

Workers Of The
World Unite!

Socialist Appeal

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Jersey City

Lesson and Warning

By JAMES P. CANNON

Jersey City today is the testing ground of a struggle destined in the not too distant future to become national in scope and to dominate national affairs.

The most conscious representatives of the two main contending forces which will confront each other in the national struggle that is impending—the capitalist masters of America and the dissatisfied working masses—are closely studying the developments in Jersey City and drawing conclusions for the future.

It is safe to assume that a section of the capitalists have already come to certain tentative conclusions in favor of the Hague method of dealing with labor insurgency. It is important for the workers also to know what the brutal aggressions of Mayor Hague and his cohorts really signify.

They must know what the problem is in order to formulate the proper answer to it. Much can and much undoubtedly will be written on this subject, for it has a transcendent importance. Here I want to present an outline of opinion from the proletarian class point of view:

The Real Meaning of Hagueism

Hagueism is not simply the individual aberration of an illiterate, provincial politician, as liberals, Social-Democrats, and Stalinists represent the matter. The Jersey City events signify a deliberate mobilization of reaction, backed by big industrial and financial interests, for a serious preliminary test of the workers' capacity to resist fascist repression.

It is no accident that the fight of Hague was directed from the start against the organization campaign of the C.I.O. Hagueism is shrewdly devised anti-labor campaign, not a seemingly irrational interference with the formal rights of free speech, etc.

By the same token the aggressions of the Hague reaction can be seriously countered only by an organized resistance of the workers. Any other approach to the question is false and can only lead to defeat in the fight against Hagueism in New Jersey and its spread to other centers. No doubt the present attempt to suppress the C.I.O. in New Orleans draws a certain inspiration and encouragement from the Jersey City success of Mayor Hague.

C.I.O. Bureaucrats Debase Struggle

The greatest aid to Hague's campaign has resulted from the pusillanimous conduct of the leadership of the New Jersey C.I.O. They renounced the fight on their own account and handed it over to liberal-Stalinist "civil liberties" bodies. The latter, as is their nature, debased the whole struggle to more or less meaningless court battles. Hague's plug-uglies wielded their clubs and black-jacks on the streets of Jersey City where the issue is really decided.

The high-placed comedians from Washington, who were assigned the task of restoring free speech in Hague's domain, couldn't find their way to Journal Square and had no organized workers' force to protect them if they had arrived. The publicity attending the intervention of Norman Thomas overshadowed the one fact of paramount significance: There was no organized force of Jersey City workers prepared to defend the meeting. But a Workers' Defense Guard, the one factor so far lacking, is precisely the factor necessary for the beginning of a real fight. Only the Workers' Defense Guard, surrounded by the sympathy and support of the workers' mass organizations, can smash incipient American fascism—for that is what Hagueism is—and safeguard the workers' rights in Jersey City.

Business Interests Behind Hague

The experience of the past weeks have shown that Hagueism is capable of organizing the entire apparatus of the city administration, its police and unofficial thugs, veteran's organizations, and all forces of reaction, together with a considerable section of the local population. It is likewise quite obvious that "business," which is the real beneficiary of Hague's anti-labor campaign, is solidly behind him. It is not for nothing that Jersey City's official slogan is: "Everything for Business."

Under these circumstances, it is, to say the least, quite naive to imagine that individuals coming from the outside, or a few dozen, or even a few hundred people from New York, can seriously challenge the Hague reaction on its home ground and overthrow it. On the contrary, the sad fiasco of the comic-opera congressional heroes from Washington is proof that we are dealing here with something far more serious than the incidental and irrational actions of a local Führer. The failure to line up at least the local C.I.O. organizations for serious resistance, for the protection of speakers and of meetings, reduces any outside intervention in the situation to the status of a more or less meaningless sally, doomed to defeat in advance.

Publicity Stunts Helped Hague

On the basis of the experiences of the past week, it can be said with certainty that all such adventurist publicity stunts have only succeeded in playing into Hague's hands and strengthening his appeal to local prejudices against the "invasion" of outsiders. Speakers, and even groups, from the outside can play an auxiliary and stimulating role in a serious struggle; provided only, however, that their intervention is based upon solid support of a section of the workers in Jersey City and that the brunt and burden of the fight is borne by organized workers and their defense squads. A serious challenge to Hagueism can only begin with a movement inside the ranks of the Jersey City trade unions for stern resistance to Hague and his hoodlums, official and unofficial. That is the lesson of Italy, Germany and Austria. Fascism fears no "scandal" and is not to be bluffed. It has to be beaten down.

It is not sufficient to denounce Hague as a violator of the Constitution and its Bill of Rights. These documents are sacred only for the dupes of capitalist propaganda, not for the real masters themselves. The workers in reality have only such rights as they are ready and able to defend with their own strength. Everything else under the subject of democratic rights is a lie. Hague, the authentic American fascist, answers all palaver with brutal force. For their part, the magnates of industry and finance, alarmed by labor's aggressiveness of the past few years, cannot fail to notice with satisfaction that all the arguments in court and all the pious sermons and editorials about the Constitution carry

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"Socialist" Dies



OTTO BAUER

DEATH CLAIMS OTTOBAUER IN FRENCH EXILE

Austro-Marxist Leader Dies After Spending Life In Betrayal

Otto Bauer, the outstanding theorist and political leader of the Austrian social democracy, died on July 4, 1938, at the age of 57, in exile in Paris.

