in and organized as at present. from running beyond them, or breaking under the pressure of the heart of Paris. After Moscow, the employers. Inefficiency and after Barcelona, the gangster downright incompetency of re- band which takes its orders from sponsible Executive Board mem- Stalin is pursuing in Paris its bers has contributed no little to plan to exterminate all those in sands of jobless who are un-sis, will welcome the welding in-the failure to put the program the labor movement who want to lucky enough to be unmarried, fluence of an external enemy, are into effect. They should not be remain independent of the Mosthere continues the routine of still imponderables in the present allowed to stand in the way. If cow dictatorship. The Moscow the membership asserts its de- trials have been hit at their very police-clubbing. Canada is to In any eventuality, the menace sires for vigorous, qualified officore by the verdict of the New York Commission of Inquiry, preand will remain so with the deep-graver than it has ever been will take a great leap forward. sided over by John Dewey, which ening depression until the gov-since the days of the civil war, We repeat again that only the absolved Trotsky of all accusmembership can be trusted to see ations against him after a thorough examination by personalities enjoying high esteem in can only be assured by an ag- the fields of science, literature and in the struggle against Canadian and in the event of war-"Defend gressive, alert and vigorous rank democratic, liberal, as well as labor politics . . ."

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MAX SHACHTMAN

FRANK GRAVES HAROLD ROBERTS S. STANLEY

The Popular Front and the POUM

Business Manager

The upholders of Popular Frontism in Spain proclaim that they are fighting for democracy not more than democracy, and not less.

They are not fighting capitalism, but only fascism. They want to preserve from fascist barbarism the democratic rights of the masses, which include the right of organization and agi-

At least, so they say.

The trial of the leaders of the POUM which is about to take place in Barcelona is a transparent frame-up, based on the best models of California and Moscow justice. Its purpose is the physical extermination of this working-class party, after it has already been legally suppressed and outlawed. It is part and parcel of the counter-revolutionary work that the People's Front has engaged in from the beginning, under instructions from its masters: the Stalinist bureaucracy and French and British imperialism.

That the Stalinists are the principal instigators of the frame-up goes without saying, for these people, permeated through and through with corruption and cynicism, are the vanguard of reaction in the labor movement. The shibboleths of "democracy" are merely the pretty words behind which they carry out the most despicable totalitarian tasks.

But what about the "democratic socialists"? They denounce the Stalinist frame-up system in Spain but keep silent completely about the fact that the system could not operate for a minute without the sanction of the "socialist" head and ministers of the Spanish People's Front government.

And what about the anarchist "fighters for democracy"? They too talk a good deal about the Stalinist frame-ups in Spain. But they have not a word to say about the passivity of the anarchosyndicalist movement in Spain, which claims 2,000,000 members, which supports the reactionary People's Front government, and which could blow up the whole infamous Stalinist regime in Spain if it were merely to back its empty phrasemongering with actual deeds.

Popular Frontism — class collaboration—is poison to the labor movement and any section that supports it. Every honest voice in the working class must be raised against its crimes, against the impending judicial massacre of the Barcelona defendants. Deeds, not words, count

The militants of the POUM must be saved from the terror of the People's Front and its Stalinist executioners.

Third Term for Roosevelt?

From every quarter, the groundswell of a "Third Term for Roosevelt" movement is beginning to be felt. The first open signs appeared some months ago, at several of the trade union conventions. In recent weeks these have become more definite, with the petition handed to Roosevelt at Pueblo, the resolution of the C.I.O. officials in Ohio, and a number of Delphic remarks by various members of the Ad-

It would be a profound error to imagine that this movement is in any sense a "personal" question, as many of the commentators now try to make it out. It has nothing to do with Roosevelt's own "power complex" or "overbearing egotism" which are the stock phrases of the political columnists.

It can be said with confidence that, if his health continues good (and it now seems excellent), Roosevelt will himself wish to run for a third term provided he believes he has a good chance of winning. Roosevelt is too adroit and too ambitious a politician to worry too much over breaking precedents.

