"America's Permanent Depression"-New Series Begins This Week; See Page 4

Workers Of The World Unite!

Socialist Appeal

OFFICIAL WEEKLY ORGAN OF THE SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY

For The Fourth International!

VOL. II—No. 31 | Saturday, July 30, 1938 | 375 | Five Cents per Copy

SEAMEN FIGHT "FINK" HALLS

Stalinists Riot As Trial of Suspended Chiefs Begins in UAW

Stage Shameful Brawl to Discredit Proceedings; Switch Line After Lewis Fails to Intervene; Drop Rump Moves

But Danger to Union Is Mounting

DETROIT, July, 26.—Riotous scenes staged by organized Stalinist delegations marked the first day of the trial of the four suspended International officers of the United Automobile Workers of America. In a deliberate effort to set up a special tribunal to give an unofficial veto to the action of the regular International Trial Board, a deputation of friends of the suspended officers broke down the door and refused to allow the trial to proceed unless their participation was recognized.

The so-called "sit-down" to disrupt the trial proceedings, breaking out into fistfights and smearing the ugly situation over the front page of the capitalist press, came to an end after the Griswold Building was vacated through a misunderstanding of the "sit-downers."

There can be no two opinions on the meaning of the occurrence in the Griswold Building today. The union had been clearly informed by President Martin that the trial would be held in closed session. This was known weeks in advance. Irrespective of the merits of an open trial over a closed trial, the final decision on this matter rested with the Executive Board.

For their part, the Stalinists expressed no opinion on this matter one way or another. The specialists in frame-ups condemned the trial as a frame-up on the very day it was announced in the press, more than a month ago. Their attempt to force into the trial today an arbitrarily hand-picked group was aimed at discrediting the proceedings. The violent action was intended to prove that the rank and file didn't have a look-in. To any objective observer, the motives of the Stalinist riot are transparent through and through.

A Major Defeat

The mad rampage of the Stalinists at the opening of the trial corresponds directly with the beginning of defeats at the hands of the rank and file. At a meeting of all Executive Committees of local unions held here last Friday, a motion to call upon John L. Lewis to intervene in the auto union was defeated by a vote of 145 to 122. The temper of the rank and file auto workers was unmistakable. Three former members of the United Mine Workers related their experiences with John L. Lewis in Ohio and Illinois. They warned, on the basis of intimate knowledge, that the intervention of Lewis would mean the same kind of ruthless dictatorship which once trampled over the miners union. In desperation, the Stalinists retaliated by an attempt to gang up on John W. Anderson, militant Fleetwood member of the Executive Board of the West Side Local.

Disappointed at any immediate

(Continued on page 2)

G.O.P. CAMPAIGNS FOR DEMOCRAT

Two Boss Parties Unite to Back Reactionary

Powerful forces within the New York Republican Party are demanding Republican endorsement in the coming elections of Representative John J. O'Connor, present incumbent of the 16th Congressional District in Manhattan.

O'Connor is a Tammany Democrat, chairman of the House of Representatives Rules Committee. This is the most influential committee in the House. Through it, in the regular order of business, all proposed legislation passes before going to the floor of the House. By O'Connor's iron control it has during the past few years proved the most effective of all parliamentary instruments for the sabotage of progressive legislation.

Party Lines Blurred

The significance of the proposal for Republican endorsement of O'Connor lies in its dramatic attestation of the fact—observable also in a thousand other manifestations — that the political struggles in this country are now compelled to step outside the limits of the traditional party boundaries.

The conflicts now being unleashed under the pressure of the crisis no longer find the old setup of the Republican and Democratic parties a sufficient arena in which to work themselves out. In this sense, the proposal to give Republican endorsement to O'Connor is directly comparable to the Republican intervention to support Peterson against Benson in the Minnesota Farmer-

(Continued on page 2)

East Side Workers March for Housing

New York's East Side tenement districts will witness a parade on Saturday, July 30th by organizations affiliated to and endorsing the East Side Workers Housing Committee. The parade will open the fight for new housing projects in New York City and aim to enlist the support of thousands of low-paid and unemployed workers of the East Side.

Members of the Socialist Workers Party, Young People's Socialist League, Workers Alliance Local 15, other progressive locals of the W.A.A., United Handicapped Workers of America, the Polish Workers Club, and other labor organizations will carry the slogans and banners of the committee.

The parade will assemble at 159 Rivington Street at 1:30 P. M. and begin at 2 P. M. The following route will be followed: starting at Rivington and Clinton Streets, north on Clinton to Stanton Street, east to Avenue C, north to 11th Street, west to 2nd Avenue, south to Grand Street, east to Sheriff Street, north to Rivington Street, east to point where parade began.

All S.W.P. and Y.P.S.L. members are to report not later than 1:30 P. M., Saturday, July 30, at 159 Rivington st.

CALL GUARDSMEN IN IOWA STRIKE

NEWTON, Iowa. — Machine guns guarded the entrance of the Maytag washing machine factory and National Guardsmen patrolled the streets of Newton, under martial law in the eleventh week of a strike against proposed wage cuts by the Maytag company.

The National Guard, called out by Governor Nelson G. Kraschel when union pickets prevented strike-breakers from trucking washing machine parts away from the plant, used their bayonets to force strikers and their wives away from the factory, breaking up the picket line.

Picket Line Crashed

Shortly after the troops arrived last week, and were still making camp in the outskirts of

(Continued on page 2)

Nationalist Feeling Flares As Attempt Is Made On Puerto Rican Governor

Attempted Assassination Discloses Repressive Rule of U. S. Imperialism Against Independence Movement

Nationalist and anti-imperialist feeling in Puerto Rico, inflamed by the repressive measures of the Winship administration against all independentist sentiment, flared into violence again on July 23 when an attempt was made to assassinate Governor Winship at the celebration of the fortieth anniversary of American occupation.

Although the governor escaped the shots, two persons, a Colonel of the Puerto Rican National Guard at the head of troops marching in review and a Nationalist, were killed, and more than thirty were wounded. Seven Nationalists are under arrest for the attempt, bail being set for two of them at $25,000 each.

It is almost an axiom that repression breeds terrorism. Marxists have always condemned terrorist methods as futile, and serving to provoke greater repressions. The mistaken tactics of the Puerto Rican Nationalists will give the authorities further excuse to suppress Puerto Rican civil liberties and all manifestations of a desire for independence.

The fact remains, however, that the military-police regime of Governor Winship, backed by the erstwhile liberal, Ernest Gruening, in charge of the department of Insular Affairs, and egged on by super-imperialist Senator Tydings, has merey reaped what it sowed. Everything that could be done to drive the Nationalists to desperation has been done.

Sentiment for independence in Puerto Rico is far more widespread than is ever permitted to appear. Discrimination is widely practiced against known advocates of the island's freedom from American rule. The largest political party, the Liberal Party, has independence in its platform. The extremist Nationalist group, however, is very small. It has little popular support and is in no way a threat to American domination. But it has been continually goaded, harassed and persecuted by the Winship government.

Police Murder Two

When two Nationalist youths assassinated the Insular Chief of Police, Colonel Riggs, in 1936, they were taken to police headquarters and murdered in cold blood by the police two hours later. None of the guilty policemen has ever been punished or even suspended from the force.

(Continued on page 3)

C. P. SPLITS PHILA. NAVY YARD UNION

Shipyard Loc'l Gives Up C.I.O. Charter In Split Move

PHILADELPHIA, July 23. — After a long and intense fight to secure a dominant position in the direction of the Navy Yard Locals of the Industrial Union of Marine and Shipbuilding Workers America (C.I.O.), the Stalinist-controlled group of Local 17 covering the Philadelphia Navy Yard decided to return their charter to the I.U.M.S.W.A., and to enter the Stalinist-ruled United Federal Workers of America (C.I.O.) where their ambitions could be better satisfied.

A progressive step, with immense possibilities, was undertaken when the IUMSWA began to organize the shipyard workers of the government-owned Navy Yards into a militant union uniting them with the shipyard workers in private industry. But militancy is of no importance to the Stalinists. "Rule or ruin" is their motto.

Navy Yard Council Set up

A Joint Council of Navy Yards was established last year by a decision of the National Convention of the union, to coordinate

(Continued on page 2)

Middletown Gives Labor Big Lesson

Militant Action by Muncie Auto Workers Smashes Attacks on Union

MUNCIE, Ind.—Carefully chosen by sociologists as the average American small city and dubbed "Middletown" by Mary and Robert Lynd in their two popular books, Muncie has become famous as the most thoroughly explored city in the United States. Cross-sectioned and cross-examined, indexed and tabulated, Muncie, in its role as "Middletown," has presented the professors and students of the universities with detailed material on the average American society.

Recent events in Muncie have their significance for workers. Not only the students of sociology can draw lessons from Muncie, but trade unionists can gain valuable knowledge from the experience of "Middletown's" working class.

Trusted Labor Board

Workers at the John Lee Acme Co., manufacturing automotive parts and employing about 700 workers, struck the plant in 1937. They were induced to return to work, leaving details of settlement up to the State Labor Relations Division.

While the State Labor Board and Judge Guthrie were "settling up details," the company intimidated the workers to the extent of practically destroying the United Automobile Workers local. In June nine workers were discharged in violation of their seniority rights. The members of the U.A.W. struck in a body and demanded reinstatement of the discharged men.

In spite of the terrorization by Sheriff Pucket and his deputies the men stood pat and organized a mass picket line. Immediately the officers of the law resorted to open violence. One of the deputies approached a group of men, raised his gas gun and stated that he was going to take a picture. He shot tear gas into the group at close range, nearly blinding one worker.

Machine Gun Threat

A few days later Judge Guthrie issued an injunction against the strikers. Sheriff Puckett declared he would carry out the in-

(Continued on page 4)

Pickets Open Drive On N.Y. Gov't Hiring Hall

Picket Line Answers Government Threat to Take Over Hiring; Seamen Act Despite N.M.U. Opposition

Hiring on Dollar Line Held by SUP

NEW YORK.—After a week of fruitless efforts to form a fighting united front with the National Maritime Union, the New York branches of the Sailors Union of the Pacific and the Marine Firemen established a picket line around the Maritime Commission hiring hall, determined to defeat the government's plan to destroy union hiring halls.

Despite the refusal of N.M.U. officials to approve joint picketing, rank and file members of the C.I.O. union have joined the West Coast men in picket duty, and seamen as a whole are respecting the line. Added pressure, on and off the picket line, is expected to make it very difficult for the Maritime Commission to obtain crews for government-owned merchant ships.

Already the Commission has notified the S.U.P. agent, Frank Berry, that the agreement signed by the Dollar Steamship Line with the West Coast unions will be honored by the government. The Dollar Line recently was taken over by the Maritime Commission, and it was planned to ship crews through the fink hall.

Any such action on any ship under West Coast agreement would immediately precipitate a strike, for the S.U.P. is on record to oppose with all their strength any attempt of the government to move in on union control of hiring. Shipping a crew through the fink hall to a West Coast ship will tie up shipping on the Pacific.

On the East Coast the N.M.U., following the line handed down by the Communist Party, has consistently aided the government in its attempt to throttle the marine unions. When the fink hall was first established a picket line was placed about the hall, but within a week the Stalinist officials were shouting, "Pack the fink hall," a policy that soon became official.

Fink Hall Old Stuff

The duped seamen found themselves back in the days of the old shipping board, compelled to accept the tyranny of shipping authorities and herded around the commission hall like cattle.