Already prominent in the pre-war days of Victor Adler, he was among the social-patriots who supported the Austro-Hungarian monarchy in the World War. When the monarchy collapsed like a rotten hulk, despite all the efforts of the social democracy to bolster it up, Bauer became foreign minister in the first socialist cabinet which came into being with the declaration of the republic.

Bitter Anti-Bolshevik
Throughout the early years of the republic, Bauer, bitter anti-Bolshevik, concentrated all his efforts in the work of persuading the Austrian proletariat to tolerate the capitalist order, on the ground that a revolution in the country would not meet with the approval of the Allied powers.

When the Hungarian Soviet revolution broke out in 1919, Bauer led the Austrian social democracy in sabotaging the defense of the Hungarian Commune, beleaguered by reaction on all sides, perishing for lack of the military supplies which the Austrian social democracy was in a position to furnish it with.

Philosopher of the school of "Austro-Marxism," the essence of whose wisdom consisted in finding revolutionary formulas to cover passivity, retreat and capitulation in permanence, Bauer led the Austrian proletariat straight to its Calvary. In spite of the obvious lessons of the defeat of the German working class in 1933, Bauer continued to pursue the fatal policy of his colleagues in Germany.

Policy of Defeat
Instead of preparing and organizing the militant resistance of the Austrian workers to fascism, Bauer spent all his time trying to buy off the advancing fascist movement with assurances of the devotion and subservience of the social democracy. In his brochure on the February, 1934 civil war, (Continued on page 4)

Stalin's Third Degree Methods Are Revealed By Former GPU Agent

Story of 90-hour Grilling of Mratchkovsky Gives
Insight Into Moscow "Confession" Trials;
Torture Ends With Capitulation

Editorial Note—The following highly moving and dramatic account of the technique employed by Stalin's G.P.U. in breaking down the Old Bolshevik Mratchkovsky and forcing him to "confess" to crimes he never committed, has been penned by Walter Krivitsky, former high official of the G.P.U. who broke with the Stalin regime a few months ago and sought safety in France.

We reproduce it from La Lutte Ouvriere, organ of the Revolutionary Socialist Party of Belgium (Fourth International) which in turn reprinted it from Le Courrier Socialiste, organ of the Paris Menshevik group to which Krivitsky now belongs.

Krivitsky was a close friend of the late Ignace Reiss, also a G.P.U. operative, who was foully murdered by G.P.U. assassins near Lausanne, Switzerland, last year after he had broken with Stalin's bloody regime.

Mratchkovsky, it will be recalled, was one of the defendants in the Moscow "confession" trial of August, 1936. He was executed with the other defendants, including I. N. Smirnov, who is also referred to in this dramatic story by Krivitsky.

Krivitsky's story is a word-for-word reproduction of a conversation he had with Slutsky, another prominent G.P.U. functionary, who "died" in Moscow recently under "mysterious" circumstances. That Slutsky, like Reiss, was foully murdered on Stalin's orders, there can be no doubt.

By WALTER KRIVITSKY

Under the pressure of torturing interrogations, carried out over a period of months, and even years, the accused, a prey to threats of hunger, and by confessing all that is demanded of them. There are some, however, whom they do not succeed in breaking. There were two of this type on the eve of the first Moscow trial: Mratchkovsky and Smirnov.

But the G.P.U. knew that Stalin did not want a trial without these two. As a last resort, therefore, the G.P.U. decided to turn over these two unmanageable prisoners to their most experienced police magistrates. I recount here the interrogation of Mratchkovsky, as it was told to me by one of these magistrates, Slutsky.

The Interrogation

"When I commenced the questioning, I was clean shaven," Slutsky declared. "When I finished it, my face was covered with a beard. The examination lasted 90 hours. Every two or three hours came the relentless ring of the telephone from the office of Stalin's secretary, and a voice asked me: 'Well, have you broken him?'"

"But," I asked Slutsky, "did you remain in your office all this time, without leaving it?"
"No, after the first ten hours, I took two hours of rest, during which time my secretary replaced me. Mratchkovsky, during these 90 hours, did not have a single moment of respite. Even when he went to the toilet he was accompanied."

Slutsky's Task

I should mention, to characterize Slutsky, that although he was an old collaborator of the G.P.U., he had remained a man who was good and sincere according to his lights, one of those old Chekists for whom a Mratchkovsky was an incarnation of the past of the revolution and merited an unshakeable respect. But Slutsky was forced to repress these sentiments. He had to break Mratchkovsky. His story continued as follows:

"Mratchkovsky entered limping heavily (a result of a wound received in the civil war). I offered him an arm-chair."
"Sit down, comrade Mratchkovsky!"

"He sat down. I said to him: 'Well, comrade Mratchkovsky, I have received orders to question you.'"
"He replied: 'I have nothing to

tell you and I do not want to have any conversation with you. You are one of those policemen who are worse than those of the Czar. And in the first place, tell me what right you have to question me. Where were you during the revolution? It seems to me that I do not recognize you.'"

"Noticing two Orders of the Red Flag on my chest, Mratchkovsky said: 'I never saw your type at the front. These decorations—you have stolen them.'"

"I remained silent; I did not interrupt him; I let him say what was on his heart. He continued: 'You call me comrade Mratchkovsky, although only yesterday one of your ilk, in interrogating me, called me reptile and counter-revolutionary. I was born in Siberia; my father died in Siberia, my mother also. I have been in the party since my infancy.'"

A Warrior's Moods

"Suddenly he rose, brusquely unbuttoned his blouse and showed me his wounds. 'Here are my decorations!' I continued silent. I had some tea brought and offered him a glass. I offered him some cigarettes. He took the glass and the ash-tray and dashed them violently to the floor, shouting: 'You want to buy me? You can tell Stalin that I despise him. He is a traitor. They have already taken me to Molotov. He, too, wanted to buy me, but I spat in his face.'"

