

Workers Of The World Unite!

Socialist Appeal

OFFICIAL WEEKLY ORGAN OF THE SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY

For The Fourth International!

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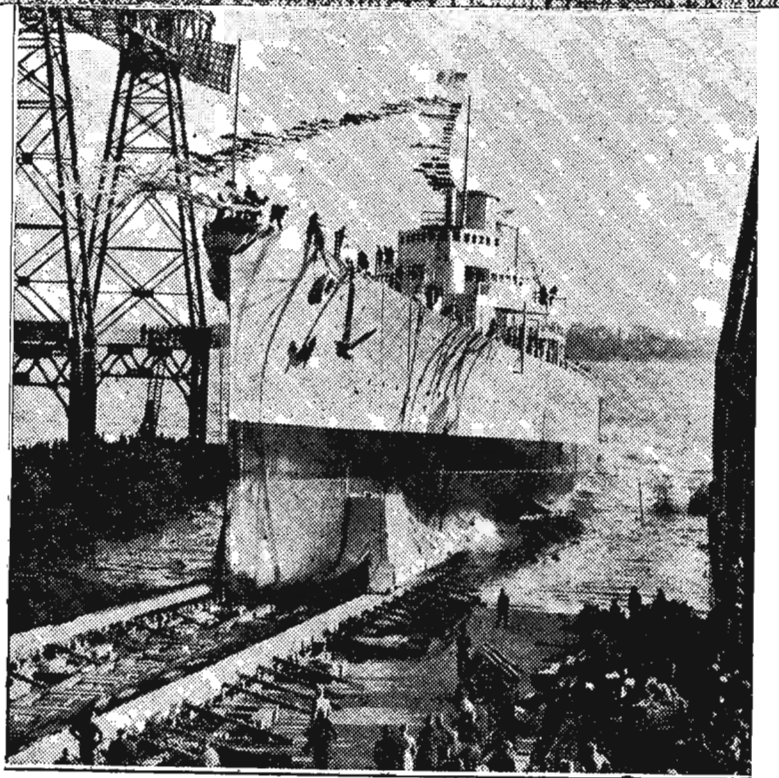
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AFTER 24 YEARS



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



August 4th, 1914! Twenty-four years ago, the massed armies of the nations of the world began the bloody carnage that exterminated the flower of the organized working class...

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

But once again, on the gruesome anniversary of the first world war, humanity awaits the dread beginning of a new conflict. Armies are being whipped into fighting shape. Munition factories work overtime. Bombing planes fill the air...

The actual scene of the war cannot be foretold in advance. But the danger spots are multiplying. In the Far East. In Czechoslovakia. In Spain. In the Mediterranean.

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

The conflicts that engendered the last war have not lessened with the lapse of a quarter of a century. Profits decline, the working class is plunged into deeper misery, but the economic crisis remains.

As in 1914, capitalism can find no other solution to its crisis than war. By that fact alone, capitalism has pronounced its own doom.

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

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

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

The lie remains. On the day that war begins, the "great democracies" of England, France and the United States are prepared to trample the labor movement underfoot.

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

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

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

Organize the toiling millions and arm them with the program of the Socialist Revolution!

NEW WAGE CUTS HIT WPA WORKERS

Directors Get Big Raise As Ranks Face Hunger

Wages of 26,262 W.P.A. workers in New York were slashed in June. The cuts ranged from \$4.70 to \$14.95 per month. All those affected by the cuts came from the home relief rolls.

Apparently, there are enough W.P.A. funds on hand to grease the palms of the slave-drivers and their flunks. It is only on the backs of the wage workers that economies are made.

Thousands who had thought (Continued on page 2)

Stage Set In Barcelona For Frame-Up Of POUM.

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

In line with its oft-announced policy of physical extermination of all its political opponents and critics, the Stalinist bureaucracy in Moscow, through its Spanish agents, has finally prevailed on the Barcelona government to go through with the long-delayed trial of the leaders of the Workers Party of Marxian Unification (POUM).

The reports from Barcelona indicate that the trial, which, it is expected, will take place behind closed doors, will be opened shortly. Other reports declare that, in accordance with the stereotyped formulas of the Moscow frame-ups, defendants of all sorts—POUM-ists, left-wing socialists, anarchists, syndicalists, real spies and fascists—will be thrown together under one head and tried jointly in order to add to the judicial crime which is in preparation, an element of confusion.

Stiler to Answer Stalinist Slander

AUTO UNION TRIAL TO BE RESUMED

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

DETROIT, Aug. 2.—As we go to press, the trial of the four suspended officers of the United Automobile Workers is scheduled to resume, and it is expected that the Executive Board will complete its deliberations and reach a verdict.

The riotous actions of the Stalinist-inspired delegations and the persistent filibustering of the Stalinist-directed officers and attorney, Maurice Sugar, brought the last session of the hearing to an early adjournment before charges and evidence could be presented and testimony taken.

Expulsion Likely

(Continued on page 3)

TEAMSTERS DEFY COURT ORDER TO REVEAL RECORDS

Minneapolis Labor Backs Stand of Local 544

BULLETIN

MINNEAPOLIS, Minn. — In a statement signed by the executive board, General Drivers Local 544 refused to obey the court order, directing the union to open its books to the inspection of the bosses' agents masquerading as union members.

Declaring that they are backed by the Minneapolis Central Union, the Teamsters Joint Council and the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, the executive board stated the union was ready to throw its books open to any responsible body of organized labor, but refuses to "permit enemies of labor to have access to our records."

While members of the board have not yet been cited for contempt of court by Judge Frank E. Reed, who issued the order, union officials are prepared to answer such action. Most likely procedure by the court will be to send an attorney for the bosses to the union headquarters and, when he is thrown out, institute the contempt action.

In the long statement to the public, the executive board made clear the determination of the union to resist to the utmost the campaign to destroy the powerful union movement, of which the court proceedings are only a part.

By CARLOS HUDSON (Special to Socialist Appeal) MINNEAPOLIS, Minn.—A new development in the boss campaign against General Drivers Union, Local 544, occurred Thursday, July 28, when District Judge Reed ordered the union executive board to open its books to five flunks suing for an accounting of funds.

The suit was initiated in February. Masquerading as an attempt by union members to secure a financial accounting through the courts, the move is actually an attack upon trade unionism. It called upon the court to break provisions of union contracts with the employers' to end "illegal picketing"; attacked employment by the union of organizers "to intimidate non-union drivers and owners"; charged that the union has secured unemployment relief from the city for undeserving people, etc.

Background of Plaintiffs

The five truck owners who signed their names to the complaint and summons were, at various times and without too much enthusiasm, members of the Independent Truck Owners Section of Local 544. One had been disciplined by the union for undercutting the stipulated price; another, for becoming an employer; a third, for scabbing; etc. These people are now connected with the flunk drivers' union, "Local Number One," headed by F. L. Taylor, and supported and financed by the Associated Industries and Mayor George E. Leach.