Well aware that the fink hall represented a danger to all marine unions, and faced with the prospect of some of the major shipping companies under West Coast agreements coming under government control—the Dollar Line and the Baltimore Mail—the S. U. P. and the Marine Firemen moved for militant action. A delegation from those unions approached the N.M.U. and the A. F. of L. Seamen's Union and asked for a united front against the fink hall.

Forced by an aroused rank and file the N.M.U. sent delegates to the conference, but they continually sang the Stalinist song, "You can't fight the government." After stalling for several meetings, Joseph Curran, representing the N.M.U., presented a proposition of recognizing the Maritime Commission hiring hall, and paying officials of the respective unions to "observe" the fink shipping.

When this open sell-out became known to the rank and file sea-

(Continued on page 2)

JAPAN RETREATS IN BORDER CLASH

Soviets' Firm Stand Forces Japan to Retreat

War clouds threatened the Soviet Far Eastern horizon for a brief interval last week. The Soviet army, stationed in those parts, occupied a hill overlooking Lake Khasan on the Soviet-Manchukuoan border south of Vladivostok. The Japanese press immediately raised a hue and cry about an invasion of Manchukuo by the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics. Nippon's ambassador to the U.S.S.R., Mamoru Shigemitzu, at once protested the "invasion" to the Foreign Office in Moscow. Upon a reply from Foreign Minister Litvinoff that the hill was Russian territory according to a treaty concluded in 1869, Mr. Shigemitzu declared such an answer unacceptable to his government and added that if she failed to get satisfaction, Japan "would have to reach a conclusion about applying force."

The hypocritical protestations of the Nipponese brigands overshot their mark this time, however. For the invaders of hundreds of thousands of miles of Chinese territory to shout about the "invasion" of a little hill in uncharted territory was like a thief shouting "Stop thief!" It was too ludicrous a piece of hypocrisy for even the most reactionary press to take seriously.

Military Importance Only

What was involved was the seizure of a piece of territory too small to be of anything more than strategic military importance in a future contest. The title to the territory being in doubt, the Soviet army took advantage of Japan's difficulties on the Chinese battlefields to settle the question. The incident is of significance only insofar as it reflects a new stage in the Japanese-Soviet relation of forces.

Previously, Japan has been able to make all kinds of such sallies into Siberian territory unopposed, banking on internal Soviet difficulties. The occupation of the hill near Lake Khasan merely signifies that the tables have been turned. Japan can no longer count on the advantage offered by Stalin's debilitating purge of the Red Army. Her own losses in China have offset the damage brought to the Soviet armed forces by the Stalinist annihilation of its competent leaders.

Apparently, the Tokio government was reckoning with a relationship of forces that had already become outlived. To test the power of its arrogance, so successful only a little more than a year ago in the Amur region, the Japanese tried to back up the threats of their Moscow ambassador by landing a force on the Soviet island, Faingov, Two Japanese motor boats violated the frontier near the settlement of Vidnoye, on the Ussuri River north of the Changkufeng district where the hill had been taken. A

(Continued on page 3)

Trotsky Fears Fate Of Klement, G.P.U. Victim

My friends in Paris informed New York yesterday by telephone about the disappearance of Rudolph Klement, a German exile living in Paris. Klement, a former Hamburg student, was for two years my secretary at Prinkipo and in France. He was a well educated young man, 28 years old, possessing a fluent knowledge of several languages. From Paris he had continued to give me a great deal of assistance in my literary work. Like Erwin Wolf, my Czechoslovakian secretary, Klement took an active part in the unmasking of the Moscow frame-ups and through this provoked the violent hatred of the G.P.U.

My Parisian friends say that they received a copy of a letter from Perpignan addressed to me by Klement. I have not received this letter yet. But from Klement's previous letters it is clear that he had no intention of going anywhere. My Parisian friends think that Klement was kidnapped by the G.P.U., just as Erwin Wolf was some time ago. If this be so, it is entirely possible that the G.P.U. forcibly carried him to Spain for bloody revenge. I hesitated whether or not to give this information to the press before final verification. But since every hour lost may spell doom to my young friend, I consider it my duty to make public right now the information received by me.

LEON TROTSKY.

Coyoacan, D. F.
July 18, 1938

Labor Under Attack

THE ONLY ANSWER

Frank Hague's Jersey City is no isolated case in the United States.

It is not the only place where capital and its government threaten to deprive labor of its most elementary rights, where the guns and blackjacks of police and hired thugs are being employed to smash the labor movement.

In the last few months alone, we have had the police firing into a throng of defenseless strikers in Akron, Ohio, which is dominated by the powerful rubber magnates; and the gassing and beating of the American Brass strikers in Detroit at the end of May, in which 50 pickets and sympathizers were badly injured.

More recently, similar events have taken place in widely scattered parts of the country.

In San Antonio, Texas, the local government, acting for the local business men, has conducted a brutal drive against the C.I.O. and any attempt on its part to organize the heavily underpaid workers of that city. Organizers and militants have been arrested, thrown into jail, and beaten by the police.

In New Orleans, Louisiana, another bailiwick of President Roosevelt's party, a reign of terror was launched by the police against the striking truck and taxi drivers. At one time, some 400 strikers were under arrest. The leaders of the strike were also arrested and savagely beaten in the local jail; when released on bail, they were compelled to hide. The drayage firms and the struck cab company did not conceal the fact that they paid out of their pockets $12,000 to the police for doing "strike duty."

One could not ask for a more impressive demonstration of the role of the police than this public subsidy to act as strike-breakers.

In Westwood, California, vigilantes and police united to smash the strike of the fiercely exploited lumber workers, one of whom was shot, 30 of whom were beaten, and more than a thousand of whom—including their families—were driven out of town by force.

In North Chicago, not far from the scene of last year's Republic Steel massacre, police fired tear-gas bombs into the ranks of the strikers peacefully picketing the Chicago Hardware Foundry, with the result that 50 of the pickets were hurt.

In Newton, Iowa, the National Guard has been called out to break the strike of the Maytag Washing Machine Co. workers, and machine guns have been mounted on all the corners of the city's streets. Unionists and their leaders have been arrested.

In Steubenville, Ohio, a mob of 200 thugs organized by the Weirton Steel bosses, endangered the lives of members of the National Labor Relations Board, who were forced to flee in the middle of the night, escorted by sheriffs and state police.

In New York, the police are on hand to enforce the infamous Cotillo anti-picketing injunction, which deprives the striking Busch workers from exercising a right for which labor has fought in this country for generations.

The same police of Mayor LaGuardia look on quietly while the tough-guys and thugs break up the meetings of the Socialist Workers Party and the Communist Party in Queens, which is ruled over by Borough President Harvey, LaGuardia's candidate in the last election and Frank Hague's closest imitator.

If labor takes these first significant signs of the reactionary offensive lying down—it will be in no position to fight back when a fascist wave sweeps over its head.

The way to fight it is not by words or empty gestures, not by relying on capitalist politicians and their police—but to smash it in struggle.

Reaction is bold and aggressive only when it feels that labor is passive and has no self-confidence.

The time to fight fascism is when it first raises its vicious head.

All the events of recent months point to plain conclusions:

The capitalist politicians, the "friends of labor"—*talk* about "labor's rights," but only a blind and duped worker will rely upon them to fight to preserve these rights.

Smart lawyers, and appeals to Washington, will not restore the picket line of the New Orleans taxi-drivers, of the Detroit brass workers, of the Akron rubber workers, of the Westwood lumber workers—or of the workers in any other locality who decide to fight against the capitalist offensive.

Only the workers themselves, organized, trained and properly equipped, can effectively defend their rights, their unions, their future.

That is why it is a primary task of the unions everywhere to organize *Labor Defense Guards,* the fighting detachment of the working class.

There is no other way.

C. P. Gang Attacks Appeal Salesmen

DETROIT, July, 25.—Socialist Appeal distributors were set upon and attacked tonight by a Stalinist mob in front of the headquarters of the Stalinist dominated U.A.W. Local 157. In the course of a free-for-all which ensued, Stalinists threatened to smash the camera of a Free Press photographer. Although the Appeal salesmen were outnumbered by the organized hoodlums, they stood their ground and continued distribution of the paper. This is the second time since the outbreak of the U.A.W. faction fight that Stalinist "democracy" has taken the form of physical violence against members of the Socialist Workers Party.

Press Ballyhoo Hides True Story of Housing Program; Slum Problem Acute

The past week has seen blaring headlines in the press about new appropriations for housing, particularly in New York City. After hemming and hawing for many long months, 50 million dollars were finally released for two new housing projects that will accommodate 5,000 families, when completed two years hence.

The metropolis of the nation, also the leading slum-center, has close to 3,000,000 people living in tenements that were condemned in 1901! But the new plan of the federal and municipal governments will accommodate the pitifull number of twenty to twenty-five thousand people. And they have the gall to put this forth as a "gigantic" effort to take care of the housing problem!

Headlines Hide True Story

Blazing newspaper headlines, pretty pictures of leading officials, ballyhoo and ceremonies galore, but new housing appropriations—only a drop in the bucket when compared to the needs of the population. Contrast to this the horrible total of dead as a result of fires in old-law tenements, and the cynical, pompous ceremonies become a gruesome farce. Law upon law has been passed, investigation after investigation has taken place. Yet, decade upon decade roll by, and nothing serious is done to eliminate the death holes that low-paid workers and unemployed call home.

With each passing year, the housing problem becomes more and more acute. Throughout the country, not only in New York, the rotting slums take their toll of the working class through fire, disease, and overcrowding. With the deepening of the crisis, overcrowding becomes a deadly menace to health and life. A recent survey of 16,000 youth (typical of life in the cities) in Maryland shows a perilous increase in the number of single and married young people forced to remain in the already crowded homes of their parents. Lack of jobs, poverty, compel large families to live in fewer and fewer rooms. No new houses are being built. Rents are mounting. There are no safe and sanitary homes to move into with rents low enough for the low salaries of the crisis-ridden working class.

Poor Tenants Excluded

These are the conditions that make the government housing projects so inadequate. In addition, it is almost impossible for a low-paid worker to rent an apartment in the new housing projects. The rents of previous projects were supposed to have been set within the reach even of unskilled workers. But the real manner of renting proved this to be far from the case. For the actual figure finally set (in previous projects) was far higher than the original figures. Moreover, a systematic process of investigation of applicants was installed, making it virtually impossible to rent an apartment on the projects unless one was earning a substantial salary and had a very secure job. The result was that municipal employees, higher salaried workers and small business men were given preference as tenants.

Outright discrimination was practiced against home relief recipients and W.P.A. workers. In a number of cases, W.P.A. workers were forced to hide their source of livelihood in an attempt to get into the new projects "built for the poor." When their identity was discovered these workers were evicted from the housing projects. Negroes were universally rejected. Few, if any, will manage to get into the new projects.

It must be clear now to every working man and woman that the only way to get anything real accomplished is through a determined program and fight led by organized labor. There is nothing more horrible than death by fire. Yet that awful danger lurks as an immediate menace in every tinder-dry old-law tenement. The labor unions must answer the hypocrisy of the government in the face of that menace. The question should be raised in every labor organization! On this immediate demand for more billions (not millions) for housing, members of the C.I.O. and A. F. of L. should raise the call for joint action.

Republicans Swing Behind Democrat

(Continued from page 1)

Labor primaries a few weeks ago.