The question will be decided not by Roosevelt's personal preferences, but by the political needs of United States capitalism.

Roosevelt's tour, together with the results of the recent Fortune and Gallup polls, have shown that his popularity continues in spite of dissatisfaction with Roosevelt's party and faction, with many of Roosevelt's specific policies and-

not unnaturally-with much of what is actually going on.

The reason for this is that Roosevelt still represents to the masses their hopes and needs. Aided by his demagogy, supplemented by the treacherous propaganda of trade union bureaucrats, Stalinists, reformists and liberals of all types, they explain the difficulties and disappointments as due to the sabotage of Wall Street and the "Tories."

Roosevelt thus performs the work of a necessary safety-valve, preventing the pressure of mass discontent from turning against its true enemy, the capitalist system itself and the capitalist state as a whole.

In the present period such a safety-valve is essential to the maintenance of capitalism. The majority of the masses, as is recognized even by many of reactionary political spokesmen, simply cannot be induced to turn back again to old-line laisser-faire conservatism.

If the 1940 elections presented to the people a conservative Republican candidate for President and a conservative or reactionary Democrat against him, the old two-party system would go up in smoke that very year.

Bitterly as Roosevelt is hated within as well as without his own party by many of his fellow bourgeois politicians, they know that he still retains his mass support, and they know why he retains it; and they know also that fundamentally he is absolutely loyal to capitalism.

If he cannot be replaced with some one able to perform the same function, therefore, they know tthat he must be run for a third time; and they are consequently preparing for that contingency. A suitable alternative candidate—if one could be found—or a renewed down-plunge of economic crisis for which a scapegoat had to be found, would, however, lead equally well to Roosevelt's rapid shelving.

Meanwhile, the job for revolutionary socialists is to make clear to the workers that the problem of a third term for Roosevelt is not their problem, but a problem solely of bourgeois politics. Roosevelt is an umbilical cord tying the embryonic labor political movement to capitalism. A first step in the growth to maturity of that movement must be the sharp clean cutting of that cord.

Rounding the Circle

Negotiations are being undertaken between the Thomas socialists and the Oneal-Cahan Social Democratic Federation ("Old Guard"), looking towards the reunion of the two groups. The old Socialist party, or rather its remnants, is thus approaching the completion of a circle.

In 1934, vigorous and militant elements in the Socialist Party, reacting against the hoary reformism of the Old Guard leaders, ousted the latter at the Detroit convention and adopted a more radical program for the S. P. Swinging out to the left, the S. P. began to attract the more revolutionary elements in the country in the measure that it completed the break with the incorrigible right wingers of the Jewish Daily Forward and the Rand School. At the Cleveland convention, the final break occurred and was followed, shortly, by the entry of the Fourth Internationalists (Workers Party) in the

These developments promised a healthy future for the S. P. as an effective revolutionary movement in the United States. However, it soon proved impossible for the Thomas-Tyler leadership of the S. P. to progress an inch beyond its vacillating and untenable middle-of-theroad position. Fearful of the growing influence of the left wing, the party bureaucracy finally decided upon a surgical operation, and arbitrarily expelled several hundred revolutionists in a manner that aroused the envy and applause of the totalitarian experts of the Daily Worker.

Since that time, the official S. P. has progressively deteriorated, shedding members and principles like a snake sheds its skin. All that is left of it today is a little centrist sect, to which some revolutionary militants have remained affiliated in the vain hope that some day it might become a revolutionary party.

These hopes have been given the final dagger thrust by the announcement in the current Socialist Call, organ of the S. P., of the anxiety to appoint a committee to meet with the Old Guard group to discuss re-unification. Thomas and Co. are exhilarated by the prospect of returning to the ancestral hearth and weeping penitently upon the forgiving bosom of Abe Cahan and Jim Oneal "without further waiting for an official communication."

Thomas, Tyler and Zam could not live in the same party with the revolutionary left wingers. They are dying to get under the same roof with the petrified representatives of reformism and class collaboration. As in nature, water finds its own level, so in politics, the centrists finally return to reformism. The circle is thereby com-

What will now be said, and done, by the militants remaining in the S. P., by those who, four-five years ago, were earnest and purposeful in launching the fight against the Old Guard and the disastrous policies it stood for?