Defendants in the suit are Bill Brown, slain May 25, Carl Skoglund, Jack Smith, Farrell Dobbs, Grant Dunne, Miles Dunne and Nick Wagner.

Judge Reed ordered the union to open to the plaintiffs its books, its membership lists, its minutes, correspondence, reports, and documents of every nature.

Part of Nation-Wide Attack

(Continued on page 2)

Japan's Border Provocations Met With Firm Resistance by Soviet; Danger of General War Growing

Fight Against Fink Hall Forces Showdown In NMU

Rank-and-File Seamen Revolt Against Scuttling of Union by Officials; Raid Drives Out Stalinists

NEW YORK.—As pickets encircled the Maritime Commission hiring hall for the second week, the fight of the militant seamen against the government threat to their unions has already produced significant repercussions. Faced with increasing difficulty in finding men to man the merchant ships under control of the Maritime Commission, plans to transfer the fink hiring hall to Hoboken, N. J.—where picketing is virtually suppressed by the police—were speeded.

With the picketing becoming more effective daily, as more and more seamen rally to the struggle, finks are being spirited to the docks in taxi-cabs, men are shipped "off the dock," but militants leave the government ships when they reach port. On the S.S. Southern Cross, one of the M.C. ships, the mate fired the crew, confident that they could be replaced from the government hall. Unable to obtain a crew, the mate rehired the men that would accept and shipped the remainder of the crew from the dock.

JURY IN HARLAN TRIAL DISMISSED

Deputies and Mine Owners Jubilant At Mistrial

First efforts of the federal government to convict Harlan's coal operators and former deputy of conspiring to nullify the Wagner Labor Act met with failure when, after an eleven weeks trial, the jury was dismissed last Monday, unable to reach a verdict. Erien McMahon, a assistant attorney-general in charge of the prosecution, immediately moved for a new trial, and the motion will be heard September 17.

Stories coming from the jury room reveal that members split on the question of unionization of Kentucky coal miners, rather than on the question of the guilt of the coal barons and their hired thugs, the "peace officers" of Harlan County. Accumulated evidence of shootings, night raids, kidnappings and beatings, all carried out by deputy sheriffs under directions from the powerful Harlan County Coal Operators Association, pointed so convincingly to the guilt of the defendants that the week before the jury was for conviction, 11 to 1.

OFFICERS ARMED BY STEEL BARONS

Police Supplied With Guns and Bombs; Used in Strike

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

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

Gift to the Sheriff

(Continued on page 2)

Internal Crisis May Force Japan to Extend War

Hitler Holds Key

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

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

Planned "Incidents"

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

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

East Side Parade Demands Housing

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

Ironically enough, as the parade neared its end in the most crowded area of the tenement district, fire-engines came clanging through the crowd, in answer to one of the frequent fire alarms. The marchers' slogan: "Tear down the fire traps," took on dramatic meaning. The Housing Committee is proceeding with its campaign to rally the trade unions behind the program for decent housing and is calling for endorsements of a conference of organized labor to fight for better housing. Sales of the Socialist Appeal and the Challenge of Youth, organ of the Y.P.S.L., were reported as high. Both papers carried articles on the housing question.

MEMBERS DENIED VOTE IN TEACHERS UNION ELECTION

Stalinists Pull Fake Election to Pack Convention

In typical bureaucratic manner, the Stalinist-controlled administration of the New York W.P.A. Teachers Union, Local 453 of the American Federation of Teachers, has elected 20 delegates to the coming national convention.

Seating of Delegates Contested The legality of this meeting, attended by about 150 members, was challenged by a member of the executive board.

The union now has about 1,800 paid-up members. Until about ten weeks ago, the Local was paying per capita to the A.F.T. on 100 members, entitling it to four delegates.

Packing Attempted About a month ago the executive board was informed that several "Progressive"—i.e. Stalinist—locals had advised the union to send more delegates if possible.

While the union is hard hit by wage cuts from the benevolent New Deal, while vacations for many teachers are cut in half, while several projects are in danger of being liquidated, the Stalinists empty the treasury and even borrow money which should be used on these vital issues.

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Teamsters Defy Court Order To Reveal Records

(Continued from page 1)

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

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

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

JURY IN HARLAN TRIAL DISMISSED

(Continued from page 1)

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

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

New York Local Leads Fund Drive

Returns from collection lists during the past week have pushed the Local New York Committee, with \$85, to the top of the list of contributors to the work of the American Fund for Political Prisoners and Refugees.

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

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

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

BUILDING TRADES LOSE CONTROL OF CLEVELAND LABOR

Teamsters Group In, After Bitter Fight

CLEVELAND, Ohio.—At a recent, bitterly fought, contest in the Cleveland Federation of Labor the whole former leadership, headed by Albert Dalton of the building trades, was ousted and the teamsters group, led by Edward Murphy, came into power.

One phase of this struggle disclosed more plainly than before the dual jurisdiction existing in some sections of the A. F. of L. One of Murphy's strongest supporters was Frank Converse, international representative of the Operating Engineers. Converse controls several locals of engineers and firemen, including Local 589A, stationary firemen. On the other side of the struggle, and supporting Dalton, was Roy Seitz, international representative of the Brotherhood of Firemen and Oilers, Local 52. Seitz also claims jurisdiction over stationary firemen. For years there has been a dirty fight between these two organizations, and the Federation struggle made it dirtier than ever.

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

Blow to Building Trades Another factor in the Federation struggle was the distinctly anti-labor regime in the City Hall. While Mayor Burton is clever in assuming a "middle" position between Capital and Labor, his safety director, Eliot Ness, is strongly anti-labor and proves it every day.

Prosecution by Ness, Don Campbell, president of the Painters District Council, and John McGee of the Building Laborers, were given penitentiary terms on charges of racketeering.

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

New Leaders to "Cooperate"

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

The Federation Committee promised the mayor they would not cause him any embarrassment if he would only let them organize "peacefully"—an attitude warmly welcomed by Director Ness.

Railroads Demand Wage Cuts

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

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

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

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

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

The arbitrary slash perpetrated by Col. Brehon B. Somervell, local Works Progress Administrator, caught most of the project workers unaware. The Stalinist-controlled Workers Alliance, although well informed of the colonel's plans, did nothing to arouse a mass protest movement or to prepare for a adequate action against the cuts.

C. P. Soutiles Protest Instead of organizing the resistance of the W.P.A. workers, the Communist Party officials of the Alliance wasted weeks in futile gestures. Delegation after delegation was sent to Washington. Thousands of ineffective petitions were circulated. The only result of this kind of activity was lulling the workers into a false sense of security.

Now that the cut is here, the Workers Alliance is just as quiescent as before. Although grumbling on the projects is widespread, there has been no way of channeling the discontent into action. The project unions, once militant and in the forefront of the fight for the interests of the W.P.A. workers, have been reduced to impotence by the Stalinist leadership and its People's Front policies.