This process, already far enough advanced in 1936 to throw the most prominent right-wing Democrats into support of Landon, will neither cease nor lessen. We may expect to find in this autumn's elections numerous examples of that phenomeon rare in the history of American politics, but well known elsewhere: coalition candidates. These, in turn, will only foreshadow the more drastic re-alignments to come.

Youth Sits Down In Relief Bureau

NEW YORK.—A suspended sentence—suspended as long as he stays away from the relief bureau—was the answer Will Lubin, jobless youth, received to the one-man sit-in he staged last week at the Williamsburg relief station in protest against the bureau decision refusing him relief.

Lubin, a member of Local 17 of the Workers Alliance and the Young People's Socialist League, had spent weeks entangled in the red-tape of applying for relief. Although he patiently filled all the forms and suffered the investigations of the officials, the bureau, after weeks of waiting, declared it could not grant single maintenance relief.

After being evicted from his room and pawning his clothes and books, Lubin resorted to the sit-in demonstration. In this he was supported by Local 17, although Stalinist - controlled locals of the W.A. in the neighborhood refused to back him up as he is a "Trotskyist."

Three policemen were called in by the bureau officials and Lubin was thrown out. When he continued to protest he was arrested and held in jail overnight. The next morning he received the suspended sentence—a sentence that makes it virtually impossible for him to continue his efforts to get relief.

STALINISTS ORDER W.P.A. "PURGE"

C. P. Members Told To Dismiss All Dissenters

NEW YORK.—A purge of the W.P.A. writers projects, to be pursued in true Muscovite style, has been ordered by Stalinist party headquarters here. The Communist Party unit on the writers' project has received instructions that **"all Trotskyists must be driven off the rolls as soon as possible."**

Thus runs a report in the current **New Leader**, organ of the Social Democratic Federation, which claims to have this information from unimpeachable sources.

Of course, the purge is being planned not only against Trotskyists but against all writers who reject outright Stalinist dictation. At the first possible moment, according to the report, non-conformist writers are to receive warning slips about "inefficiency" from party-line W.P.A. officials on the project. Ultimately, the anti-Stalinistis are to be dismissed entirely.

Alliance Purge First Step

In view of previous experiences, there can be no doubt of the authenticity of the report. Stalinists have previously attempted to get around the problem by attempting to expel non-conformists on W.P.A. from the Workers Alliance, the unemployed and W.P.A. workers union under their control.

Recently they made such an attempt in the case of Liston Oak, a former leading functionary of the Communist Party who broke with it as a result of his experiences in Spain. The "trial" of Oak in the Workers Alliance was reported in the **Socialist Appeal** two weeks ago. Readers will remember that the Stalinists did not achieve their aim of expelling him from the union as a step towards his removal from his W.P.A. job. They are, therefore, now pulling strings behind the scenes through their stooges in the administration here and in Washington.

Another non-conformist writer whom the Stalinists are gunning for is Claude McKay, the famous Negro poet. The latter has aroused their wrath particularly because he seems to have spoiled the "monolithic" subjugation of Negro workers on W.P.A. to the party line. Neither Oak nor McKay are Trotskyists or in any way connected with the Fourth Internationalist movement. However, that does not prevent the Stalinists from carrying on their campaign against such non-conformists under the slogans of "anti-Trotskyism." In New York as in Moscow, the Stalin line of frame-ups and terror follows the same formulae.

Non-Stalinist workers and labor sympathizers should be on their toes in the future to guard against the carrying out of this vicious campaign of stool-pigeoning and political discrimination. The very first act against anyone of the non-conformists on W.P.A. must be made the rallying point of a united struggle against G.P.U. domination on W.P.A.

Relief Red Tape Leaves Tenants Helpless Before Marshals; Brutality Features Evictions

NEW YORK. — With LaGuardia's relief administration coldly ignoring the plight of unemployed slum residents, even the filthy rooms of New York's tenements are denied the jobless as systematic evictions are carried out by deputy marshals.

The growing number of eviction cases is especially concentrated in the East Side slum area, where a large percentage of the population is on relief.

Woman of 65 Evicted

There is the case of a woman of 65, on relief and living alone at 146 Suffolk Street. She could not even speak English to the marshal when he came to throw her few belongings out in the street. She merely wept.

Members of the Young People's Socialist League appeared on the scene as the furniture was being further demolished by a downpour. They returned the furniture to the apartment.

At Second Street and Avenue D, one of the worst slum blocks in the country, a woman and her young daughter were thrown out. They had been on relief. When the dispossess notice was received it was brought to the relief bureau. The bureau refused to handle it.

Bureau Action Delayed

A ruling in effect does not permit the bureaus to accept dispossess notices for action as emergency cases, but forces the family to wait for the final eviction notice. This final notice allows the tenant only 24 hours to clear out or be evicted by deputy marshals.

The bureau seldom acts before the client is on the street. Sometimes the furniture stands on the street for two or three days in all kinds of wheather, and the family remains homeless while LaGuardia's relief officials "investigate."

There is the case of a woman on relief who was being evicted from three wretched rooms. The woman was a Spanish Jewess not long in the United States and unable to speak English well. The evicting deputies were drunk and kicked the furniture about, tore up the oilcloth from the floor and cursed the woman constantly. When she dared offer a word of protest they struck her.

Eviction Relief Inadequate

Even when the relief bureau belatedly grants moving expenses, the sum is never adequate; with less than $15 the evicted family is expected to pay moving expenses, put down a deposit for electricity and gas, and pay the first month's rent.

Low-rent apartments, even in the slum areas, are hard to find and moving costs are high. Few buildings safe from fire and with decent sanitation are within the relief rent allowance. There exists a real shortage of any kind of apartments. In Harlem less than three per cent and on the East Side less than eight per cent of the apartments are vacant. Of these almost all are in buildings condemned as unfit for human habitation, in some instances as long ago as 1901.

CALL GUARDSMEN IN IOWA STRIKE

(Continued from page 1)

the town, the company, emboldened by the presence of troops, attempted to open the factory. Scabs, guarded by armed thugs added to the sheriff's and constable's forces, crashed the picket line in the early morning hours.

Warned of the company's move in advance, strikers and their wives turned out at 4 A.M. and a crowd of 500 met the scabs and the gun-toting scab-herders. In the fierce fighting that followed, 20 were injured, six seriously. A "special deputy" was knocked down and his gun taken from him.

Within 20 minutes two armored cars arrived from the Guard encampment and drove recklessly through the crowd, scattering the pickets. Shortly after, a company of infantry marched to the factory with fixed bayonets and drove the strikers and their wives a block away.

Machine Guns Mounted

While the factory was kept closed by the Guardsmen, Mayor George E. Campbell announced early this week that he was sure that Governor Kraschel would order the troops to open the plant. Maneuvers of the Guard point to this, with machine guns being mounted in strategic positions for use against pickets.

The use of National Guard troops to break the strike at the Maytag factory came after the usual routine strike-breaking by courts and police had failed. District Judge Homer A. Fuller issued an injunction against the union, and although 21 union men were cited for contempt, picketing continued to be effective.

Another tactic that failed was arbitration. Governor Kraschel appointed a board to arbitrate the dispute. The board recommended that the factory reopen for 60 days without a wage cut. The union accepted but the company refused.

State Steps In

When the last resort of city government, armed violence against the pickets, failed, the State of Iowa stepped in with its armed forces, the National Guard. This potent strike-breaking force, used in almost every State in the U.S.A., entered Newton to establish "law and order." Fearful of losing votes, and a bit piqued at the company's refusal to accept the "diplomatic" strike-breaking plan of his arbitration board, the Governor did not at once have his troops escort scabs into the plant.

Long experience has proved that, despite the camouflage of liberal "intentions," the presence of troops in a strike situation operates only to the interests of the bosses.

STAGE RIOT AT AUTO UNION TRIAL

(Continued from page 1)

prospect of John L. Lewis coming to Detroit on a dictatorial junket, the Stalinist machine is beginning to tack a new course. Recent statements of George Addes and the other suspended officers makes it clear that they have ceased their open splitting maneuvers. Locals have been publicly advised to make their per capita payments to the International Union. Litigation to hold up the funds of the International appears to have been dropped. And despite indiscreet statements by Ed Hall, no rump convention is contemplated.

C. P. Greater Danger

But it would be the most serious error to think that the Stalinists have given up their intention or their campaign to dominate the auto workers union. On the contrary, the new legal forms their fight is taking make them a greater menace than ever before. The continued agitation for a special convention is to be carried forward along constitutional lines with the aim of placing an onus of illegality on the actions of Martin.

If the entry of Lewis would place a straight-jacket on the auto union, a special convention at this time will reduce it to a shambles. In the midst of the present furore and with the main issues still indistinct in the eyes of a good section of the membership, the danger of C. P. domination at the convention is not lightly to be dismissed. Before any convention is held in the U.A.W., a serious and vigorous educational campaign must be conducted in the union. The militants must be organized and educated on the basis of an genuine democratic and progressive program.

But these considerations entirely aside, the most damning argument against the special convention is that it would bankrupt the union. Tomorrow or the day after, every penny—of a treasury constricted by the ravages of unemployment — may be needed in a life and death battle against wage cuts.

The Stalinists know this only too well. They have it on first-hand information from their Man Friday, George Addes, former Secretary-Treasurer of the union. But that is of no concern to them. If the union must be bankrupted and smashed so they can take control, then let it be. Browder and Foster ordered it that way. The sacrifices and interests of the workers in the shops are no restraining consideration whatever, as far as they are concerned.

A Warning Repeated

The new course of the Stalinists is clear evidence that the struggle will not cease with the culmination of the trial, whatever its outcome. Then it will just begin. And we repeat what we said in previous issues of the Socialist Appeal **the fight must be taken to the membership!** We predicted that unless this was done Martin would be forced to reorganize local unions. The reorganization of the Milwaukee Local is an unfortunate confirmation of this prediction. But it is a confirmation none-the-less—and it is a harbinger of what is to come.

Without substantial support among the membership, Martin will be compelled to adopt precisely the methods Lewis would employ if he intervened. **In the eyes of the progressives, distinctions do not occur over names and personalities but over programs. And Martin, no less than Lewis in the past in the U.M.W.A., will become the most hated and despised man in the auto union.**

It is not too late to change the course, but time is pressing. An alliance with progressive unionists, with Emil Mazey, President of the Briggs Local, and with the others who have broken with the Stalinists in the "Peace Group," will mark the first step and a good beginning.

Duty of Progressives

The duty of the progressives, irrespective of Martin's course which cannot be predicted at this time, is clear and unmistakable. The organization and the brunt of the fight against the Stalinists, vigilance for democratic principles, is first and formost their responsibility. They must carry this responsibility regardless of the actions of Martin or any other individual. And they must begin to seriously consider some plan for coalescing their forces and formulating a program that will sweep aside the reactionary obstacles and Stalinist disruption that stands in the way of a resurgence of the powerful United Automobile Workers Union. On that path lies progress.

COPS FORCED TO RETURN PAPERS OF UNION OFFICER

Union Wins in Fight Against Illegal Seizure

OMAHA, Neb. — The fight of teamsters against the police frameup and conviction of Al Russell on charges of "vagrancy" moved forward a step last week when the authorities surrendered to Russell all the property which was seized when the cops illegally searched his apartment.

The property was returned "voluntarily" by the police after General Drivers Local 554 instituted suit for a writ of replevin to force the return of the property. The union has directed its attorney, Dewey Hanson, to continue the suit to establish the illegality of the raid and seizure.