"When he had said everything he had to say, I rose and began to reply to him: 'No, comrade Mratchkovsky, I did not steal my decorations. I earned them in the Red Army, before Tashkent, where I fought under your command. I do not consider myself a reptile, nor you either. But did you fight against the party? This you did, and, well, the party has ordered me today to question you. As to wounds, you can see (I showed him those on my body) these are also souvenirs of the civil war.'"

"Mratchkovsky was silent, listened, and then replied: 'I do not believe you. Where are your proofs?'"

Slutsky's Biography

"I had him read my biography and continued: 'After the civil war, I worked in the revolutionary tribunal. Following this, the party sent me into the G.P.U. I remained there and executed the orders of the party. When the party tells me to die, I shall die.'"

"At this moment I understood that contact had been established between us. Then I began to explain to him the situation of the Union—fascism, the war danger... I said that personally, I was fully convinced that he, himself, was not a counter-revolutionary, but that I was going to show him how far his comrades had sunk,—and I brought out the depositions of the others."

Men Without Hope

"Thus passed three days during which Mratchkovsky did not sleep for a single moment. For three days and three nights I fought him. As for myself, during these three days, I had at the most three or four hours of sleep. I led him to such a point that he wept. He wept with me while stating that everything was lost and that there was no hope left."

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N.Y. Unions Hit Court Picket Ban

Anti-Labor Injunction
Fought: 14 Are Held
For Contempt

NEW YORK—Labor responded vigorously to a vicious anti-union injunction issued last week by Supreme Court Justice Salvatore A. Cotillo, permanently restraining members of two unions, the United Optical Workers and the United Retail Employees, from picketing stores of the Busch Jewelry Company and its affiliates. Striking workers defied the injunction and continued to picket for two days.

After the Appellate Division unanimously declined an application for a stay of the injunction, and 14 members of the unions were placed on trial for contempt, pickets were withdrawn from the stores and replaced by roving bands of strikers and sympathizers who paraded through the streets of New York publicizing the strike.

Mobile Picketing

Over the holidays, the roving pickets concentrated on transportation terminals and visited the crowded beaches and resorts, bearing banners and placards calling for support of the Busch strikers. An unusual twist in strike activities was used on the Fourth of July when an airplane flew over the city, trailing a huge banner announcing that Busch stores are on strike.

The injunction granted by Justice Cotillo in favor of the Busch company represents a grave danger to organized labor in New York, as its effect is to nullify the Anti-Injunction Law, which forbids the issuance of injunctions against picketing. In defense of the injunction, Justice Cotillo declared that strikers picketing the Busch stores employed illegal methods and constituted a menace to the peace of the community.

Judge On Picketing

Justice Cotillo, who persists in calling himself "a friend of labor," gave his peculiar view of picketing when he said: "Picketing should never be abused or used as a cloak or weapon to drive capital into making an unreasonable bargain." This attitude met with the approbation of the Busch Corporation, and one of their attorneys declared: "The courts of New York State apparently are the only haven for business people, the employers of the State."

A wide campaign against the injunction is planned by organized labor, with unions, both A. F. of L. and C.I.O., pledged to participate in efforts to have it rescinded. A conference of unions and labor attorneys was planned for this week.

Meanwhile, mass demonstrations and continued picketing are scheduled by the two unions hit by the injunction.

OHIO TEACHERS SUPPORT FIGHT FOR FRED BEAL

The Ohio State Federation of Teachers has adopted a formal resolution "demanding the immediate pardon of Fred E. Beal and giving endorsement to his fight for freedom." Beal, who led the Gastonia, N. C. textile workers' strike in 1929, is now in prison in that state.

In announcing the action of the Ohio teachers' organization, the Non-Partisan Committee for the Defense of Fred E. Beal, with headquarters in New York, declared that it was "only one of an increasingly large number of labor and progressive groups rallying to the effort to liberate the labor leader."

The committee indicated that Louis Waldman, well-known labor lawyer, recently spent some time in North Carolina in behalf of the Beal defense, conferring with many persons interested in obtaining justice for the imprisoned strike leader. He also visited Beal in prison. Preparations are under way, it was stated after Waldman's return, for legal steps looking toward a pardon.

SPOTLIGHT IS PLAYED ON JOB SECURITY PLAN

Survey Bares Hopeless Inadequacy of Pet New Deal
Insurance Measure; Beneficiaries Number
Only Fraction of Workless

DOLES DROP AS NEEDS INCREASE

The American Association for Social Security has analyzed the results of the first quarter of New Deal liberalism's unemployment and old age insurance, January 1 to March 31, 1938, and found that its program in this field is anti-social and in every conceivable aspect worse than home relief.

The only "success" that can be registered is the issuance of 38,000,000 social security numbers by a newly-created, superfluous bureaucracy of 13,890 employees in 19 states, (which is five times more per insured person than has been found necessary in capitalist Britain) and the collection by the United States Treasury of \$577,450,100 as compared with \$2,935,829 paid to the lump-sum recipients of old-age benefits.

