

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

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

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

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

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

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

Build Workers' Defense Guards!

WESTWOOD, Calif. — Armed and deputized vigilantes last week drove striking lumberworkers and their families from this "company" sawmill town, climaxing a night of terror with an attack on the strikers' picket line that resulted in the shooting of one and a horrible beating for 30 others.

More than 1000 men, women and children camped on the highway between Westwood and Red Bluff, 80 miles west of here, as police of the latter town refused to permit the homeless sawmill workers to remain in the town. The harried strikers were permitted to return, one at a time, to Westwood in order to retrieve their belongings.

Strike Against Wage-Cut
When a wage cut of 17 1/2 per cent was instituted by the Red River Lumber Company, which owns this town lock, stock and barrel, members of the C.I.O. of America called a strike and successfully closed down the sawmill, one of the largest in the world and the town's only industry.

As the strike held firm and an attempt to reopen the mill with members of the company union, called the "Industrial Employees Union," failed, company agents aroused a lynch spirit amongst the non-union residents, many of them recently imported with just such a contingency in view.

At 1 A.M. the morning of July 13, organized groups of vigilantes began systematically visiting the homes of union members. Some were given an hour to get themselves and their families out of town. Others were routed out of their houses and herded at gun's point to the town limits and forced to flee.

Mob Attacks Pickets
At 6 A.M. the town siren sounded a prearranged signal for a general attack on the picket line. A mob of more than 1,000 marched on the picket lines, swinging pick handles, axes, knives and other weapons, and overpowered the striking unionists. Under the direction of the town constable fire hoses were turned on the pickets, rendering them helpless before the brutal blows of the vigilantes.

With many of the union lumberjacks forced to flee with their families during the night, and the strikers' picket line crushed, the mob took over the town and proceeded to terrorize the remaining union members. Armed with rifles, 800 men patrolled the streets, searched out every worker even suspected of belonging to the

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East Side Labor to Hold Housing Parade

The East Side Workers Housing Committee has set plans under way for the holding of a parade through the lower East Side of New York on Saturday, July 30. Participating will be members of the S.W.P., YPSL, Workers Alliance Local 15, other Progressive locals of the W.A.A., United Handicapped Workers of America, and members and sympathizers of other labor organizations.

The Committee is planning to issue 10,000 leaflets to be distributed at the parade to draw attention and support to the fight for better housing. Also, plans are under way to approach trade unions for endorsement of the program and aims of the Committee in preparation for calling a future conference of labor to broaden the fight for better housing.

COURTS CRACK DOWN AGAIN ON N. Y. STRIKERS

Labor's Right Mere "Privileges," Says Jersey Judge

NEW YORK.—Following on the heels of the wave of injunctions issued against union picketing by Justices Cotillo, Levy, McCoey in New York recently, new judicial attacks were made here against labor unions last week.

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

The decision was termed unprecedented by labor and liberal circles and comparable only to the decision in the case of the Danbury haters, handed down back in 1903. That decision, affecting union haters in the town of Danbury, Connecticut, resulted in a law suit in which the United Hatters union of the A. F. of L., in spite of twelve years of legal contest, had to pay \$252,000 in damages, the homes of 200 workers being attached for years while the union was raising the money.

Union attorneys are preparing for a legal battle. The experience of the Danbury haters should, however, warn the Busch workers that a court fight will hardly yield them satisfaction. The stand of the capitalist judiciary was sufficiently illuminated last week in another case, to serve as an additional warning.

In a decision prohibiting "secondary" picketing, Vice Chancellor Major Leon Berry of Toms River, New Jersey, maintained that free speech was really a privilege inferior, under the law, to such "inherent rights" as "acquiring and protecting property."

The decision was handed down against members of Local 66 of Furniture Workers Union, a C.I.O. affiliate, to restrain them from distributing circulars and carrying on other picketing activities in the vicinity of stores that buy goods from the Metropolitan Upholstery Company in Newark.

In speaking as frankly as he did while handing down this decision, Berry merely affirmed what intelligent workers have always known. Namely, that capitalist law is based upon private property and that in the protection of private property rights, the human rights of workers are, in Berry's own words, "qualified constitutional rights." In other words, when the welfare of the bosses' profits is endangered, the law regards it as a matter of

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Auto Union Threatened By Split As Wreckers Force Fight For Power

Unscrupulous Tactics of Stalinists Paralyze Militant Union: Lewis Intervention Danger

BULLETIN

Following the expulsion of their stooge, George F. Addes, former Secretary-Treasurer, from the United Automobile Workers Union, the Stalinist union wreckers have been speeding their campaign to bring about the collapse of this most militant and most progressive of C.I.O. unions. After a whirlwind move to bring pressure upon John L. Lewis, chairman of the C.I.O., to intervene in the affairs of the Auto union—in the course of which they appear to have garnered only some purely verbal concessions from the C.I.O. chief—they are announcing veiled plans for a rump convention in the near future. No shabby trick, no reactionary union-splitting maneuver, is too low for these professional rule-or-ruin misleaders of the labor movement.

In self-protection, President Martin and the majority of the General Executive Board of the union have had to resort to emergency measures—crude in many instances, but unavoidable, given the character of the struggle and the background of the union as well as the past policies of its leadership—to save themselves from the threatening ruin of the organization planned by the Stalinist wrecking crew.