In place of fighting the government, the boss of the W.P.A. workers, the Stalinist leaders are engaged in a campaign to exterminate political opposition on the various projects. Under the cry of "Trotskyism," an attempt is being made to obtain the dismissal of all those who fail to conform to the party "line" on all the white collar projects. No means—direct stool-pigeon tactics, frame-ups, etc.—are too low for the C. P. leaders to use in order to achieve these ends.

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

they also spread nationwide the network of railroads. They robbed the farmers, wiped out stockholders, and oppressed the workers—but they did build the greatest railway system in the world. The day of building is 20 years past. All that they now do is plunder and profit. The methods are the same as before. They squeeze out stockholders in bankruptcy after bankruptcy. They milk farmers and workers with increased rates for freight and passenger service. And they try to increase their profits still further by cutting wages 15 percent. And with all these profits, they are abandoning service on hundreds and thousands of miles of railroads.

This is characteristic of the decline of capitalism. Before, profits were the stimulus to railroad building. Today, with freight-loadings going down, and capitalism declining generally, profits can be kept up only by destroying railroads. That is the fact. Their claim that the 15 percent wage cut is intended to "save the railroads" is sheer fraud.

We have had enough of such deception and fraud. Let the government expropriate the railroads! Let the workers control the expropriated railroads! This will ensure union wages and union hours!

NEW WAGE CUTS HIT WPA WORKERS

(Continued from page 1)

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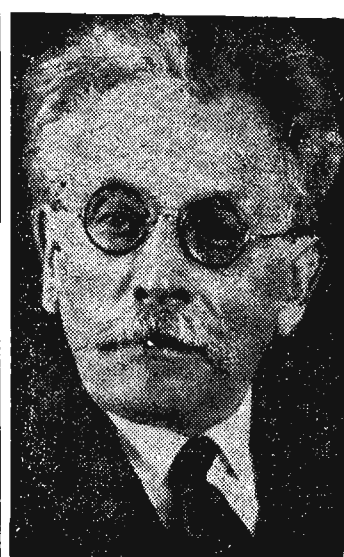
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Together Again?



ABE CAHAN



NORMAN THOMAS

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

Minneapolis Unions Back Fight For Jobless Youth

MINNEAPOLIS.—Concrete steps to fight for the rights of unemployed youth were taken last week in Minneapolis when General Drivers Local 544's powerful unemployed organization, Federal Workers Section, set up a Youth Committee and adopted a sweeping program of jobs for the youth.

The program is based on the right to work and demands W.P.A. jobs for those between the ages of 16 and 25, regardless of their relief status, and states that earnings of any individual youth are not to be deducted from the family budget.

Other demands of the program ask that all military funds be diverted to work relief and that the Civilian Conservation Camps be transformed into non-military youth projects. Oscar Kohler was named as secretary of the Youth Committee, and the Northwest Organizer, official organ of the Minneapolis Teamsters Joint Council, is publishing a series of articles by Kohler on the problems of youth and unemployment.

As is the case with the Federal Workers Section, the Youth Committee will urge all jobless youth or those with grievances to avail themselves of the aid of the organization. The Federal Workers Section, backed by the trade union movement and using militant labor action, has established an enviable record in gaining decent relief for the unemployed. The new plan will enable the organization to devote more care and attention to the specific needs of the youth.

Sweeping Program Adopted

The program, as adopted, is: 1. We call for the establishment of YOUTH W.P.A. PROJECTS, for those between the ages of 16 to 25. No youth shall be kept off because he or she is single and regard-

OFFICERS ARMED BY STEEL BARONS

(Continued from page 1)

Senate Committee disclosed how the company employed spies who job it was to shadow union organizers continuously, day and night, to find out which steel workers were visited.

Union men were beaten by strong armed thugs of the Republic Steel Corporation when they distributed union leaflets. The thugs admitted to blackjacking, clubbing, and using brass knuckles on union men.

The only reply made by the Republic police in answer to the scores of charges of brutality against the steel workers was that all S.W.O.C. agents were "reds."

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

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

Fight Against Fink Hall Forces Showdown In NMU

(Continued from page 1)

ernmental basis, the C.P. union wreckers have supported every effort of the federal government to chain the seamen.

Stalinists For Fink Hall

The government hiring hall, although it means death to all marine unions, has proved no exception. Here the N.M.U. officials bend every effort toward getting the union membership to ship through the fink hall. "Pack the Fink Hall," is one slogan, coupled to its mate, "you can't fight the government." Resentment of the rank-and-file seamen in the N.M.U., stirred by the refusal of the Stalinist officials to join the united front against the fink hall and their brazen attempts to continue herding the seamen into the government hall, reached white heat last week and led to an assault on the union headquarters here. Provoked beyond restraint by the open betrayal of the union, made clear to every worker in the fight against the government, a crowd of N.M.U. members entered the headquarters and removed the Stalinist officials by physical force.

Anger Justified

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

While it may be true that certain reactionary elements on the waterfront attempt to turn the spontaneous movement of the ranks into the channels of reaction, such attempts are doomed to failure. The chance and episodic success of these reactionary plots reflect only the lack of conscious, militant leadership on the East Coast. Under no circumstances can it be argued that the more or less accidental presence of these reactionary currents should serve as an excuse to soften the struggle against the

Mariners' Club Leaflet

The speed with which these reactionaries will discredit themselves is shown by the example of the Mariners' Club, so-called "anti-Communist" grouping on the waterfront. Gathering support on the basis of a fight against the Communist Party stooges in the N.M.U. leadership, the Mariners' Club this week came out with a leaflet declaring they wanted to get rid of the Communists in order to better collaborate with the government. This at a time when the whole membership of the N.M.U. is up in arms because the Stalinists openly collaborate with the government!

Other elements within the union (and without) would start a witch-hunt against "politicians" in general, believing that the betrayal of the Stalinists proves, in some manner or another that all politics are bad for unions. To concede for a moment that the Communist Party, with its international record of betrayal and its ever-growing record in the U.S. for union-wrecking, is a party only interested in the aims of the working class, is absurd. A party, whose only interest is in following the orders of a corrupt bureaucracy in the Soviet Union, is most certainly not a working class party. Nor is the struggle against Stalinism an argument against genuine, class struggle politics.

Against Stalinist Politics

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

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

PHILADELPHIA WAREHOUSE CLOSED

The Warehouse Employees Union, A.F.L., has halted the shipping of drugs and serums from the plant of Sharpe & Dohme, Inc., Philadelphia. Truck drivers, members of Local 107, A.F.L., have refused to pass through the picket line. The workers are on strike because the firm has refused to deal with their union and insists on negotiating only with the Sharpe & Dohme Employees Organization, a company union.

Appeal Army

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

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

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

Table with 2 columns: State/City and Number of Subscribers. Includes California, New York City, New York State, Pennsylvania, Chicago, New Jersey, Kansas, Canada, Boston, Indiana, Ohio.

