For The Fourth International!

VOL. II-No. 28

Saturday, July 9, 1938

Five Cents per Copy

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 insurgence. 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 represents 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 fascistic 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

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 tthan 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 adventuristic 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

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

"Socialist" Dies

OTTO BAUER

DEATH CLAIMS

OTTOBAUERIN

FRENCH EXILE

Austro-Marxist Leader Dies

After Spending Life

In Betrayal

Otto Bauer, the outstanding

theorist and political leader of the Austrian social democracy,

Bitter Anti-Bolshevik

approval of the Allied powers.

position to furnish it with.

German working class in 1933,

Policy of Defeat

devotion and subservience of the

(Continued on page 4)

shortly have functioning local

city in the country. Committees

have been set up or are in the

process of formation in Chicago.

St. Louis, Philadelphia, Toledo,

Detroit, New York, Newark and

Dave Burbank writes from St

Louis that they will undertake to

raise a fund to bring one politica)

refugee from Europe. Good luck,

St. Louis! Which other local com-

mittee will do the same?

Refugee Fund Sends Sum To

The American Fund for Polit- Local committees are urged to

ical Prisoners and Refugees will push the work in their city ener-

committees in every important circularization of local lists, and

57, in exile in Paris.

Stalin's Third Degree Methods Are Revealed By Former GPU Agent Hit Court 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 Ouvrier, organ of the Revolutionary Socialist Party of Belgium (Fourth International) vigorously to a vicious anti-union which in turn reprinted it from Le Courrier Socialiste, organ of the injunction issued last week by Paris Menshevik group to which Krivitsky now belongs.

Krivitsky was a close friend of the late Ignace Reiss, also a ing members of two unions, the G.P.U. operative, who was foully murdered by G.P.U. assassins United Optical Workers and the near Lausanne, Switzerland, last year after he had broken with United Retail Employes, from Stalin's bloody regime.

Mratchkovsky, it will be recalled, was one of the defendants in the Moscow "confession" trial of August, 1936. He was injunction and continued to picket executed with the other defendants, including I. N. Smirnov, who for two days. 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 pickets were withdrawn from the orders, there can be no doubt.

By WALTER KRIVITSKY period of months, and even years, who are worse than those of the hunger, end by confessing all that | me what right you have to questwo of this type on the eve of the

died on July 4, 1938, at the age of did not want a trial without these Already prominent in the pretwo. As a last resort, therefore, war days of Victor Adler, he was the G.P.U. decided to turn over among the social-patriots who these two unmanageable prisonsupported the Austro-Hungarian ers to their most experienced monarchy in the World War. When the monarchy collapsed the interrogation of Mratchkovlike a rotten hulk, despite all the sky, as it was told to me by one me, called me reptile and counterefforts of the social democracy to of these magistrates, Slutsky. bolster it up, Bauer became The Inquisition

and Smirnov

"When I commenced the quesforeign minister in the first socialtioning, I was clean shaven," the party since my infancy.' ist cabinet which came into being Slutsky declared. "When I finished with the declaration of the t, my face was covered with a beard. The examination lasted 90 Throughout the early years of hours. Every two or three hours the republic, Bauer, bitter anticame the relentless ring of the Bolshevik, concentrated all his telephone from the office of efforts in the work of persuading the Austrian proletariat to tolerate the capitalist order, on the him?"

ground that a revolution in the country would not meet with the remain in your office all this violently to the floor, shouting: When the Hungarian Soviet

"No, after the first ten hours, I Bauer led the Austrian social which time my secretary replaced democracy in sabotaging the de- me. Mratchkovsky, during these fense of the Hungarian Commune, 90 hours, did not have a single beleaguered by reaction on all moment of respite. Even when he sides, perishing for lack of the went to the toilet he was accommilitary supplies which the Aus- panied." trian social democracy was in a

Slutsky's Task I should mention, to character-Philosopher of the school of ize Slutsky, that although he was Austro-Marxism", the essence of an old collaborator of the G.P.U., whose wisdom consisted in find- he had remained a man who was ing revolutionary formulas to good and sincere according to his ulation in permanence, Bauer led for whom a Mratchkovsky was to its Calvary. In spite of the ob- revolution and merited an unvious lessons of the defeat of the shakeable respect. But Slutsky was forced to repress these senti-Bauer continued to pursue the ments. He had to break Mratch- civil war. fatal policy of his colleagues in kovsky. His story continued as

"Mratchkovsky entered limping Instead of preparing and organ- heavily (a result of a wound proofs?' izing the militant resistance of received in the civil war). I the Austrian workers to fascism, offered him an arm-chair. Bauer spent all his time trying to "'Sit down, comrade Mratchbuy off the advancing fascist kovsky.'

movement with assurances of the "He sat down. I said to him: "'Well, comrade Mratchkovsky, social democracy. In his brochure I have received orders to question on the February, 1934 civil war, you.'

Aid Persecuted In Europe

"He replied: 'I have nothing to

American Fund informed of your

Previous issues of the Appeal

announced the fact that the Ame-

rican Fund was instrumental in

tell you and I do not want to Under the pressure of torturing have any conversation with you. interrogations, carried out over a You are one of those policemer the accused, a prey to threats of Czar. And in the first place, tell is demanded of them. There are tion me. Where were you during some, however, whom they do not the revolution? It seems to me succeed in breaking. There were that I do not recognize you.' "Noticing two Orders of the

kovsky said: 'I never saw your But the G.P.U. knew that Stalin type at the front. These decorations-you have stolen them.' interrupt him: I let him say what

was on his heart. He continued: "'You call me comrade Mratchpolice magistrates. I recount here kovsky, although only yesterday one of your ilk, in interrogating revolutionary. I was born in Siberia; my father died in Siberia, my mother also. I have been in

A Warrior's Wounds

"Suddenly he rose, bruskly undecorations!' I continued silent. I Stalin's secretary, and a voice had some tea brought and offered asked me: 'Well, have you broken him a glass. I offered him some cigarettes. He took the glass and "But," I asked Slutsky, "did you the ash-tray and dashed them

> can tell Stalin that I despise him. wanted to buy me, but I spat in

he had to say, I rose and began to reply to him: 'No, comrade decorations. I earned them in the State. Red Army, before Tashkent, where I fought under your command. I do not consider myself a cover passivity, retreat and capit- lights, one of those old Chekists you fight against the party? This you did, and, well, the party has the Austrian proletariat straight an incarnation of the past of the ordered me today to question you. As to wounds, you can see (I for this week. showed him those on my body) these are also souvenirs of the

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

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...' 'Mratchkovsky interrupted me: No, you have become a policeman. All the same, I see that you still retain a soul ...

"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... getically by personal solicitations, I said that personally I was fully convinced that he. himself, was affairs. Keep the office of the 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

obtaining asylum for two com-"Thus passed three days during rades who escaped from Nazi which Mratchkovsky did not sleep Germany, but that passage money was still needed in one case. The for a single moment. For three committee now states that they days and three nights I fought have sent the necessary money to him. As for myself, during these take care of this case. Other three days, I had at the most many persons interested in ob-The response to the first mail- equally important cases, however, three or four hours of sleep. I led ing by the American Fund is still press for attention and all him to such a point that he wept. strike leader. He also visited Beal more than encouraging and in- friends are urged to rush funds He wept with me while stating in prison. Preparations are under dicates that there is a real inter- and collection lists to the office of that everything was lost and that est in the fate of our exiled and the American Fund, Room 1609, there was no hope left. persecuted comrades in Europe. 100 Fifth Avenue, New York City.

(Continued on page 3)

Picket Ban

Anti-Labor Injunction Fought: 14 Are Held For Contempt

NEW YORK .-- Labor responded Supreme Court Justice Salvatore A. Cotillo, permanently restrainpicketing stores of the Busch Jewelry Company and its affiliates. Striking workers defied the

After the Appellate Division ation for a stay of the injunction, ents of old-age benefits. and 14 members of the unions were placed on trial for contempt, stores and replaced by roving bands of strikers and sympathizers who paraded through the streets of New York publicizing the strike.

Mobile Picketing

portation terminals and visited age of 65, there were payments employment. According to the the crowded beaches and resorts, bearing banners and placards the fact that \$29.80 may keep a calling for support of the Busch | destitute family off the relief rolls first Moscow trial: Mratchkovsky Red Flag on my chest, Mratch- strikers. An unusual twist in for about two weeks, about \$197 in home relief rolls. Yet relief strike activities was used on the of the worker's purchasing power Fourth of July when an airplane flew over the city, trailing a huge "I remained silent; I did not banner announcing that Busch

> The injunction granted by Jusger 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 buttoned his blouse and showed methods and constituted a menme his wounds. 'Here are my ace to the peace of the commun-

Judge On Picketing

calling himself "a friend of in New York State. labor," gave his peculiar view of On June 14, the City Council of picketing when he said: "Picket- New York passed a resolution for quarter, yet unemployment insuring should never be abused or investigating relief "with particused as a cloak or weapon to ular attention to the activities of revolution broke out in 1919, took two hours of rest, during He is a traitor. They have already drive capital into making an un- the Workers' Alliance." It was taken me to Molotov. He, too, reasonable bargain." This attitude proposed by a Republican who met with the approbation of the had been elected with the support Busch Corporation, and one of of the American Labor Party. "When he had said everything their attorneys declared: "The On June 23, the state governor courts of New York State appar- called for "a purge of the relief ently are the only haven for bus- rolls throughout the state." This Mratchkovsky, I did not steal my iness people, the employers of the proposal came from a Democratic

> injunction is planned by organ- votes of the American Labor ized labor, with unions, both A. Party. reptile, nor you either. But did 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

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

OHIO TEACHERS SUPPORT FIGHT

The Ohio State Federation of Teachers has adopted a formal resolution "demanding the imnediate pardon of Fred E. Beal and giving endorsement to his a fund of \$35,000 was raised to found Pierce and queried him for fight for freedom." Beal, who led prison in that state.