Miserly Payments

The average cumulative payment to 114,927 persons who had reached the age of 65, and to the estates of those who died, was but \$29.80 after 15 months of contribution payments. While one New York executive who worked for seven corporations simultaneously, and continued to do so, received \$1,001.67 on reaching the age of 65, there were payments below ten cents. Thus, aside from the fact that \$29.80 may keep a destitute family off the relief rolls for about two weeks, about \$197 of the worker's purchasing power

was taken from him for every dollar spent for old age insurance. Not one single claim of the Social Security Board has been justified. From December, 1937 to March 1938 the employment index for manufacturing fell from 88.6 to 81.7 and from 56.4 to 51.9 for Class One railroads. Retail trade was also showing increased unemployment. According to the claims of the Social Security Board, unemployment insurance should have prevented an increase in home relief rolls. Yet relief costs in March increased eight per cent over February, and in April three per cent above March, just at the time when the flow of unemployment checks was at its peak.

Only 900,000 Benefit

During the period January 1 to March 31, 1938, 16 states received 2,467,065 claims. In spite of approving 1,339,544 of them, they had but 919,550 beneficiaries. These beneficiaries received a total for the quarter of \$42,641,627 or an average of \$15.46 each per month, regardless of the number of dependents in the family. At the same time, in March, the national average of home relief was \$23.43 per month, almost eight dollars more than the average unemployment insurance benefit. In New York State, \$114.85 was spent per case during the first quarter, yet unemployment insurance benefits amounted to only \$56.97, or less than half, for the same period.

As in the case of old age insurance, the national and state governments had huge surpluses in their treasuries as against meagre sums returned to the workers in the form of unemployment insurance. The United States Treasury on March 31 had a balance in its Unemployment Trust Fund, from taxes collected for two years, of over \$75,000,000; 21 states and the District of Columbia had a balance of over \$17,000,000 in actually collected taxes alone.

The State Treasurer of Massachusetts predicted in May of this year that by the end of 1938 collections in his state would amount to \$80,000,000, whereas only \$20,000,000 would be expended in benefits. As the unemployment insurance tax is levied on employers' payrolls, it is inevitably passed on to the consumer in the form of a price increase. Thus the gov-

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RELIEF PROBE IS SLATED FOR NEW YORK

Boss Politicians Seeking to
Chisel Payments As
Crisis Deepens

Two separate assaults have lately been launched upon the living standards of the unemployed in New York State.

On June 14, the City Council of New York passed a resolution for investigating relief "with particular attention to the activities of the Workers' Alliance." It was proposed by a Republican who had been elected with the support of the American Labor Party.

On June 23, the state governor called for "a purge of the relief rolls throughout the state." This proposal came from a Democratic governor. He, too, had been put into office by the support and votes of the American Labor Party.

Ruling Class Hypocrisy
Both assaults are invaluable lessons to the workers on the nature of politics. They show the hypocrisy that permeates the campaign promises of both Democrats and Republicans. They tear off the mask of liberalism and friendship for labor which capitalist politicians put on in order to catch the labor vote. They show both parties as representatives of the bosses who serve their masters by attacking the wages

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Alleged Plot To Kill Labor Leaders Is Exposed In Minneapolis

MINNEAPOLIS.—Charges that a fund of \$35,000 was raised to import gunmen to assassinate three leaders of General Drivers' Local 544 were made last week by a former agent of reactionary employers, according to the Northwest Organizer, organ of Minneapolis teamsters.

In a statement to Grant and Vincent Dunne and Carl Skoglund, leaders of Local 544, Ralph H. Pierce accused George K. Belden, head of the Associated Industries, successor to the notorious Citizens Alliance, of being in direct charge of raising the money and planning the murders, which were to take place the day after Pierce's revelations.

Arms Discovered
Press reports of that day stated that police found a car containing two high-powered rifles with telescopic sights near the Central Labor Union offices. Pierce first told his story to L. Boerbach, painters union official, who promptly informed the Dun-

nes. The drivers' union officers found Pierce and queried him for further details of the murder plot. Pierce was until recently one of the top leaders of the "Associated Independent Unions," an organization inspired by the bosses in an effort to split and destroy the militant labor movement of Minneapolis.

Pierce Arrested
When he learned of the murder plot, Pierce said, he broke with F. L. Taylor and E. T. Lee, leaders of the fink organizations. He feared retaliation from them, and asked the drivers' officials for money to get out of town.

"The Dunnes and Skoglund refused him money and turned the information over to the police. The police arrested Pierce on a charge of breach of the peace, but no immediate efforts were made to question any of the persons involved in the allegations. The press, too, kept a discreet silence, naming none of the employers involved.

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Smash the Cotillo Injunction!

There is no lack of signs of the capitalist offensive against labor. The Hague ban on the C.I.O. and all radical labor organizations, is not accidental or incidental, but an ominous harbinger of tomorrow. After Hague, Harvey and Hoffmann, we have the action of the New Orleans authorities, who have created a virtual reign of terror against the C.I.O. in that southern metropolis.

Now comes the monstrous injunction obtained by the Busch Jewelry Company from Judge S. A. Cotillo of New York, prohibiting the C.I.O.'s United Retail Employees, Local 830, and the United Optical Workers, Local 208, from picketing the struck stores.

Already 12 pickets have been cited for contempt of court because they allegedly violated the Cotillo injunction. Company attorneys are preparing to press another contempt action against the unions because, although they promised to suspend picketing the Busch stores until the Appellate Division could express its opinion in October on the validity of the injunction, they have nevertheless carried on mass demonstration picketing in various sections of New York!

We think the union officers, by promising to suspend picketing until a higher court hears the case in October (three months from now!), have chosen the wrong way of fighting the injunction. For the whole trick of the bosses and their judges is to cripple a strike for weeks and months on end, while a couple of squads of lawyers fight the issue out in court after court. In this way, the strike fight between the masses of workers and a handful of employers, is suspended, and the ground shifted to a purely legal fight that drags on and on and on.