Total..... 324

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

Send all subscriptions and communications to: SOCIALIST APPEAL 116 University Place New York City

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.; 23rd St. & Fourth Ave. S. W. 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, 15th 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 Ave.; 160th St. and Prospect Ave.; Allerton Ave. Station; Freeman Ave. and Southern Boulevard; 174th St. & Boston Rd.; Kingsbridge Rd. & Ave.; East Moshula Subway Sta.; 3397 Sedgwick Ave. BROOKLYN: Havemeyer Avenue and South 4th St.; Pitkin Ave. and Strauss St.; Sutter and Van Sinderen Aves. ROCHESTER, N. Y. 439-N. Clinton St. 287 N. Clinton St.

Socialist Bares Barcelona Frame-Up Against POUM

Tells How Militants Are Persecuted By the Stalinist GPU

Import Moscow Trials Into Spain; Crush Revolutionary Movement in Name of "Democracy"

The following story of the persecution of the P.O.U.M. and the coming trial of its leading militants is written by a socialist in the pages of the latest issue of the French syndicalist magazine, LA REVOLUTION PROLETARIENNE (July 25, 1938). While the SOCIALIST APPEAL cannot agree with all the political evaluations which the author makes of the various tendencies in Spain (P.O.U.M., Caballero, anarchists), the indisputable facts which he records are of such vital importance in revealing the aims behind the frame-up, that we are glad to present the article to our readers.—Ed.

We have received the indictment intended for the special Tribunal against the leaders of the P.O.U.M. (Workers Party of Marxist Unification of Spain). This strange document carries the date line, July 11, 1938, Barcelona. According to law, the accused should have been brought to trial within twenty days. But this is the third time in the period of a year that a document of this type has been issued.

Not so long ago, Gonzalez Pena, Minister of Justice, declared that it was not possible to put the P.O.U.M. on trial nor to free the leaders, because "this entire affair is dominated by reasons of state"—which in this instance refers only to the Soviet alliance.

Trial Legal Assassination
The P.O.U.M. trial, if it takes place, will be an attempt by the real hidden rulers of the Spanish Republic at assassination, with a legal pretext, of irreproachable militants who have become particularly dangerous because of their honesty and their past. This at a time when food scarcity and defeats are threatening to bring about a governmental crisis. In order not to have to give an accounting, the organizers of the defeat are intending to suppress men whose very existence in the prisons poses the question of responsibility.

Three Arguments
The indictment of July 11 includes three kinds of arguments: It first discusses the ideology of the P.O.U.M. "The general line of this party's propaganda was the suppression of the Republic and its democratic governors by a dictatorship of the proletariat." It reproaches the P.O.U.M. with having attacked a "friendly country, whose moral (1) and material support has permitted (sic) the Spanish people to defend their independence," and having "slandered Soviet justice," no doubt by not approving that of the Moscow executioners. It asserts that the leaders of the P.O.U.M. were "in contact with the fascist organizations of rebel Spain and also with the international organizations known under the general name of 'Trotskyists' and whose activity inside a friendly power shows that they are in the service of European and Asiatic fascism..." This is shamelessly to make the Barcelona procedure a direct sequel to the Moscow trials!

Like the indictments of Prosecutor Vlahnsky, this document excludes bad faith, falsification, and lies that are utterly untenable (it is true that everything can be made tenable by bringing squads). The P.O.U.M., whose batallions have so frequently been heroic at the front, is accused of having retreated before the enemy. The kidnapping of Nin by the G.P.U., with the obvious complicity—were it only from impotence—of the Negrin government, becomes the "mysterious escape" of the principal accused. The P.O.U.M. is considered responsible for the street fighting in Barcelona in May, 1937, while it was in reality launched by the anarcho-syndicalist militants of the C.N.T., much more numerous than those of the P.O.U.M., as all Spain knows. Finally, after having several times abandoned the "N. Forger," the indictment takes it up again in order to base upon it the thesis of espionage and obtain more surely the capital penalty.

Demands Counter-Trial
If the P.O.U.M. trial takes place, if in other words the masked assassins of Nin, Marc Rhein, Tiolin, Erwin Wolf, Kurt Landau, and Moulin — and so many others—try to repeat in Barcelona the bloody judicial spectacles of Moscow, a counter-trial will be demanded abroad. We have at our disposition an enormous documentation, one so overwhelming that we frequently hesitate to publish it in order not to injure, through those who dishonor and ruin it, the cause of anti-fascist Spain.

Are recent facts desired? On the night of April 23, 22 workers, members of the P.O.U.M., left the Model Prison in Barcelona for

a "work camp." We know their names. At the station of San Vicente de Castellet, Valentin Vila Anet, a member of the Iberian Communist Youth, 17 years old, was killed by a bullet in his face because he looked out of the car window. On arriving at the camp, those ill were asked to make themselves known. Among those that presented themselves was Juan Ruiz Tomas, of the P.O.U.M., seriously ill of tuberculosis, sentenced to thirty years in prison in 1934 for his courageous attitude during the Asturias uprising.

Many Murdered
All these sick disappeared and their surviving comrades who write to us believe they were shot by order of the chief of the camp, a torturer named Astorga. Pedro Vergnier, of the P.O.U.M., has also disappeared from the camp. May 8, twelve prisoners, among them Francisco Pina Orza of the Iberian Communist Youth, arrested for having written on a wall, "Down with the tyrants! Freedom for the anti-fascists!" were shot. Before executing Francisco Pina Orza, the camp chief said he regretted having to make an example of him because the order for his liberation had been signed three days before. Do they do better in the camp at Dachau?

I mentioned above the "N. Forger," upon which part of the indictment rests. It is a map of Madrid, bearing on its reverse in invisible ink a coded text mentioning a certain "N." (Nin? Nunez? Numa? Nina? Negrin?), found with a fascist agent in Madrid, the architect Javier Fernandez Gollin. This Gollin must then have been executed. A vital part of the indictment of the P.O.U.M. rested on him. Then why did they make him disappear so soon? But we know the opinion of several men in the government on all this. The frightful concoction of the Moscow trials could not get along without the blood of suspicious personages. The "N. Forger" furnished the substance for the book by Max Rieger (what G.P.U. agent is hidden under this pseudonym?) "Espionage in Spain," with a preface by Jose Bergamini, who has decidedly fallen to the lowest depths, and for a pamphlet by Georges Soria, published in London.

From a protest—quite valuable by the Executive Committee of the P.O.U.M., to the Minister of Justice, dated June, 1938, I extract these details on the assassinations of Juan Hervas, ex-commissar of the School of Transmission of the Generalidad, of Jaime Tropat, of a corporal (whose name I do not know), all three members of the P.O.U.M. fighting on the Aragon front, and of Noga, member of the C.N.T., their comrade in arms. During a Stalinist meeting at the front, a report of which was transmitted to the Ministry of War, the physical suppression of the "Trotskyists" and "C.N.T.ists" was decided upon.