Locals Taken Over
In the Tarrytown, New York, local of the U.A.W., the Stalinist officers and their allies were kicked out, under the direction of Bert Harris, representative of the Executive Board, last week. The books and property of the Aills-Chalmers local of the U.A.W. in Milwaukee, Wisconsin, were seized by executive board representatives under the guidance of George Klebler, president of the District Council of the union. Klebler was appointed temporary administrator of the Aills-Chalmers unit.

Apparently, the union leadership is not resigned to the prospect of the "capture" of their organization by the Communist Party bureaucrats. As appears from the article following below, they are not only taking the practical steps dictated by the tactics of the disrupters but are also carrying on an educational campaign to protect the progressive membership of the union from a dictatorial regime under the blessings of John L. Lewis as well as from an outright split machinated by the Stalinists.

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TRIP ACROSS COUNTRY HAS POLITICAL AIM

President Adds to Party Prestige By Tour

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

In spite of Howard Hughes' lack of consideration in grabbing the headlines for a number of days, Roosevelt had good reason to be pleased with the results of his tour. Flushed with the recent rise in the stock market and the findings of the latest Gallup and Fortune polls, the turn-out of the crowds and the attitudes of the local politicians showed Roosevelt that he is still holding the whip hand.

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

Understanding that the pressure of the double depression is driving inexorably toward new political alignments in the United States, Roosevelt is compelled to maneuver both to keep within the controlling group of the Democratic Party itself, and, in addition, to maintain within its folds any mass tendencies toward Third Party or Labor Party action.

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

Intervenes in Primaries
In pursuit of this aim, Roosevelt utilized the tour to intervene skillfully in a number of the State Primaries; cautiously tak-

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Trotskyist Leader Seized In Paris; Taken To Spain

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

FORGED LETTER POINTS TO FRAMEUP

(Cable to the Socialist Appeal)

PARIS, July 18.—Rudolph Klement, secretary of the Bureau of the Fourth International, has been kidnapped from Paris by the G.P.U.

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

Prior to his retirement for the night, he sent a cablegram to the American section of the International—the Socialist Workers Party—informing it of the discussions that had just taken place.

The next afternoon, he was seen collecting his mail, and from that moment on none of his comrades or friends laid eyes on him again in Paris.

Strange Letter
Friday evening, July 15, one of the leaders of the Internationalist Workers Party, the French Trotskyist organization, received a most peculiar letter, or more accurately, a carbon copy of a letter ostensibly sent by Klement to Leon Trotsky in Mexico.

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

The communication stated, most unexpectedly for all those acquainted with Klement, that he was breaking with the Fourth International, on the grounds that it was impotent, because of its alleged "objective collaboration with the fascists," but declared that the undersigned promised not "to make a public exposure" of the Fourth International. In face of these statements, the letter to "Mr. Trotsky" was couched in surprisingly friendly terms.

All the circumstances surrounding the letter, as well as the letter itself, immediately aroused the suspicion and fears of Klement's comrades in Paris.

No Previous Sign
Up to the time of his disappearance, Klement had not given the slightest sign of any differences with the organization which he served in such a prominent and responsible capacity. In fact, less than twenty-four hours before he vanished from Paris, he had, as stated above, sent an important cablegram to New York.

The letter, moreover, was typewritten in German, as was also the signature "Rudolph Klement," which, in turn, was countersigned in ink with Klement's pen-name—an entirely unprecedented procedure on his part. In addition, the date-line on the letter was typed off as "July 1938," leaving the actual day—"14"—to be filled in by hand. His comrades immediately concluded that the letter had been typed out in advance by Klement's kidnapers, and that the date and signature, if

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

After laboring for several weeks, the Intergovernmental Committee on Political Refugees gave birth to a mouse. Before adjourning, it set up an independent continuous committee which is scheduled to start work August 3rd in London under American direction. The committee's scope will be limited to assisting German refugees only.

As foretold, the actions of this conference of the world's mightiest powers mocked their preliminary pretensions of solving this social problem. The conference was converted by the powers into an auxiliary agency for exerting diplomatic pressure upon Germany and for appeasing the powerful pressure of public opinion upon the participating governments. As little was done as was consistent with saving their faces.

The N. Y. Times itself placed a low estimate upon the accomplishments of the conference. "It cannot be said that the conference solved the problem. It did not find a landing place for the thousands of refugees cast upon the world by the policy of the German Government. Except by a few Central and South American States, no doors were thrown open to the involuntary exiles whose fate must now be determined by nations other than their own. All the delegates professed a sincere desire to do what they could, but none offered to relax the quotas and restrictions that every country has put on immigration."

Although the conference did not open any doors, it let a thin ray of light shine through by vaguely promising to extend the scope of its work some time in the future.

The terrible plight of the Jewish and anti-fascist exiles has been little relieved by the events at Evian. All the greater is the responsibility of the militants in the American labor movement to aid their suffering comrades across the Atlantic. That means support, and more support, to the current campaign of the American Fund for Political Prisoners and Refugees.

Socialist Appeal Needs Your Aid!

EMERGENCY CALL FOR FUNDS

TO ALL COMRADES AND FRIENDS:

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

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

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

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

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

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

But right now we're faced with the job of raising sufficient money for next week's issue. Frankly, only if a real amount comes in will there be a paper next week. We urge all branches and locals to immediately make every effort to pay up on their back bills. We urge all comrades and sympathizers to rush contributions to us. So serious is this emergency that we request all funds to be sent via Air-Mail. The Appeal must not miss an issue!

