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Popular Front Surrenders Santander

China Defense Sags, Fear Masses

By Li-Fu-Jen

Demonstrating once again the inability of the Chinese bourgeoisie to conduct any consistent, effective struggle against imperialism for China's national independence, recent reports from Nanking government forces from Woosung and the immediate vicinity of Shanghai, thus enabling the armies of Japanese imperialism to secure a substantial foothold in the area of the Yangtze delta at a time when the armed hosts of Nippon have already driven through the Nankow Pass to complete their conquest of North China and Inner Mongolia. Japanese military and naval commanders told newspaper correspondents that they expect the Shanghai hostilities to be over in short order. "The cabarets on North Szechuen Road will be open again in about two weeks," vice-admiral Hasegawa laughingly announced. Thus seriously do Japan's warlords estimate Nanking's "resistance!"

A "high Nanking government spokesman," quoted in the New York Times on August 28, described the withdrawal at Shanghai as the first step in a plan for "a long campaign of stiff resistance, retiring inland if necessary, and letting the enemy extend his own lines to his cost."

"What if they take Nanking?" this anonymous mouthpiece nonchalantly declared. "It would signify nothing, for there would be no government there and probably not much of anything else by that time. And conceding that the Japanese Army with naval aid might sweep the whole Shanghai, Hangchow, Soochow and Nanking area—even then they would have made only the smallest territorial dent in China. No, our present aim is not to obtain military victories but to

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News Flash!

Moulin, leader of the Spanish Bolshevik-Leninists, has been arrested by the Spanish GPU. On the "wanted" list of the police since the May days, he had been directing the underground work of his organization. His arrest was made in typical Stalinist fashion: no mention in the press, no charges recorded, the official government claim no knowledge of his whereabouts, and he has been transported to a Stalinist jail in Madrid.

Irwin Wolf, former secretary of Leon Trotsky, has also been arrested, together with his wife, the daughter of the Norwegian Labor Party leader, Knud Knudsen.

Latest estimate is that 20,000 workers are now imprisoned.

Erber Greets Youth Convention

By Ernest Erber

National Chairman of the Young People's Socialist League

The Ninth National Convention of the Y.P.S.L. is convening to decide the fate of our organization. Those of us who have struggled for the last six years to convert the League into a revolutionary organization can look back upon our efforts with a feeling of satisfaction. Every recent convention, Cleveland in 1932, Reading in 1933, Pittsburgh in 1935, was a demonstration of the rising tide of Revolutionary Marxism in the Y.P.S.L. We assemble at Philadelphia with the knowledge that our struggle has finally succeeded, that at least 70 per cent of the membership supports our program.

Not only our great support in the ranks of the members should make Philadelphia a field day for the left wing, but the fact that the convention itself will even in its outward aspects attest to the work the left wing has been carrying on. For the first time in the history of the League we will have in our midst the young workers from the California agricultural districts, the sailors from the Pacific, the young workers from the Akron rubber center, the Chicago and Youngstown steel centers, from a score of miscellaneous industries that have been the scene of recent strike struggles, and from the fighting ranks of the unemployed movement.

Growth of Left Wing

The largest left wing delegations will come from those sections which have been the only ones to show consistent growth and activity in the class struggle— noteworthy examples are Chicago, California, Upstate New York, Newark. The presence of these delegations will testify to the ability of the left wing to build the League and will be harbingers of the Socialist youth movement of tomorrow.

The political level of the delegations coming to the convention will mark a new high for the Y.P.S.L., another indication of the work of the left wing in developing the membership. No matter what aspect of the convention we look at, it should give the comrades of the revolutionary wing the feeling of a job well done and of tremendous opportunities before us.

Yet despite all this progress in building a revolutionary movement and all these gains by the left wing, or, to be more accurate, because of them, the Y.P.S.L. will enter the 1937 convention in the throes of a desperate crisis. The crisis arises from the fact that while the ideas of revolutionary Marxism have swept aside all centrist ideologies in the ranks of the membership and gained a majority, the Bourbons of the centrist leadership refuse to surrender control of the apparatus.

Robbing the Left Wing

After their first attempts to guarantee themselves a majority

by means of gerrymander and election irregularities had failed to take away our majority, they resorted to a campaign of expulsions of our leading New York comrades to complete the job and to insure the presence of the Altmanite delegates who refused to come if a purge of "Trotskyites" was not carried out first.