Recalled behind the first lines, on the Carrascal road, not far from Hessa, the four soldiers were slain by machine gun fire. They were then listed as "deserters to the enemy." An investigation carried out by the general commissar, Crescenciano Bilbao, brought these assassinations to light, but the crumbling of the Aragon front prevented the arrest of the guilty—whom a certain Gen. Burillo would not have failed to protect in any case. But why are astonished at the crumbling of a front where the best fighters were thus stabbed in the back—or shot in the back?

The workers' organizations who believed they were saving themselves by sacrificing, first weaker organizations, and then their own militants—if they do not come to themselves before it is too late, if they do not prove their courage in the presence of such a profound evil—strongly risk being reduced one day, when they will have lost their best blood and all their dignity, to kneeling before the executioners of the working class or receiving from them the death blow.

Vancouver Jobless Fight For Right To Live

By E. ROBERTSON

Another heroic chapter in the struggles of the Canadian working class is being written in British Columbia this summer by the thousands of single unemployed who have revolted against wholesale lay-offs from work relief. On May 15th, without warning, the provincial ("Liberal") government closed down its forestry camps where 3,700 men had been mucking all winter for their grub and a monthly smel of cash, and shipped their occupants down to Vancouver to walk destitute in its streets. As in the previous summer the government's policy was to make the jobless "get out and rustle," to use the favorite phrase of B. C.'s Premier Patullo. But this year the unemployed were ready to fight. Organized in a Relief Project Workers Union, 1,500 of them marched into the main streets and sat down in three of Vancouver's chief buildings, the Art Gallery, the new Federal Post Office, and the fashionable Georgia Hotel.

The 300 in the latter were quickly bought out, by a panicky City Council, with cash and promises of arbitration—which were immediately broken. But the majority sat firm for a round month while the police heads, fearing injury to the gallery paintings and the mall if they used tear-gas, and intimidated by the militancy of the men, blustered and tried to wear the strikers down with waiting.

Public Supported Strikers
In line with the radical traditions of Vancouver, the sit-downers got large spontaneous support from citizens, including even small shopkeepers and the Protestant churches. The CCF (socialists) with seven members in the provincial parliament and representatives in the City Council demanded that Patullo's government get out or make good the "work and wage" program it had used as suckerbait for power.

The Communist Party characteristically dodged admission of its share in the strike leadership, but noisily championed the sit-down through its myriad ladies' and gentlemen's peace societies. Instead of enlisting the willing trade unionists for sympathetic strike action the Stalinist Workers' Alliance petitioned the city council to petition the government to inaugurate a rearmament campaign which would absorb the unemployed! A local parson and Stalinist fall-guy, worrying more about Vancouver's dubious "art treasures" than the health of the unemployed, offered them his church to sleep in if they would vacate the gallery. To his flock he apologized for his liberalism with the reminder that "these are honest men and we don't know how soon we will have to cal. on them to give their lives for their country."

But against such treacherous aid the unemployed remained firm. Those not in the occupied buildings sent taggers into the main drags with tin cans; the taggers were chucked into jail—

and their places monotonously filled until the cops gave up. Thousands of dollars were raised in this manner and used to supply the men with food and blankets.

Mayor Mobilized Forces
In the meantime Mayor Miller of Vancouver ranted red-baiting nonsense in the press and wired Patullo for more cops. The latter tried vainly to break the strikers' ranks by shrieking that half of them were non-residents and offering magnanimously to ship these "foreigners" back where they came from. Promptly a sympathetic youth organization took a census and announced that 73 per cent of the strikers had been in the province at least five years and most of the rest were Canadians who had been kept on the run so long by the buck-passing authorities that they no longer had a legal home. The strikers themselves pointed out they were willing to go anywhere if they were guaranteed work at fair wages. Patullo wired the Dominion Government at Ottawa, also "Liberal," not for work for the men, but to get the use of the federal "mounties" and to secure a blockade against the entry of any more unemployed into B. C. Ottawa stalled and then wired its O.K. At dawn the next morning, Sunday, the yellow-striped heroes of American pulp magazines stormed the Post Office with tear-gas and threw the strikers out the doors or through the broken plate-glass windows.

Outside more mounties, swinging the butts of their heavy riding quirts, cracked the skulls of the blinded workless as they staggered out. The mounties were backed by city police with clubs and dicks with rubber hose. The defenceless unemployed had begged to be arrested en masse, but when they saw the mounties wanted blood, they fought back. Though outnumbered and weaponless, they tore bars from the post-office wickets and sent five cops to the hospital before they were driven out.

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

Here they were joined by 200 loggers from a nearby camp, and once more given popular support, despite the fact that Victoria, home of retired English colonels, is traditionally the most conservative city in Canada. A group of leading medical men issued a demand for food for the men, which the government met with silence; housewives organized food collections, while shopkeepers stood in line for riot insurance. Once more the strikers sent their tin-canniers into the streets, again replacing canvassers as fast as the cops threw them into stir. Within a day the jails were full and the unemployed had tagged another 1,000.

Struggle Continues
Still lacking the active support of the unions the strikers have now been forced, after three weeks in Victoria, to accept a compromise. The federal government promises direct relief until August 15 to strikers from outside the province, and the B. C. authorities are arranging road-work in three-day spells, at \$3.20 a day, for resident single unemployed. The joker in the deal is that the men must keep on the move, looking for the job which doesn't exist, and accepting their road-work at different towns each week.

Stalinists' Record on Roosevelt
A thorough expose is made of the hideously hypocritical and chameleon positions of the Communist Party of the United States when Albert Gates reviews the attitudes taken by the Stalinist leadership (Browder, Hathaway, Gannes, et al) on the Roosevelt regime on War and other decisive issues. "Browder's Two Roosevelt's" by Albert Gates displays the antics of the chauvinistic Communist Party.

Increased demands for the magazine have resulted in the printing of an additional allotment of the August issue, and everything points to a complete sale of the edition. The price of a single copy is 20 cents. The subscription rate continues at \$2.00 per year. Anyone wishing information should address:

THE NEW INTERNATIONAL
116 University Place
New York City, N.Y.

New Internat'l Features Debate On Labor Party

Another excellent number of The New Internationalist is off the press and on sale. The August issue of the magazine contains a variety of outstanding articles, fully up to the high standard one has come to expect of this outstanding organ of revolutionary Marxism.

The question of a Labor Party is presented in two articles submitted by James Burnham-Max Shachtman and Hal Draper. Burnham and Shachtman adopt a pro position on the question now being discussed in an internal discussion within the ranks of the Socialist Workers Party and Y.P.S.L. (Fourth Internationalists), while Hal Draper espouses the minority attitude. These discussion articles are preceded by a statement by the Political Committee of the Socialist Workers Party, explaining why the major issues being discussed by the party and youth organization are also brought to the outside for consideration. Unquestionably, the presentation of the Labor Party problem in the columns of The New Internationalist, from an altogether fresh viewpoint, will arouse the greatest interest in all labor circles.