Authorities Harass Russell

In an attempt to induce Russell and the union to drop the appeal from the 90-day vagrancy sentence, imposed despite the fact Russell is a paid organizer of the union and was working in the offices of Local 554 at the time of his arrest, the authorities are deliberately harassing the young unionist.

The date for the first hearing of the case was suddenly advanced, with Russell in Sioux City on union business. Although he rushed back to Omaha, Russell arrived a few hours after the time scheduled for his appearance in court. His bond was revoked and Russell was clapped into jail, prevented by the court from obtaining new bond.

To obtain Russell's release, Attorney Hanson sued for a writ of habeas corpus. Only then did the authorities permit the union to post a bond of $250 to free Russell.

Fully aware of the intentions of the police to use this case to intimidate the unions and to halt the campaign of union organization in Omaha, the drivers union is determined to fight the issue to an end.

SEAMEN PICKET GOV'T FINK HALL

(Continued from page 1)

men in the N.M.U. their indignation knew no bounds. Prevented by the dictatorial methods used by the Stalinist tops in the N.M.U. from turning the union against the shipowners and the government, more than 75 East Coast men tore up their N.M.U. books to express their rage against their union officials.

When the West Coast unions, plus the A. F. of L. Seamen's Union, went ahead with the picket line the majority of the N.M.U. men respected the pickets, much to the consternation of the N.M.U. officers. A leaflet, signed by the N.M.U. District Committee, was circulated on the waterfront, urging N.M.U. men to pass through the picket line.

Declaring that the National Labor Relations Board, an arm of the same government that set up the fink hall, would fight the seamen's battle, the District Committee asked that the fink hall be "reformed," not closed down.

Gov't Still Determined

The Maritime Commission, getting a taste of real militant action, is perturbed but is not changing its plans of eventually shackling the American seamen. The S.U.P. agent, discussing matters with a member of the Commission, was told that the government intends to institute a system similar to that used in Australia, in which all hiring is done by the authorities.

This system, notorious as a union-busting trap, is responsible for the crushing of the once powerful and militant Australian union movement. This is what the U.S. government has in store for seafaring labor.

C. P. Slander Fails In Alliance Local

NEW YORK. — Another attempt by the Stalinist slander machine failed here last week when members of Workers Alliance Local 22 voted down charges placed against Harry Shepherd, militant member of the Progressive Group, by a vote of 28 to 24, despite the hysterical pleas of the Stalinist officials.

Charges against Shepherd were: 1) calling George Renon, local Stalinist Alliance officer, a "rat"; and, 2) slandering the leadership. In defending himself Shepherd related an incident where Renon had denounced him in the presence of police in an attempt to have him arrested. Shepherd also backed up his statement that the Communist Party leadership in the W. A. capitulated to the relief administration at a time when militant action promised to bring results.

EIGHT ARRESTS IN INDIANA STRIKE

Indianapolis Police Attack Striking Box Workers

INDIANAPOLIS, Ind. — The strike at the Mohan Box Co., manufacturers of paper box cartons, is now entering its fourth week. Twenty-eight out of 35 workers, members of the C.I.O. local, struck against a ten per cent wage cut. The management has consistently refused to negotiate with the union.

Early in the strike, around July 4th, a policeman threw a firecracker at one of the girls, burning her leg. Eight workers have been arrested for picketing, charged with acts of violence, inciting to riot, assault and battery, etc. Of these two have been released, judgment withheld on one and prosecution continued on the others. The police have continuously encouraged strike-breakers to enter the plant.

Mass picket lines, numbering as high as 450 last week, are indicating that Indianapolis workers are losing confidence in Labor Board agencies and friends of labor politicians to win their strike and are relying on their own strength. Locals of the United Rubber Workers and the Steel Workers Organizing Committee are giving full cooperation to the strike. They are determined to prevent the wage cut at the Mohan Box Company in the realization that they will be next in line unless the wage cut is defeated.

WANT ADS

GIRL WANTED TO SHARE APARTMENT—2 large separate rooms and kitchenette, attractively furnished, modern house, privacy, piano. $30 a month will cover all your expenses. Sanel, 26 Grove St.

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

CAMPS

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

ANNOUNCEMENTS

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

NEW YORK

Y.P.S.L. MEMBERSHIP MEETING, Friday, July 29, 8:30, at 159 Rivington Street. Shachtman and Draper will speak. Admission by red card only.

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.

Signal
PRINTING CO., Inc.
316 E. 61 STREET, N. Y. C.
Phone REgent 7 - 0690

LERMAN BROS.
37 EAST 14th STREET
New York City
Union Stationers and Printers
Phone ALgonquin 4-3356-7-8
Selling to Labor Organizations at Lowest Prices.
Our Printing Plant located at 36 West 15th St., 6th Floor.
Phone ALgonquin 4-7823

C. P. SPLITS PHILA. NAVY YARD UNION

(Continued from page 1)

the work of the Navy Yards on the East and West Coasts. A full time Director of the Navy Yard Locals was to be appointed, also in accordance with the decision of the National Convention.

Harry Kelner, Secretary of Local 17, was determined to get the job—by hook or by crook. He secured the recommendation of the Joint Council of Navy Yards for the position of Director. However, the National organization was in a very bad financial state, due to the shipyard strike which had recently ended in the Port of New York, and was unable to support a Director. This condition did not satisfy Kelner and his group in Local 17.

"Pressure" Campaign Begins

They began hammering at the National officers. Meetings of the Joint Council, which Kelner almost completely influenced (the Council was a shell, with only two of the five Navy Yards Locals represented), were spent discussing nothing but methods of compelling the General Executive Board to give Kelner the job as Director.

Finally, in desperation, they decided to go over the heads of the National Union, and to attempt to have the C.I.O. itself finance a Director. An appointment was made with Brophy of the C.I.O., and a committee from two Navy Yard Locals went to see him. The result of the entire meeting with Brophy, in which the National officers were given "the works" by the Kelner crowd, was only to refer the entire matter back to the National Union. In view of these actions of the Joint Council, the G.E.B. voted to suspend the Council indefinitely.

Local Union Dwindles

These actions took place over a period of nearly one year. All efforts were bent in the direction of fighting against the G.E.B. Local grievances of the workers were ignored, Kelner and Co. claiming that satisfaction could only be secured through contact in Washington; organizational work was neglected, and attempts at concrete action were sabotaged with the intent of proving that nothing could be accomplished without a Director—and the Local membership dwindled. When the G.E.B. arranged meetings with Navy Yard officials, Kelner rejected them. But the G.E.B. was blamed. For did they not refuse to appoint Kelner as Director?

Finally, in view of all the rumpus raised by Kelner's group and of certain elements he influenced in the Brooklyn Local, the G.E.B. decided that the best way to prove Kelner's bankruptcy was to allow him to have the Director's job for a trial period of two-and-one-half months. The results during this time were to determine the permanency of the job. After a period of "discussion" at Local 17, Kelner refused to accept and demanded a five-month period. When that was not forthcoming he threw in his charter.

Kelner and Co. will now attempt to swing other Locals into the path of Local 17. It can be stated with certainty, however, that not only will this disastrous policy be unsuccessful in any of the other Locals, but that Local 17 will again be established in Philadelphia under a healthier and a firmer leadership.

TEAMSTERS WAR ON FINKS

In a declaration of war against finks, the Minneapolis Teamsters Joint Council called upon every Minneapolis driver to refuse to purchase gas at any gas station not signed up with Filling Station Attendants Union, Local 977.

ASK FOR THE APPEAL AT YOUR NEWSSTAND

Appeal Army

We are glad to report that the response to our emergency appeal last week was sufficient to enable us to avoid skipping an issue. As the first anniversary of the publishing of the **Socialist Appeal** approaches, we can point to a regular appearance of America's only revolutionary socialist paper! We particularly want to thank those comrades and sympathizers who sent in donations, and those branches which leaped to the rescue by throwing parties, making collections, etc.

But the emergency crisis is not yet over! Summer is still with us and has a long ways to go yet. If each branch and literature agent sees to it that bills are promptly paid for and substantial amounts of new subs sent in, it will not be necessary to issue any emergency appeal again. **We certainly don't want to!** It gives the whole staff the jitters—especially our splendid printer!

Branches should now be actively engaged in their **Canvassing Campaign.** Get after all sympathizers, former subscribers, etc. for subs or renewed subs. This is the time for getting those subs in and credited with us for that first prize in the sub-campaign. To date there are four comrades bunched together for first place with Grace Carlson of St. Paul ahead with a total of 6; followed by T. R. Dostal of St. Paul, Chester K. Johnson of Minneapolis and Karl Shier of Chicago—each with 5. The campaign still has 2 months to run.

We are still receiving subs which do not contain the name of the sub-getter on them. Name of the branch is not sufficient. Each sub must have the name of the one who obtained it if any credit is to be given.

* * *

Here is the list of new subs for the past **two weeks:**

NEW YORK CITY	11
CHICAGO	11
Minneapolis	8
Foreign	8
Detroit	7
Pennsylvania	4
California	3
New York State	2
St. Louis	2
Massachusetts	2
Akron	2
Montana	2
St. Paul	2
Cleveland	2
Oregon	2
Newark	1
TOTAL	69

* * *

Ruth Querio, our super-star saleslady of Allentown, Pa., has not only increased her bundle to 35, but is taking 50 extra papers this week to sell in the streets of her city. The entire branch is being mobilized for this. Good stuff, Ruth! . . . Louis Becker of N.Y.C. is taking 25 papers each week while vacationing at his camp . . . From Melbourne in Australia we received an order for 20 **Appeals,** with payment in advance!

* * *

Send all subscriptions and communications to:

SOCIALIST APPEAL,
116 UNIVERSITY PLACE,
NEW YORK CITY

* * *

We would like to have some more newsstands to add to our steadily growing list.

THE SOCIALIST APPEAL CAN BE OBTAINED AT THE FOLLOWING NEWSSTANDS

NEW YORK CITY

MANHATTAN: Fourteenth St. at University Place, S. E.; at Broadway, S. E.; at Fourth Ave., S. W; at Fourth Ave., N. E.; at Fourth Ave., S.E. (1 and 2); at Third Ave., S.W.; at Third Ave., N.W; opp. Jefferson Theatre; at Second Ave., N.W.; at Sixth Ave., N.E.; Rand Book Store, 7 E. 15th St.; 12th St. and University Pl., N.E.; Candy Store, 75 Greenwich Ave.

Forty-second St. at Fifth Ave., S.W; at Sixth Ave., S.E.; at Sixth Ave., S.W.; at Seventh Ave., S.W.; opposite Sterns; 103 W. 44th St.; 46th St. and B'way, S.E.

Essex and Delancy Sts; Bookstore at Grand and Attorney Sts; Candy Store, S. E. 9th St. and Second Ave; Biederman's Book Store, 12th St. and Second Ave; Wigerson, 145th St. and St. Nicholas Ave; 110th St. and Columbus Ave.

BRONX: Jerome Ave. & 170th St; Jerome Ave. and 167th St. (opp. Loew's Theatre); Sorkin, 206th St. and Bainbridge Ave; Jerome and Burnside Aves; 160th St. and Prospect Ave; Allerton Ave. Station; Freeman Ave. and Southern Boulevard; 174th St. & Boston Road.

BROOKLYN: Havemeyer Avenue and South 4th St.; Pitkin Ave. and Strauss St.; Sutter and Van Sinderen Aves.