In announcing the action of the Ohio teachers' organization, the Minneapolis teamsters. Non-Partisan Committee for the Defense of Fred E. Beal, with Vincent Dunne and Carl Skogheadquarters in New York, declared that it was "only one of an increasingly large number of labor and progressive groups rallying dustries, successor to the nototo 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 taining justice for the imprisoned way, it was stated after Waldman's return, for legal steps looking toward a pardon

N.Y.Unions 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,unanimously declined an applie- 450,100 as compared with \$2,935,829 paid to the lump-sum recipi-

Miserly Payments The average cumulative pay-

ment to 114,927 persons who had dollar spent for old age insurance. reached the age of 65, and to the estates of those who died, was but | Social Security Board has been \$29.80 after 15 months of contri- justified. From December, 1937 to bution payments. While one New | March 1938 the employment index York executive who worked for for manufacturing fell from 88.6 seven corporations simultaneous- to 81.7 and from 56.4 to 51.9 for Over the holidays, the roving ly, and continued to do so, re- Class One railroads. Retail trade pickets concentrated on trans-ceived \$1,001.67 on reaching the was also showing increased unbelow ten cents. Thus, aside from

RELIEF PROBE tice Cotillo in favor of the Busch company represents a grave dan-**NEW YORK**

Boss Politicians Seeking to Chisel Payments As Crisis Deepens

Two separate assaults have lately been launched upon the liv-Justice Cotillo, who persists in ing standards of the unemployed

governor. He, too, had been put

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 Demooff 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 (Continued on page 2)

claims of the Social Security Board, unemployment insurance should have prevented an increase costs in March increased eight per cent over February, and in April three per cent above March, ust at the time when the flow of unemployment checks was at its

was taken from him for every

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 nad 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 ance benefits amounted to only \$56.97, or less than half, for the same period. As in the case of old age insur-

ance, 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 A wide campaign against the into office by the support and Unemployment Trust Fund, from taxes collected for two years, of over \$753,000,000; 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 masters by attacking the wages of a price increase. Thus the gov-(Continued on page 2)

FOR FRED BEAL Alleged Plot To Kill Labor Leaders Is Exposed In Minneapolis

MINNEAPOLIS.—Charges that | nes. The drivers' union officers Northwest Organizer, organ of

In a statement to Grant and ment of Minneapolis. lund, leaders of Local 544, Ralph H. Pierce accused George K. Belmoney and planning the murders, for money to get out of town. which were to take place the day after Pierce's revelations.

Arms Discovered

that police found a car containtelescopic sights near the Central Labor Union offices.

who promptly informed the Dun- ployers involved.

import gunmen to assassinate further details of the murder the Gastonia, N. C. textile work- three leaders of General Drivers' plot. Pierce was until recently ers' strike in 1929, is now in Local 544 were made last week one of the top leaders of the "Asby a former agent of reactionary sociated Independent Unions," an employers, according to the organization inspired by the bosses in an effort to split and destroy the militant labor move-

Pierce Arrested

When he learned of the murder plot, Pierce said, he broke den, head of the Associated In- with F. L. Taylor and E. T. Lee, leaders of the fink organizations. rious Citizens Alliance, of being He feared retaliation from them, in direct charge of raising the and asked the drivers' officials

'The Dunnes and Skoglund refused him money and turned the information over to the police. Press reports of that day stated The police arrested Pierce on a charge of breach of the peace, ing two high-powered rifles with but no immediate efforts were made to question any of the persons involved in the allegations. Pierce first told his story to L. The press, too, kept a discreet si-Boerbach, painters union official, lence, naming none of the em-

Stalinists Try To Frame Oak In Workers Alliance

journalist active in the labor and man Thomas and Sam Baron, of revolutionary movement for 20 the Socialist Party, Harry Milton, years, was "tried" and found of the S.W.P., Bertram Wolfe of "guilty" of being a "fascist spy" by the Independent Communist Local 1700 of the Communistdominated Workers Alliance on June 23. In true Moscow Trial fashion. Oak was not permitted to appear to answer the charges nor to submit evidence of his anti-fascist activities.

At the May 12 meeting of Local 1700, four Stalinists, James Hawthorne, Sol Becker, Sam Brody and Abe Newman, declared that Oak, who had just been placed on the Federal Writers Project, had gone to Russia and Spain in 1936 and 1937 as a spy. A committee consisting of Sol Becker, Townsend Rice and Mrs. Ulmar was appointed to "investigate" the

Charges By Majority

The majority report of this committee asserted that Oak utilized his position as director of propaganda for the Spanish Lovalist Government to contact "pro-Franco" organizations — the P.O.U.M. (independent communists), the C.N.T.-F.A.I. (anarchists) and Caballero (left-wing) Socialists-and through them to undermine the People's Front.

The "evidence" consisted of articles written by Oak in the liberal New Statesman and Nation of London, the British Independent Labor Party's New Leader, and the American Socialist Call.

A minority report by Mrs. Ulmar declared these articles did not prove the writer a fascist but showed that he repudiated the Communist Party, of which he had been a member for nine years, because he had become convinced that its policies and tactics were leading to disruption and defeat of the anti - fascist workers and peasants.

Oak's Evidence Refused

The evidence Oak offered to submit, and which the committee refused to examine, included statements by well-known anti-fascist labor leaders who had been in

NEW York.-Liston M. Oak, a Spain while Oak was there-Nor-Labor League, John McNair of the British I.L.P., and John Dos Passos, novelist. He also had statements in his behalf from many outstanding figures in the labor movement in this country, representing every left-wing political faith, except of course Stalinism.

Since the rules of the Alliance do not permit barring anyone for political views, Oak could not be debarred from membership, but he was warned not to carry on "pro-Franco propaganda" in the

Govt. Lines Up Against Truckers

The government is determined to break the C.I.O. truck drivers' strike in New Orleans. Already 100 C.I.O. unionists have been arrested on vagrancy charges and three C.I.O. leaders wounded. John Grosch, acting superintendent of police, announced that he was holding two C.I.O. leaders incommunicado, and added:

"When I get the other seven leaders of the C.I.O., I am going to run them all out of town. There is no room in New Orleans for the C.I.O.-Communist Party . . . They are preaching that Negroes are the equals of white men . . ."

Aiding the bosses and their government, misguided A.F.L. men have taken over the strikers' jobs under police guard. The boss-government challenge has, however, been strongly answered. Some 600 taxi drivers have answered the sympathy strike call of the United Automobile Workers and three waterfront unions, the- Inland Boatmen's Union, the Internanational Longshoremen and the National Maritime Union, have refused to handle goods transported by scabs.

Relief Probe Is Slated For New York City

(Continued from page 1) and nving standards of workers

and unemployed. When the American Labor Party votes for capitalist politicians, it is supporting men who will try to smash both unemployed and trade unions. It is strengthening the very instruments that would destroy workirfg class organizations, and, ultimately, the American Labor Party

hen we consider the New York City inquiry.

Seeking Out "Waste"

not there is any waste." It wants clude highly-paid executives and to ascertain "whether or not the presidents of corporations, the cost of administration of relief is plan in operation gives absolutely excessive," whether it is wasteful. no consideration to basic stand-The city doles out an average of ards of living. \$9 a month to each of the 1,000,000 Paid for directly or indirectly in New York dependent upon by the poorest sections of the poprelief. The inquiry is to see ulation, the benefits, such as they whether this is "excessive," are, accrue to those who have had whether is is wasteful.

their thousands of dollars in gov- Those who are unemployed at ernment salaries and many thous- present can never receive any ands more from "private" sources benefits until they have been re--only a few days ago, one politi- employed. The size of the socian was caught taking a \$35,000 called benefit does not vary to inbribe—they think \$9 a month is clude dependents. "excessive." The City Council and must be investigated!

aim is to obviate "further taxation | plan. upon the people of the City of New York." The people for whom concern is felt, however, are not the workers, unemployed and middle class. These are already overburdened with sales taxes, electric light taxes, cigarette taxes and other imposts, and they cannot bear much more. The giant banking firms and wealthy corporations are the only "people" left with money. The councilmen want to protect these "people" from taxation.

Aimed At Alliance

unemployed.

The New York Times admits that it is "Aimed mainly at the Workers Alliance."

vestigations is: Hundreds of New Workers in Ohio was signed last York factories are closed. This is week by Local 464, Cleveland, criminal waste. They could be and the Ryan Foundry Company. used to produce billions of dollars. The contract provides for a shop worth of goods, goods to clothe steward system to handle grievchildren of the unemployed, to ances, union hiring lists, full sehouse families now living in aiority, time and a half for overslums, to ensure a decent living time based on an eight hour, five to all. Investigate how to open | day week, Saturday work to be them, start them working under considered on an overtime basis workers' control, use them to help and double time for Sundays and

Investigate how to put through are guaranteed a basic hourly a public works program with W. rate.

P.A. jobs for all unemployed, jobs at trade union wages, trade union hours and trade union conditions.

To the capitalist politicians we say: If you cannot or will not insure a decent livelihood to the unemployed, get out of your soft legislative chairs. For the workers CAN and WILL!

SOCIAL SECURITY FRAUD IS BARED

(Continued from page 1)

ernments are storing up huge funds at the expense of the broadest and poorest sections of the population.