There is only one way of effectively fighting the injunction threat to labor, especially one like that issued by Cotillo, which is especially detestable by virtue of its sweeping nature. That way is direct struggle against the injunction by the workers against whom it is directed.

To rely on the employers' courts is like leaning on a trap. To rely on anything but the organized mass strength of labor is to lean on thin reeds or imaginary ones.

Lawyers and court fights are all right, within limits. But lawyers are no substitute for labor's own fighting strength and militancy.

The workers have only those rights which they win in battle. The only way they can keep those rights they have won is by continuing the fight for them.

The only way of keeping the right to picket, of breaking the injunction menace, is to keep right on picketing, with a line just as big as the workers think is necessary for their victory! And victory was never won by avoiding battle.

Helping Mexico

In reply to inquiries about the government's attitude towards Mexico, Secretary of State Cordell Hull has denied that a proposal to sponsor a loan of \$200,000,000 to help Mexico build roads and fund some of its indebtedness, and a proposal to purchase \$10,000,000 of Mexican oil for the U. S. Navy, were withdrawn by the government under pressure of Great Britain, with whom the U. S. is now negotiating a trade agreement.

The "Keep America Out of War" Congress, which put the questions about the proposals, confines itself to urging the imperialist government of the United States to . . . stop being imperialistic. It asked: "Is not this the time when the United States should make this test case of the application of the good neighbor policy a convincing demonstration of our good faith?"

We are ready to leave the K.A.O.W. people with their hopeless illusions and their heroic efforts to persuade the leopard that his spots are not really necessary. They simply refuse to understand that Roosevelt's "good neighbor" policy means nothing more nor less than the policy of persuading—and where need be, forcing—the Latin America countries to be "good neighbors" to American businessmen, industrialists and financiers. This has been the "good neighbor" policy of American imperialism ever since it began trying to cajole or coerce the Latin American peoples to put their necks under the Wall Street yoke, and Roosevelt is right in the old tradition.

There is, however, a very positive and concrete way in which help can be extended to the Mexican people in their fight to oust the blood-sucking oil barons of the United States and Great Britain.

Throughout the Northwest in particular, there is a powerful farmers' and workers' cooperative movement. In a multitude of localities, these cooperatives operate their own gas and oil stations,

which, while not as powerful as Standard Oil, Sinclair or Shell chains, are nevertheless fairly strong.

Altogether there are 1,150 operative petroleum associations in the United States, with 325,000 members and an annual business of \$69,985,000.

It would be a splendid act of solidarity—and financially not disadvantageous—on the part of these American cooperatives if they decided to negotiate directly with Mexico for the purchase of all their gas and oil supplies. There is every reason to believe that the Mexican authorities—to say nothing of the Mexican people as a whole—would receive such a proposal in the proper spirit.

Such arrangement, if properly consummated, would not, of course, resolve the whole complex of problems facing the Mexican masses. But it would go a long way towards cementing the bonds of solidarity between the toilers of both countries. It would be an impressive demonstration on both sides of the Rio Grande against the gang of financial and industrial lords of the United States who are the common oppressor and exploiter of the two peoples.

What do the farmers' and workers' petroleum cooperatives have to say?

Next Step for the Painters

All objective observers agree that but for the reaction among the rank-and-file New York painters to the bureaucratic ouster of Weinstock by the General Executive Board of their union, the Stalinist crew would have been turned out of office by a clear majority in the recent elections.

The viciously red-baiting nature of the G.E.B.'s decision turned many of the honest and militant elements in the union to vote for people in whom they had not much more faith than they have in the headquarters gang.

Even then, had the progressive opposition polled about another three hundred votes, the victory would have been on its side.

The biggest mistake that the progressives could make now would be to slacken their efforts or suspend them altogether. The Stalinist administration, now that it is assured another term in office, is making the usual hypocritical pleas for unity. In so far as building and consolidating the union, making it more aggressive and able to raise the living standards of the painters, and all other constructive measures are concerned, the true progressives will not be found in the rear ranks. But if the Weinstock plea means—as it does—silencing all criticism and lulling the vigilance of the militants in the union, it is nothing but a cheap bureaucratic ruse which will not deceive the progressives.

The main strength of the Stalinist machine in the union—as elsewhere—lies in its closely-knit organization, maintained during all the 365 days of the year. The main weakness of the progressives—if we leave aside the heterogeneity of their ranks—lay in the fact that they organized only at the last minute.

The period ahead is not only one of union-building. It is also the period of maintaining and consolidating a powerful, constructive, wide-awake progressive organization in the painters' union. It is tragically true that there is every reason to believe that the Stalinist administration is unsobered by the latest experience. There is every reason to believe that in the period ahead—especially when it is frightened by the appearance of the substantial opposition—its rule of the union will be at least as ruinous as it was in the past. The same gang in control, allied to the same old Zausner elements; the same arbitrary and bureaucratic management of the Stalinist clique; the same contempt for the wishes and interests of the rank-and-file; the same steady and devious undermining of the working standards of the painters; the same policy of class collaboration.

The only force that can act as a corrective to these evils, and finally eliminate them, is an organized movement of the progressives, with a militant platform and a vigilant eye. The great need now is not the dispersal of the movement launched to defeat the Stalinist machine at the painters' polls, but its consolidation on a firmer, more permanent and sounder basis.