The centrists of the Clarity group have followed with a boring monotony the same beaten path of futility traveled by every ill-fated centrist grouping in history. Even to the bitter end they imitate their historical prototypes, the Menshevik-Internationalists of Martov, the Independent Socialists of Kautsky and Haasee, the Socialist Workers Party of Germany. Their struggle against the left becomes ever more vicious, more shameless, more unscrupulous, as their defeat becomes more apparent. Their "struggle" against the right becomes reduced to the remark inserted in their speeches and articles in the form of a footnote, parenthetical statement, or appendage, "and we also disagree with the policy of the right." But in political acts they become indistinguishable from the right, and their blood with it becomes ever more open and direct.

Bankrupt Centrists

Like all defeated centrist groups, the Clarityites, rather than learn the lesson of their defeat, become embittered and enraged by it and refuse to recognize their loss. Their final futile, wild and desperate attempts to turn a defeat into a "victory" lead them into progressively more degenerate methods of struggle. From the underhanded and surreptitious methods of gossip, chicanery, and fraud which failed to stave off the inglorious defeat, they strive to learn from the left and carry on the fight in the open, but merely succeed in transferring into broad daylight and on an exaggerated scale the methods of the previous stage. From silently excluding our comrades from leading posts they now pass on to removing them, from backstairs gossip they now pass on to open slander, from apologetically "dropping" the left wing members from the books at Altman's request they now pass on to wholesale expulsions, from being in a more or less accidental bloc with the right wing they now pass on to an open political agreement for joint struggle against the left.

History presents us with pictures of centrists in all kinds of compromising and ludicrous

positions, but none more preposterous than the attempt of Clarity to conceal their political nudity behind a sheet of dues stamps. History has taught us that the capture of the outward forms of an organization by centrist maneuverers and combinationists who have been repudiated by the overwhelming majority of the membership can only leave them with a shell that crumbles at first touch. We can well afford to let the Clarityites capture the dues stamps, the desks, the typewriters, the falsified records; we will have what no one can steal from us, the Young People's Socialist League, with a membership educated in Marxist theory and trained in the class struggle.

N. Y. Meeting Lays Basis For Activity

The emergency conference of Local New York called by the suspended New York branches on August 28, set up a provisional City Executive Committee to direct the socialist work for the coming period.

Over 350 party members were represented by delegates coming from more than 20 branches and minority groups in branches. Fraternal delegates from Yipsel circles, representing a majority of the New York organization, were also present.

After a report and discussion, the Conference unanimously adopted the following resolution:

The Altman-Thomas faction, in order to carry through its plans to liquidate the Party as an independent political force, has utilized its position in the Administration of Local New York to split the Party. Acting through an illegally constituted rump City Central Committee, in defiance of the Party Statutes and the will of the membership, it has 'expelled' more than a hundred and thirty left wing members and lifted the charters of left wing branches. The National Executive Committee, in spite of its familiarity for many months with the situation in Local New York, has taken no step to put an end to this gross and bureaucratic violation of the rights of the party members by the Altman-Thomas faction.

"In order, therefore, to defend and advance our rights and duties as revolutionary Socialists, this Conference of regularly elected delegates from branches of Local New York herewith decided to set up the necessary and proper apparatus in order to fulfill our socialist tasks.

"We demand from the forthcoming meeting of the National Executive Committee the un-

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By Felix Morrow

Santander, last Biscay port of the Loyalists, was surrendered on August 26 by the Basque general staff without the slightest attempt to defend it. Santander fell into the hands of Franco intact, its port and factories ready for use by the Fascists. The same thing had happened in Reinosa, manufacturing town and key to Santander's defenses, a few days earlier. Instead of war to the death against fascism, the Negrin government's appointees miserably capitulated. Not even the military supplies were destroyed. Even before the fascist troops arrived in Santander, yesterday's "loyal republican police", the National Republican Guards, as well as armed fascist civilians, were patrolling the streets and disarming Asturian militiamen.

A revealing light is thrown on the conduct of the Basque Government by a Times dispatch of August 25:

"At the time of the fall of Bilbao the Basques freed all their hostages except seventeen. Now these are considered to be in the gravest peril as the Basques admit that it is no longer possible to protect them from extremist elements (the Asturian miners) in Santander. "When the British Embassy agreed to take off the hostages it would also evacuate the Basques who have been guarding them as well as any remaining members of the Basque Government..."

"It is hoped that the whole maneuver will be carried out before the more violent elements in Santander are aware of what is happening."