Living Standard Ignored Aside from the fact that for This truth becomes crystal clear no good reason old age and uninclude workers in non-profit making organizations, domestics It proposes to see "whether or and farm workers, but does in-

the most steady employment and These depraved politicians, with have earned the highest wages.

It has also been pointed out gave away \$20,000,000 to million- that when in 1949 a worker of 20 aire concerns at the World's Fair. enters the old age system, he This was nothing. But \$9 a month | could on the basis of a salary of to the unemployed is "excessive" | \$250 per month receive an annuity of \$147.35 from a private The whole inquiry is a smoke- insurance company as against the screen, a mask, a farce. Its real \$85 maximum under the federal

For at least a minimum of protection, workers must demand that all taxes for social insurance be levied against inheritances and incomes over \$3,000, instead of against payrolls and wages. Benefits should be paid on the basis of the size of the family and in accordance with need, instead of according to the amount contributed. It is also imperative that unemployment benefit periods be extended from the approximate average of less than 10 weeks to 21 weeks. Anything less than this The inquiry has a further aim: program is but a thinly disguised to smash the organization of the extraction of pennies from the pockets of the workers.

The first closed shop contract The answer to these vicious in- won by the United Automobile holidays. Piece work employees

Rodney Salisbury

MODEL REVOLUTIONIST

By CHARLES E. TAYLOR

(The following article on the death of Rodney Salisbury by Comrade Taylor, one of his closest co-workers, contains so much interesting and inspiring detail about Rodnev's life and work that we have deemed it best to publish it in place of the article Comrade Cannon planned to write.—Ed.)

Rodney Salisbury was a comrade whose place just cannot be filled in the great struggle of the workers for justice and liberty. This is particularly true of the agricultural workers of whom he was one, and whose problems he understood so well by reason of his life and associations. It seemed to be a strange play of fate that Salisbury came to his old home town and county, the scene of much of his life work, to die. He had been doing some organizational work for the Farm Holiday Association in North Dakota. On his way back to Western Montana he came to Plentywood to visit comrades and old associates, local members and sympathizers of the Socialist Workers Party, of which he was a charter member.

The old Farmer-Labor Temple, even the gallery, was packed at his funeral with old associates. workers and farmers, many of whom had come from long distances. The casket was buried in flowers. The simple and sincere eulogies were spoken by Salisbury's oldest and most intimate friends and political associates, Peter J. Gallagher and Charles E. Taylor, who reviewed his life and work, and the principles to which he was devoted and for which he worked with untiring energy and unselfishness.

A Son of the Soil Rodney Salisbury was born on a farm at Rio, Wisconsin, May 2, 1888, the son of farmers, poor. When he was still a small boy, his father bundled the wife and babies into a covered wagon and with Rodney to help drive the horses went overland to Brinsmaide, Benson County, North Dakota. There he took a homestead on the virgin prairies and undertook to carve out a farm and home for his family on the frontier, as his fathers had done before him. Rodney experienced all the hardships and privations of the average pioneer homesteader's son, plus those which fall to the older son under such circumstances.

In 1909, when Rodney had just come of age. he filed on a homestead near the village of Ravmond, built himself a shack, got a team and busted the sod, as he had helped his father do at Brinsmaide. He worked in the harvest fields and cooked on the threshing rigs. In the winter he cooked in cafes in Plentywood, in the spring he broke more sod with his earnings and seeded more crops. And this was the round of his life as the years went by.

Linked Up With the I.W.W.

In 1907 he heard about the trials of Moyer, Haywood, and Pettibone, of the Western Federation of Miners. He started to read the old Appeal to Reason, which led the fight in the defense of the miners' officials. His soul , was fired by this trial, reports of which he read in

The first organization Rodney Salisbury ever oined was the Industrial Workers of the World (I.W.W.). He loved this organization for what it had been to his dying day. It was his alma. mater. He knew the Wobbly songs by heart. He joined the agricultural section of the I.W.W. shortly after it was created. He was an organizer and local leader, and many migratory harvest workers still remember him from coast to coast, wherever old-time "Wobblies" can be found. They knew his courage, daring and initiative, and his class consciousness and class loyalty. The next organization he joined was the old Socialist Party. He regarded Eugene Victor Debs with great admiration, naming his second son for the great Socialist labor leader. Again in the Socialist party he was an organizer, and an indefatigable worker and propagandist. And much was the Jimmie Higgins work he did. He always had a dollar for the

Promoted a Socialist Paper

In his early manhood Rodney married Emma Ryan, of Minnesota, who came into the county as a school teacher and taught at the school near his homestead. Emma Salisbury was a good wife, companion and teacher, who sympathized with and joined him in his revolutionary outlook. Of this union there were born Michael in 1914; the twins Jardis and Janis, in the autumn of 1917; Eugene Victor in 1919; Camilla in 1922, and Patrick in 1925.

In the summer of 1917 the members of the Socialist Party organized the Peoples Publishing Company and prepared for the launching of the Producers News in Plentywood in the spring of 1918 as a Socialist county paper. Salisbury did yeoman service in the promotion of this enterprise, as in everything else undertaken by the party. The success of the publication, which at one time was a power in Montana and Dakota and the wheat section generally, was in no small way due to his efforts.

By the time the paper was published, most of the Socialists in the area, where the party was strong, had joined the Nonpartisan League, the nation was in the midst of the World War. the St. Louis convention of the Socialist party had drafted its famous war manifesto. Debs was on trial, as were the Socialist leaders at Chicago and the leaders of the I.W.W. Salisbury had taken an unequivocal stand against the war, as had many another connected with the apex. It was decided to make the proposed Socialist paper the local organ of the N.P.L. At this time the writer, a Socialist from northern Minnesota, became connected with the Producers News, as editor. He got out the first issue of the paper in the midst of the terror, met Rodney Salisbury, and was from the very first aligned with him politically.

Fights for the Persecuted Rodney Salisbury, in the midst of this fight, came definitely into political activity. He helped organize and raised the money for the defense of those arrested, locally and nationally, on espionage and "criminal syndicalism" charges. In this struggle, when it was almost a life and death matter, Salisbury showed his courage and mettle. He worked night and day, facing every situation without flinching, always leading and never asking anyone to do a thing that he was not himself prepared to go ahead in. All of the local prosecutions were defeated, and hundreds of dollars were raised for the defense of the class prisoners.

In 1922, Salisbury was elected sheriff, was reelected in 1924 and again in 1926. As sheriff of Sheridan county, Montana, he became known to the workers all over the West. The Wobblies were at home in Sheridan county, and the jail was always open to the wanderers, where the beds were kept clean and the bathtub ready. Also the big range in the jail was at the service of workers, who always had free access to the larder supplied out of the pocket of the sheriff. Fellow-worker Salisbury was one sheriff who used his office all the time for the protection of the workers and the dispossessed

Was Charter Member of C. P.

In the autumn of 1921 a local unit of the Communist party was organized in Sheridan county. Salisbury was one of the charter members. When Tom O'Flaherty was the associate editor of the Producers News, he and Salisbury became close associates. It was then that Salisbury first became somewhat acquainted with the developments in the Communist party in the Soviet Union and in the United States. He became what was termed a "Trotskyite" as soon as he came to any understanding of the issues. But, hoping for the eventual reconciliation of the errors in the party, after dropping out of the party for a time, he rejoined and carried on under the idea of unity.

In 1932 he toured Montana as the Communist candidate for governor, receiving a splendid vote, especially in northeastern Montana. In 1934 Salisbury and Pete Gallagher and others of the old members left the party in disgust. By the Fall of 1934 the party was torn asunder and all of the old veteran members were out.

In the early spring of 1935, at the annual convention of the Holiday Association of Montana, Salisbury was unanimously elected president of that organization, which office he was still holding at the time of his death. Many were the successful demonstrations against foreclosures and evictions, and for relief of the povertyand-drought-stricken farmers and unemployed workers under his leadership, or under his direction, throughout the wide borders of the state of Montana. Nobody could put a faking politician on the spot more effectively than Rodney Salisbury. Many grateful farmers from North Dakota came miles to attend Salisbury's

Class Conscious to the Core

Comrade Salisbury was possessed of a charming personality, coupled with dynamic energy. He was class conscious to the core. He hated exploitation of any sort, and fearlessly denounced it. He despised capitalism and all it stands for. He could not reconcile himself to the right of any man or group of men to rule another man or group of men. He instinctively aligned himself with the underprivileged and the oppressed and unfortunate, no matter how unpopular the victim or how great the cost to himself.

Rodney Salisbury was devoted to principle. He was more concerned with being correct than with the number aligned with him or the popularity of the cause. He was never afraid to be in the right with two or three, nor was he awed or afraid in the presence of organized and powerful opposition.

After becoming disillusioned with the Stalinist party, fierce and effective, persistant and unrelenting was the war he conducted against this betraying and misleading group, and none testify to this better than the Stalinists themselves. When the Socialist Workers Party was organized he was at the convention in Chicago last December doing his bit.

Rodney Salisbury is dead. He died in harness as every revolutionist would wish to die. He now rests on the hillside at Missoula, Montana, beside his twin daughter Janice, whom he loved so dearly.

What a shock his death was to those who really knew and understood this great man, this true and loyal leader of the workers, this classconscious and faithful revolutionist! All those who knew Rodney Salisbury, loved him or hated him, depending much upon their class position. What a grief his demise is to his comrades, his friends, his fellow workers, who have been associated with him so long in the revolutionary movement! His death is a great loss to the revolutionary cause to which he was so devoted, but the inspiring example of his life

THE FIGHT IN THE AUTO UNION

Two weeks after the adoption of a progressive union program, the Stalinists threw the United Automobile Workers Union into bitter factional warfare, and now, in the midst of a serious economic crisis, threaten to engineer a split in this great labor organization. The present raging battle is further testimony that the Stalinist cancer must be burned out of the labor movement, if the latter is to survive.