ROCHESTER, N. Y.
433 N. Clinton St.
257 N. Clinton St.
Cor. Cumberland & Clinton Sts.
Cor. East Ave. & Chestnut St.
S.E. cor. Main & Clinton Sts.
S.W. Cor. Main & South Ave.
NEW HAVEN, Conn.
Nodelman's Newsstand, Church St., bet. Chapel & Center
CHICAGO
Cor. 57th & Blackstone
Cor. 12th & Kedzie
P. O. News, 37 W. Monroe
Ceshinsky Bookshop
ALLENTOWN, PA.
R. Zettlemeyer, 637 Hamilton St.
PHILADELPHIA
1806 North Franklin St.
Cor. 13th and Market Sts. (N.W.)
Cor. 11th and Market Sts. (N.W.)
BOSTON, MASS.
Andelman's, Tremont St. (opp. Hotel Bradford)
CAMBRIDGE, MASS.
Felix's, Massachusetts Ave. at Harvard Square
LYNN, Mass.
Sam's Corner, Olympia Square
ROXBURY, MASS.
Friendly Variety, Warren St. (Grove Hall)
MINNEAPOLIS
Shinder's, Sixth & Hennepin;
Kroman's, Fourth & Nicollet.
YOUNGSTOWN, Ohio
Nick's, Wick St. and Commerce
SAN FRANCISCO
MacDonald's Bookstore, 65 6th St.
SAN DIEGO, Calif.
Universal News Co., 242 B'way

Hull Note Masks New Imperialist Threat by Roosevelt

U.S. Starts Fight Against Mexican Oil Expropriation

Agrarian Claims Serve As Pretext for Establishing Precedent Against Right of Expropriation

In a long and provocative communication to the Mexican ambassador, promptly seconded by a public statement from Senator Key Pittman, chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, Secretary of State Cordell Hull last week expounded the real meaning of the Roosevelt "good neighbor policy" and the general Roosevelt conception of "international law and equity."

Secretary Hull's note dealt nominally with the Mexican expropriations, from August 30, 1927, of moderate-sized agrarian properties owned by American nationals. Figured even at the sum claimed by the former owners, the total value of these properties comes only to $10,132,388. It was obvious to all observers that the real, though unexpressed, subject of the note was the recent expropriation of the oil companies.

Demand Arbitration

With the customary hypocrisy which is the notorious and ever-present characteristic of American diplomacy, Hull modestly asks only that the agrarian claims should be submitted to arbitration in accordance with "the universally accepted principle of international law, based as it is on reason, equity and justice." Reasonable enough, it would seem on the surface.

But a study of Hull's note shows that acceptance by the Mexican Government of arbitration of the agrarian claims is made to imply acceptance by it of the general principle that no expropriation can be undertaken without "full and adequate compensation"; and that, furthermore, the amount of compensation is to be determined not by the government and people who decide that expropriation is necessary for their own well-being (the only proper and rightful judges), but by an international commission, that is, by a body dominated by "experts" committed to the views of imperialism on the question of expropriations.

The application of this doctrine to the oil expropriations is evident. Hull's note will also serve to clear up any illusions that may have existed about a difference in the British and U. S. attitudes on the oil problem. England and the United States have merely divided a common labor. The friendly tone of the first U. S. communications contrasted with the harsh wording of the British documents only in the manner that a smiling murderer contrasts with a scowling one.

American Seizures Unmentioned

It goes without saying that Hull's note makes no reference to the "uncompensated" seizure of tens of millions of Mexican acres by the U. S. through the Mexican War; nor to the graft, corruption, sharp dealings and briberies through which U. S. citizens got title to the lands in question as well as to the oil wells and mines; nor to the hundreds of millions of dollars which U. S. capital drained out of Mexico, paid for by the blood and sweat of the Mexican people—sums far and away above any conceivable "compensation" 'that might be claimed on any basis.

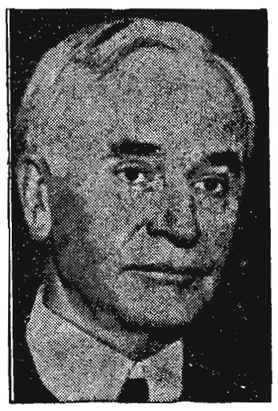
All such practices are, of course, part of the universally accepted principles of international law, based on reason, equity and justice, for which Hull stands. It is only when an oppressed and exploited people turns upon its oppressors, and reasserts, however partially, its own human rights, that international law gets excited, and reason, equity and justice find themselves offended.

Aim for Public Sympathy

Hull cleverly uses the agrarian rather than the oil expropriations to make his point of general principle. He may hope for more public sympathy in connection with the agrarian proprietors, some of whom were individually decent and hard-working, than he could toward the oil companies, whose infamous conduct is known to the world. But this example, as the note itself makes clear, is simply window-dressing.

It should be noticed that Hull is appealing to exactly the same principles that form the basis for U. S. diplomacy as a whole, for its attitude on Spain and the Far East, and for the doctrine of "quarantining the aggressor." Each phase is carefully subordinated to one central program: protect and advance the property interests of U. S. capital on a world scale, against any and all rivals. And where diplomacy proves inadequate to its program, the new Navy matures to write the final paragraph.

Bankers' Hatchet Man



CORDELL HULL

ASK FOR THE APPEAL AT YOUR NEWSSTAND

JAPAN RETREATS IN BORDER CLASH

(Continued from page 1)

Soviet cutter passing the island was fired on and an exchange of bullets followed. The Japanese came out at the shorter end of this encounter with two of their soldiers wounded and one machine-gun, five rifles and a quantity of ammunition seized by the Soviets.

Tokio Forced To Retreat

This test apparently settled the question. The Tokio government retreated from its arrogant threats with a "loss of face," the first of its kind in recent years. Nippon thus proved that it was obviously in no position to tackle the Red Army.

The explanation for this humiliating retreat is not hard to find. Japan has lost more than soldiers and equipment in the Chinese bogs. She has lost the freedom of action necessary to the maintenance of her claim as a fighting power. But more than that, the Chinese invasion has been disastrous from the point of view of her already tottering economy.

Japan Faces Crisis

"While the program of her Minister of Finance," says a **Times** commentator, "provided for the maintenance of the gold reserve held by the Bank of Japan, it has now become necessary to ship three-fifth of that reserve, in order to purchase raw materials vital to military requirements." In other words, the continued sinking of resources into the Chinese adventures of her militarists is fast bringing on the total collapse of Japanese currency, and with it, of her whole economic structure.

The incident of the hill near Lake Khasan thus throws a piercing light on the state of Japan's resources. Her position appears to be even weaker than suspected.

Soviets In Fortunate Position

Insofar as the Soviets are concerned, the stand of the Far Eastern army must be taken not so much as a sign of inherent strength as of an advantageous position brought about by the harassing of their foes on other fronts. With Hitler preoccupied in the West due to the strengthening of the Anglo-French entente and of the position taken by these two powers recently on the question of the Sudeten German problem in Czechoslovakia; and with the Japanese up to their necks in Chinese bogs, the Soviet forces have been able to move with greater freedom and the Foreign Office to act with greater dignity.

According to late dispatches, Domei, the official Japanese news agency, announces that Tokio may now propose the establishment of an "international committee among Japan, Manchukuo and Soviet Russia" to settle not only the latest incidents but all border disputes of the past and present. In other words, Nippon is ready to eat crow.

Leading French Scientists Protest Law On Asylum

Committee Denounces Decree as 'Inhuman and Illegal'; Trade Union Officials Join in Protest

A distinguished group of leading French trade unionists, scientists, scholars and intellectuals have vigorously protested against the infamous decree laws promulgated by the Daladier government on May 23rd of this year. These laws impose severe penalties upon French citizens aiding exiles and further abridge the already restricted rights of asylum under the "Popular Front" regime.

Among the signers are the Noble Prize winners, the famous physicists, Marie Joliot-Curie and her husband, Frederick Joliot. They have not only demanded that the right of asylum be protected, but they proclaim that they will defy the law and refuse to abide by it. Their militant stand has been backed up by many militants in the trade unions.

Vicious Decree Law

The complete statement follows:

"On May 2, 1938, the government issued a decree law containing the following paragraph:

'Article 3—The foreigner who, without valid excuse, omits within the legally fixed time limit to ask for a card of identity, will be liable, without prejudice to fiscal fines, to a fine of from 100 to 1,000 francs and imprisonment of from one month to one year.

'Article 4—Any person who directly or indirectly facilitates or tries to facilitate the entry, the movements or the irregular sojourn of a foreigner will be punished by the penalties provided in the preceding article.'

Declare Decree Illegal

"This decree law is purely and simply illegal because it bears no relation to the purposes of the decree laws agreed to by Parliament.

"By virtue of 'a law for financial readjustment' of April 13, 1938, the government was authorized to take 'such measures as it deems indispensable to meet expenses required for the national defense and to readjust the finances and economy of the nation.'

"The decree law on foreigners has no connection with expenditures for the national defense, nor with 'the finances or economy of the nation.' Otherwise any fascist measure could be adopted under the same pretext. The government could just as well suppress, for example, freedom of the press.

Denouncing as 'Inhuman'

"The decree punishing all aid extended to foreigners in an irregular situation is not only illegal, it is also immoral and inhuman.

"Since morals have existed, humanity has glorified aid to the proscribed. This aid is today in certain cases proclaimed to be criminal and punishable.

"France did itself the honor under all previous regimes to offer unreserved hospitality to political emigres. Today it is the government described as democratic which condemns the aid given in certain circumstances to these refugees.

Quote Victor Hugo

"In May, 1871, Belgium forbade entry to the 'Communards':

"Victor Hugo, who had not approved of the Commune, and who lived at the time in Brussels, refused to bow before such a decree. In a letter to the "Independance Belge" on May 26, 1871, he wrote:

" 'Asylum is an old right, the holy right of the unfortunate . . . the asylum which the Belgian government refuses to the vanquished, I offer . . . I offer asylum in Brussels.' "

"Faithful to this example, the undersigned declare that they will personally take no cognizance whatever of an illegal inhuman decree law, which is contrary to the noblest traditions of our country."

Noted Figures Sign

Among the other signers of the statement are:

Bouvalle, Secretary of the Bakers of the Seine; Digap, Secretary of the Agents of the Posts, Telephones and Telegraphs; Foroibeval, Secretary of the Lockmakers of the Seine; Roger Hagnauer, Secretary of Education of the Seine; Gerard Rosenthal, labor attorney; Marcel Roy, Secretary of the Metal Federation and numerous others.

This statement, reprinted from **La Revolution Proletarienne** of June 10th, eloquently points out the terrible plight of the anti-fascist exiles in Europe. Here are the wolves' teeth that snap at the political refugees and their friends in France and elsewhere while the representatives of the Popular Front regime display smiling faces at Evian.

Nationalist Feeling Flares As Attempt Is Made On Puerto Rican Governor

(Continued from page 1)

Seven Nationalists, including their leader, Albizu Campos, were arrested after the murder of Riggs, but as no connection with the murder could be established, they were charged with sedition or treason. They were convicted and are now serving long terms in the Federal Prison at Atlanta.

The following year, on March 21, 1937, the Nationalists had a permit to parade at Ponce. Just as the parade was about to start, the permit was withdrawn by the Chief of Police after a conference with Governor Winship. The Nationalists attempted to parade despite the orders, and the police opened fire on the unarmed demonstrators.