Article by John Dewey
Professor John Dewey, as previously announced, writes a critical comment on Leon Trotsky's essay, "Their Morals and Ours" (published in the June, 1938 New Internationalist) in his reply, "Means and Ends—Their Interdependence." Leon Trotsky's answer is anticipated in the September number of the magazine.

government's resignation. Some of the crowd shifted to the police station and threatened to release the arrested strikers. Winch, the C.C.F. parliamentary leader, played his usual role, however, by appearing and persuading the "mob" to disperse (for which he was properly congratulated by the bourgeois press). In the evening another mass demonstration saw 100 of the strikers off on the boat to the provincial capital at Victoria (on Vancouver Island—Vancouver itself is on the mainland). Returning from the pier the crowd demonstrated before the police station, then went down and completed the wrecking of the post office.

It became known that truck-loads of firemen, returning from an early alarm at the time of the eviction, had converged on the post office and backed by waitresses from restaurants lining the streets, had jeered the police. The Mayor moved to can the assistant fire-chief and the scores of firemen involved but was forced eventually to ignore the incident because of working-class feeling, which was now so strong that even the city police (not the mounties) were rumored in revolt against their morning's work.

Unable to Find Work
Numerous refugees allowed to remain in Belgium live only thanks to occasional and individual support. All these exiles are strictly prohibited from living by their labor. Their labor power cannot be bought. This produces among most of them, unemployed and living in the most deplorable conditions, a demoralizing effect that few can surmount. Those who resist are precisely those among the exiles who best have understood the experience that they have lived through. Many of these refugees, who have fled Fascism in the hope of finding a freer atmosphere in which to live and work, have been bitterly disillusioned by their experiences and have turned away from the workers' political organizations of the 2nd and 3rd International, who, in their propaganda, have created the illusion, especially in Schussnigg's Austria, that genuine democracy exists in parliamentary countries.

These working class militants in turn are denied relief by the organizations controlled by the two Internationals. Their main hope for assistance rests in quarters unaffiliated with the two Internationals and above all, with the friends and sympathizers of the Fourth International.

The American Fund for Political Prisoners and Refugees is cooperating with similar organizations in Europe to provide assistance to these refugees. Every cent contributed to its present campaign fund will go to lighten the lot of these front-line fighters against the fascist reaction. Send all contributions to the American Fund for Political Prisoners and Refugees at 100 Fifth Avenue, New York.

JAPAN PROVOKES SOVIET IN CLASH

(Continued from page 1)
panese are now so heavily embroiled along vast fronts in China, the Soviet government was able to take a firmer stand against the new provocation and as far as can be gauged from dispatches, the Red Army patrols have given the Japanese a pause. But it is precisely because Japan is having such difficulties in China and on the home front that its ruling generals may plunge ahead into a suicidal war with the Soviet Union in the hope of somehow extricating themselves from their predicament by precipitating what would necessarily become a world conflagration.

In this, however, there can be little doubt that the Tokyo generals will await word from Hitler as to the probable course of events in coming weeks in Europe. Whether the Japanese will be able to keep developments from running beyond them, or whether Stalin, desperate over the growing isolation of the U.S.S.R. in European affairs and over the continuing internal crisis, will welcome the welding influence of an external enemy, are still imponderables in the present critical situation.

In any eventuality, the menace to the Soviet Union is grave, graver than it has ever been since the days of the civil war, and it is the duty of revolutionists the world over to give flesh and substance to the slogan: "Hands off the Soviet Union!"—and in the event of war—"Defend the Soviet Union!"

REFUGEES FLEE NAZIS; SPURNED BY 'DEMOCRACY'

Cite Cases of Exiles Sent Back to Concentration Camps

The Belgian La Lutte Ouvriere of July 9th describes the repressive treatment accorded German and Austrian exiles from Fascism by the self-styled "democratic" governments.

The following four cases are characteristic:

(a) Eleven Austrian refugees, stopped at the Franco-Luxembourg border, were given the choice of entering the Foreign Legion or returning to the Hitlerian jails. Six have "accepted" the Legion, five others the certainty of concentration camps.

(b) Eighteen Austrian and German refugees were sent back from the Belgian frontier to German territory.

(c) An eye-witness describes the extradition of a young man twenty-five years old, either Austrian or German, effected by two Belgian policemen who did not hesitate to cross over into German territory to place their prisoner in the hands of Hitler's police.

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

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

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

Drive on Competitive Plants
The 20-point program placed high on the list of its activities, the organization of the competitive plants. Little or nothing has been done to place the run-away and decentralized plants under contracts. Yet the problem remains as urgent as ever. Failure to seriously undertake a program of organization can in this sphere jeopardize and eventually crack the entire wage structure of the unionized section of the industry. Undoubtedly, Stalinist sabotage has seriously impeded the actual execution of this program. But the daily needs of the auto workers make imperative an immediate undertaking of concrete organizational measures. A constructive program must be undertaken even as the enemy is ferreted out from within. Otherwise the union faces the danger of breaking under the pressure of the employers. Inefficiency and downright incompetency of responsible Executive Board members has contributed no little to the failure to put the program into effect. They should not be allowed to stand in the way. If the membership asserts its desires for vigorous, qualified officials and organizers, this work will take a great leap forward.

Plan Joint Action to Combat Stalin's Terror System

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

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

French Party Brands Klement Kidnapping As Work Of GPU Agents

AUTO UNION TRIAL TO BE RESUMED

(Continued from page 1)

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

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

Revive 20-Point Program
But it is of cardinal importance now that the original basis of the controversy is not lost from view, and that the struggle does not degenerate into a wrangle for spoils and a scramble for positions. The issue which precipitated the factional conflict was a flagrant violation of the 20-point program unanimously adopted by the Executive Board and by the Stalinists. The 20-point program was and remains the weapon against the depression attacks of the employers and is the road to union builders.

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

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

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The Press Bureau of the P.O.I. issued the following release on July 16:

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

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

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

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

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

New Provocation of G.P.U.
"The Internationalist Workers Party denounces this new provocation, this new criminal attack of the G.P.U. perpetrated right in the heart of Paris. After Moscow, after Barcelona, the gangster band which takes its orders from Stalin is pursuing in Paris its plan to exterminate all those in the labor movement who want to remain independent of the Moscow dictatorship. The Moscow trials have been hit at their very core by the verdict of the New York Commission of Inquiry, which absolved Trotsky of all accusations against him after a thorough examination by personalities enjoying high esteem in the fields of science, literature and democratic, liberal, as well as labor politics..."

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MAX SHACHTMAN
Editor
HAROLD ROBERTS **FRANK GRAVES**
Associate Editors
S. STANLEY
Business Manager

The Popular Front and the POUM

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Third Term for Roosevelt?

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

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

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

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

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

British Repressions Continue in Burma

For the past week, Burma, a province of British India, has been the scene of bloody struggles between sections of the population and the British army. It is estimated that 100 have been killed and many more hundreds wounded.