The present battle, as conducted by Homer Martin, demonstrates also, and that in the most eloquent terms possible, how not to fight the

To violate democratic procedure because you fear to face the membership, where irresponsible Stalinists may provoke riots; to impose disciplinary measures before the membership is properly

educated to the role of the wreckers and the necessity of these disciplinary measures—that is only water on the Stalinist mill.

The best way and the only way of breaking the Stalinist hold upon the membership is boldly and confidently to go to the membership, explain the issues involved, guarantee a democratic and militant organization and expose the reactionary unprincipled and unscrupulous work of this gang of union-wreckers and splitters.

If the militants of the United Automobile Workers of America will enforce such a policy and allow nobody to disrupt it, they will not only break the Stalinist influence among the membership of the union, but will unquestionably be in a position to build one of the most militant and most progressive labor unions America has ever known.

COAST UNION SPLIT WIDENS AFTER PARLEY

Remnants of Federation Now Isolated From Sea-Going Unions

nual convention of the Maritime Federation of the Pacific adjourned last week in San Francisco, Harry Bridges could gaze about the hall and see nothing but loyal hand-raisers of the best Stalinist brand. Once more the Communist Party had captured

With the sea-faring unions, militant backbone of the old Federation, departed from the conunions connected with the marine industry behind a fighting fivepoint program against the shipowners in preparation for the September 30 show-down, Bridges and his union-wrecking cohorts closed a convention that managed to stay in session only by violating the constitution and even the convention's own actions.

Delinquents Remain

Despite the solemn decision to unseat all delegates from unions delinquent in per capita taxes,

of non-Pacific, non-maritime, C.I. ers a reason to attack our union? beautiful today for 10,000 truck O. unions controlled by the C.P. Some employers are desperate; drivers and their families than it All voted with the unanimity they are trying to get out from was in 1934. And still, labor is made famous by the parties of the under the weight of organized being unmercifully gouged today, Stalintern. Even before the convention was

over, the almost complete isolation of the "Maritime" Federation from the marine industry became apparent to the delegates. Once more the "unity" resolutions came up on the floor, and unions which had been attacked for days, before and during the convention, were asked to unite with the remnants of the once powerful Maritime Federation.

Afraid of Teamsters

One such union was the Teamsters Union, which had been the object of some of the most vicious attacks. In an abrupt about-face, speakers to a meeting of Teamsters Local 85 to "explain the program adopted by the convention." As usual, the resolution passed ution to the paper, writes: "I wish unanimously, but when it came time to elect the committee no preciation and gratitude for the one could find time to attend the meeting. Not one delegate dared ices you are rendering to our face the membership of the Teamsters in person!

At the meeting of the Team- causes — Marxian revolutionary pending on a pick-up for the next sters which convention delegates socialism." This praise is doubly feared to attend, the membership valuable in that it comes from a voted to adhere to the program comrade who is now a 60-year old initiated by the Sailors Union of working class fighter! the Pacific. This program, which pledges uncompromising struggle against the shipowners, has already been endorsed by five major sections getting good results from marine unions.

S.U.P. CREW ON SHEPARD SHIP

Sagebrush, last of the Shepard in "The Appeal Army" bulletin. Line ships to be forced to live up to their contract with West Coast unions, sailed from here last week shipped from the A. F. of L. Seamen's Union hiring hall, after lying in port a week, "captured" by members of the National Maritime Union.

The N.M.U. crew, who had worked the ship in Pacific ports behind picket lines established by the Sailors Union of the Pacific in an effort to enforce signed agreements with the Shepard company, were arrested and charged with mutiny on orders of are free on bail.

The arrests came when the crew, following the advice of N. M.U. officials, refused to sign off, although articles could be terminated at any East Coast port, Disregarding the fact that all Shepard ships are under West Coast union contracts, won by strike action, the N.M.U. officials deliberately jeopardized the liberty and safety of the crew by encouraging the sit-in action.

Following the orders of their union, and believing the lies told them by the C.I.O. officials on both coasts, today the former crew of the S. S. Sagebrush face Ave. trial in Philadelphia, their seamen's papers and their livelihood endangered. What will their leaders" say now?

Local 85 of the United Automobile Workers, Racine, Wis., has won a closed shop contract with Boston Road. the Walker Manufacturing Company. The contract calls for an average 90-cent-per-hour wage South 4th St; Marcy and Broadand hiring from the union's way; Pitkin Ave. and Strauss St; eligibility list,

Dunne Debates Parson On Gangsterism Charge

Drivers Local 544, spoke against attack on unionism." Reverend George Mecklenburg, SAN FRANCISCO.-As the an- who has been carrying the employers' campaign from the pulpit Church.

while charges by the thousand New York restaurant industry. were made against the trade vention and already rallying unions of Minneapolis, all efforts had come to him with information debate-like Mayor Leach and the to be let alone," he said. Communist Party, both of whom both of whom refused."

the average driver receives \$33.60 a wonderful time here." delegates from the Marine Engin- for a 48-hour week. During the eers, the Inland Boatmen and a past four years, the average driver ing which the Reverend refused number of I.L.W.U. locals—all de- has received wage increases to cite specific instances of linquent—were permitted to re- amounting to more than \$1,600— racketeering by Minneapolis unmain. Three "delegates" from the and this is putting it very mod- ions, Dunne closed the debate with Marine Firemen, repudiated by estly . . . Over a four-year period, a summary. the branches they claimed to rep- | Minneapolis employers have been | resent, stayed through to the bit- forced to give wage increases to Minneapolis is a beautiful city. the drivers amounting to more One thing is certain, and that is Added to these were the host than \$5,000,000. Have the employ- that Minneapolis is much more labor. Together with employers even in Minneapolis."

MINNEAPOLIS. — Repeated | all over the nation, they are now charges of racketeering in the instituting an Open Shop drive. Minneapolis trade unions, familiar The drive today is being carried cries of employers and the Com- on under the slogan: Free the munist Party, became the subject | Labor Movement from Gangsters of open debate last week when V. and Racketeers. Under this guise R. Dunne, organizer of General the employers are making their

Parson on Racketeering

Reverend Mecklenburg began of the Wesley Methodist Episcopal his talk by stating he represented the public, and said the public be-The debate, held under the lieves generally that racketeering auspices of the Workers Defense in going on in the world. He told League in the banquet hall of the of racketeering in the Middle Y.M.C.A., attracted a crowd of Ages, in China, in the Island of 300 men and women, with another Zaba. Turning to the United 100 unable to be seated in the hall. States, he quoted Thomas E. Dunne told his audience that Dewey on racketeering in the

He said Minneapolis workers to publicly debate the issue were that there was racketeering here, unavailing. "The people who give and that Big Business was paycurrency to the ugly rumors are ing tribute to the unions. "I know precisely those who refuse to a firm that has to pay \$4 weekly

"Labor is gouging capital," he were asked to debate tonight and concluded. "It is piracy, buccaneering. I say to labor: You have Dunne went on to present the to take the initiative and clean actual record of the drivers up. It seems to me as a minister of the gospel of Jesus Christ, I "In 1933, the average driver want to say: "For God's sake, let's received less than \$14 weekly. Our all get together. Minneapolis is a union has changed that . . . Today | beautiful city, and we could have

After the question period, dur-

"Reverend Mecklenburg says

Appeal Army

Typical of the many letters we f of St. Paul has jumped out in the receive is this one from Com- lead with five subs to her credit rade E. Panicali of Detroit: "I already, while T. R. Dostal, also have just received this week's of that city, is right behind her issue. With the article on the U. with four. St. Paul, we might A.W. we will go to town. The auto mention, has been running a workers want a paper like the highly successful local campaign Appeal, which comes out frankly in conjunction with Minneapolis and tells them who are the union in a Twin-City Drive. wreckers and how to fight them. | NOTICE: Do you want credit A better selling campaign is being for the subs you get? Then be the convention decided to send organized and from now on we sure to write your name in the

And from Wakefield, Kansas, or else we just can't give you W. P. Gates, enclosing a contrib- credit. Every sub turned in must to express to you my deep ap- tained it! very capable and invaluable servparty and all humanity for your fight for that greatest of worthy

The first week of our Summer campaign has rolled by with some activities in covering newsstands. Don't forget to send in right now a list of all stands carrying the Appeal!

This week is Library Placement Week: It's up to the literature agents to see that every library asked to become a subscriber. PHILADELPHIA. — The S. S. Follow instructions as contained You can't fail if you do!

How about groups of comrades and sympathizers getting to- ing a weekly bundle order of 10 with a full West Coast crew gether and donating a sub to Appeals while vacationing at

ning to warm up. Grace Carlson of 10.

will send you some extra money." proper section on the sub-blank have the name of the one who ob-

> We regret to report that the first week of our campaign was disappointing so far as increased subs was concerned. We're deweek. Here's the list:

St. PAUL 8	
St. PAUL 8	
Minneapolis 6	Ļ
California 4	
Pennsylvania 3	
Chicago 2	
Detroit 2	
New Haven, Conn 2	
New York City 2	
Tiew Tork City 2	
St. Louis 1	
Washington, D. C 1	ò
TOTAL.	