—The Business Manager.

Gang Disrupts Astoria SWP Rally; Cops Look On

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

By FRANK GRAVES

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

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

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

Police "Protection"

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

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

Object Lesson in Democracy

On their way to the elevated station a block away, we were followed and "protected" by a solitary policeman who had watched the rowdies assault our meeting without attempting to put a stop to their hooliganism.

Walking between our comrades and the yelling mob which followed them, he kept the hoodlums at a distance of a few yards, but this did not discourage them from hurling fruit missiles at the departing S.W.P.'ers.

This guardian of "law and order" showed by his whole attitude that he was in sympathy with the aggressive mob and was doing only the minimum necessary to prevent an outright mob attack on our hopelessly outnumbered comrades.

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

Defense Guard Needed

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

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

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

Material for Fascism

Who are the rowdies? They are, for the most part, youthful people of both sexes, but a majority of them are young men in their 'teens or early 'twenties—the type of youth which has not known the taste of a job since leaving school. They are the New Deal unemployed, fast degenerating into declassed slum proletarians of the most vicious type. This is the social material upon which fascism draws for the creation of its storm troops. The Astoria hoodlums show by their conduct that they have already fallen to a considerable degree under the ideology of fascism as expounded by George U. Harvey, who proudly boasts of his admiration for Mayor Frank Hague, the embryonic Hitler of

Jersey City, and his method of "handling labor"—the method of outright proscription and suppression of labor's hard-won rights.

Stalinists Also Attacked

Not only the S.W.P. but the Stalinists, too, are finding it impossible to obtain a hearing on the streets of Astoria. A Communist Party meeting, despite the patriotic sooth-saying of its public representatives, was broken up by the same hoodlums at the same spot (Second and Ditmars Avenues) the night previous to the S.W.P. meeting. To the fascist-minded hoodlums ALL street meetings are "suspect" as being of foreign origin. Respectable people, i.e., capitalist politicians, hold their meetings in halls.

The experiences in Astoria point to the growing danger of an advancing fascist movement in the United States. The continuing and deepening social crisis, throwing hundreds of thousands of the youth on to the scrap-heap of unemployment each year, is providing fascism with its human material, its army of the future. This army awaits only an organizer with the gifts of a demagogue—a Hitler.

If the labor movement proves unable to organize these elements and draw them into the class war for the overthrow of capitalism, which has reduced them to their present social plight, they will become recruits in the army of fascism.

The contagion spreads. The fascist peril is here right now. Jersey City—Newark—and now Astoria! Hague and Harvey! Only last week the Flatbush (Brooklyn) Chamber of Commerce addressed a letter to Mayor LaGuardia and Police Commissioner Valentine "respectfully demanding" that future outdoor mass meetings scheduled for Flatbush Avenue and Albee Road be held elsewhere.

Communists, Nazis, Friends of Spain, Catholics and non-Catholics draw as many as 2,000 spectators who create a nuisance and hinder business," the letter declared. Thus Brooklyn is in line to follow Hague and Harvey.

Right now is needed a workers' defense organization to defy and contest every attempt to curtail the rights of free speech anywhere — and workers' defense squads to protect working-class meetings from fascist assaults. There is no other way to halt the black plague of fascism.

ANNOUNCEMENTS

Insertions in this column are 25 cents for five lines. Copy must be in at the APPEAL office before 6 o'clock Monday evening.

NEW YORK

NOCHE DE LA FIESTA. Spanish Dancing, Entertainment, Beer. Saturday Eve., July 23, Terrace Beer Garden, 1110 Second Ave. (58-59th St.) Auspices Latin-American Committee. Admission, 25 cents.

PENNY, PENNY, WHO'S GOT A PENNY? Rivington St. adapts itself to the accelerated decline of American capitalism. Merely eleven pennies admits you to its PENNY PARTY. Join the Rollicking Rivington Revelers this Saturday night. Dancing for those who can bear it. Wear the coolest thing you own or can borrow. Refreshments for pennies. Entertainment for nothing. Start saving your pennies now for the PENNY PARTY for the Poor (and rich, too, if you know any) this Saturday night at Lower East Side, 159 Rivington Street, at 8:30 P.M.

ANOTHER CITY-WIDE AFFAIR! What could be better for a summer night! A cool beer garden, lively music, dancing—and plenty of good beer. Hold open Saturday night, July 30, for another night at the Terrace Beer Garden, 1110 Second Avenue (near 59th). Auspices of Local New York, admission, 25 cents.

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BUILD THE SOCIALIST APPEAL!

FORWARD TO CIRCULATION OF

10,000!

Skoglund Elected President of 544

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

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

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

TRIP ACROSS COUNTRY HAS POLITICAL AIM

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

At the same time the time-tested Roosevelt demagoguery was directed over the heads of the local politicians to the workers and farmers. His wayside speeches were crowded with the glittering generalities of "the more abundant life," with social insurance and dams and conservation and wages and hours and the praises of "the people." Since the only large-scale and organized national opposition to Roosevelt is provided by the Republican Party, and since the policy of the Republican Party promises only to reduce the miserable relief and pitiful wages and hours standards and shamefully inadequate conservation and social insurance provisions, the generalities of Roosevelt still have power to move the masses in spite of the glaring and brutal conflict between them and the realities of the current crisis.