Rioting, which apparently began over incidents provoked by members of the pro-imperialist

Muslim League (a rapidly developing movement of Indian fascism), led to the armed interference of the 5,000 troops permanently stationed in Burma by the British rulers. After firing upon the crowds of demonstrators, the military authorities set up machine-gun outposts and barred the streets to the people of Rangoon, capital of Burma. Martial law was declared and armored cars patrolled the area. The hoary British policy of "divide and then rule" was at work again!

This latest and most violent in a series of bloody incidents now sweeping over India indicates that the masses of people, suffering under the "civilizing virtues" of British imperialism for 250 years and now facing the prospect of a rapidly approaching new economic crisis, are beginning to stir. We can confidently predict greater struggles in the immediate future. All the more reason why our support goes to these long-oppressed people.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Rounding the Circle

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

AMERICA'S PERMANENT DEPRESSION-II
New Deal Takes Care of Bankers First; Juggles Relief as Riot Insurance and for Political Machine

By ART PREIS

Some day the "New Deal" era will be known as the "Years of the Great Deception." Few political demagogues have demonstrated so great a divergence between the word and the deed, the promise and the fulfillment as has Franklin Delano Roosevelt.

Borne into office on a tremendous tide of popular protest against the brutal indifference of the Hoover regime, Roosevelt has steered a course with such political adroitness that he has maintained his popular hold upon the masses of American people despite the fact that his policies have failed to effect a single fundamental change in our economic and social order.

The "money changers" whom Roosevelt stormed against in 1932 and vowed "to drive from our

Temple" are very much with us. Indeed, his first political act, the Bank Moratorium, served merely to clean out the small independent banks and a host of small depositors. The major financial groups were given a new lease upon the country. Backed by government power and credit, finance capital consolidated its power.

For those who point the finger at Wall Street as the root of all evil, and pin a halo to the scalp of F.D.R., it is well to recall that the genial Great White Father, when he had the greatest opportunity ever presented to uproot the choking weeds of Wall Street by nationalizing the banking system, chose rather to nurture their growth.

Roosevelt, in his speeches, championed the "little man," the

small independent producer. He scored with fiery tongue the industrial monopolists. His new "Magna Charta," the National Recovery Act, as its one outstanding achievement wiped out thousands of the "little men" by virtue of its price-fixing "codes of fair business practice" and further entrenched industrial monopoly. And, startling as it may sound, while we have read of innumerable investigations under the Anti-Trust laws, there has been not one successful prosecution since Roosevelt took office.

'Subsidizing' Home Owners and Destroying Crops

Much has been made of Roosevelt's "social" legislation. Chief among his "reform" acts have been the Agricultural Adjustment

Act, the establishment of the Home Owners Loan Corporation, and the Wagner Labor Act.

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

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

Bargaining Rights Won on Picket Line

Another diamond in the Roosevelt crown has been the act defining the rights of collective bargaining for labor. Under this act, and its defunct predecessor, Section 7A of the N.R.A., organized labor was presumably guaranteed the rights of collective bargaining free from coercion and restraint by the employers. Yet, in every single great test of these acts, and there have been scores of them in the past four years, labor has won recognition for its bargaining rights only by blood and struggle.

The Maritime strikes, the Textile Strike (when Roosevelt threatened to call out the Federal troops against the strikers), the Minneapolis Teamsters strike, the Toledo Auto-Lite, the Milwaukee power, the Koehler, the Little Steel, the General Motors, the Rubber strikes, and thousands of other bitter physical struggles, testify to the fact that Roosevelt had given the workers merely the rights they always possessed, the rights they have always had to wrest from the ruling class in life and death conflicts.

How F.D.R. 'Solved' Unemployment

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

The "reasonable" leader, the liberal who seeks "good motives" instead of sound accomplishments, the "radical" who yearns for the green pastures of "popularity" causes, all chant in chorus, "But Roosevelt has done more for the unemployed than Hoover!"

Granted! But these apologists fail to add how much more, and why Roosevelt's concessions to the unemployed were made.

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

Riot Insurance and Political Expediency

The history of relief and work relief programs under Roosevelt is one of constant mass struggle by the workers for every slightest concession and the skillful use by Roosevelt of federal funds for political maneuvers. Relief comes under two headings—the Roosevelt Budget—riot insurance and political expediency.

It is significant to note that the order in which Roosevelt applied himself to the national problems when he took office were first to safeguard the bankers, next to entrench monopoly, and finally to throw a few crumbs to the unemployed, who in the spring, summer and fall of 1933 were in mass ferment.

The Emergency Relief fund which Roosevelt instituted in the summer of 1933—after six months as a class.

in office during the lowest point of depression in American history—was literally wrested from the "New Deal" regime by riots and bloodshed, by storming of food stores and warehouses, in which literally hundreds of thousands of desperate unemployed, led mainly by such organizations as the Unemployed Councils and Unemployed Leagues, took part.

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

C.W.A. Stifles Mass Jobless Revolt

As winter approached, and as the first year of Roosevelt's tenure came to a close, with the promise of re-employment under the N.R.A. program completely fulfilled, Roosevelt instituted the first federal work relief program, the Civil Works Administration. This was more than a humanitarian gesture. On the one hand it was an attempt to stifle mass revolt during the most bitter months of winter; on the other, it was the beginning of that program of "pump priming" and credit inflation into which Roosevelt has been repeatedly forced when all his other measures have proved inadequate to solve the economic crisis. Within three months of its inception, the C.W.A. folded up. The unemployed went back to dandelion greens.

It is interesting to note that the wages paid under the C.W.A. for common labor were \$15 per week. The "mistake" of maintaining such "high" wages has never again been repeated by Roosevelt. For as we shall note, every future work program was to mark a decline in the actual and real wages paid federal work relief employees.

The pump-priming of the C.W.A., a mere 400 million dollars failed to increase buying power to an extent whereby industry and business might revive. Roosevelt's "prosperity" failed to materialize, and the unemployed were again on a rampage. Demonstrations and hunger marches swarmed the streets of every city. City halls, state legislatures and the federal capital were invaded by militant masses demanding relief. The answer of Roosevelt was the F.E.R.A. This program provided funds for direct and work relief.

FERA Wage Down to Relief Level

Work relief under the F.E.R.A. was initiated in September, 1934. The full program was cleverly built up to provide the maximum of employment just prior to the 1934 and congressional elections. Even so, at its peak, the F.E.R.A. employed a million less workers than the C.W.A., although the need was just as great. Further, the wages paid amounted to a maximum of \$12 per week, which in February, 1935, were cut to the equivalent of each worker's emergency relief budget. This was a fancy scheme to exact work for what amounted to direct relief, and was followed shortly by the rapid demobilization of the work program.