British Repressions Continue in Burma

For the past week, Burma, a gles between sections of the popu-

gan over incidents provoked by vide and then rule" was at work goes to these long-oppressed the effort was, it was neverthe- tion for the governorship. Dr. bourgeois tradition, and strike summer of 1933—after six months members of the pro-imperialist again!

Muslim League (a rapidly devel- This latest and most violent in oping movement of Indian fas- a series of bloody incidents now ence of the 5,000 troops perma- that the masses of people, sufnently stationed in Burma by province of British India, has the British rulers. After firing fering under the "civilizing virbeen the scene of bloody strug- upon the crowds of demonstra- tues" of British imperialism for lation and the British army. It is barred the streets to the people lation and the British army are the streets to the people lation and the British army. It is barred the streets to the people lation and the British army. It is barred the streets to the people lation and the British army. It is barred the streets to the people lation and the British army. It is barred the streets to the people lation and the British army. It is barred the streets to the people lation and the British army. It is barred the streets to the people lation and the British army. It is barred the streets to the people lation and the British army. It is barred the streets to the people lation and the British army. It is barred the streets to the people lation and the British army. It is barred the streets to the people lation and the British army. It is barred the streets to the people lation and the British army. It is barred the streets to the people lation and the British army. It is barred the streets to the people lation and the British army are lationally approach the streets to the people lation and the British army are lationally approach the streets to the people lation and the British army are lationally approach the streets to the people lation and the British army are lationally approach the streets are lationally app estimated that 100 have been of Rangoon, capital of Burma. ginning to stir. We can confi- selves as a class behind Tom as that which threw up O'Daniel nomically, the workers can de- spring, summer and fall of 1933 killed and many more hundreds Martial law was declared and dently predict greater struggles Kennedy's attempt to place him- finds more open voice in Dr. Ge- fend and advance their aims only were in mass ferment. Rioting, which apparently be- The hoary British policy of "di- more reason why our support cratic ticket. Vain and futile as date for the Republican nomina- whole structure piled on them by which Roosevelt instituted in the

AMERICA'S PERMANENT DEPRESSION-II

New Deal Takes Care of Bankers First; Juggles Relief as Riot Insurance and for Political Machine

has Franklin Delano Roosevelt. Borne into office on a tremendous tide of popular protest power. damental change in our economic by nationalizing the banking sysand social order.

The "money changers" whom growth. and vowed "to drive from our championed the "little man," the been the Agricultural Adjustment

70 DEU

against the brutal indifference of For those who point the finger the Hoover regime, Roosevelt has at Wall Street as the root of all steered a course with such po- evil, and pin a halo to the scalp the Anti-Trust laws, there has litical adroitness that he has of F.D.R., it is well to recall that been not one successful prosecumaintained his popular hold upon the genial Great White Father, the masses of American people when he had the greatest oppordespite the fact that his policies tunity ever presented to uproot have failed to effect a single fun- the choking weeds of Wall Street tem, chose rather to nurture their

Roosevelt stormed against in 1932 Roosevelt, in his speeches,

New Deal Housing

will be known as the "Years of Bank Moratorium, served merely dustrial monopolists. His new and the Wagner Labor Act. the Great Deception." Few po- to clean out the small independ- "Magna Charta," the National litical demagogues have demon- ent banks and a host of small de- Recovery Act, as its one outstandstrated so great a divergence be- positors. The major financial ing achievement wiped out thoutween the word and the deed, the groups were given a new lease sands of the "little men" by virpromise and the fulfillment as upon the country. Backed by gov- tue of its price-fixing "codes of ernment power and credit, fi- fair business practice" and furnance capital consolidated its ther entrenched industrial monopoly. And, startling as it may sound, while we have read of innumerable investigations under tion since Roosevelt took office. 'Subsidizing' Home Owners

and Destroying Crops

Much has been made of Roose velt's "social" legislation. Chief among his "reform" acts have

Some day the "New Deal" era Indeed, his first political act, the scored with fiery tongue the in- Home Owners Loan Corporation, of depression in American his-

The first was an attempt to subsidize wholesale crop and livestock destruction, while a third of the nation was in dire want and resulted in the ruin of tens of thousands of small dirt-farmers, tenant-farmers and sharecroppers. The rich landlord farmers continued to collect their rents and shares, and pocketed the bounty of the government.