Page the Communist Party

We see where the March Federal grand jury in the Southern District of New York, through its foreman, John V. D. Cornell, has urged upon President Roosevelt the deportation of aliens on relief who have lived in the United States three years without obtaining first citizenship papers.

Aliens "who seek American benefits in the form of relief should either indicate their allegiance to the United States or they should be deported."

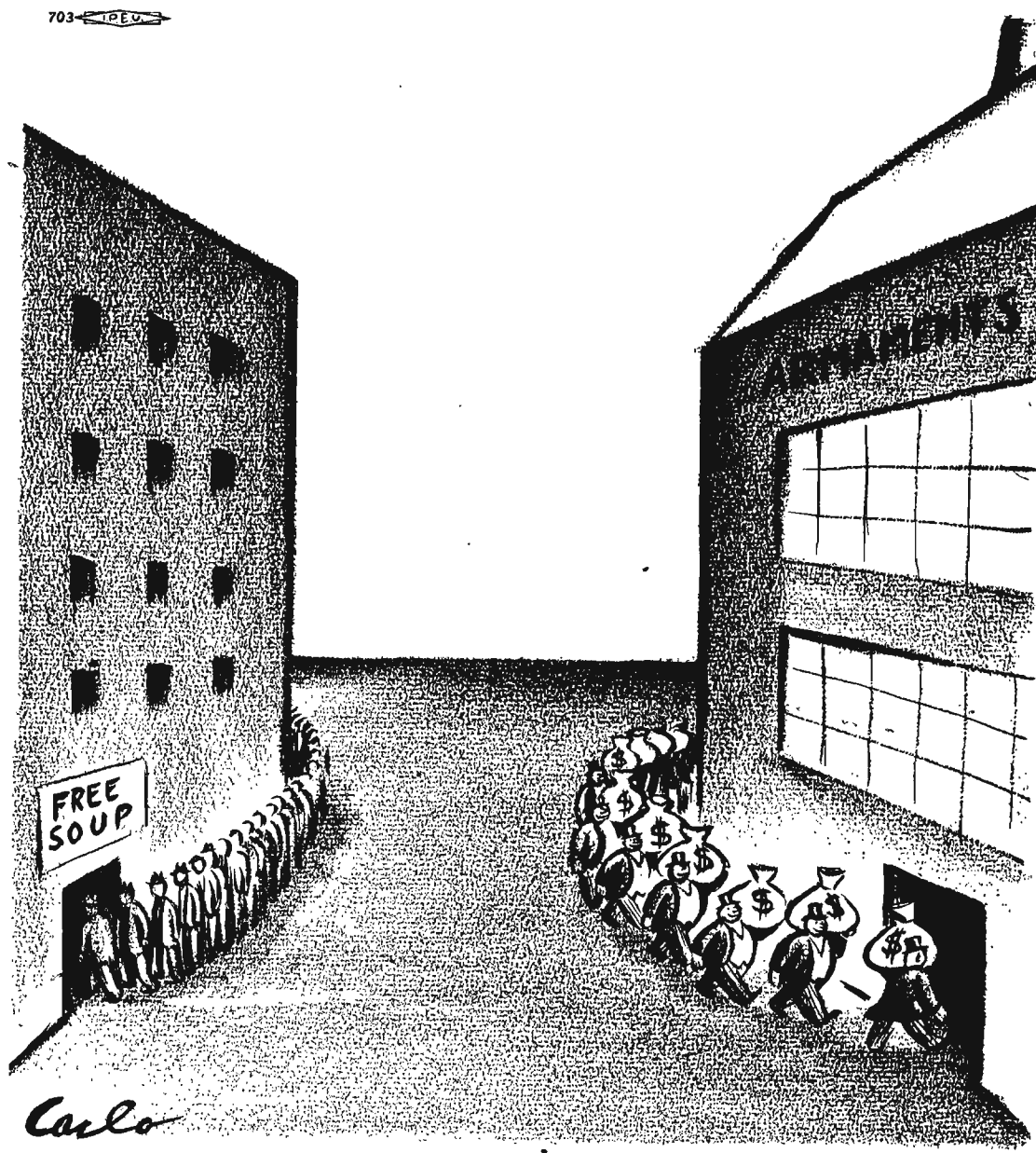
Personally, we don't think much of the idea, but we're willing to pass along the tip to the grand jury that they ought to get a lot of help for their proposition from the Communist party.

Its last convention passed a rule providing that no alien can be a member of the party. And Prissie Fardsbenge, the 20th-Century American, says: "If they ain't good enough to join the Communist party, they ain't good enough for relief." Prissie will fill out all deportation warrants in his 13th Street office.

NOT TWO--THREE!

"BOTH PARTIES CLAIM JEFFERSON SPIRIT," reads a *New York Times* headline over a report of Republican and Democratic speeches at the Jefferson memorial meeting in Virginia on July 4. What about Browder's party? Its claim is as good as anyone else's!

The New Deal On Parade



Jersey City

Lesson and Warning

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little weight against the fists and clubs of Hague's hoodlums. Force is the argument of the advance guard of American fascism. Woe to the workers of America if they do not learn in time to talk the same language!

A Fight of National Significance

The fight against Hagueism has an extraordinary national significance insofar as it poses in all seriousness the problem of combating the beginnings of American fascism. It imposes on revolutionary militants, in the first place, the general task of widespread agitation for the formation of the workers' defense guards as the only way to combat fascism. Along with this must go a thorough-going exposure of all illusions that people's front combinations, liberalistic wailings, and court struggles can seriously interfere with the advance of American fascism. It is necessary to explain to the workers, on the basis of European experience, that if they do not fight fascism by their own organized defense guards, fascism will crush the labor movement.