Play Fascist Game

The next day the British battleship "Keith", with Basque and Fascist representatives aboard, "rescued" the Basque officials and the seventeen fascists! Instead of going to the Asturian port, Gijon, to which the real fighters against fascism were sailing for a last stand against Franco, the Basque President, Aguirre, and his cohorts, preferred to leave Spain, paying for the voyage by releasing seventeen important Fascist prisoners! Such is the quality of the "anti-fascism" of the liberal bourgeoisie.

That the Basque bourgeoisie would not fight to the death against Franco was apparent as early as September, 1936, when they abandoned the factories of San Sebastian intact to the enemy. The same thing has happened in the case of every city in the Biscay provinces. Rather than conduct an intransigent struggle involving demolition of bourgeois factories and buildings, the bourgeoisie preferred to abandon the cities, one by one. Property was more sacred to them than the struggle against fascism. If the property were destroyed, it would be irretrievably lost. But if they surrendered it intact and Franco was victorious, Franco, believing in private property, would certainly want to conciliate the property-

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A. F. of L. Endorses La Guardia

Mayor Rejects Endorsement of Stalinists

Under the leadership of the notorious Joe Ryan and President George Meany, the state convention of the A. F. of L. unanimously endorsed the candidacy of La Guardia, while it voted down all resolutions for unity or conciliation with the C.I.O. This combination of actions is not accidental. La Guardia's police have endeared themselves to the reactionaries by slugging C.I.O. maritime and shipyard strikers. If C.I.O. leaders like Hillman and Dubinsky insist on supporting La Guardia, Joe Ryan has no objections since his gang is the gainer.

The A. F. of L. action was heartily seconded that night, August 26, by Earl Browder, whose news that the Communist Party would support La Guardia was scarcely unexpected. Browder applauded Norman Thomas for being "busily engaged in expelling from his party precisely that group which vociferously demands that he shall run for office at all costs."

Bootlicker

Hailing the La Guardia ticket as "really progressive", Browder declared "we accept that ticket as a matter of united front discipline and will do everything possible to help carry it to victory." The press reports of Browder's radio speech were scarcely on the streets before the head of the "united front", Comrade La Guardia, repudiated Browder's support, declaring the Communists "will get no aid or comfort from me." Whereupon Browder licked the foot that kicked him. "The Mayor's statement seems to be quite sensible, and the Communists have not expected any other attitude from him," said Browder. "He is the candidate of a very broad progressive front, including the majority of the people of the city, and certainly could take no other position."

This is the first time in the history of the labor movement that a party claimed to be in a "united front" while the ticket's titular head denounced it in the press. Not even a Stalinist theologian will resolve that contradiction.

Lovestone Too

Perhaps the most comical grouplet supporting La Guardia is Lovestone's "Independent Communist Labor League. In an effort to win Communist workers revolted by the People's Front policy in Spain and France, Lovestone is theoretically against the Peoples Front. His Workers Age carries a pertinent criticism of the Daily Worker's praise of Roosevelt's Roanoke speech: "Of what good are homilies on the virtues of democracy to the scores of thousands who are being thrown off the work-relief rolls or to the hundreds of thousands who cannot get on? Of what good are polemics against Macaulay to the millions of workers who, as the hearings on the Black-Connery Bill show, are toiling long hours at starvation wages? Of what good are 'learned and luminous lectures on history' to the hapless dwellers in the rat-hole slums of our big cities? Of what good are invocations to 'democracy and more democracy' to the little steel strikers, prosecuted by the federal government, beaten up by the state militia

and shot down by the police."

But Lovestone utters not a word about La Guardia's record on housing, strikebreaking, and relief! Why the distinction between Roosevelt and La Guardia? Very simple: La Guardia is now up for re-election and the labor bureaucrats order their cohorts to line up; and Lovestone hastens to obey.

He even criticises Thomas for saying that the A.L.P. "fails to meet the test of absolute independence from capitalist parties." "Obviously", answers the Workers Age, "this is a weak and, let us hope, soon-to-be-dissipated remnant of the S.P.'s 'revolutionary' pastime of confronting the mass movement with all sorts of conditions and 'ultimatums'". Lovestone is against differing with the "mass movement"—his euphemism for the labor bureaucrats—whenever Hillman and Dubinsky crack the whip. That the Stalinists are perfectly correct in characterizing the electoral coalition as a Peoples Front—on this key question of politics in the concrete, Lovestone is silent.