The H.O.L.C., instead of proecting the small home-owners has merely guaranteed interest payments to the banks, mortgage companies and insurance corpo rations. Thousands of smal home-owners, unable to meet interest and amortization on government loans, have been fore closed, while the mortgage sharks get good hard government cash in place of shaky mortgages and increasing property taxes.

Bargaining Rights Won on Picket Line

Another diamond in the Roose velt crown has been the act defining the rights of collective bargaining for labor. Under this act, the Civil Works Administration. and its defunct predecessor, Section 7A of the N.R.A., organized labor was presumably guaranteed the rights of collective bargaining revolt during the most bitter free from coercion and restraint by the employers. Yet, in every it was the beginning of that prosingle great test of these acts, and there have been scores of them in the past four years, labor has won recognition for its bar- when all his other measures have gaining rights only by blood and proved inadequate to solve the struggle.

The Maritime strikes, the Textile Strike (when Roosevelt C.W.A. folded up. The unemthreatened to call out the Federal ployed went back to dandelion troops against the strikers), the greens. Minneapolis Teamsters strike, the Toledo Auto-Lite, the Milwaukee power, the Koehler, the for common labor were \$15 per Little Steel, the General Motors, the Rubber strikes, and thousands of other bitter physical struggles, testify to the fact that Roosevelt. For as we shall note, Roosevelt had given the workers merely the rights they always to mark a decline in the actual possessed, the rights they have always had to wrest from the ruling class in life and death conflicts.

How F.D.R. 'Solved' **Jnemployment**

However, the greatest prob em which faced Roosevelt when he took office was that of unemployment. There were 15 million unemployed in the U.S. when he became President. So far as the elimination of mass unemployment in this country is concerned. Roosevelt's program has accomplished exactly nothing. There are 15 million unemployed program provided funds for diin the U.S. today.

The "reasonable" liberal who seeks "good motives" instead of sound accomplish-"But Roosevelt has done more for the unemployed than Hoover!"

fail to add how much more, and why Roosevelt's concessions to employed a million less workers the unemployed were made.

Roosevelt's aid to the unemployed comes under two headings, the Social Security Bill and the maximum of \$12 per week, which work relief appropriations. Like almost every New Deal concesthe equivalent of each worker's sion, the Social Security Bill is a bone with a string attached. Its benefits apply to less than ten per cent of the present unemployed. Further, the conditions under which a worker can retion of the work program. ceive any benefits are extremely restricted, and then the benefits last but a few weeks. The real pay-off is that workers obtaining unemployment insurance receive less, in most instances, than

they might on relief. This "benevolent venture," adopted in most European countries years ago, is in reality a clever scheme of government taxation of the workers, whereby a tremendous fund is being built up, largely from deductions in workers' wages. Thus, this grandiose scheme resolves itself into a gigantic swindle, a deferred payment of wages.

The history of relief and work

tory-was literally wrested from the "New Deal" regime by riots and bloodshed, by storming of food stores and warehouses, in which literally hundreds of thousands of desperate unemployed. led mainly by such organizations as the Unemployed Councils and Unemployed Leagues, took part.

These funds provided only a bare emergency relief in the form of food orders, and because of the necessity for state and local governments declaring themselves in practical bankruptcy in order to obtain these federal grants, many state and local communities refused to avail themselves of such funds. As a result scarcely a third of the needy unemployed received any of these starvation benefits.