In Jersey City, and in New Jersey generally, the main task of those who understand the problem and want to meet it realistically is to carry on an intensive agitation along this line, and to introduce resolutions to this effect in all labor organizations, both A.F. of L. and C.I.O., to which they have access. Revolutionary workers who are the only possible leaders of a fight to the finish against fascism will naturally take part, in the most energetic and courageous manner, in actual demonstrations against Hague.

Fight Cannot Be Delegated

But it would be adventuristically folly for them to substitute the numerically weak forces of the vanguard for the genuine mass struggle of the workers' organizations. It is worse than folly for the workers' organizations to "delegate" their fight for labor rights, which is their fight for existence, to lawyers, grand-standing congressmen, "civil liberties experts" and the rest of the publicity-seeking, windbag fraternity. This is labor's own fight. Only the workers, organized and steered for physical combat, can stand up against fascist reaction and defeat it in New Jersey and on a national scale.

Bourgeois democracy, already obsolete in most of Europe, is also approaching its twilight in America with the decline and decay of American capitalism. The fate of America, like that of the rest of the world, will be decided in the oncoming struggle between fascism and the workers' revolution. The Jersey City events signalize the opening skirmishes of this grandiose struggle.

THE CONFERENCE AT EVIAN

An Editorial

A conference being convoked this week at Evian, France, to consider the refugee problem, is focusing world attention upon this running sore, recently rendered more acute by Hitler's conquest of Austria.

Driven from their homes and their homelands by the black plague of reaction, thousands upon thousands of refugees seek vainly for a safe anchorage from which they can rebuild their lives and breathe again.

Despite the needs of these sufferers from reaction, it is hardly to be expected that the countries represented at Evian will do much to aid them. The hopes of the majority of Jewish, anti-fascist and other exiles, centered upon Evian, are destined to disappointment.

Not only do the participating governments impose severe restrictions upon immigration into their domains, but they are closing their doors ever tighter. Nor do they wish to offend friendly powers, or possible allies in the next war, by welcoming or making life easier for their political opponents.

Capitalism in its death agony can no more solve the refugee problem than any of the other social problems clamoring for solution. The existence of these refugee hordes is in itself a

Hoodlums Assail Astoria Meeting

NEW YORK.—A gang of young hoodlums, supported and egged on by a couple of Legionnaires, succeeded in breaking up a street meeting of the Astoria Branch of the Socialist Workers Party on Thursday of last week.

Our comrades held their position at the corner of Steinway and Jamaica (31st) Avenues and continued to speak for 45 minutes in the face of a chorus of yelling and showers of over-ripe fruit, but were finally compelled to abandon the meeting.

The Astoria Branch, undaunted, planned another meeting at the same spot for this Thursday night (July 7) at 8 p. m. All party members not urgently engaged elsewhere were urged to attend and help sustain the fight for the right of the S.W.P. to be heard in Astoria.

Death Claims Otto Bauer In French Exile

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he admitted that down to the last minute, he sought to arrive at a compromise with Dollfus, when the latter had already taken the necessary measures to crush the proletariat and its party. As a result, the workers and their defense corps were taken by surprise and, despite their magnificent heroism, succumbed to the clerical fascists.

The personal courage Bauer displayed during the 1934 civil war could not efface the perfidious political course he had followed all his life, and which ended not only in a personal tragedy for Bauer but in the tragic bankruptcy of Austro-Marxism.

BOOKS FOR WORKERS

A Historic Document

NOT GUILTY. Report of the Commission of Inquiry into the Charges Made Against Leon Trotsky in the Moscow Trials. xv+422 pp. New York. Harper & Brothers, \$2.50 (At the Labor Book Shop, 28 East 12th St., N. Y. C., paper covers, \$1.00).

The trial of Zinoviev-Kamenev in August, 1936, and the trial of Radek-Platakov in January, 1937, have passed into history as milestones along the road of degeneration of the first workers' state under the Bonapartist regime of Stalin.

The extirpation of the leaders of Russian Bolshevism marked a high point in the counter-revolutionary development of the Soviet bureaucracy. All the efforts of Stalin's totalitarian press to conceal its true meaning will, as heretofore, prove unavailing.

A Historic Verdict

The report, embodying the results of many months of painstaking, meticulous inquiry, finds that both trials were conscious and calculated frame-ups, that they served "not juridical but political ends," and that Leon Trotsky and the recently deceased Leon Sedov, his son, are innocent of the monstrous charges on which the Stalin regime sought to convict them. By implication, naturally, the Commission finds that the Old Bolsheviks who stood trial in the Moscow courtroom, far from being the hideous criminals that they were forced to represent themselves as being, were tragic victims of Stalin's frame-up system.

These conclusions were published months ago in summarized form. Now they are available in full in this volume, together with a digest and analysis of all the evidence upon which the Commission based its findings. It is not possible, in the space of a brief review, to give anything like an adequate description of this book, which is a companion volume to "The Case of Leon Trotsky," wherein was contained the transcript of testimony and evidence taken in Mexico by a preliminary commission of inquiry headed by John Dewey.

Overwhelming Evidence

But this much can be said: No one reading this volume with a conscientious desire to learn the truth about the Moscow trials will reach any other conclusion than that the Dewey Commission could have arrived at no other verdict than it did. The evidence supporting the verdict is so overwhelming as to preclude the least doubt as to its correctness. For this reason, "Not Guilty" will be of immeasurable value to the labor movement everywhere, and especially the labor movement in America, where militants are currently battling the Stalinist union-wreckers and their frame-up methods.