True to form, Lovestone joins the Stalinists in applauding the expulsion of the Trotskyists. "An important element in the situation" says Lovestone "is the frantic efforts the Trotskyites are making to hamper the party from revising its sectarian attitude towards the A.L.P." He advises the "left socialists" that "the fight will have to be carried on two fronts: against the opportunism of the right-wingers and the Stalinists." This formula is also that of the Zam-Tyler group. Since "factionalism and sectarianism" mean to Lovestone any opposition to La Guardia, concretely his advice to Zam-Tyler is to capitulate to Altman on this crucial question. Such is the political program of the Lovestoneites, toward whom the Zam-Tyler group is now orienting.

NOTICE TO PARTY BRANCHES

Please send in names of comrades elected to serve as correspondents to the SOCIALIST APPEAL. Special attention must be given to providing us with timely stories on trade union struggles.

All copy must be in by Saturday.

G.P.U. IN SPAIN BUNGLES PLOT IN FRAMING SOCIALIST

"Trotskyist POUM Aided Franco with supplies, Englishman Reveals," scream the front-page headlines of the Daily Worker of August 31.

"When Frankford discovered the Trotskyist Commander Kopp climbing over the barbed wire entanglement to the fascist trenches with a patrol, the Englishman learned of the regular connection between the POUM officers and Franco's."

Who is this F. I. Frankford, Englishman, who gives such damning eyewitness testimony? Nobody ever heard of him. But the clumsy GPU agents who fabricated this testimony have blundered, as they have so often before. For the "Trotskyist Commander Kopp" who was in the habit of commuting between the Loyalist and Fascist trenches happens to be a Belgian Socialist whose heroic services to the labor movement and the Spanish struggle is a matter of record. An interview with him in the trenches, published in the I.L.P. New Leader of August 13 gives the salient facts.

Georges Kopp is forty-five years old, a member of long standing in the Belgian Socialist movement. When the civil war broke out, he was chief engineer in one of the largest engineering firms in Belgium. In that capacity, he had the use of a first-class laboratory maintained for him by the firm to develop his inventions. He now put his training as a chemist to good use.

It had been usual for him to experiment at night. He circulated the story that he was trying out a new machine, perfecting it by the actual process of manufacture. Actually he manufactured the supplies for millions of rounds of cartridges. Left Socialists organized illegal transport of the materials to Paris and thence to Barcelona.

Kopp soon discovered that he was under suspicion and being watched by the police. He took leave of his four children, (his wife was dead) and headed for the French frontier. The very day that he left Brussels was the day on which the police raided

his laboratory and issued a warrant for his arrest.

In his absence, Kopp was sentenced by the Belgian courts to fifteen years at hard labor; five years for making explosives for a foreign power; five years for leaving the country without permission; five years for joining a foreign army while holding a reservist officer rank in the Belgian Army.

On the Aragon front, Kopp's training soon won him the rank of Commandant. He was twice wounded.

The next episode in the story is told by David Murray in the British New Leader of August 13. During June, George Kopp was called to Valencia, in the reorganization of the militia, and was given a new commission. He was appointed to one of the new divisions forming on the Aragon front. The commission stated that he was a "person of every confidence"—"una persona de toda confianza."

When Kopp returned to Barcelona on his way back to the front, Murray informed him that Kopp's room at the hotel had been searched. Kopp was, however, completely confident that he had nothing to be afraid of. He insisted on returning to his quarters. Within a few minutes of his arrival he was arrested, and still is in jail.

This is the man whom "Frankford" and the Stalinists accuse of working for Franco!

One more "revelation" by "Frankford": "I did not realize at the time that the rifles, machine guns and tanks which we had in such great quantities at our disposal in Barcelona were the very arms which we had so long yearned for at the front; that the real reason for the shortage of arms at the front had been this illicit stocking up of stolen arms by the POUM and certain anarchist elements."