C.W.A. Stifles Mass Jobless Revolt

As winter approached, and as the first year of Roosevelt's tenure came to a close, with the promise of re-employment under the N.R.A. program completely fulfilled, Roosevelt instituted the first federal work relief program, This was more than a humanitarian gesture. On the one hand it was an attempt to stifle mass months of winter; on the other, gram of "pump priming" and credit inflation into which Roosevelt has been repeatedly forced economic crisis. Within three months of its inception, the

It is interesting to note that the wages paid under the C.W.A. week. The "mistake" of maintaining such "high" wages has never again been repeated by every future work program was and real wages paid federal work relief employees.

The pump-priming of the C.W.A., a mere 400 million dollars failed to increase buying power to an extent whereby industry and business might revive. Roosevelt "prosperity" failed to materialize, and the unpage. Demonstrations and hunger marches swept the streets of every city. City halls, state legislatures and the federal capital were invaded by militant masses demanding relief. The answer of Roosevelt was the F.E.R.A. This rect and work relief.

leader, the FERA Wage Down to Relief Level

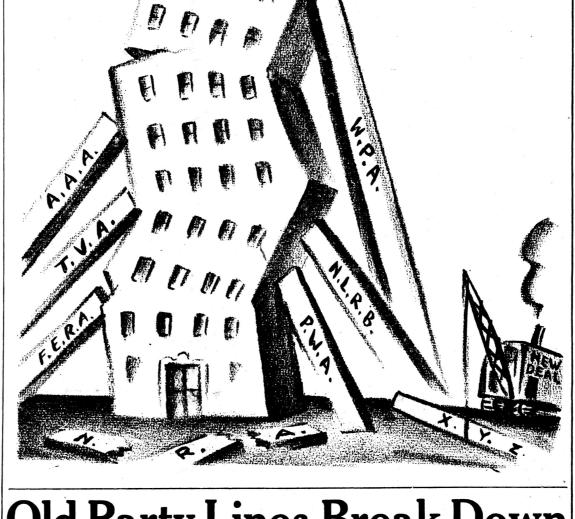
Work relief under the F.E.R.A. was initiated in September, 1934. The full program was cleverly built up to provide the maximum of employment just prior to the Granted! But these apologists 1934 and congressional elections. Even so, at its peak, the F.E.R.A. than the C.W.A., although the need was just as great. Further, the wages paid amounted to a in February, 1935, were cut to emergency relief budget. This was a fancy scheme to exact work for what amounted to direct relief, and was followed shortly by the rapid demobiliza-

> In June, 1935, the federal government ended the F.E.R.A.. At one stroke, 5½ million families were left to starve, or to go back to the tender charities of bankrupt local communities. A recurrent pattern marks the

entire course of Roosevelt's treatment of the unemployed. Unemployment is considered temporary. Periods of starvation relief and jobs at coolie wages are followed by periods of outright starvation. This plan is calculated. The administration is testing how little it will take to satisfy the unemployed. Further, it is blindly hoping for a business pick-up which will relieve the problem. The pick-up fails. Demonstrations, hunger marches, riots. Shortly after the ending of the F.E.R.A., Roosevelt notes a decline in his popularity. Too many millions of workers have had to jam Section 7A down employers' throats with their bare fists. Production has registered scarcely any rise. The unemployed are fuming.

Again the astute Magician of the White House pulls a trick rabbit from his hat. This time it is pump-priming on a larger scale, a super-super works program. The W.P.A. gets slowly under way in the fall of 1935.

(This is the second of a series of articles on unemployment. The next article will continue the story of "The New Deal and the Unemployed," covering the Roosevelt unemployed program from the winter of 1935 up to the present.)



Old Party Lines Break Down In Round of Primary Voting instead of sound accomplishments, the "radical" who yearns for the green pastures of "popular" causes, all chant in chorus,

The country is witnessing this summer a set of primary cam- | featuring anti-Semitism, adverpaigns exceeding in bitterness and in social significance any comparable struggles during the past several decades. Qutstanding in violent brand of "anti-Papism," this development is the irrepressible tendency of profound social familiar in the history of Amer conflicts, driven by depression and crisis, to break through the sur- ican politics. face of ordinary party-machine electioneering.