One other important card was pulled from the Roosevelt hat during the course of this tour, and we may be certain that we have not seen the last of this one. At Pueblo, Colorado, a petition signed by 4,000 workers called upon Roosevelt to get ready to run for a third term. A few days later, a similar sentiment was publicly expressed by a group of the C.I.O. leaders in Ohio. Roosevelt has carefully avoided comment upon either of these summations.

Third Term Talk

Roosevelt will find this third-term talk a handy weapon, whatever his actual intentions—and it seems clear that he has not yet decided whether or not to make a bid to break the precedent. For the fear that he may run for a third term will serve to soften his inner-party opponents, and to make them ready for almost any concession.

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

OHIO

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

CAMPS

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

OHIO UNIONS TO DEMAND BETTER RELIEF SCALES

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

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

AKRON, Ohio.—A campaign to provide for supplementary relief for W.P.A. and industrial employes along the lines of the "Minneapolis plan" was begun here this week by the Akron C.I.O. council and Goodyear Local, United Rubber Workers of America.

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

Praise Local 544

The campaign was announced in the Summit County Labor News, which gave much credit to the Minneapolis Teamsters Unions for initiating the system of supplementary relief on a sound basis.

Over 110,000 of the 225,000 inhabitants of Akron are on one kind of relief or another, and thousands of rubber workers are working less than two days a week, thereby making a system of supplementary relief indispensable for the sheer existence of the people.

The plan of the Akron unionists was indicated in a resolution passed by Goodyear Local and the C.I.O. council. It reads:

Text of Resolution

Whereas, The present amount of wages received by W.P.A. workers and by part-time industrial employes is not sufficient to meet the minimum standard of living needs, especially of large families, and

Whereas, This grave situation

has been solved mainly in one city, Minneapolis, as indicated in a recent issue of the Northwest Organizer, official Teamsters Joint Council publication, and

Whereas, The solution was achieved through the introduction of a system of supplementary relief for any company or W.P.A. employe whose wages were insufficient to permit a family to have a minimum standard of living whose cost was determined by a union survey, and

Whereas, Under the system of supplementary relief, the employe of either a private concern or of the W.P.A. obtains in cash the difference between his wages and the amount needed for the minimum standard, as shown by the attached clipping from the Northwest Organizer, therefore,

Be it resolved, That we go on record in favor of such a system of supplementary relief, and that we seek to institute a similar system in Akron, in conjunction with the proper authorities, and that we urge the entire labor movement and the Workers Alliance to join with this union in the campaign.

The campaign is not being made as a substitute for jobs, or adequate wages. Union leaders see it as a good supplementary move to fight against the effects of the social crisis and to place the burden on the rich.

Already, relief officials have announced giving of more liberal allowances, and of permitting part time industrial employes to obtain W.P.A. jobs or relief while holding down their regular jobs.

New Orleans Police Fight C.I.O. Unions

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arrested. He announced that no leaflets not approved by the Mayor would be permitted distribution.

Cops are busy at their usual strike-breaking tasks, with search parties accompanied by police as guards. New Orleans is almost completely without routine police services, such as traffic direction, as the whole department is concentrated on the brutal business of crushing the C.I.O. union movement.

Fight Legal Battles

With many of the strike leaders in hiding or in jail, and rank and file strikers afraid to appear on the streets because of the certainty of arrest, defense of the workers has been conducted almost wholly on the judicial plane. Two attorneys are busy night and day, attempting to protect the strikers according to their "legal rights."

In the face of the lawless activity of the police, acting on the direct orders of the boss-owned city and state government, the legal-minded defense attorneys are preparing a comprehensive document listing the specific violations of the law by the official thugs of New Orleans.

Philadelphia

EXAMPLE AND SYMPTOM

An Editorial

In the face of economic decline and rising reaction, the militant unity of the labor movement is imperative. The example of Philadelphia, therefore, should inspire workers everywhere.

When the city councilmen of Philadelphia persisted in playing ghoulish politics with the suffering of the unemployed, the C.I.O. and the A. F. of L. leadership buried their differences. Together, they led hundreds of workers on the City Council last week. Together they brushed aside the police. And together with the workers they "stormed the City Council Chamber—with demands" for jobs for Philadelphia's unemployed.

Once there, the workers denounced the councilmen. Before they left, James L. McDevitt, president of the Pennsylvania Federation of Labor and head of the joint committee of the C.I.O. and A.F. of L. set up to get prompt action, warned the councilmen, "Continued refusal to take action to safeguard the \$0,000 WPA jobs available to this city might have unfortunate results."

Symptom and Example

Philadelphia is both a symptom and an example.

It is a symptom that the workers cannot tolerate a split labor movement. Pennsylvania, the most industrialized state in the country, has the greatest proportion of unemployed, due to the economic decline. It is no accident, then, that the unity of the C.I.O. and the A.F. of L. should take practical form in the struggle against unemployment. In the face of the suffering jobless, all other quarrels are trivial. Only the unity of the labor movement can wrest jobs for the jobless from the government. Any bureaucrat who stands against this unity will find himself isolated and soon forsaken.

This unity can be forged today—now. Philadelphia stands as an example.