Twenty persons, including passers-by, were killed or died of wounds, and between 100 and 150 injured by bullets or clubs. Eleven Nationalists were tried for the death of a policeman in the massacre—he was probably killed by a police bullet. The first trial, after dragging out three months, ended in suspension owing to the illness of a juror, and the second trial resulted in acquittal. The police received neither punishment nor official censure.

Terrorists Seek Revenge

The Ponce massacre and the systematic repression that followed it have engendered great bitterness. That the Nationalists should seek revenge—a theory that has been advanced with regard to the attempt on the Governor — is understandable. Certainly, a celebration of the anniversary of American rule in Ponce was a provocative move in itself.

After the shooting was over and the Nationalists duly arrested, Governor Winship proceeded to read his previously prepared address. It contained what the New York **Times** called "a definite warning," and which, in view of his previous policies, could be more plainly termed a "threat."

"It is necessary," he said, "that the people of Puerto Rico do nothing to cast doubt on the unquestionable fact that the Island as a whole is decidedly loyal to the United States Government and the American flag, that it appreciates the help it has already received, that it is truly deserving of even more generous help in the future . . . In my opinion continued financial assistance will be needed for many years before the Island can be put on a self-sustained basis. That help must come from the Federal Government, and the amount received will depend to a great extent on how the Puerto Rican people are thought to feel about the relationship to the United States."

The demonstration just afforded in the assassination attempt of "how the Puerto Rican people . . . feel about the relationship to the United States" could scarcely have been encouraging. It is certain that if Winship has his way, reprisals will follow and the expression of the Puerto Ricans' feelings toward U. S. imperialism will be more sternly throttled than ever.

MEXICAN MINERS STRIKE

About 4,500 Mexican coal miners are now striking against the Sabinas and the Mexican Mining Corporations. Both companies, financed by capital from the United States, have refused constant demands of the miners for pay increases.

ASK FOR THE APPEAL AT YOUR NEWSSTAND

BRANCHES ACTIVE IN FUND DRIVE FOR REFUGEES

Money Rolls to Committee from All Sections of the Country

The initial response to the appeal of the American Fund for Political Prisoners and Refugees for funds to aid the militant labor refugees from Fascism has been extremely encouraging, reports George Novack, secretary of the American Fund. Four hundred dollars have already been collected in the first few weeks of its campaign.

First honors belong to the local Cleveland Committee, which quickly lifted its initial pledge of $15 to $50, and is now heading towards a quota of $85. Cleveland found house-to-house canvassing a most effective method of raising money. Two members collected $10 on two blocks during the first tag day.

Tag Days Effective

A tag day in Minneapolis raised $51 for the Fund, while Philadelphia ran it a close second with a contribution of $50. The Detroit local is off to a fine start with $24.35, and plans are being made to extend its contribution and activities beginning with a garden party.

The New York local thus far raised $44.74 and is planning a tag day which it expects will put it at the top of the list.

Southern Unionists Give

Collection lists are bringing in a steady stream of contributions to swell the total. One dollar bill has been received from "twenty industrial unionists of the South," with the inscription: "Wish we could contribute more than one nickel apiece! Best wishes to our friends, the working heroes and fighters—our militant brothers and sisters in Europe."

The news of the American Fund's formation has brought numerous requests for aid from individuals and organizations. The secretary requests that collections be speeded up and all money now available be promptly forwarded to the committee so that it can continue its work without difficulties and delay.

Aid Given Five Refugees

The secretary reports that money already on hand has enabled the Committee to give immediate relief to five urgent cases: Two German refugees and an Italian exile in France, one political prisoner in Spain and a German refugee now seeking asylum.

NEED FUNDS FOR FRED BEAL FIGHT

Redoubled efforts have been made to obtain the liberation of Fred E. Beal, framed-up leader of the militant Gastonia textile strike, who is now serving a 17 to 20 year jail sentence in North Carolina.

Beal was sentenced in 1929 to serve a living death behind bars because he dared to organize a group of the most exploited negro and white workers in the heart of the South. He was incarcerated several months ago after evading capitalist "justice" for nine years.

Committee Asks For Funds

An emergency appeal has just been issued by Margaret De Silver, treasurer of the Non-Partisan Committee for the Defense of Fred Beal. She reports that the attorneys for the class war prisoner are enthused about the possibilities of obtaining a pardon.

Her message read:

"It cannot happen automatically. There are important steps to be taken, and they cost money. Beal is behind bars because he organized American workers. We must and can obtain his release. The need for funds is of an emergency nature."

The Communist Party, of which Beal was a member at the time of the Gastonia strike, has refused him aid. Beal fled to the Soviet Union in 1929, rather than hand his life over to the Southern capitalist class. In 1933, he left the Soviet Union, disgusted with the Stalinist bureaucracy and returned to the United States where he voluntarily surrendered to North Carolina authorities several months ago.

Although the Stalinists refuse to aid this innocent victim of the capitalist class, the real labor movement cannot forget Beal's service to its cause. We urge all readers to speed the liberation of Fred Beal by sending contribution, immediately to the Non-Partisan Committee for the Defense of Fred Beal, Rm. 610, 19 West 44 St., New York City.

Labor Militancy Rises Anew in France; Progressives Gain Strength in Unions

Reject People's Frontism at Left Socialist Convention; New Awakening Seen In Political Trends

By TERENCE PHELAN

PARIS, July 19.—While bourgeois Paris gawps at the dummy sovereigns of England amid expensive decorations whose principal motif is the fasces, and whose featured entertainment is the display at Versailles of French imperialism's armed might, proletarian Paris wonders rather what were the exact contents of the "letters" exchanged between the French and British premiers on the eve of the visit, unconfirmedly rumored to be the final sealing of the Franco-British alliance.

For the French working class is justifiably jumpy. In recent weeks it has seen Daladier-la-Guerre's Radical-Socialist government release the last of the fascist "cagoulards," while at the same time imposing crushing jail sentences on the aroused workers and students of Tunisia, France's martial-law colony in North Africa—200 years of prison sentences in one month. (So severe is the repression that even the reformist-socialist newspapers have been suppressed—and Blum & Co., heretofore deaf to the appeals of the miserably exploited worker natives, suddenly howl to high heaven themselves.

Franco Welcomes Doriot

The French worker has just read of Franco's triumphal reception of the renegade communist Doriot, most dangerous of French fascist leaders, while the Stalinists push ahead for unity with anyone, including fascists, who will help them build up France's imperialist war-machine.

Bosses simply scorn the decisions of governmental arbitrators when not overwhelmingly in their favor; they snipe off any militant who protests; and they proceed, with the help of the "explanations" of Stalinist intermediaries, to the most bare-faced sabotage of the hard-won 40-hour week. And the cost of living inexorably rises.

Strikes Increasing

But the workers begin to grow not only jumpy but angry. And impatient. Strikes (characteristically sit-downs that the union leaders are hard put to turn into evacuations) again increase: the whole building-trades in the Isere; 700 metal-workers at Marseilles; other strikes in Guingamp, Venisseux, Prouvy—significantly including war industries, which infuriates the war-mongering Stalinist **Humanite**. Equally infuriated is the big-bourgeois **Temps**, at the Marseilles dock workers, who have found their own way to enforce the 40-hour week, i. e. to work 40 hours and then go home, leaving **Le Temps** to tear its hair all it wants to.

It is still a long way from June, 1936, yet workers' militancy seems to have passed the low ebb. In June the conference of trade union minorities issued a powerful appeal throughout the national trade union federation, the C.G.T. Its program, condemning the fatal class-collaboration policies of the Popular Front, calling for a return to the class-struggle policies of 1936, met an immediate response, spread rapidly through the C.G.T., and continues to win increasingly impressive support. The bureaucrats at the top are feeling the pressure, are being driven to the left.

Statement Causes Flurry

On July 17, Leon Jouhaux. reformist head of the C.G.T., announced that the interrupted reforms must be completed. "And that day," he added, "may be near: October or November may call us to action. We are prepared for it. The fascists will not pass in October 1938 any more than they passed in February, 1934."

Le Temps immediately threw front-page fits: this was not the language it had expected from the tame Green-like Jouhaux—especially since as recently as June 25, when at the Rassemblement du Front Populaire the Radical-Socialists, by flinging back in their faces the Socialist and Communist propositions, had proved the political death of the Popular Front, **Le Temps** had permitted itself some pompous gloating over the "impotence" of the Left. Jouhaux is certainly no firebrand, and if he speaks as above, the rank-and-file must be putting some uncomfortable iron in his soul.

"Left Socialist" Convention

Also significant are some of the decisions of the constitutional convention of the new "left socialist" party, the P.S.O.P., on July 16-18. It is still ideologically a muddled grouping (e.g. in one committee of 12, there were five distince and warring tendencies); yet although it refused to receive a delegation from the revolutionary socialist party, the P.O.I., and mildly condemned the Fourth International as having insufficient internal democracy (this from some of the bureaucratic ex-wheel-horses of the Socialist Party!), yet many of its positions were progressive.

Its supposed ideological leader, Marceau Pivert was so soundly trounced on a motion to affiliate with the Popular Front that he thought it prudent not even to bring up his pet project of affiliation with the London Bureau; and the P.S.O.P., after roundly condemning the Second and the Third International for their notorious betrayals, remains for the time internationally unattached. It sent a strong protest to the Spanish Loyalist Government for its suspicious imprisonment of POUMists and other militants; and protested equally strongly to its own government against the savage repressions in all French colonies. The party rejecting the **term** "revolutionary defeatism," it nevertheless called for revolutionary defeatism in **other** terms. And lastly, significant in view of Pivert's notorious affiliations, it sent to referendum a vote to expel all Freemasons, a politically active and class-collaborationist fraternal organization in France.

War-Monger

EDOUARD DALADIER

Party Direction Undecided

Those whom the fatal role of the POUM, which herded into a suicidal centrism the left-moving workers, has made, with much justification, suspicious, warn that the P.S.O.P. gives birth to a similar danger, especially should the Pivert group retain complete control. To them it can be recalled that the POUM was a left-wing organization that moved right, whereas the P.S.O.P. is a right-wing organization moving left. There are furthermore signs that the maneuering Pivertists are unsteady in the saddle. It is not yet excluded that the pressure of rank-and-file miltants, pushing the party policies from the centre to the left, may make it true revolutionary party.

Meanwhile the Fourth Internationalists give it their friendly criticism, and make every effort to establish with it united fronts—against capitalism and its social lackeys, for the workers' revolution.

Telegraphists Present Demands

A series of demands affecting hours and working conditions were adopted for presentation to the Postal Telegraph and Cable Company by the convention of the American Communications Association, C.I.O. Negotiations for a new contract with the company will begin late in October. The present contract expires in December.

The demands call for a forty-four-hour week instead of forty-eight, without decrease in pay; elimination of certain technicalities in the present agreement; a closed shop and clarification of classifications and rates of pay to provide for the transfer of employes from one classification to another.

Daily Worker Exposed

By GUSTAV MULFINGER

Through a notice in the **Daily Worker** of July 20, entitled "Workers' Enemies Exposed," I was informed of my expulsion from the ranks of the Communist Party. Declaring that I am "politically irresponsible" and have failed to attend meetings or pay dues, the official organ of the Stalinist party solemnly "exposes" me as "an enemy of the working class."

Unless one has a blind belief in headlines I am at a loss to understand why I have "forfeited the confidence of all workers and working-class organizations." Is it because I have stopped paying dues and no longer attend party meetings? Or is it because, well aware of slander campaigns against former party members, I have, through my attorney, warned them not to attempt such tactics against me?