* * *

We apologize to the St. Paul in their section is approached and comrades for failing to credit. them with four subs they obtained two weeks ago and which were credited to Minneapolis . . . Miriam Gerson of New York City is carrying out a fine idea by taksome local public or labor library? camp . . . A new literature agent of South Haven, Michigan, is The sub-contest is just begin-starting out with a bundle order

THE SOCIALIST APPEAL CAN BE OBTAINED AT THE FOLLOWING NEWSSTANDS

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.; at the U. S. District Attorney. All 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

> S.W; at Sixth Ave., S.E.; at Sixth Ave., S.W.; at Seventh Ave., S.W.; opposite Sterns; 103 W. 44th St.; 46th St. and B'way, S.E. Essex and Delancy Sts; Bookstore at Grand and Attorney Sts; Candy Store, S. E. 9th St. and

Forty-second St. at Fifth Ave.

Second Ave; Biederman's Book Store, 12th St. and Second Ave; Wigerson, 145th St. and St. Nich- York City, have won a contract olas Ave; 110th St. and Columbus providing for closed shop, no 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 Ave. Station; Freeman Ave. and Southern Boulevard; 174th St. &

BROOKLYN: Grand and Union Aves; Havemeyer Avenue and Sutter and Van Sinderen Aves. | wage increases.

ALLENTOWN, PA. R. Zettlemeyer, 637 Hamilton St. BOSTON, MASS. Andelman's, Tremont St. (opp. Hotel Bradford)

CAMBRIDGE, MASS.

Felix's, Massachusetts Ave. at Harvard Square ROXBURY, MASS. Friendly Variety, Warren St. (Grove Hall) MINNEAPOLIS Shinder's, Sixth & Hennepin; Kroman's, Fourth & Nicollet.

SAN FRANCISCO

MacDonald's Bookstore, 65 6th St.

Members of the American Communications Association, C.I.O., employed by the Mackay Radio and Telegraph Company, New discrimination because of union membership, hiring hall, full se-

niority rights and two weeks' no-

tice of discharge or two weeks

pay in lieu thereof.

Government experts state that only 200,000 workers will gain by the Wage and Hour Law and over 1,000,000 will lose by having their work week shortened to 44 hours because of lack of provision for corresponding hourly

ing exchange between the witness and the committee chairman:

An Open Letter

TO MOISSAYE OLGIN

Concerning the Fate of Your Two Friends, Juliet Poyntz and Noah London

My Dear Mr. Olgin:

Two of your oldest political and personal friends have disappeared-Juliet Stuart Poyntz and Noah London. The first vanished from her last known residence in New York, and despite a great deal of publicity about her case, there has been no clue to her whereabouts. The second was last heard of in the Soviet Union, and despite repeated requests made in our columns for information, those who are in a position to supply it have been

You knew both of these persons very intimately. Although you joined at a somewhat later date the party which they helped found, you established close bonds of friendship with them. After the formation of the Workers Party in 1921, when you were being hounded politically by the Costrell-Bittleman faction in the Jewish Federation of the party, Noah London became one of the most influential friends you had, and one of your closest collaborators in the editorial board of the Freiheit. In the subsequent internal fight over the Labor Party, your relationships were even more firmly cemented.

Leader in Anti-LaFollette Faction

As for Juliet Poyntz, your friendship, political and personal, was, if anything, even stronger. With you, and Ludwig Lore, she was one of the principal leaders of the faction which opposed the famous "LaFollette maneuver" of the Communist Party in 1924. In point of fact, you went to the sessions of the Executive Committee of the Comintern at that time in order to present the view you held in common with her.

These friendships, as you and so many others know, you maintained until not so long ago. Then, for one reason or another, your two friends fell foul of the Moscow machine. Noah London and his wife were tried a few years ago on a charge of "sabotage" which you, as well as I, know to be preposterous for a man of London's record and position. He disappeared after that trial and recently the report reached here that he was shot by the Stalinist authorities. As for Juliet Poyntz, you know that after her disappearance, in the midst of her work on a book dealing with the situation in the Soviet Union, responsible persons charged that she was done away with by the Stalinist secret service in order to silence her.

Now, Mr. Olgin, I would like to know what you have done about these two old friends of yours. Have you at least made the appropriate inquiries about their fate in those qualified quarters which, both of us know, are in a position to give detailed and authoritative information—especially if you asked, in your capacity as a prominent official and leader of the American communists?

What Have You Done, Olgin?

Or have you, as has been your custom in these past years, remained silent; slunk whimperingly from your elementary obligations; cursed yourself bitterly for your impotence in the privacy of those intimates who you hope will not betray you as you are always ready to betray them; and rationalized your cowardice under some mythical higher duty to your political employers who despise and ridicule your notorious servility as much as you do theirs to the next layer of the hierarchy?

This letter is not addressed to you because you have retained any of the small ration of character and probity you could so ill afford to lose. What little you had left after your years of service under Abe Cahan, you surrendered completely during your term of service under Stalin. But you do have left what has sustained you for years: self-interest.

Look around at the shambles of the Stalin machine! See how many of its victims are men who sought to escape it by shrieking its praises and suppressing their inner revulsion! What assurance have you that tomorrow or the next day, you will not face—not the firing squad in a G.P.U. cellar, but the murderous slander campaign against the expelled scapegoat? That the party authorities will say, as they did about Juliet Poyntz, that they can scarcely remember the name of Olgin? Or that they will be silent, as they are in the case of Noah London, about what happened to M. J. Olgin because of the heretical, frightened remarks he made to "good friends" about things sacrosanct in the eyes of the Stalinist inquisition?

Would it then not be better to speak out now about the fate of your two old friends whom you have till now deserted and betrayed, before others have to speak out about you?

Yours, etc.,

MAX SHACHTMAN.

Self-Avowed Assassins

Writing on the case of Charles Rappoport, French communist who publicly denounced the Moscow trials as frame-ups, the Paris correspondent of the New York Stalinist Yiddish daily, Morning Freiheit (April 25, 1938) wrote, according to a translation given in the Workers Age (May 14, 1938):

But Rappoport finds himself in bourgeois France, where betrayers of the proletariat are not sent for trial before the courts. . . . But who knows, the power of the Cheka is beyond imagination. Perhaps even in Paris it will prove capable of giving its enemies a special 'dose' . . . "

For the first time, so far as we know, we have an instance of an open threat by the Stalinists to-murder a political opponent. In actuality, they have already committed such murders in Moscow, in Spain, in Bulgaria and in France. But there has never yet been such a cynical avowal of their use of terrorist methods

By this slip of the pen in the Freiheit, the Stalinists burn into their own foreheads the brand of ASSASSINS!

> TICKETS FOR THE S.W.P. BOAT RIDE

(New York) Up the Hudson to HOOK MOUNTAIN On SATURDAY, JULY 9

Can still be obtained (Price \$1) at the City Office 116 University Place

NOTICE: The boat will leave PROMPTLY at 9:30 A. M. from Pier A, the Battery

The trip will be postponed ONLY in the event of stormy, rainy weather AT THAT HOUR

Alive or Dead?



JULIET STUART POYNTZ

Y.P.S.L. SUMMER SCHOOL CLASSES **GET UNDER WAY**

The New York District of the Y.P.S.L. is conducting a Summer School from July 5 to August 9, McNaboe. at 116 University Place. The courses, open to Y.P.S.L. and S. W.P. members and their friends and sympathizers are as follows:

1. A.B.C. OF MARXISM by HAL DRAPER, Nat'l Sec'y Y.P.S.L. (Tuesday nights 7-8:15 p. m., beginning July 5)

July 5 - Basic Philosophy of Marxism (Dialectical Materi-

-Marxist Philosophy applied to Society (Historical Materi-July 19 — Economic Mechanism

of Capitalism (Marxist Economics). July 26-Political Mechanism of Capitalism (State and Revo-

August 2 - Imperialism and War. August 9 — Radical Tendencies

OF AMERICAN LABOR by Union Dir. S.W.P.)

Today.

(Tuesday night 8:30-10 P.M. beginning July 5)

A brief survey of American labor history and a discussion of labor's current and most pressing problems. Early labor history; trade union problems.

PUBLIC SPEAKING—IRVING PANKEN, N.Y. District Comm., Y.P.S.L.

> (Monday nights 8-9, beginning July 11)

A brief course in the elements pare and present indoor and outspeeches. Classroom and field practice. Open to Y.P.S.L. and Party comrades.

Fees for courses are nominal-20 cents for single course, 35 cents for two. Public Speaking free to Y.P.S.L. members.

UNION BRIEFS

Fifty "no-stop-work" contracts, the first of their kind between a government agency and labor unions, have been signed by the Federated Building Trades unions in fifty cities and the United portant point, the only precedent States Housing Authority. Fifty in modern American labor histowas taken away from them du"ing the long building slump.

an assault on a scab at the plant sought to regain their legislative able barricade-fighter. of the Fein Tin Can Company, seats! How scornfully and indig-W. Martin to serve ten months of the Communist International in the penitentiary. A sock in the in 1920 reject the appeal of the jaw in the interest of the workers American Socialist Party for afsock of a drunken bum.

Drivers unions in two states gotiations were concluded in Min- voters' and hastens to explain cipating with the representatives ty members immediately to beof the six local unions. A flat come citizens." five cents per hour increase was won for all classifications.

Texas, railroad union lodges, voted unanimously last week to wage a fight to the finish against the American Railway Association's threat of a 15 per cent wage cut. At Kansas City, Mo., themselves to fight the cut.