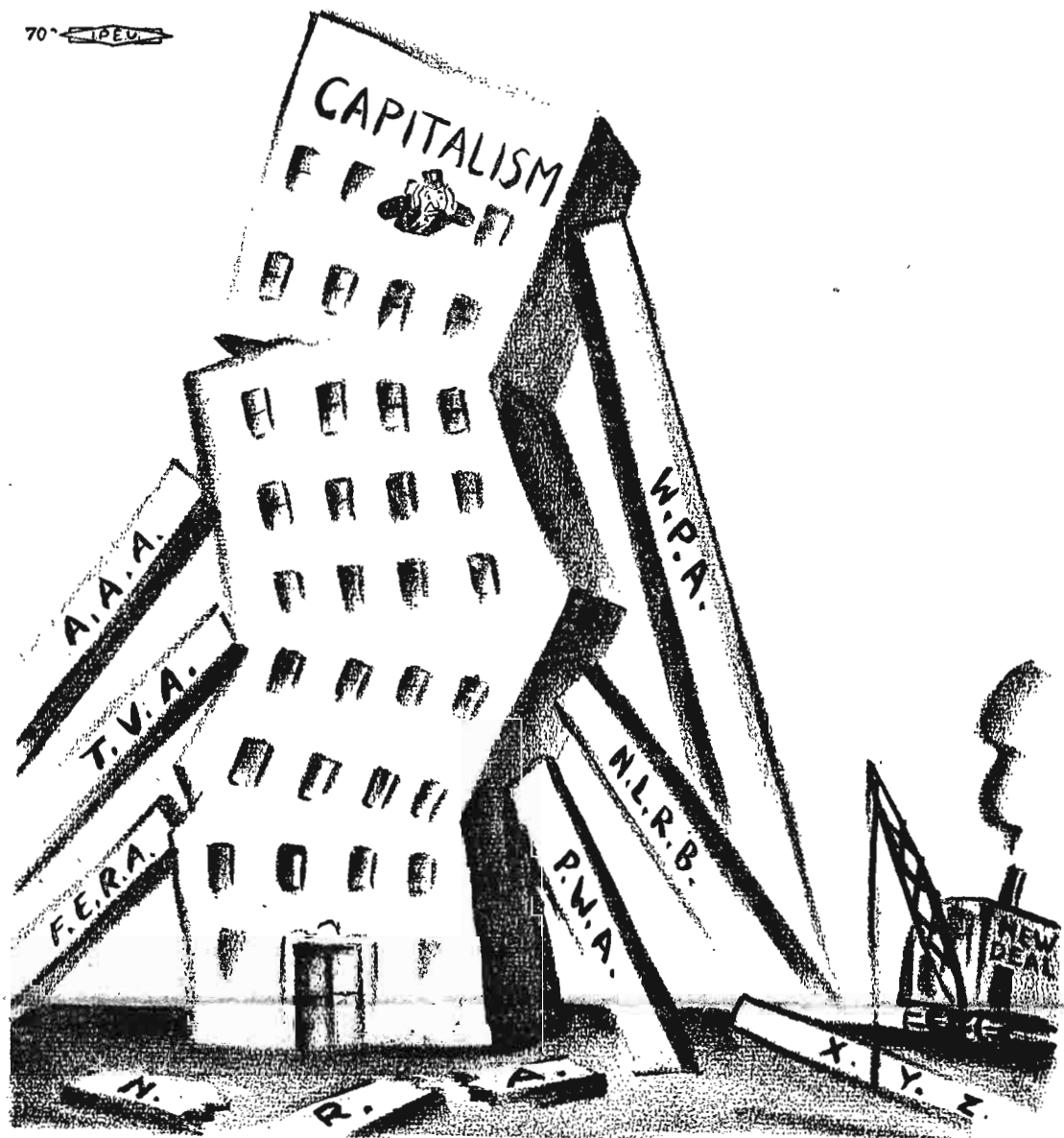
In June, 1935, the federal government ended the F.E.R.A.. At one stroke, 5 1/2 million families were left to starve, or to go back to the tender charities of bankrupt local communities.

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

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

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

New Deal Housing



Old Party Lines Break Down In Round of Primary Voting

The country is witnessing this summer a set of primary campaigns exceeding in bitterness and in social significance any comparable struggles during the past several decades. Outstanding in this development is the irrepressible tendency of profound social conflicts, driven by depression and crisis, to break through the surface of ordinary party-machine electioneering.

In the normal times of a past now dead and gone forever, primaries were almost always cut and dried affairs. Serious contests were rare exceptions. Candidates were agreed upon, after suitable haggling, by the party bosses; and participation in the primary elections themselves was confined for the most part to faithful hacks and ward heeled, with only a small fraction of the "enrolled membership" marching to the polls.

This year, however, there is hardly a State in the Union which is exempt from bitter struggles. In nearly every election which has so far taken place, the voting turnout has come within a few per cent of the total registered voters.

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

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

Outstanding from the point of view of the labor movement was the campaign in Pennsylvania, where the workers girded themselves as a class behind Tom Kennedy's attempt to place himself at the head of the Democratic ticket. Vain and futile as the effort was, it was nevertheless the most "organized and

dramatic step yet made by labor in this country toward entering the political arena as a class.

Maverick's Defeat
Under the leadership of Labor's Non-Partisan League, analogous tactics are being repeated in a score of States. In an exactly comparable situation in Texas, Maury Maverick last week went down to defeat in the Democratic primaries by a combination of the Chamber of Commerce, A. F. of L. and the well-to-do farmers. The tactics of entry in the old party primaries leaves labor politically hamstringing; but even so tentative a form of class action sharpens the class lines as a whole, and brings to the surface the underlying social divisions.

Just as obvious as the more organized entry of labor into the political arena is the pressure of the growingly disoriented middle classes, particularly in the West. Combining reactionary demagoguery with hill-billy music and a platform consisting chiefly of the Ten Commandments, W. Lee O'Daniel swept a field of fifteen in Texas to win the Democratic nomination (equivalent to election) for the governorship.

Fascist in Kansas
In Kansas, the potentially fascist direction of such movements as that which threw up O'Daniel finds more open voice in Dr. Gerald B. Winrod, leading candidate for the Republican nomination for the governorship. Dr. Winrod's publications have been

featuring anti-Semitism, advertising the notorious "Protocols of Zion," and combine this with a violent brand of "anti-Papism," familiar in the history of American politics.

In California, through the popular initiative, there has been placed on the ballot a new form of the Townsend old-age pension scheme which has swept behind it the former followers of Epic, Utopian Society, the Townsend movement, Share-the-Wealth, and the hundred and one local California cults.

Party Labels Inadequate
All of these phenomena, together with the running fight in a dozen States between the Roosevelt and anti-Roosevelt camps of the Democratic Party, unite in emphasizing the growing inadequacy of the old party labels and the old party framework.

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

For workers there is in these primaries of this year a lesson of the first and last importance. In a thousand places throughout the country, the workers, in the primaries, are trying to go forward as workers. Relying on the advice and promises of bureaucrats and unstable liberals whose interests at bottom are the direct opposite of the interests of the working class, they are trying to make themselves felt through the old parties. And the result is uniformly that the class aims of the workers become cast's paws for one or the other of the bourgeois forces.

These primaries must be made to teach that politically, as economically, the workers can defend and advance their aims only when they shake off the whole structure piled on them by the bourgeois tradition, and strike out freshly, independently, boldly,