Yipsels Announce Membership Meet

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

As the meeting is to be held for internal discussion, admission is by red card only. The meeting will be called to order sharply at 8:30 P.M.

COURTS CRACK DOWN AGAIN ON N. Y. STRIKERS

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course that the workers' rights must be abrogated.

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

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

It is gratifying to see that the Cotillo injunction has not stopped the Busch strikers. Their solidarity remains unimpaired. Picket lines continue to roam through the streets of New York's business district.

That responsible labor representatives are aware of the implications of the Busch workers' fight insofar as the whole union movement is concerned, is indicated by the expressions of solidarity coming into the Optical Workers Union every day as well as by the conferences called by the union and attended by more than 200 union delegates last week. In line with this spirit of solidarity, a Labor's Anti-Injunction Committee has been formed.

At a meeting of this Committee, addressed by Alan Haywood, regional director of the C.I.O., and other leading unionists, a resolution was adopted calling for agitation against the Cotillo writ by meetings, radio and mass picketing. To assure the movement against the injunctions of the greatest success, especial stress will have to be laid on mass picketing. Every labor union should be involved in mass picketing demonstrations. Only by a powerful show of labor solidarity in action can the bosses and their judges be brought to their knees.

ASK FOR THE APPEAL AT YOUR NEWSSTAND

Auto Union Threatened With Split By Wreckers

(Continued from page 1)

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

Independence Threatened

The intervention of John L. Lewis into the auto union battle would mark the end of the autonomous and independent existence of the most militant union organization in this country. Lewis would only act as a receiver, in order to turn the union over to the Stalinists at the first favorable opportunity. That Lewis is not averse to turning unions over to the Stalinists, when he thinks that they are in a position of power, is attested to by the fact that he did not hesitate to hand over the West Coast C.I.O. movement to Harry Bridges, who has since been wrecking and discrediting the C.I.O. organizations on the Pacific Coast.

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

Stalinists Prepare Split

After the Ades expulsion, the Stalinists began active preparations for a rump convention of the Auto Workers Union. Such reckless proportions did their splitting campaign assume that a great dissatisfaction arose inside the Socialist Party against continuing the bloc with the Stalinists.

Recently S. P. members have registered a sharp change on their previous policy. At the

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

It must be freely admitted that the Martin administration has not facilitated the path of the S. P. or other union groups. Ever since the present battle in the union, the Martin leadership has remained, by and large, unmindful and ignorant of the actual desires and wishes of the rank and file membership. It has never clearly stated and certainly never clearly demonstrated, what kind of unionism it stood for and was prepared to establish. It has never put through a bold campaign to win the membership to its program and to condemn the reactionary program of the Communist Party, but has tried to solve this complicated task by premature and unexplained disciplinary measures against the opposition.

Martin Begins Campaign

The fact is the Martin group is not only composed of the most variegated and heterogeneous kinds of people, but includes red baiters as well. Only during the past few days has Martin begun an educational campaign to expose the Stalinists to the membership and to explain what kind of a union he proposes to build. He has already spoken at some major local union meetings and made several radio addresses explaining the position of his administration. But one swallow doesn't make a summer. Surrounded as Martin is, by many opportunists, job-seekers and reactionaries, his speech will bear no relation to the acts of his administration, unless he makes a genuine attempt to unite all progressive elements around his twenty-point program concretized to the present situation.

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Trotskyist Leader Seized In Paris; May Be Spirited To Spain

(Continued from page 1)
recalled, but also the cases of Navaahine, former official in the Soviet embassy in Paris, who was shot down in cold blood in the Bois de Boulogne, because he was too well-informed about Stalinist illegal activities in France; the case of Ignace Reiss, former G.P.U. official who broke with the Stalinists and joined the Fourth International, and was subsequently lured to his death by G.P.U. agents in Switzerland; and the more recent case of Leon Sedov, son of Leon Trotsky, who, it was established by Paris police, had his home under constant surveillance by G.P.U. emissaries, who tried to snare him in a trap laid in Strassburg and who, it is generally believed, perpetrated foul play resulting in his strange death after an operation performed upon him.

Portfolio Missing
Further significance is attached to the fact that two weeks before his mysterious disappearance, Klement reported to his comrades the fact that his portfolio, containing important documents, had been stolen by unknown persons who, by the very nature of Klement's work, could have been none other than operatives of the Stalinist Intelligence department.

The stealing of the portfolio indicates that the G.P.U. had been trailing Klement for some time and was aware of his residence and his movements.
Rudolph Klement joined the revolutionary movement while still very young and was one of the most devoted and ablest comrades in the Trotskyist movement, with which he was associated from the very beginning of his activity in Hamburg.

Was Long Active
While Leon Trotsky was in exile in Turkey, Klement served for some time as his private German secretary, and also as translator of many of Trotsky's writings. The young militant also began to develop an independent political and literary activity for which he became well-known in the movement of the Fourth International.

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

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

Public Warned
Every effort is being made by Klement's comrades in France to ascertain his exact present whereabouts and to delve into the manner in which the kidnapers seized and made off with him.