Why did the "Daily Worker" of July 1, 1938, reporting this exchange, deliberately suppress the last sentence of Browder's reply, which declared that he would fight for American imperialism in a war against the Soviet Union? There are few things as re- | and all military appropriations, | And meanwhile? Fascismvolting as the sight of a turncoat about which the Communist In- there is the enemy; democracyslithering on his belly before the ternational said at that time "we there is the cure! And how pre enemy he was once devoted to do not know a single socialist serve democracy? As is well

EARL BROWDER TESTIFIES BEFORE THE

McNABOE COMMITTEE

BROWDER: DEFENDER OF THE SOVIET UNION

Reporting the testimony of Earl Browder, secretary of the American Stalinists, before

the McNaboe legislative committee, the New York Post of June 30, 1938, gave the follow-

"If it came to a war between the United States and Russia who would you bear arms

"I refuse to admit the possibility of such a war," said Browder. But McNaboe pressed

for an answer and Browder finally replied: "Under all conceivable conditions indi-

cated at the present time, I would bear arms for the United States."

fighting against. Of that breed, there are few in history to match the admix- ican party." But even in dropping Roosevelt. In this connection ture of consummateness in rene- this provision, the Hillquitites of Browder makes a most reveal gacy, cynical effrontery, hypocri- 1920 never went so far as to ing, even it not entirely accusy and servility that marked the guarantee explicitly their support rate, statement to McNaboe. testimony of Earl Browder, of American imperialism in any Stalin's viceroy for the United war it might wage. They weren't States, before the red-baiting for sale so cheap. legislative committee in New York headed by Senator John J.

Disavows Principles

for?" McNaboe asked.

With studied perfection, Browday, but disavowed every single imperialism - Browder promptly of Roosevelt is exactly equivalent principle that was cemented in-swore allegiance: "I would, But to affording decadent American to the foundation of the interna- I would not sell them during the capitalism its greatest protection twenty years ago.

The brand-new pretensions to July 12-Why History Happens

through it." It is this deliberate fraudu-. HISTORY AND PROBLEMS lence, this all-too-obvious hypocrisy and double-dealing that dis-BILL MORGAN (N. Y. Trade tinguishes the Stalinist leaders from virtually all other renegades in the history of the labor move-

Under Moscow Orders

When the social-patriots of the Second International before the last World War pledged them-Knights of Labor; A. F. of L. and selves to bear arms for the "fa-Gomperism; C.I.O; and current therland," they really meant it; and when the war broke out they redeemed their pledge in full.

under orders from the self-same

even though it is quite true that, fraudulent or not, the very agitation and education carried on by the Stalinist chieftains will result in many (if not most) of their present supporters actually turning anti-Soviet and pro-imperialist at the crucial moment.

An American Precedent If we leave aside for a moment this last-and by no means unimsimilar contracts are nearing ry for Browder's belly-crawling-

brimstone was poured on their was sentenced by Judge George nantly did the special declaration costs ten times as much as the filiation, and excoriate the official Brief for the Socialist Assemblymen because, among other things, "it apologizes for the won a five-day strike against the presence of foreigners in the par-Gamble-Robinson Company, Ne- ty by calling them 'potential neapolis, Local 544 officers parti- that a new rule requires all par-

What would the Communist International of that time say diately to become citizens!"

What the C. I. Said public office to vote against any adopt it."

party in the world which has known, the Stalinists propose to equalled the action of the Amer- preserve it by getting behind

sell Liberty Bonds tomorrow if that he is the greatest protector war broke out?" - that is, war of capitalism." against Mexico or Japan or the "even Senator McNaboe"—who say, because the outraged social- understand that the president is is scarcely distinguished either ist-patriot was only describing their "greatest protector." for perspicacity or knowledge of what he did in a past war, while the radical movement - "saw Browder is already pledging himself for the next one!

Qualified Support

not ready for and do not desire" then, however outraged revo-When the Stalinists say — as ical war with political considera- the Nazis; in the United States, Browder said to McNaboe — that | tions of an abstractly democratic | with Roosevelt 'against Wall their love for "American democ- nature. When Browder, in his ob- Street'." It is also true that he racy" burns with so pure and scene zeal to curry favor with added in the same speech "that whose tachnical military distinct the many state of the same speech that whose tachnical military distinct the many speech speec powerful a flame that they will the American bourgeoisie, says Roosevelt, leading the present whose technical military distrust support U. S. capitalism in the flatly that he will sell Liberty ruling class, finance capital, of the Red Army, following the of public speaking. How to precoming war, even if it is fighting Bonds to help finance the next stands for degradation, hunger, purge of the generals, has been against the Soviet Union, the true war, he does not even include in misery, oppression, fascism, war." somewhat offset by the similar now reconstituted as an independent of the point of t and "nátive" upholders of Amer- his statement the qualifications ican imperialism know they are or reservations which the most talking with tongue in cheek and ordinary bourgeois democrat gress of the Comintern from Moscow gang they pledge them- it is not a predatory war," or "if selves to fight if war is declared. it is not a war to protect Stand-The McNaboes are perfectly ard Oil in Mexico," or "provided well aware of the hypocrisy in it is a war for democracy, or justhe pledge made by Browder, tice, or to end all war," etc., etc. No, come what may, regardless of the war that will finally break out, Browder has already stated, in his reply to McNaboe, that he will "fight for the United States." Or more likely, as did the socialpatriots in the last war, he will 'fight" on the "home-front" by

trenches and the graves. Hillquit Never Knew

urging others to occupy the

When Hillquit said in 1920, amid a chorus of protest in his completion. The contracts pro- a precedent which did not, how- own party, to say nothing of the vide that the unions will not halt ever, reach anything like the clamor of the communists outwork because of demands for depths of depravity touched by side of it, that "we adopt the exchanges in pay or jurisdictional Browder—is the famous case of isting form of government based disputes. Thus the bureaucrats the five New York socialist as- upon the Constitution of the of the A.F.L. have hamstrung the semblymen ousted by reaction United States as the form upon workers and prevented their re- from the Albany legislature in which to build the future sogaining a tiny fraction of what January 1920: Waldman, Claes- ciety," he surely had no idea sens, Solomon, DeWitt and Orr. that eighteen years later, the What a storm of sulphur and boss of the "communist" party would make assertions on the Morris Engargola of Brooklyn, heads by the contemporary com- same subject that would make New York, recently convicted of munist press for the manner in the late Nestor of the Socialist having led a group of strikers in which the five social-democrats party sound like an uncontroll-

Hillquit at least did not deny his socialist objective; even more, he declared that socialism was on the order of the day. Browder, however, is anxious to impress the legislative committee men with the fact that they need not have the slightest fear of communism being fought for in their lifetime. Knowing the bankruptcy of their own social order, the McNaboes everywhere rightly dread the prospect of a speedily rising movement for the triumph of workers' rule in this country. It is, therefore, no mere 1,000 workers met and pledged ing upon members elected to probably be one of the last to and Barcelona.

Browder and Roosevelt "Eighty-five per cent of the press is opposed to Roosevelt. But Browder is. In reply to They are very short-sighted ca-McNaboe's question, "Would you pitalists who do not understand

From this follow, or should logder repudiated not only what he Philippines or the Soviet Union; ically follow, two conclusions: himself stood for only the other in short, any war of American One, that the Stalinist support tional communist movement some last war." And the Daily Worker -and as is known, there is only (July 1, 1938) has the utter one social force it needs protecshamelessness to print the an- tion from Two, that the Stalindemocracy," "Americanism," and swer in bold-face type! Browder ists should devote their agitationpatriotism, which were so touch- may now take his place ahead of al efforts not to the working ingly emphasized by Browder, Samuel DeWitt who, to empha-class, but to the capitalist class, were, however, so obviously frau- size the depths of his patriotism, represented by "eighty-five per dulent, so patently the product retorted to Tammany's Marty cent of the press," with the aim of instructions from the Krem- McCue in 1920: "I sold Liberty of persuading the Liberty Leagulin's totalitarian bosses as part Bonds and I sold more Liberty ers and their associates to drop of their diplomatic masquerade, Bonds than there were glasses of their misguided fight against the that the New York Post is un-beer sold over the bar of your much-misunderstood Roosevelt

Defender of Capitalism

Not alone Roosevelt, however but also Browder. For if the former is the Lord High Protec-When Hillquit said in 1920 that tor of American capitalism, the the socialists of the United latter is his not unworthy coad-States would have no hesitancy jutor. It is true that in his rewhatever in joining forces with port to the eighth convention of cies," and that wholesale deception the rest of their countrymen to the Communist Party in Cleverepel the Bolsheviki who would land in April 1934, Browder, in try to invade our country and answer to the question: "What force a form a government upon are the ideas, the misconceptions, our people which our people are with which the social-fascists confuse and disarm the workers?"-declared: "In Germany, lutionists were at this vicious this idea was, concretely, alliance declaration, he was at least quali- with Hindenburg against Hitler; fying his support of a hypothet- in Austria, with Dolfuss against turn at the Seventh World Conwould make, as, for example, "if which—may God forbid!—Brow—which, practically successful beabout 5000 strong. if they were sent. Now Browder technically far from perfect. is for Democracy, for Roosevelt, for the "greatest protector of canitalism." And in the statement entered into the McNaboe committee's records, he made it clear that he is ready to implement his newly-found faith.

The Communist party is opposed to the revolutionary overthrow of American capitalism and its government. The Communist party is opposed to inciting strikes, to stirring up "industrial disorders." The Communist party upholds the democratic institutions of America. The Communist party is opposed to gaining control of the unions.

Wants to Be a Cop

There ARE people in the very bosom of the Republic who are guilty of all these dastardly crimes. There ARE seditious and subversive elements in our midst And if the McNaboe committee is to emulate Our Great President as the "greatest protector the criminals.

nist party which I have described. Trotskyites and Lovestoneites." (Daily Worker, June 30, 1938.)