In 1935, as an official of the C. P.-controlled Uptown Press, I reported certain financial irregularities and demanded a clean-up. The thieving functionary involved was protected by party "tops" and I was forced to bring the affair to the Board of Directors and call in an outside accountant to clean up the mess.

For this "political irresponsibility and disruption" I was severely reprimanded by the Central Committee for removing their trusted henchman and eventually forced to reinstate him. He, by his own admission, had misappropriated hundreds of dollars for his own personal benefit.

In 1937 this protege of the C.P. leaders again misappropriated funds to the amount of $430.00. When this case reached the Central Control Committee the question of corruption in the party did not come up, but, by lies and frame-up, Mulfinger was again attacked. As for the second case against their thieving protege, I have heard of no decision. He has not, however, been "exposed as an enemy of the working class."

As for me, I did not wait for a decision. Without words, ashamed of the party I had done my best to build for ten years, I left. Ten months later, but only one week after I had begun to print the **Socialist Appeal** in the printing shop I am connected with, these gentlemen have the effrontery to designate me as an enemy of the working class in their slander sheet, the **Daily Worker!**

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.

The most thorough and objective study yet made of the trials. Indispensable to an understanding of contemporary Soviet Russia. (422 pp.)

SPECIAL PAPER EDITION: $1.50 CLOTH: $2.75

(SEND FOR BOOKLIST)

LABOR BOOK SHOP

28 EAST 12th STREET, NEW YORK

SOCIALIST APPEAL

Vol. II—No. 31 Saturday, July 30, 1938

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

Subscriptions: $2.00 per year; $1.00 for six months. Foreign: $2.50 per year. Bundle order 3 cents per copy. Single copies 5 cents.

All checks and money orders should be made out to the Socialist Appeal.

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

MAX SHACHTMAN
Editor

HAROLD ROBERTS FRANK GRAVES
Associate Editors

S. STANLEY
Business Manager

Horse-Trading Politics

After having begged in vain for recognition by the Democratic Party, the leaders of the American Labor Party in New York have announced the consummation of a deal with the party of Landon and Hoover for contesting seats in the coming state legislative elections.

The program for Brooklyn has already been worked out. It provides for nine Republican Assembly candidates to be endorsed by the Labor Party and eight Labor Party Assembly candidates to be endorsed by the Republican Party. Similar arrangements are already made for the endorsement of two state Senatorial candidates of each party.

In Manhattan, the program calls for the endorsement of five Republican Assembly candidates and one Senatorial candidate by the Labor Party, and four Labor Assembly and two Senatorial candidates by the Republicans.

It is hard to imagine a more wretched and unprincipled piece of political horse-trading than the one that the Labor Party leaders have so blandly announced.

The Labor Party, in the face of this agreement, continues to affirm that it is not only still a "New Deal" party, but indeed the only "New Deal" party in New York. We don't think that's anything for a party carrying the name of Labor to be proud of, but let that be for the moment. In the same breath, the "only New Deal party" makes public a shameless horse-trade for legislative seats with the most pronounced conservative opponent of the "New Deal."

In the days when Republicans and Democrats endorsed a "fusion" candidate to oppose a socialist or working class candidate, there was at least some measure of principle taken into consideration: Unite to defeat the labor candidate!

What principle is behind the present move? What program or platform does the Labor Party have in general, or issue in this election, in common with the party of Hoover and Vandenberg? Only the "principle" of getting a few seats in the legislature of the state. And for the sake of this contemptible bargain, everything worthy of the dignity of the labor movement is trampled under foot.

The only possible justification for labor forming its own party and giving its name and support to such a party, however inadequate its program or leadership, is as a step in the direction of independent working class action. The worker feels that just as he would not be in the same union with a boss, so he will not be in the same party as a boss. He wants a party of his own, breaking from the dirty practices and the reactionary policies and leadership of the old capitalist parties.

From the point of view of the labor masses, this is an entirely progressive movement. The labor bureaucrats, however, seek to prostitute this healthy movement to the basest and most conservative ends. And that is precisely what is being done by the bosses of the American Labor Party in their latest deal with the Republicans.

Is it any wonder that these bosses do not even bother to consult the rank and file of the Labor Party and of the unions that make up its membership and its strength? *They* are the ones who should have the final say on such a matter—not after it has been done but even before it is proposed outside the ranks of the A.L.P.

The workers in the ranks of the A.L.P. must react promptly and vigorously to the disgraceful and humiliating horse trade carried out by the party bureaucracy. It must be repudiated, if the movement for independent working class political action is to be a healthy and genuinely progressive movement.

Labor is strong enough to stand on its own feet. More truly, it is only when labor stands on its own feet that it is strong. Dependence on "friends" was the curse of Gomperism in the labor movement for years. The founding of the A.L.P. as a vote-collecting agency for Roosevelt and Lehman stultified and stunted the development of the party from the beginning. The horse-trade with the Republicans is no less reprehensible and injurious to the labor movement. Let the rank and file speak out clearly in denunciation of it.

Taxing the Poor

A subordinate official of the Treasury Department jumped the gun a few months on plans to reduce income tax exemptions, and the Department found it necessary last week to issue a hasty disavowal. No one, however, should be so naive as to imagine that the last has been heard on this subject.

It would not do, however, to have the issue raised prominently during the primaries and the congressional elections this autumn. Once the administration has its majority safely under its belt, it can be returned to with greater calm and less chance of effective opposition.

The idea of reducing the income tax exemptions, for some years a favorite theme of the LaFollette brothers, is quite in keeping with the taxation policy followed during the last session of Congress under the dictation of the big banks and Wall Street.

The general theory of the banks is, naturally, that the main incidence of taxation shall fall on the workers and the lower middle classes. In spite of the tariffs, the sales taxes, the various kinds of open and hidden taxes on consumers' goods, the rent-raising real property taxes, all of which affect directly the living standards of the masses and which together account for the great bulk of public income, the banks feel that the squeeze is not yet being tightly enough applied.

In the last Congress they drew the teeth from the undistributed profits tax, the taxes on personal corporations, and the methods of taxing captial gains (all of which taxes affect primarily the wealthy). Simultaneously they began a determined campaign for lowering the income tax exemptions, in order, they said, to provide greater stability to the tax structure, help balance the budget, and "equalize the burdens."

The absurdity of these arguments is to be seen in the fact that the entire sum which could be realized from the proposed lowering of the exemptions (estimated at from 50 to 70 millions) is far less than the individual 50 highest incomes in 1937. Here, as in general, in the aim of making the masses carry the burden of depression and crisis, tax policy only supplements the wage cuts and speedups at the point of production.

Lasser's Resignation

The Socialist Party's national office announces that David Lasser, president of the Workers' Alliance, has resigned from the party following the presentation of charges against him by the party's national secretary.

With this resignation ends a symptomatic and symbolic episode in the life of the Thomas party.

Like so many other petty bureaucrats," Lasser stayed with the Socialist Party so long as he could make use of it for himself. In the Alliance, he carried out his own private policy, regardless of whether or not it conformed with the decisions of the party. When militant and left-wing socialists complained against Lasser and his policy, when they criticised him for playing the dirty game of the Stalinists, when they demanded that he follow a militant, class-struggle policy, Lasser easily crushed their opposition, because he always got protection from the official party leadership. Lasser knew how to play this game to perfection, as others had done before him and as still others are doing right now in the S. P.

Lasser was a "Thomas man," which meant he was under Thomas' wing and that he joined in every vicious attack—including expulsions—against left-wingers. In exchange, he obtained immunity for all sorts of rascality and opportunism committed in the name of his party. Thomas, Tyler and Co., in turn, sought to cover their own impotence by pointing proudly to Lasser as an example of the "mass work we socialists are doing." Only, Lasser wasn't working for the party; the party was made to work for him.

Before the bureaucratic expulsion of the left wing by Thomas, Tyler and Lasser, when there was still time to do something about it, the revolutionary socialists tried in vain to haul Lasser before the party and compel him to give an account of himself. The party bosses answered with thunder and lightning—not against Lasser but against the left wingers!

Finally, when Lasser was through with the S. P. for good, when he no longer needed it, when he no longer bothered even to make believe that he was listening—the national secretary timidly filed his charges on May 24th. Some two months later it announced obscurely that Lasser had resigned from the party.

Will the Thomasites draw any lessons from this instructive experience? Not on your tintype! They will go right on producing more Lassers and Lashes and . . . resignations. For their idea of party democracy boils down to this: free reign to all opportunists and bureaucrats, but the gag and the boot for all revolutionists.

AMERICA'S PERMANENT DEPRESSION

Experts Baffled for Explanation -- But New Millions Face Unemployment and Disemployment -- A Future of Hunger and Insecurity

By ART PREIS

Historians of some future age, unearthing the writings of our current sooth-sayers on the "New Deal" depression, will undoubtedly publish their findings in some journal devoted to the study of mental diseases. The average "expert", when not blaming depressions on the misbehavior of sun-spots, usually attributes economic crises to the mental state of the business class.

If the bottom drops out of the stock market, or increasing millions of unemployed haunt the gates of silent factories, the pundits of the press bark, "Pessimism!", and let the matter ride. Undoubtedly, pessimism has characterized the state of mind of the average business man for the past twelve months. The economic guess-alls have failed to show, however, whether this frame of mind is a cause or result of the present decline.

Third of Nation Distressed.

In a similarly enlightening fashion, these economic gospel-pounders view the facts of chronic mass unemployment. America's 15 million unemployed, who, with their dependents, represent one-third of our population, when not dismissed as "lazy bums who won't work even if they had a job," are considered at best merely temporarily unfortunate beings to whom some attention should be paid—after the real tragedy of declining profits has been properly remedied.

Between June, 1935, and August, 1937, dates which roughly mark the life span of the "New Deal Boomlet," unemployment was regarded largely as an irritating, but not dangerous, skin blemish, which could be concealed under the powder and rouge of mounting production and profit figures. It could be soothed, whenever it itched, by a light application of W.P.A. jobs and starvation pensions for the helplessly aged.

Unemployed Census Revealing

It was with undoubted optimism that F.D.R. undertook the nation-wide census of unemployment in June, 1937. Production was heading steadily for the pre-depression peak of 1929. Business men were staggering gaily from heady draughts of fresh-drawn profits. Everything was hunky-dory, if only the Budget were balanced, taxes reduced, and the "goddam relief racket cut out."

When the figures of the census were revealed finally in November, 1937, America was already hurtling down an economic land-slide at the most precipitous pace in its history. What use to bemoan the fact of 8½-11 million unemployed during the peak of a boom, when six months later at least five millions more had been piled on those figures—and profits were melting away, to boot?

Figures Give Vital Lesson

But the American workers dare not forget these figures. They reveal a fact that is truly ominous. The figures of mass unemployment registered at the peak of Roosevelt "prosperity" prove conclusively, that, despite temporary periods of comparative recovery, larger and larger sections of workers are condemned to permanent joblessness — **disemployment.** Increasing millions under capitalism are cut off forever from productive labor in normal economic pursuits.

This economically disenfranchised "nation within a nation" (larger, including dependents, than the entire populations of such countries as Spain, Canada or Mexico) is supplemented from time to time by new millions of jobless workers, who are periodically cast by each succeeding wave of depression upon the desolate shores of our economic system. While some workers are lucky enough as individuals to be drawn back into the economic currents by the receding waves, other millions are left permanently stranded, part of the rapidly accumulating wreckage of labor and talents, of human lives and aspirations which is mass disemployment in America.