Meanwhile, the labor public is being warned against the possibility of a frame-up against the Trotskyists in Spain, amalgamated, as is Stalin's custom, with the familiar "fascist elements" and adorned with the usual "confessions." It is known that Stalin needs such a "demonstration trial," not only in Moscow, but right now in Spain, in order to explain away or to cover up the succession of military defeats that have been suffered by the Loyalists as a direct result of the Stalinist policies which now dominate the Valencia-Barcelona government. The numerous Fourth Internationalists, members and leaders of the POUM and of the anarchist movement who are now held in Loyalist dungeons are undoubtedly scheduled to serve as the victim of Stalin's frame-up lust.

The kidnaping of Rudolph Klement can be understood only in light of this despicable plan.

FRENCH LABOR PASSIVE ON BASTILLE DAY

Just how deadening the effect of the People's Front policy has been for the French laboring population is well illustrated by the character of this year's Bastille Day celebrations in Paris. Not only did the demonstrations on July 14 take place under the sign of the reactionary Anglo-French orientation, but the participation of the working masses, so marked in recent years under the Popular Front, was entirely lacking.

Whereas in previous years, the Tricolor waved side by side with red flags, this year it "seemed to have been dominated by the criss-cross pattern of the Union Jack," according to the Times correspondent. The coupling of the red flag with the Tricolor in the treacherous demonstrations of national unity arranged by the People's Front in the past has merely paved the way to the coupling of the flags of the two sated European imperialisms in their progress toward the new world slaughter. Thus, through the symbolism of the flags displayed is mirrored the whole perfidy of the Stalinist-reformist "line" for the French working class.

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

"Two years ago," writes the same Times correspondent, "it (the celebration) was held in the first flush of the upturned victory at the polls with Leon Blum as Premier. There was a great display of clenched fists and political animosity even to the extent of some disturbances. Last year there was less Popular Front and a far bigger display of military strength with Camille Chautemps as Premier. This year amid this prodigality of Anglo-French decorations there was a restricted but effective representation of the most modern and also the most picturesque elements in the army and with Edouard Daladier as Premier no political activity at all."

Separate Labor Parades
"How deep the change is," continues the same writer, "was best shown at the labor parade in the East End of the city during the afternoon. Two years ago it numbered hundreds of thousands, all with red banners singing the 'Internationale.' This year it was only a skeleton of that immense display of popular feeling and here was the most curious thing of all: there were no political speeches at the Place de la Nation (the scene of the labor parade) for this reason, that the leaders of the various Popular Front groups could not agree as to what they were to say . . ."

There, in a nutshell, is summed up the whole result of the Stalinist and reformist policy of the working class, paralyzation of labor's power of action, increasing discord instead of growing unity, subjugation of the interests of the proletariat to the needs of imperialist policy, self-imposed speechlessness in the face of mounting losses to the workers and in the face of an ever-growing war danger in which not even the much cherished Franco-Soviet alliance—in whose name all these crimes were committed—is safe from disruption. The fake "realism" of the People's Front is heading the French working class toward disaster. The fate of the entire European working class, of the world as a whole, rests on a rapid change to revolutionary realism in France.

Two Years of Civil War In Spain

SUMMING UP THE BALANCE-SHEET OF THE PEOPLE'S FRONT GOVERNMENT IN ITS "STRUGGLE FOR DEMOCRACY," AND THE RESULTS OF THE POLICIES FOLLOWED BY THE SOCIAL-DEMOCRATS, STALINISTS, ANARCHISTS AND THE P.O.U.M.

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

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

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

Men, Munitions at Franco's Command

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

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

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

People's Front Defends Capitalism

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

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

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

Fruits of the People's Front

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

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

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

Government Destroyed Militias

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

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

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

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

Loyalists Suppress Democracy

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

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

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

British and French Interests Rule

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

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

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

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

Leaders Continue Fatal Policy

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

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

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

Second International Impotent

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

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

Stalinist Bloodhounds Active

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

capitalism to a new social order.

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

Anarchists Display Bankruptcy

The anarchists in Spain were so powerful a force that an enormous responsibility rested on their shoulders. In no other country could they be or were they put to the same test as in Spain.

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

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

Events Teach Anarchists Nothing

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

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

Class Action Only Road

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

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

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

NOT GUILTY

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

The findings of the Commission headed by John Dewey, and its comprehensive analysis of the Moscow trials based upon the official records and its own hearings in Mexico City, Paris and New York, is now available.

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50 PICKETS INJURED IN NORTH CHICAGO POLICE ATTACK

As we go to press, the report comes of the brutal assault made upon 500 pickets of the C.I.O. on strike against the Chicago Hardware Foundry of North Chicago, by two hundred deputies armed with clubs and tear-gas.

How heavy the odds were against the peacefully picketing workers is indicated by the fact that at the end of a twenty-five minute attack by the police and deputies, more than 50 pickets, including six women, were overcome by the fumes from the tear-gas bombs; one woman was trampled in the scurrying of the

crowd; and only one deputy sheriff was slightly injured.

Seven of the pickets were jailed.

The striking hardware workers are all members of the Amalgamated Iron, Steel and Tin Workers of North America.

The police, at the service of the employers as usual, set up their lines along the full length of the company property, some two and a half blocks. They commanded the pickets to leave the grounds, but the workers, insisting on their rights, refused to comply with the orders of the

uniformed strike-breakers. The tear-gas attack followed.

Following on the heels of the Hague dictatorship in Jersey City, and the assaults on the C.I.O. in New Orleans, San Antonio, Newton (Iowa), and elsewhere, the bestial attack upon the North Chicago strikers gives added weight to the imperative necessity of labor everywhere uniting its militant strength in Labor Defense Guards, for the purpose of protecting its life and rights from the reactionary brutes of capitalism, in uniform or out.