We have no doubt that the ambitious informer is ready to proidle curiosity that impels them to vide the necessary names and adabout its American section of to- feel the ground by asking Brow- dresses, to accompany the cops White, a forthright proletarian More than 300 railroad workers, day, whose recent convention alder when he expects America to with search and seizure warrants, revolutionist, characterized Browrepresenting 21 Harris County, so adopted "a new rule (that) re- adopt communism. And it is not and to take the stand as a wit- der, in the course of a poquires all party members imme- philosophic resignation, but well- ness for the prosecution. If need lemical speech, as "the Uriah thought-out purposefulness and be, he is ready to act as jailer | Heep of the party." It is hard to determination to do all in his and executioner, for Browder can think of a more fitting descrip-The turn-coats in Albany pre- power to make his prediction easily furnish letters of mark, tion of the character of this Stavailed on their party to eliminate come true, that animates Brow- references and testimonials from linist reproduction of Charles only incapable of working, but the constitutional provision call- der in replying: "America will his teachers in Moscow, Madrid Dickens' symbol of hypocrisy and likewise incapable of living.

As to Browder's moving decla-

A Turn-Coat on the Witness-Stand $France\ Under\ Daladier$ Moves Toward National 'Sacred Union' Gov't

Political Course of Bourgeoisie Is Influenced by Growing Isolation of the Soviet Union; Socialist Party 'Left' Expelled

By TERENCE PHELAN

the Daladier government, a long- and the C. G. T. bureaucracy, time stop-gap while the heads of French workers en masse have all the parties from the Stalinists on the left to the Fascists on the and take stock. It is, on the right horse-trade and jockey toward the ultimate goal of a "Government of Sacred Union" including all parliamentary parties, has made no essential change in France's foreign policy, which still only did it canalize militant strike follows the plans of British imperialism.

Started last fall by Halifax's Berlin visit, followed by Chautemps' and Delbos' London visit. confirmed by English and French behaviour when Hitler seized Austria, and increasingly unconcealable with each new move in the continuing Czechoslovakian crisis and the conversations with away from the cesspool of be-Mussolini, Chamberlain's plan is trayal and gropingly seek a true nothing less than buying off Hit- revolutionary leadership. Here ler in the West by giving him a and there — among the techrush armament programs which they hope will permit them at the against further class collaboraproper moment to snatch their of both exhausted adversaries.

Fascist Orbit Extends into the fascist orbit; Austria is cracy. actually incorporated into the Third Reich: Czechoslovakia. though unlikely to be territorially occupied by Hitler, is being rapidly bullied into a governmental realignment which will make it either decentralized and impotent its workers' suburbs) against the or actually pro-Hitler; and Po- Blum-Faure leadership of the S.F. land, long on the fence, is plainly I.O. (Second International Socialrevealed by the recent terroriz- ists). This Federation, ideologication of Lithuania to be playing ally dominated by the "Revoluthat the New York Post is un- seer sold over the par of your on the grounds that they fail to doubtedly right in saying that saloon." Ahead of DeWitt, we on the grounds that they fail to the anti-Soviet game. A look at tionary Left" led by Marceau the map will show more plainly Pivert, a manoeuvring centrist of than any words what these shifts mean to the Soviet Union. Herein courage, remembering the policeis grimly foreshadowed the tragic end of the un-Marxian Stalinist policy of "socialism in one country" (with its vicious concomitant of "no socialism anywhere else"), its reliance upon the "democraof the international working-class, than which only the distrust that motivated it is more contemptible.

Yet in France the Stalinists continue to check the militancy of pelled en masse from the party the working class, to pin all their hopes on class peace and the by the S.F.I.O.'s annual conven-Franco-Soviet pact, unembarrassed by their new allies, the de play, underwrote the Bonapartist la Rocque Fascists, whose spokes- Daladier decree government, apman Ybarnegaray has recently proved in advance the coming come out strongly in favor of itthis at the behest of those ele-But that was before the Stalinist shake-up in the Reichswehr, and by a close study of the military P.S.O.P. (Socialist Workers' and side of the occupation of Austria, Peasants' Party), predictably der takes no orders, or would cause of the lack of resistance by

Workers Mark Time

severe set-backs suffered in the spring strike wave through the PARIS, June 21.—The shift to misleadership of the Stalinists recoiled to nurse their wounds whole, a time when general militancy has for a moment-ebbed; to pretend otherwise would be wishful thinking. The Stalinist treachery has thus a double edge: not action back into compromise settlements that were essentially defeats; but by that very betrayal convinced many workers under its ideological influence of the hopelessness of militant action-a

vicious circle. Yet other workers, quite on the contrary, draw the opposite and correct conclusion: they movefree hand in the East against the nicians, department store em-U.S.S.R., while Britain, and to a ployees, postal and telegraph esser extent France, feverishly workers, and numerous crafts sporadically violent revolts tion, against Daladier's anti-labor imperialist spoils at the expense decree laws, against the sacred union for war, burst significantly forth, are with more or less dif-Rumania has swung largely ficulty quashed by the bureau-

> Seine Federation Revolts Symptomatic of this latent fire of militancy under the ashes of

temporary calm was the recent revolt of the whole Socialist Federation of the Seine (Paris and the Tyler-Zam stamp, had had the murder of the Clichy workers under the "Socialist" minister Marx Dormoy, to protest energetically against the Sacred Union and its war plans, and both to issue internal bulletins and lead public manifestations against continuance of the party's class-

collaborationist policies. It goes without saying that the whole federation was simply exan expulsion confirmed last week tion, which, in a disgusting disnationalist government, and prepared to follow its Macdonald.

New Party Formed

Pivert's Revolutionary Left is

The new P.S.O.P. has in its "throw them in a waste basket" Austrian clerico-fascism, was rank-and-file valuable militant elements whom the Bolshevik-Leninists gladly welcome as com-Deeply discouraged by the rades in the heavy tasks ahead.

Another Fine Issue Of New International Due

The August issue of the New | International, now being prepared, will again present a wide variety of articles of high quality. 6. The New Roosevelt Program-Among the outstanding features to appear are:

1. Behind the Stalinist line of the People's Front-by Max Shacht-

2. The Stalinists and Rooseveltby Albert Gates. 3. "They, the People"-by Dwight

4. Reply to Burnham article on "Max Eastman's Science" - by Max Eastman, together with

MacDonald.

mations in favor of Democrcay of capitalism," if it really wants and Peace; his word-of-honor asto put down sedition, mutiny and surances that he takes no orders all other forms of mayhem against | from Moscow, and in general his | order to bring Smirnov into my law and order-it will find in bland exposition of the platonic Browder a man eager and ready relationship between the Amerto draw up the indictment for the can Stalinists and their Kremgrand jury and put the finger on | lin string-pullers—we need hard- | the first to speak, and addressing ly make extended comment. Only "I have no desire to hide the the sheerest dub takes Browder's fact that there are some people statements seriously; the bourwho call themselves communist, geois press, which Browder hopes who yet proclaim the opposite of most to impress, simply laughs all these policies of the Commu- itself into hysterics. Nor is that surprising. The Governor-General These are the groups known as of the American Stalinist party is scarcely the man biologically adapted to wearing the mask of "sincerity." As far back as the Smirnov remained adamant. At 1925 convention of the American this moment, weeping, they emcommunists, the late William J.

MAX SHACHTMAN,

editorial response. 5. Zionism and the British Lionby Ben Herman.

by David Cowles. Those who wish to be sure of obtaining the August issue should place their order at once. The subscription rate is \$2.00 per year: single copies 20 cents. Address all communications to the New In-

Krivitsky Tells of G.P.U. Tortures

ternational, 116 University Place.

New York, N. Y.

(Continued from page 1)

"At the end of the third day he asked to see Smirnov. I gave the office. Their meeting overpowered me. They embraced. The two of them wept. Mratchkovsky was Smirnov he said: 'Ivan Nikitich, let us do what they demand. It is necessary.'

"Smirnov refused, saying: 'I have nothing to confess to them; I have never fought against the power of the soviets: I have never been a terrorist: I have never

wished to kill anyone. Mratchkovsky urged him, but braced each other. Smirnov was led away. Mratchkovsky again became irritable and once more

spoke of Stalin as a traitor. "On the fourth day, he signed what he was to confirm before the tribunal. I returned to my home, and for a week I was not

"That, Krivitsky, was the inter-

rogation of Mratchkovsky."

SOCIALIST APPEAL

Vol. II-No. 28 Saturday, July 9, 1938

Published every week by the SOCIALIST APPEAL PUBLISHING ASS'N at 116 University Place, New York, N. Y. Telephone: National Office: ALgonquin 4-8547

Subscriptions: \$2.00 per year; \$1.00 for six months. Foreign: \$2.50 per year, Bundle order 3 cents per copy. Single copies 5 cents. All checks and money orders should be made out to the Socialist Appeal.

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

MAX SHACHTMAN Editor

HAROLD ROBERTS FRANK GRAVES Associate Editors

S. STANLEY Business Manager

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

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 la-

bor'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, withea 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 bloodsucking 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

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 authoritiesto say nothing of the Mexican people as a whole -would receive such a proposal in the proper

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 elec-

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 meansas 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 unionbuilding. It is also the period of maintaining and consolidating a powerful, constructive, wideawake 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.