Note that here, for the first time, the Stalinists admit that the Aragon front was denuded of arms; hitherto they have denied the CNT-POUM charges that arming of the Aragon front has been sabotaged. But the

Stalinist alibi is that the POUM kept the arms in Barcelona. Decisive refutation of "Frankford" is provided by George Orwell, well-known English left-wing author and a member of the I.L.P. Contingent on the Aragon Front. Writing in the August issue of Controversy, the Socialist forum, Orwell says:

"As a matter of fact the POUM possessed pitifully few weapons either at the front or in the rear. During the street-fighting (of May) I was at all three of the principal strongholds of the POUM, the Executive Building, the Comite Local, and the Hotel Falcon. It is worth recording in detail what armaments these buildings contained. There were in all about eighty rifles, some of them defective, besides a few obsolete guns of various patterns, all useless because there were no cartridges for them. Of rifle ammunition there was about fifty rounds for each weapon. There were a few cases of hand-grenades and no pistol ammunition. There were a few cases of hand-grenades, but these were sent by the CNT after the fighting started. A highly-placed militia officer afterwards gave me his opinion that in the whole of Barcelona the POUM possessed about a hundred and fifty rifles and one machine-gun. This, it will be seen, was barely sufficient for the armed guards which at that time all parties, PSUC, POUM and CNT-FAI alike, placed on their principal buildings."

One final "revelation" of "Frankford", which will interest the thousands of New York needle-trades workers who know Harry Milton—now returning, finally released after strong workers' protests against his arrest in Barcelona—as a militant I.L.G.W.U. member on the picket lines. "Frankford" darkly refers to "an American Trotskyist going by the name of Harry Milton who made trips to Barcelona from the front with permission of those who were conducting activities against the republican government."

The GPU has blundered again, and what a clumsy job!

Appeal for Spanish Political Prisoners

To the Revolutionists of All Countries!

In the name of all revolutionists of Spain we address you!

With deep indignation we demand your protests against the reactionary suppression by the "liberal" bourgeoisie and its vanguard, the Stalinist bureaucracy.

The freedom, which the best comrades have rushed here to protect, has been changed into prisons of reaction.

In order to tie and bind the forces of the proletariat, the government of the Spanish Republic has prepared espionage trials after the pattern of the Soviet Russian amalgam. Nin, Andrade, Gorkin will all be brought before the secret court martial. Through arbitrary arrests numerous comrades, both men and women, above all Potomists, but also Anarchists, find themselves in Spanish prisons. The official report speaks of 300 imprisonments among the members of the POUM. But we can reckon the number of innocently imprisoned at least 1000. The following foreigners

are innocently suffering the same fate:

Georges Kopp	Belgium
Paul Dobler	Switzerland
Paul Thalman	Switzerland
Katja Landau	Austria
Maurice Stevens	Holland
Ethel McDonald	England
William Krehm	Canada
Julius K.	Poland
N. Foska	Poland
Molinaar	Holland
Duchene	France
Gaston Amiral	France
Witte	Greece
N. R.	Albania
E. H., H. S., K. H.,	
F. S., E. K., H. L.,	Germany
N. S., G. G., F. G.,	
R. M., M. G., H. W.	

We cannot publish the names of the German comrades because we do not want to endanger them or their relatives in Germany. We will gladly disclose to representatives of the emigrant organizations or absolutely trustworthy persons whether certain persons are among the imprisoned.

Unfortunately we could learn only the names of a fraction of the imprisoned foreigners. There are members of anarchist organizations, of the SFIO, of the Jeunesse Socialiste of France, of the American Socialist Party, of Trotsky organizations, of KPO, FAP, of the split-off group of SAP, of the Parti Ouvrier of Belgium, of the Sozialistische Partei of Switzerland, of the Communist League and of the League for a Workers' Party in the U. S. A. etc., etc., Numerous British comrades have already been released. This is explained by the attitude of the British consul who declared that he will not allow British citizens to be imprisoned, in order to gather incriminating evidence later. Most of the other consuls are little or not at all concerned with the imprisoned.

Workers of all countries! It is your duty to defend the innocently imprisoned, you must not leave it to the bourgeois consulates.

There is a grave danger that

they will involve them in some espionage affair with which they have absolutely nothing to do. Out on the streets with demonstrations! Protest to the representatives of the Spanish Republic against the shameful betrayal of your comrades, many of whom have dedicated their lives to the cause of the Spanish proletariat. Send delegations to Spain so that they can be convinced on the spot of the misdeeds of the bourgeoisie and Stalinists. If you permit the present reactionary course in Republican Spain, you will be guilty of the demoralization and weakening of our opposition to our chief enemy, Spanish and international fascism.

Release the best fighters against Fascism! Unmask the real betrayers!

Down with the "non-intervention" of Blum-Eden-Stalin!

Long live the proletarian revolution of Europe!

The Committee of Bolshevik-Leninists of Spain (4th Int.)
Barcelona, July 5, 1937.