In the normal times of a past now dead and gone forever, primaries were almost always cut and dried affairs. Serious contests were rare exceptions. Candidates were agreed upon, after suitable naggling, by the party bosses; and participation in the primary electit the former followers of Epic, tions themselves was confined for the most part to faithful hacks Utopian Society, the Townsend and ward heelers, with only a small fraction of the "enrolled membership" marching to the polls. This year, however, there is

hardly a State in the Union dramatic step yet made by lawhich is exempt from bitter bor in this country toward enstruggles. In nearly every electring the political arena as a tion which has so far taken class. place, the voting turnout has come within a few per cent of the total registered voters.

In a number of States the contests are still, it is true, primarily of the old machine type: a State patronage machine versus the Federal patronage machine; a local city boss against a governor wanting to cut in on the local graft; etc.

Clash of Social Forces

But in the majority of cases, the primary campaigns are reflecting, in however distorted a manner, the discontent, uncertainties and strivings of vast social groups which remained passive and inarticulate in the days of "normalcy." The mighty clash of the awakening labor movement with the social system that tries to strangle it in birth, the restlessness of the middle class, the battle of C.I.O. and A.F. of L., the cleavage between Roosevelt and the old guard Democrats, the complaints of the farmers, all cism), lea to the armed interfer- sweeping over India indicates are finding their symbols in the competing candidates for Congress and State House and Leg-

Outstanding from the point of tors, the military authorities set 250 years and now facing the view of the labor movement was less the most organized and Winrod's publications have been out freshly, independently, boldly, as a class.

islature.

Mayerick's Defeat Under the leadership of La-

in a score of States. In an exactly comparable situation in Texas, Maury Maverick last week went down to defeat in the Democratic primaries by a combination of the Chamber of Commerce, A. F. of L. and the wellto-do farmers. The tactics of entry in the old party primaries leaves labor politically hamstrung; but even so tentative a form of class action sharpens the class lines as a whole, and brings to the surface the underlying social divisions.

Just as obvious as the more organized entry of labor into the political arena is the pressure of the growingly disoriented middle classes, particularly in the West. Combining reactionary demagogy with hill-billy music and a platform consisting chiefly of the Texas to win the Democratic nomination (equivalent to election) for the governorship.

Fascist in Kansas

armored cars patrolled the area. in the immediate future. All the self at the head of the Demo- rald B. Winrod, leading candi- when they shake off the The Emergency Relief fund

In California, through the pop-

ular initiative, there has been placed on the ballot a new form of the Townsend old-age pension scheme which has swept behind movement, Share-the-Wealth, and the hundred and one local Cali-

Party Labels Inadequate

All of these phenomena, to gether with the running fight in dozen States between the Roosevelt and anti-Roosevelt camps of the Democratic Party, unite in emphasizing the growing bor's Non-Partisan League, analinadequacy of the old party laogous tactics are being repeated bels and the old party frame-

> This inadequacy has been marked even more strikingly by the entry of the bulk of Republican voters of Minnesota into the Farmer-Labor primary against Benson, and by the coalition now being formed with both Democrats and Republicans by the American Labor Party in For workers there is in these

primaries of this year a lesson of the first and last importance In a thousand places throughout the country, the workers, in the primaries, are trying to go forward as workers. Relying on the advice and promises of bureaucrats and unstable liberals whose interests at bettom are the direct opposite of the interests of Ten Commandments, W. Lee ing to make themselves felt O'Daniel swept a field of fifteen in through the old parties. And the the order in which Roosevelt apresult is uniformly that the class plied himself to the national aims of the workers become problems when he took office cat's paws for one or the other of the bourgeois forces.

Riot Insurance and Political Expediency

relief programs under Roosevelt is one of constant mass struggle by the workers for every slightest concession and the skillful use by Roosevelt of federal funds for political maneuvers. Relief comes under two headings on the Roosevelt Budget—riot insurance and political expediency. It is significant to note that

were first to safeguard the bankers, next to entrench monopoly In Kansas, the potentially fas- These primaries must be made and finally to throw a few crumbs cist direction of such movements to teach that politically, as eco- to the unemployed, who in the