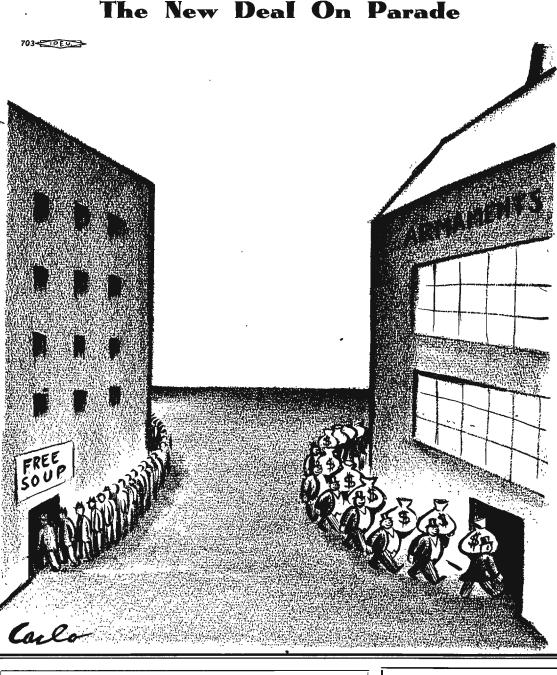
Aliens "who seek American benefits in the form of relief should either indicate their allegiance to the United States or they should be de-

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 Fardsbengle, 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!



Jersey City

Lesson and Warning

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

Fight Cannot Be Delegated

But it would be adventuristic 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 steeled 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. ruptcy of Austro-Marxism.

Astoria Meeting

Our comrades held their position at the corner of Steinwav 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

Death Claims Otto Bauer in irrefutable condemnation of the bloody Bonapartist regime in the trine but from the viewpoint of French Exile

(Continued from page 1)

compromise with Dollfuss, when volume. the latter had already taken the necessary measures to crush the proletariat and its party. As a Lyons versus Sinclair defense corps were taken by surprise and, despite their magnificent heroism, succumbed to the clerical fascists.

THE CONFERENCE AT EVIAN

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

symptom of its social decay and political reaction. Capitalism, which in its prime promoted the free interchange of goods, culture, and population among the nations of the earth, nowadays elevates economic, political, and immigration barriers between the nations in proportion to the deepening of its decay.

Revolutionary socialists must everywhere fight for unrestricted immigration into their countries, and especially for the right of asylum for all victims of reaction. This demand, which is not likely to be raised, let alone even partially realized, by anyone at Evian, is the indispensable prerequisite for alleviating the refugee problem.

The most persecuted people among the refugees are the revolutionists. Harried by the authorities everywhere, deprived of their livelihood, denied citizenship, they are in constant danger of deportation to the fascist countries they have fled. Denied aid by the bourgeois and Stalinist-controlled agencies, they have none to help them but their fellow fighters for socialism.

While the powers confer at Evian, the American Fund for Political Prisoners and Refugees is conducting a national campaign for these working-class victims. A contribution to that Fund is the most practical way of bringing immediate relief to the revolutionary exiles.

Hoodlums Assail

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.

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

he admitted that down to the last

result, the workers and their

The personal courage Bauer dis-Bauer but in the tragic bank-

in climbing on the patriotic band- struggle of the classes lies at the urging those same workers to the

of their exploiters.

threat of German militarism!

imperialist shambles for the profit

Belief Versus Evidence

Sinclair, presumably, derives a ism?" should be a good start. handsome income from Stalin's

A Historic Document | State Publishing House. A vested interest in Stalinism would repre-NOT GUILTY. Report of the sent a host of shining reasons Commission of Inquiry into the why Sinclair should defend the Charges Made Against Leon bloody regime in the Soviet Union. Trotsky in the Moscow Trials. He does not pause to think what xv + 422 pp. New York. Harper would happen to a book of his & Brothers, \$2.50 (At the Labor | that would be critical of the Book Shop, 28 East 12th St., N. Stalin regime. This smug endorser of the blood purges might, however, reflect on the fact that none of Andre Gide's latest writn August, 1936, and the trial of ings are obtainable in Stalin's Radek-Piatakov in January, 1937, paradise.

BOOKS FOR WORKERS

Y.C., paper covers, \$1.00).

The trial of Zinoviev-Kamenev

have passed into history as mile-

stones along the road of degener-

ation of the first workers' state

under the Bonapartist regime of

The extirpation of the leaders

of Russian Bolshevism marked a

high point in the counter-revolu-

tionary development of the Soviet

bureaucracy. All the efforts of

Stalin's totalitarian press to con-

ceal its true meaning will, as

A Historic Verdict

The report, embodying the re-

sults of many months of pain-

staking, 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 crim-

inals that they were forced to

represent themselves as being,

were tragic victims of Stalin's

These conclusions were pub-

frame-up system.

headed by John Dewey.

Overwhelming Evidence

truth about the Moscow trials

will reach any other conclusion

could have arrived at no other

labor movement everywhere, and

especially the labor movement in

Soviet Union, an eternal bar sin-

Rand School Press. 25 cents.

F. G.

heretofore, prove unavailing.

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 Tzar. For those persecuted and murdered by Stalin he has not a word to say. There is the measure of a sentimental "socialist!"

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 lished months ago in summarized form. Now they are available in current problems and advanced full in this volume, together with aspects of socialist policy has a digest and analysis of all the meant that up to now the reformevidence upon which the Com- ists have pre-empted the field of mission based its findings. It is cheap popular pamphlets which not possible, in the space of a set forth the elementary notions brief review, to give anything like of the socialist philosophy. For an adequate description of this the worker who wants to know book, which is a companion vol- what socialism is, before entering ume to "The Case of Leon Trot- upon a consideration of more absky," wherein was contained the struse questions, there has been transcript of testimony and evi- little that one could furnish since dence taken in Mexico by a pre- the publication of Engels' "Socialliminary commission of inquiry ism Utopian and Scientific," other than the usual essays on Fabian socialism by Laidler or the tracts But this much can be said: No put out by the Old Guard socialone reading this volume with a democrats when they were still in conscientious desire to learn the

control of the Socialist Party. The new pamphlet by Albert Goldman is the first published. than that the Dewey Commission which answers the question "What is Socialism?" on the basis verdict than it did. The evidence of the real problems of today and supporting the verdict is so over- from the standpoint of revoluwhelming as to preclude the least tionary Marxism. That in itself is doubt as to its correctness. For enough to indicate why it should this reason, "Not Guilty" will be be in the hands of every question-

of immeasurable value to the ing worker. A Concrete Approach

The three lectures were origin-America, where militants are cur- ally delivered before a study rently battling the Stalinist union- group of trade union workers in wreckers and their frame-up Chicago, and it is one of the characteristics of the pamphlet It stands as a permanent and that it approaches the question irrefutable condemnation of the not from the side of abstract docthe workers' experie ister on the disreputable house of problems. Goldman begins by Stalin, a sharp weapon which the posing the three major problems revolutionary militants can use facing the workers: unemployagainst labor's most vicious ment and insecurity, the low enemy — the Communist Party. standard of living which exists Need it be said?—every militant under capitalism for the masses minute, he sought to arrive at a must read — and possess — this even in the best of times, and war. It goes on to show how socialism would solve these prob-

In simple terms he sketches the TERROR IN RUSSIA? Two socialist answer to the basic ques-Views — Upton Sinclair and tions: what the profit system is Eugene Lyons. 63 pp. New York.
Rand School Press, 25 cents.

and why it leads to the subjection of the working class; the cause of unemployment and crises; why Revolutionists will not be sur- capitalism must engage in a murprised to discover in Upton Sin- derous imperialist war; how played during the 1934 civil war clair an ardent endorser of socialism would raise the standcould not efface the perfidious Stalin's bloody purges. The "idealard of living of the masses. Is political course he had followed istic" socialist muck-raker of the socialism contrary to "human all his life, and which ended not first decade of the present cenonly in a personal tragedy for tury, who waxed indignant over "democracy" and thereby gain the savage persecution and ex- what we want? Goldman answers ploitation of America's workers, with a clear explanation of the and was moved thereby to write Marxist philosophy of why things such novels as "The Jungle" and happen in present-day society, "King Coal," found no difficulty emphasizing throughout that the

wagon in the World War and bottom of the question. Applying Principles More than half the pamphlet,

however, deals with the applica-He finds the Moscow trials and | tion of socialist principles to actexecutions no more revolting than ual problems of the day—the Popthe world war slaughter. They ular Front, united front, what are even desirable as a means of kind of party is needed by the 'preserving" the workers' state in workers, the Communist and Russia—just as the world war Socialist Parties, revolutionary was desirable "to make the world internationalism, etc. Above all is safe for democracy" against the emphasized the question of the present situation of the Soviet Union, which to so many workers Sinclair turns not a hair at stands as a question mark over yons' smashing exposure of the whole ideal of the socialist Stalin's frame-ups and the hor- society; and the author fulfills his rible counter-revolutionary regime promise "to show the reasons why upon which they throw such a the situation in the Soviet Union baleful light. Evidence? Sinclair is so contrary to the theories and is simply not interested in it. ideals of socialism, and that con-Enough for him is his belief ditions in the Soviet Union, inthat the Bolsheviks would have stead of disproving socialist let the G.P.U. agents tear them to theories, actually confirm them." pieces shred by shred before they As is true of most attempts to would have confessed to actions compress an explanation of social-

which they had not committed." ism in a small number of pages, Countering Lyons' showing that some points are over-simplified the Soviet Union under Stalin has (for example, the section on the become a stifling intellectual de- cause of crises) and others are sert of conformity, Sinclair cites treated in too abstract a manner. the fact that translations of his In any case, a whole series of elebooks have been published in mentary propaganda pamphlets is hundreds of thousands of copies- needed along the lines of this one. and are actually circulated. Thus The success of "What is Social-