CIO GETS SETBACK IN STEEL; GOVERNMENT AIDS BOSSES

Eighteen union men are murdered. Hundreds more await trial on trumped-up charges. Every known method of strike-breaking was used by "little steel" to terrorize the steel workers. In spite of the heroism of the rank and file, the strike is broken.

Since this is the first serious setback that the CIO has experienced, the course of the strike must be carefully considered, not only to understand the reasons for this defeat, but, more important, to be able to make concrete proposals which will help the steel workers to victory.

The most important single lesson to be learned from the history of strikes is: "Any strike policy of a union leadership that does not place its emphasis on the fighting power of the workers, on the independent force of the union itself, is doomed in advance to failure. The reason for this is quite plain: The capitalist is not really affected by the strike unless it stops production or hinders it so greatly that the employer begins to feel a serious loss in profits and so is compelled to come to terms with the union. Only the workers can exert such pressure, for only the workers can operate the machines. That is why the union leaders must always proceed on the basis that their most powerful instrument is the union itself."

Government Aids the Bosses

The employer uses hired thugs, the anti-union press, armed vigilante committees and other means too numerous to mention, but his most powerful instrument in breaking the strike is the government. The Government includes the local police, the national guard, the courts and the local, state and federal administrations. They all pretend to be "neutral in labor disputes," but under the pretense of defending the right to work, they always act as scabherders, and protect the interests of the bosses.

Any policy which fails to explain to the workers the role played by the government, and talks about the "community of interest" between capital and labor, must be fought against if the strike is to be won. Only a policy of struggle, or reliance on the militant fighting spirit of the workers, can really bring the steel barons to their knees.

Leaders Go to Politicians

From the very first day of the strike, it became increasingly clear that the leadership had no plan of militant struggle against the companies. Instead of building an efficient strike machine, they spent their time in Washington and Columbus lobbying with Roosevelt and Davey—begging them to make the companies sign up with the CIO. Both efforts were futile. Roosevelt answered with a "hands off" policy which in reality meant support to the steel barons. Governor Davey sent the national guard to open the mills and protect the scabs.

Without a program of struggle, the union leadership was unable to combat the clever offensive of the bosses. As a result, a walkout which paralyzed every plant of the companies involved in seven states of the country, affecting more than 70,000 workers, soon reached a point where a substantial majority of the men had gone back to work.

Why did so many men go back to work? We cannot call them scabs as we would ordinarily brand those who work in defiance of a picket line. It is the pressure of the state forces, courts, na-

tional guard, police, and thugs, combined with economic pressure from their creditors which finally force honest workers back to the mills. But even this combined force would have been insufficient if the policies of the SWOC leaders had not led to the demoralization and confusion of the workers.

On the whole, the steel workers fortunately do not think badly of the union; instead they feel that Governor Davey double-crossed them. The thought in nearly every steel worker's mind is that "the national guard broke the strike." Quite true, the national guard did break the strike. But who appealed to Davey for support? Who told the workers that "the national guard will keep the mills closed"? Who built up the illusion that the administration from Davey to Roosevelt favored the steel union? The S. W. O. C. leaders did!

Class collaboration Policy

The union leadership from Philip Murray to John Mayo built this illusion which completely disarmed the workers, leaving them helpless in the face of the national guard when it showed its true colors. The policy of confusing the workers as to the character of the government—the tool of the capitalists—disarms them, leaves them demoralized at the critical moment. Although the CIO principle of industrial organization is correct and has succeeded in organizing the masses in the basic industries where the craft basis failed, nevertheless the general policy of the CIO leaders is to solve the workers' difficulties on the false basis that labor and capital have common interests. They build up the workers' confidence in the capitalist government machine. They proceed in all their strategy, tactics and organization from the basis that it is only a few "economic royalists" who are holding back from recognizing the unions and making the living standards of the workers so low. The workers will continue to pay, to suffer untold union proceeds in all its work hardships in vain, until their from the basic principle that their's is an uncompromising struggle going on between capital and the working class.

The strike was called for the purpose of gaining a signed contract between the companies and the CIO. No demands were made concerning higher wages and shorter hours, in spite of the fact that the rising costs of living justify them. The steel workers for the most part had not been in unions before and did not fully understand, nor was any attempt made to explain to them, the reasons why the signing of a contract was important. Not only the workers themselves but, in particular, the middle class, could not understand why the signing of a contract was so important unless a demand for higher wages and better working conditions was also made.