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Ludlow Retreats

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

T.V.A. and War

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

The reality is far from being quite so idyllic. The T.V.A., like so many other Roosevelt-New Deal enterprises, is another cog in the vast, complex, carefully constructed war machine which the government has been erecting in preparation for the next slaughter of the peoples. The benevolent appearance of the T.V.A. is only a peace-time mask which is to be ripped

off at a moment's notice the minute war breaks out.

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

"Dr. Harry A. Curtis, T.V.A. chief chemist, explained to the Committee at nitrate plant No. 6 at Muscle Shoals that the plant, built during the World War, was now being used to produce concentrated fertilizers in connection with the T.V.A. farm improvement and soil conservation program, and was being kept in standard condition, so that it could be used to produce war materials.

"In case of war, he said, the plant could produce in a day twenty-seven tons of elemental phosphorus, used for incendiary bombs and smoke screens. He added that it has an 'enormous capacity' for that purpose."

It might be added further that the T.V.A. itself is only a huge smoke screen behind which the war-preparations organized by President Franklin ("Big Navy") D. ("I hate war") Roosevelt are taking place.

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

Watch Their Hands!

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

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

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

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

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

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

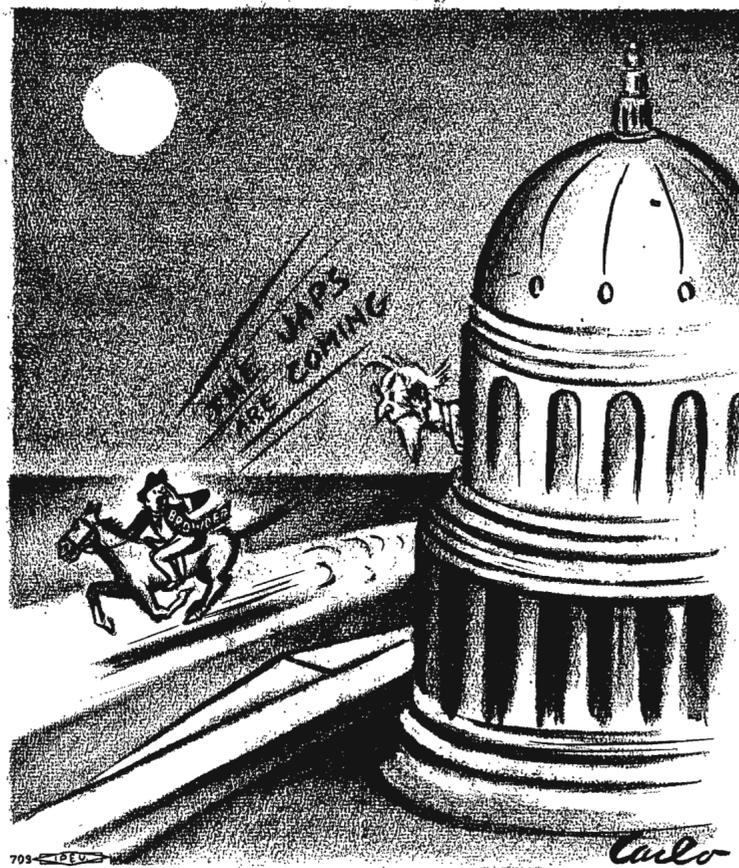
Sir John Simon, wrote the *Times* correspondent, spoke "with emotion such as he seldom allows himself in public speeches," and declared that "if we do not succeed and the world does not succeed in finding some way to end the folly of this everlasting expenditure on armaments, then, indeed, the future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

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

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

Eternal vigilance! Watch their hands—not their mouths!

Paul Revere . . . 1938!



Democracy and Communism

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

By M. J. OLGIN

(At its recent convention, the Communist Party adopted a new constitution which says that the "party opposes with all its power any clique, group, circle, faction or party which conspires or acts to subvert, undermine, weaken or overthrow any or all the institutions of American democracy." And in his formal statement to the McNaboe Commission, Earl Browder declared that while the Trotskyists and Lovestonites attributed to the Communist Party a position against capitalist democracy, the party was in fact always the staunchest advocate of this democracy.

How utterly hypocritical and mendacious the new Stalinist position is, may be seen from the quotations which we reprint below. They are taken from an official Communist Party pamphlet entitled "Why Communism?" by M. J. Olgin, second revised edition, issued by the Workers Library Publishers, in May 1935, that is, two years after Hitler came to power. The quotations are merely a statement by Olgin of the traditional Marxist and communist position, which has now been completely abandoned by the Stalinists.—Ed.)

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

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

State Exploiters' Weapon

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

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

on this very State and its laws. At a time when it is necessary for the workers to develop the will to power which shall ultimately crush the capitalist State and make the workers and farmers the ruling power in a State of their own making, the Socialists tell the workers that nothing of the kind is needed and that they have to remain within the legal limits prescribed for them by the ruling class. . . .