It stands as a permanent and irrefutable condemnation of the bloody Bonapartist regime in the Soviet Union, an eternal bar sinister on the disreputable house of Stalin, a sharp weapon which the revolutionary militants can use against labor's most vicious enemy—the Communist Party. Need it be said?—every militant must read—and possess—this volume. F. G.

Lyons versus Sinclair

TERROR IN RUSSIA? Two Views—Upton Sinclair and Eugene Lyons. 68 pp. New York. Rand School Press. 25 cents.

Revolutionists will not be surprised to discover in Upton Sinclair an ardent endorser of Stalin's bloody purges. The "idealistic" socialist muck-raker of the first decade of the present century, who waxed indignant over the savage persecution and exploitation of America's workers, and was moved thereby to write such novels as "The Jungle" and "King Coal," found no difficulty in climbing on the patriotic bandwagon in the World War and urging those same workers to the imperialist shambles for the profit of their exploiters.

He finds the Moscow trials and executions no more revolting than the world war slaughter. They are even desirable as a means of "preserving" the workers' state in Russia—just as the world war was desirable "to make the world safe for democracy" against the threat of German militarism!

Belief Versus Evidence

Sinclair turns not a hair at Lyons' smashing exposure of Stalin's frame-ups and the horrible counter-revolutionary regime upon which they throw such a baleful light. Evidence? Sinclair is simply not interested in it. Enough for him is his belief "that the Bolsheviks would have let the G.P.U. agents tear them to pieces shred by shred before they would have confessed to actions which they had not committed."

Countering Lyons' showing that the Soviet Union under Stalin has become a stifling intellectual desert of conformity, Sinclair cites the fact that translations of his books have been published in hundreds of thousands of copies—and are actually circulated. Thus Sinclair, presumably, derives a handsome income from Stalin's

State Publishing House. A vested interest in Stalinism would represent a host of shining reasons why Sinclair should defend the bloody regime in the Soviet Union. He does not pause to think what would happen to a book of his that would be critical of the Stalin regime. This smug endorser of the blood purges might, however, reflect on the fact that none of Andre Gide's latest writings are obtainable in Stalin's paradise.

Lost On Sinclair

Eugene Lyons does a good job in his exposure of Soviet Bonapartism. On Upton Sinclair it is lost. But those genuinely concerned for the fate of the proletarian revolution in Russia will derive useful knowledge from reading what Lyons saw and learned during his long stay in the Soviet Union as United Press correspondent.

From Sinclair's contribution to this discussion they will learn only that the Author of "The Jungle" is simply an adherent of Stalin's "going concern" and by no means the friend of the persecuted he cracks himself up to be. He espoused the cause of revolutionists imprisoned and exiled by the Tsar. For those persecuted and murdered by Stalin he has not a word to say. There is the measure of a sentimental "socialist!" L. F. J.

A Timely Pamphlet

WHAT IS SOCIALISM? By Albert Goldman. 48 pp. New York. Pioneer Publishers. 10 cents.

The pressing need for explaining the revolutionary position on current problems and advanced aspects of socialist policy has meant that up to now the reformists have pre-empted the field of cheap popular pamphlets which set forth the elementary notions of the socialist philosophy. For the worker who wants to know what socialism is, before entering upon a consideration of more abstruse questions, there has been little that one could furnish since the publication of Engels' "Socialism Utopian and Scientific," other than the usual essays on Fabian socialism by Laidler or the tracts put out by the Old Guard socialist democrats when they were still in control of the Socialist Party.

The new pamphlet by Albert Goldman is the first published which answers the question "What is Socialism?" on the basis of the real problems of today and from the standpoint of revolutionary Marxism. That in itself is enough to indicate why it should be in the hands of every questioning worker.

A Concrete Approach

The three lectures were originally delivered before a study group of trade union workers in Chicago, and it is one of the characteristics of the pamphlet that it approaches the question not from the side of abstract doctrine but from the viewpoint of the workers' experiences and problems. Goldman begins by posing the three major problems facing the workers: unemployment and insecurity; the low standard of living which exists under capitalism for the masses even in the best of times, and war. It goes on to show how socialism would solve these problems.

In simple terms he sketches the socialist answer to the basic questions: what the profit system is and why it leads to the subjection of the working class; the cause of unemployment and crises; why capitalism must engage in a murderous imperialist war; how socialism would raise the standard of living of the masses. Is socialism contrary to "human nature"? Isn't it enough to defend "democracy" and thereby gain what we want? Goldman answers with a clear explanation of the Marxist philosophy of why things happen in present-day society, emphasizing throughout that the struggle of the classes lies at the bottom of the question.

Applying Principles

More than half the pamphlet, however, deals with the application of socialist principles to actual problems of the day—the Popular Front, united front, what kind of party is needed by the workers, the Communist and Socialist Parties, revolutionary internationalism, etc. Above all is emphasized the question of the present situation of the Soviet Union, which to so many workers stands as a question mark over the whole ideal of the socialist society; and the author fulfills his promise "to show the reasons why the situation in the Soviet Union is so contrary to the theories and ideals of socialism, and that conditions in the Soviet Union, instead of disproving socialist theories, actually confirm them."

As is true of most attempts to compress an explanation of socialism in a small number of pages, some points are over-simplified (for example, the section on the cause of crises) and others are treated in too abstract a manner. In any case, a whole series of elementary propaganda pamphlets is needed along the lines of this one. The success of "What is Socialism?" should be a good start. H. D.