Picket Lines Neglected

No attempt was made to have the workers come to the picket line on their regular shifts, which would have insured a mass picket line at all times. Picket captains were not selected until the third or fourth day and there was no system by which these captains could get in touch with the members easily. Strike relief was inadequate and improperly organized. Although the auto workers in Flint proved how valuable a women's emergency brigade can be, not only for feeding the

pickets but also for picket duty, no organized attempt was made to encourage the women to form a union auxiliary of any kind; and many a union man was, therefore, influenced by his passive wife to go back to work.

Probably no other field of activity was so neglected as the field of strike publicity. In this situation where the entire valley was paralyzed, where 35,000 steel workers in Mahoning Valley, alone were affected, in a community where the entire population depends for its existence directly or indirectly on the steel mills, no regular strike bulletin was issued. Nothing, no bulletin, no mass meetings outside of those at picket lines, no parades, nothing to spike the vicious lies of the company-controlled press. The only publicity available to the majority of those affected by the strike was the local newspapers such as the Youngstown Vindicator. This paper carried on a strike-breaking policy from the very beginning; yet this was the medium through which the steel worker got his news of the strike. The majority of the steel workers did not even come to the picket lines, but remained at home and dug in the garden, went fishing and only occasionally drove down to the picket line to see what was happening. Gradually many of them succumbed to the vicious propaganda.

The SWC leaders have no excuse for the failure to carry on this absolutely necessary work. Many times they were approached by rank and file delegations, with resolutions from picket lines but they brushed them aside. The answer cannot lie in the talk about no funds for it is well known that the CIO treasury is ample to cover the cost of a strike bulletin. The answer lies in the fact that the whole policy of the union was on the basis of maneuvering with Roosevelt instead of concentrating on the workers themselves.

To say the union members had no control over the strike is a gross understatement of fact. Even the organizers in complete charge of the plants had nothing to do with the strike strategy, which was decided by the very top men in the CIO. There was no central strike committee of any kind, let alone one elected by the members of the union. Resolutions or suggestions to the leaders got absolutely no attention. The policy and tactics were decided and there was nothing the workers could do but carry them out blindly and hope for the best.

What can be done? It must be said quite clearly and fearlessly that the fate of the steel union lies in the successful development of a left wing in the SWOC which can exert enough pressure to carry out a union policy which is in accord with the real interests of the workers—a left wing which will make concrete proposals for the building of the CIO in steel.

The most important issues that the left wing must immediately raise are: Democracy in the union; workers' education; elected strike committees; the publication of a strike bulletin; and a general strike policy on the basis of a struggle program. Around the left wing will crystallize all the more militant, more intelligent workers who are intent on the building of the union, on educating workers to depend only on their own organized strength.

Progressive Steel Workers Group
Youngstown, Ohio

Party Locals Rally oT The Left Wing

Two more important party locals have solidarized themselves with the left wing.

By unanimous decision of the membership, Local St. Louis County, Missouri, addressed a sharp letter to the NEC, calling for an emergency national convention to settle the party struggle democratically. "If this is evidence", it says of the right-wing charges, "then this is the USSR in its latter-day aspect... The wording of the charges proves that this is a fundamental political conflict between the right and left wings of the party and not an attempt to cleanse the party of disruptive elements."

"We express our unqualified solidarity with all the members of the Appeal group who have been disciplined in any way by the New York committee. They are our Socialist Party comrades, fighting by our side to make the party a truly revolutionary organization that will not crack or smash in a critical time."

Another unanimous decision, of the Central Branch of Lehigh County, Pennsylvania, backed the left wing, denouncing "capitulation to La Guardia and Peoples Frontism" and concluding that "we express and pledge our solidarity with the expelled comrades and will aid them in their struggles."

Indiana Unanimous

By unanimous decision, the Indiana State Executive Committee of the party on August 29 addressed the following demands to the NEC:

"The State Executive Committee of the Socialist Party of Indiana proposes and demands that:

"1. The N.E.C. immediately reverse the decisions of the Local New York City Central Committee and reinstate the expelled comrades and guarantee to them all democratic rights.

"2. The N. E. C. instruct Local New York to conduct an independent socialist campaign in the elections in New York City.

"3. The N.E.C. immediately restore the charter to the California state organization.