Revolution Only Answer

An extraordinary international Socialist Conference met in Paris at the end of August, 1933. The Socialist leaders discussed the question of fascism, the question of war and peace. Did they suggest any effective remedy against fascism? The only real remedy is a revolution of the working class to overthrow capitalism by first destroying the capitalist State. But the Socialist leaders were opposed not only to revolu-

tion: they were opposed even to the united front against war and fascism. The Socialist leaders again talked "democracy" instead of revolution. They talked League of Nations and disarmament conferences instead of a real struggle against war. What was the actual achievement of the Socialist conference? It spread illusions among the workers to the effect that by using the instrumentality of the capitalist State, they can abolish the evils of capitalist oppression and by using the instrumentality of capitalist international institutions like the League of Nations or the Hague Tribunal, they can abolish wars. . . .

We communists say that there is one way to abolish the capitalist State, and that is to smash it by force. To make Communism possible the workers must take hold of the State machinery of capitalism and destroy it.

The Case of Joseph Zack

An Editorial

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

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

The circumstances of Zack's planned deportation are what lifts the case far above the ordinary.

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

Broke With Communists Party in 1935

In 1935, Zack broke with the Stalinist party, joined the then Workers Party for a short time, and has since been active in small left-wing movements.

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

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

Able to Prove American Citizenship

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

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

The Browders Act in Silence

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

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

At the same time, his Department of Labor reports, each year, more people than are admitted under all the immigration quotas! That is a statistical fact. More than that, it now proposes to deport a U. S. citizen, solely because he is a revolutionary worker and does not suit the Stalinist machine in Moscow and on 13th Street.

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

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

Stock Market Rises; Basic Crisis Continues

By DAVE COWLES

The upward spurt on the stock market which began June 20, and has continued since, has had immediate reactions. Capitalist economists are adutter with hopes of a new prosperity. The capitalist press magnifies the spurt with front-page headlines, seizing upon it as proof that capitalism is capable of restoring prosperity. And already there is an answering echo of pious hope among untutored labor leaders, pink-tea liberals and plain, ordinary deceiving scoundrels in the ranks of the working class.

Responsible Wall Street investment houses are not so optimistic. As late as June 18, Poor's Investment Service wrote, "The stock market is gradually working itself toward a point from which a sizeable move may develop. Direction cannot be predicted with certainty, although the economic background suggests the downside." And their judgment of the economic background was that "Only in the January 1932-April 1933 interval of the Great Depression was business activity so low."

Economic Activity Falls

The fact that the stock market rose while economic activity fell indicates that the stock market no longer reflects the self-recuperative powers of capitalism. The present stock upsurge, for instance, did not begin June 20th. Actually, it began two and a half months before, in the opening days of April. From that time on it climbed slowly and waveringly until it began its sharp rise on Monday, June 20th. At no time did this rise reflect rising production and expanding business activity. Both these continued to decline. They gave decreasing profits in the present and even less hope of profits for the future. Such prospects could not sustain a falling market, much less stimulate a rising one. Looking only toward private industry, Poor's could see no justification for a rising stock market and concluded logically that "the economic background suggests the downside" in the stock market.

Were capitalism dependent upon itself for recovery, Poor's prediction would have come true. However, capitalism today is incapable of self-recovery. Today the great stimulant of recovery is government aid. In 1933, government aid in the form of pumping and credit expansion gave the impetus to recovery. The current crash began in the early months of 1937, when government aid dwindled away. Today, too, government spending and credit expansion have begun the work of recovery and excited the stock market with hopes of profit. The stock market, therefore, has become an indicator of hopes of profits based on government spending and not on the expansion of capitalism.

That this is true is proven beyond question if we compare the stock market trends with government spending. The stock market rise that began in April reflected increased government spending

that had begun in March. Between February and March, government spending for public construction in 37 states had increased from \$50,000,000 to little less than \$100,000,000. This fact is doubly important. As a user of capital goods, the construction industry is interwoven with practically all the durable goods industries, some of which are dependent upon it almost entirely for their market. Furthermore, as a disburser of purchasing power, construction activity distributes purchasing power in greater degree than average industries. And the purchasing power it distributes goes almost entirely into stimulating the consumption goods industries.

Indexes Rise

By April there were growing signs that the depression was scraping bottom, that government spending was taking hold and that recovery was around the proverbial corner. Some of the more important indicators of cyclical revival began to appear. The unadjusted index of automobile production began to rise slowly in February and continued upward into April. The unadjusted index of new passenger car sales rose over 50 percent between February and April. The index of total residential building contracts awarded rose almost 100 percent during the same interval. Net rail-way operating income, which declined very sharply during March to April 1937, smoothed out its decline during the same months of 1938. The most comprehensive indexes have either slowed up their decline or made slight upturns.

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

We gave the answer to these questions in the *Socialist Appeal*, over three months ago, when the Roosevelt "recovery and relief" program was accepted by Congress. What we said then is still true today and is worth repeating.

"At best, the program will bring a feverish recovery that will be short in duration, precipitate in decline, and at all times will press down the living standards of the workers and farmers. The public works program will employ a portion of those displaced from private industry by the current depression. The major portion, however, will still be unemployed. In addition, there will remain the 9,000,000 who were unemployed at the peak of economic activity in 1927. The housing program will increase employment in the building industry as well as in the auxiliary capital goods industries. However, all this will fall of its purpose unless private industry joins in the expansion. The Roosevelt administration realizes this. The purpose of de-stalinization of gold and the expansion of credit is to stimulate expansion in private industry by inflation.

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

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

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

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

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