Two Factors Reveal Depths

Two factors distinguish the 1929—? economic decline from all previous depressions. One is the increasing mass disemployment. The other is the increasing regularity of periodic lay-offs suffered by almost every worker regardless of his trade or industry. The unemployed of previous depressions were largely re-absorbed into industry during the following upturns. Each recovery period which succeeded former depressions surpassed previous booms in the volume of production and brought forth new industries. Indeed, certain industries formerly weathered the depression fairly well, and the workers in these industries considered themselves permanently secure. Until 1929, a railroad job was considered a guaranteed life-time security. But the present depression has made an exception of no industry. A million railroad workers, for example, have lost their regular occupations during the past nine years.

These burning facts must be seared into the consciousness of every American worker. **Every worker, in all industries without exception, is from now on threatened by the ravages of periodic lay-offs; and increasing millions of unemployed face the dismal future of permanent disemployment.**

Workers Pay Price of Crisis

The American working class is paying an incalculable price for these conditions in terms of physical suffering, disordered family life, mental break-down, disease and death. Compare the $2500 yearly income estimated by the U.S. Children's Bureau as necessary to provide the minimum comfort and decency level of living for a family of five with the $400—$700 per year which the average W.P.A. worker earns. Then remember that the W.P.A. workers, who represent less than 20 percent of the unemployed, are considered a relatively "privileged" group. We can well understand why certain authorities have claimed that the unemployed as a group suffer five times as much from sickness and disease as the rest of the population.

Millions of workers find that the few comforts and conveniences they manage to accumulate over years of hard work are snatched away during even a few months of unemployment. A couple of instalment payments missed, and automobiles, radios and washing machines are promptly taken away. Every day hundreds of homes, representing life-times of sacrifice and scrimping, are foreclosed. Thousands of families are evicted to join the homeless hordes that today aimlessly travel our highroads.

Class Strength Sapped

If we permit these conditions to continue for any length of time, the resistance of the American working class will be sapped. The unparalleled militancy displayed by the American workers during the past four years of bitter struggles will be dulled. Hunger and disease demoralize the workers and drain their fighting spirits.

It is this possible demoralization, rather than any immediate suffering, which is most to be feared by the workers. In both Germany and Italy, desperate and demoralized unemployed, susceptible to any demagogic appeal, and lacking powerful organizations knit firmly to the trade unions, helped form the storm-troop gangs of the fascists which utterly destroyed the labor movements in these countries. The American labor movement dares not permit our home-grown Hitlers so fruitful a field for exploitation. The dangers are too hideous to contemplate.

(This is the first of a series of articles on the nature of unemployment, its causes and how it can be remedied. The next article in the series will be "The New Deal and the Unemployed," an analysis of how the Roosevelt administration has dealt with the unemployed and unemployment since 1935.—Ed.)

This scene from Cleveland vividly depicts the plight of the unemployed, facing starvation in a land of plenty.

George Sokolsky

One More Chapter In a Venal History

Disclosure of methods by which the National Association of Manufacturers and the big steel corporations sought in 1936 to stir hostility against the Committee for Industrial Organization and organized labor generally, by means of planned propaganda campaigns, was made last week in Washington by the Senate Civil Liberties Committee.

The boss organizations, it was revealed, developed their propaganda drive against labor at a time when the C.I.O. was pushing its drive to organize workers in the steel and rubber industries.

Bosses Finance Campaign

One of the methods to create prejudice against the C.I.O. was the publication of a series of "prosperity dwells where harmony prevails" advertisements, which were sent through the country by a South Bend advertising firm. Testimony showed that the advertisements were paid for by employers, although they were made to appear as having originated with public and civic or "third party" groups such as women's clubs, dental groups, farm organizations and garden societies.

A prominent social worker of Youngstown, Ohio, who is a leading figure in nearly every health and social service activity in the vicinity, said he was glad to "cooperate" in the work because he opposed "outside" labor leaders. Although paid for wholly by employers and merchants, with a slight contribution from two civic groups, the witness said it was decided to have the advertisements published as sponsored by "neither industry nor labor."

Sokolsky Revelations

The most revealing evidence read into the record by the LaFollette Committee, concerned George E. Sokolsky, prominent writer and lecturer, who was shown to have received $28,599 from Hill and Knowlton, public relations counsel for the steel corporations, for speaking at "publicly sponsored" meetings, between June, 1936, and February, 1938. In addition, Sokolsky received $3,409 directly from the National Association of Manufacturers for expenses from May, 1936, to March, 1938.

Sokolsky, who in his lecturing and writing activity has always endeavored to appear as an "impartial observer" of the struggle between capital and labor, thus emerges in the role of paid tool of the big boss organizations. This is quite consistent with his past career.

Years ago, after having acquired in his high school days something of a reputation as a radical and being expelled from at least one educational institution, Sokolsky went to China. There, recognizing in the rising Nationalist movement a chance to sell himself in on the ground floor of something that might become big, he made the aquaintance of Dr. Sun Yat-sen, founder and leader of the Kuomintang.

Sells to Japan

Several years were to elapse, however, before that party came to power and as Sokolsky was, and remains, salable to the highest bidder, he soon discovered that attachment to the cause of Japanese imperialism paid more substantial dividends. He enlisted under the banner of the Rising Sun and became associated with the Japanese-subsidized **Far Eastern Review,** edited by the late George Bronson Rea, who after Japan seized Manchuria became an adviser to the Manchukuo government at a salary of $75,000 a year.

In 1925-27, when the star of Chiang Kai-shek and the Kuomintang was rising, Sokolsky, because of his friendship with Sun Yat-sen (then already dead) and the entree which this gave him to Kuomintang circles, discovered he had value for the **North-China Daily News,** leading organ of British imperialism in Shanghai. He was given a job on the editorial staff at a fancy salary.

Early in 1927, when the Kuomintang government established itself at Nanking with Chiang Kai-shek as military dictator, Sokolsky secured himself a well-paid job as an "advisor" to the butcher of the Chinese masses.

Employed by Kuomintang

Known in China by all his associates, Chinese and foreign, as a petty intriguer, Sokolsky was interested only in espousing causes that were financially profitable to himself. His Kuomintang employers understood his character well, and they kept him on their payroll only so long as they found him useful.

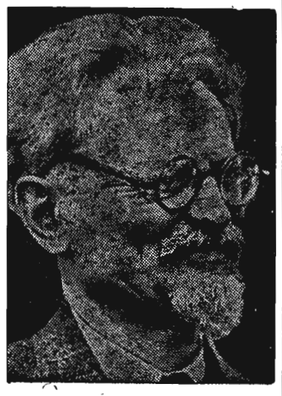
But with his venal reputation and character, and his penchant for intrigue, Sokolsky finally became a source of embarrassment to China's new rulers and according to reports believed true by all who know him in China, the Kuomintang finally paid him a substantial sum to leave the country, with the understanding that he was never to return.

Back in the United States, he built a reputation as a writer and lecturer and shortly thereafter, according to the LaFollette Committee's evidence, became a propagandist hack for the steel corporations.

The steel corporations spend on propaganda much more than they paid Sokolsky, whose renumeration appears relatively insignificant. Hill and Knowlton received for "publicity" a sum of $248,654 between August, 1933, and December, 1937, the evidence last week showed. This sum was subscribed by the Republic Steel Corporation, the Youngstown Sheet and Tube Company and the American Iron and Steel Institute.

ON MY CONSPIRACY

By LEON TROTSKY



During the eighteen months of my stay in this hospitable country I have been accused of a number of dreadful conspiracies.

A few months back Mr. Toledano declared at various meetings that I was preparing a general strike against the government of General Cardenas. No more and no less!

The leader of the Communist Party (his name, I think, is Laborde) declared at a public mass meeting in the presence of the President of the republic that I was in a fascist conspiracy with Generals Cedillo and . . . Villareal.

On the morrow each of the Messrs. Accusers cast aside his own accusation like a cigarette butt, forgot about it, and passed on to new inventions.

The "Conspiratorial" Trip

At present my vacation trips to Patzcuaro, Jiquilpan, Guadalajara and Morelia is placed on the agenda. Now I am no longer accused of preparing a general strike and a fascist uprising but of . . . a trip through Mexico, stopping at hotels, and meeting and conversing with Mexican citizens. Yes, I have actually committed all these crimes. And, I must add, I committed them with great pleasure.

On the part of the various layers of population: workers, teachers, army men, artists, government and municipal authorities, I met nothing but consideration and hospitality which in general so brilliantly distinguish the Mexicans. In Patzcuaro, a few teachers who visited Diego Rivera and myself on their own initiative, conversed with me concerning the situation in the U.S.S.R. and in particular about public education. I expressed to them the same views which I have expressed many times in my books and articles. In order to assure complete clarity of exposition, I gave them a written statement. None of these teachers, so far as I know, considered or called himself a "Trotskyite."

In Jiquilpan, Guadalajara and Morelia, I am sorry to say, I had no such meetings, since at each of these places I stopped for only a few hours.

"Plot" in an Orphan Asylum

In Guadalajara, the field of operation for my "conspiracy" was the government palace, the university, and the orphan asylum, where I examined the frescoes of Orozco. Various people approached me asking for autographs or simply to press my hand. Some of them I asked jestingly, just as of the teachers in Patzcuaro: "Aren't you afraid to approach a counter-revolutionist and fascist?" Almost invariably I received the answer, "Not a single sensible person believes this." Needless to say, this answer gave me great moral satisfaction.

So far as the conspiracy with Dr. Atl is concerned, I can only say that I heard his name for the first time from the "unmaskers." I never met Dr. Atl and do not have the honor of knowing him.

No Silence on Slanderers

I do not doubt that this statement containing in itself the refutation of a false denunciation also will be interpreted by my detractors as "interference in the internal life of Mexico." But this trick will fool no one. I gave a definite obligation to the government of this country, that is to the Government of General Cardenas and not to the government of Lombardo Toledano. No one has informed me that the task of keeping my behavior under observation has been conferred upon Mr. Toledano. I never obligated myself to keep silent on slanders and slanderers. I retain the right in my house as well as during trips to breathe the Mexican air, to meet citizens of this country, to enter into conversation with them, to visit monuments of art—and in such cases as I find it necessary, to brand openly and by name those "democrats," "socialists," and "revolutionists," who—oh shame, have taken upon themselves the assignment to obtain by lies and slander, my deliverance into the hands of the G.P.U.

July 19, 1938
Coyoacan, D. F.

Middletown Labor Teaches a Lesson

(Continued from page 1)

junction even if he had to use machine guns. This threat was met in a determined fashion by the workers, and they decided that they must meet such threats in similar language.

More than 200 strikers appeared at the plant with shotguns, rifles, crude gas bombs, firecrackers, etc. and started to dig in. They dug holes in the ground and entrenched themselves around the plant. Seeing that the workers really meant business and were prepared to the best of their ability, the company quickly agreed to meet in conference with the union representatives.

Victories for Strikers

The following day a settlement was reached. The discharged workers were re-instated and the U.A.W. was granted bargaining rights for production workers. The A. F. of L. bargained for the die makers, machinists and metal polishers.

In addition the injunction against picketing was withdrawn, and the company dropped a suit for $50,000 against the U.A.W. local. The company had charged the union with damaging company property.

BUILD THE SOCIALIST APPEAL!

FORWARD TO CIRCULATION OF

10,000!