"4. The N.E.C. issue a call for a special national convention in order that the membership may itself have the right—as is its duty—to decide the fate of the party in the present crisis; and that in order that such a special convention may actually represent the party membership, we demand the immediate reinstatement of all expelled and suspended comrades and the immediate cessation of the expulsion drive.

"The State Executive Committee of the Socialist Party of Indiana declares its full political, moral and organizational solidarity with the comrades expelled in New York and with the state officers and left-wing comrades in California and pledges to help make known to the party membership the splitting tactics of the right wing and centrist combination in New York and nationally."

Indianapolis Local

Local Marion County, leading mid-west party center, came out solidly in support of the Appeal on August 23rd.

The local's resolution follows in part:

"The railroading through of the expulsions of fifty-two comrades of the left-wing by the Altman-Thomas-Valenti clique in control of the administration of Local New York on August 9th was but a part of the campaign of the Right-Wing to sell the party out to La Guardia and the

labor bureaucrats of the American Labor Party. This attempt to liquidate independent revolutionary socialist politics, in complete violation of the party constitution and resolutions, could not be successfully carried through with the left-wing in the party. So, in order to carry out this traitorous move it was necessary for the right-wing to expel the left-wing who were vigorously opposing this sell-out and exposing the splitting tactics of the right-wing combination.

Local Marion County declares its full political, moral and organizational solidarity with the comrades expelled in New York and nationally."

Local Lynn Acts

By unanimous vote, the flourishing industrial Lynn, Massachusetts, local of the Socialist Party, adopted the following Appeal resolution on August 15:

"The Lynn Local demands the calling of an emergency convention of the Socialist Party at the earliest possible date. Such a Convention is necessary to take action upon the crucial situation in New York brought about by the illegal wholesale expulsions of revolutionary Socialists and by the determination of the Altman-Thomas-Valenti group and their supporters to line up the S. P. behind the liberal capitalist candidate for mayor of New York, La Guardia; and is necessary, generally, to halt the determined drive of unscrupulous Right-Wing elements to split and wreck the Socialist Party nationally."

The Lynn local plays a leading role in the heart of the New England factory district.

On August 22, the Lynn Local informed the National and State offices of the party that "it considers it our duty as revolutionists to declare our full solidarity with the expelled comrades and pledges them our unqualified support in their struggle with the right-wing splitters."

Conn. Secretary

Victor Harris, State Secretary of the Socialist Party of Connecticut, charged that "the NEC resolution on Spain, a major resolution, is in violation of the (convention) resolution on the Peoples Front", "the NAC concessions to Wisconsin are in violation of the Trade Union (convention) resolution" and "the NEC resolution on inner-party policy is in itself a violation of the spirit of democratic centralism." Harris in his letter of August 26 to Roy Burt, declares that "when we say 'discussion', we do not mean, as Gys Tyler apparently does, that the members talk over how to carry out the party line. That is a characteristic of the Communist Party, not a democratic Socialist Party." Harris declares he will fight for revolutionary Socialism "with the NEC if at all possible, but against the NEC if it violates the plain mandate of the Chicago convention."

"The principles of revolutionary Socialism," concludes Comrade Harris, "must always be held higher than any particular group of men who interpret them... Naturally the sincere and devoted Socialist will think twice before censuring his leaders for their errors, for he too may be wrong. But once his mind is made up it is his duty to take his stand for what he considers right. I have done so."

Nanking Prepares New Defeat

(Continued from page 1)

preserve the unity and fortitude of our armies. Our people refuse to make peace on any terms, but will continue fighting until the enemy is compelled to realize the futility of attempting such a colossal task as the conquest of China and the subjugation of the Chinese people."

Record of Surrender

The strategic motive advanced as justification for the Chinese withdrawal might be accorded some weight if it had not come from the Nanking government, which has a record for miserable capitulation before Japanese imperialism stretching back over a period of six years to the Japanese seizure of Mukden on September 18, 1931. When the armies of Japanese imperialism were completing their conquest of Manchuria (quite a sizeable "territorial dent"), Nanking announced a policy of "long-time resistance" but did not lift a finger to defend the vast northeastern territory. When Japan struck at Shanghai in the opening weeks of 1932, the Nanking government fled in indecent haste to Loyang, capital of Honan province, far from the devastating fury of Japanese artillery and bombing planes. The theory of "long-time" resistance was twisted into the theory of "long-distance" resistance, with the government declaring it would fight Japan even if it had to retreat to Kansu and Shensi in order to do it! The heroic resistance of the 19th Route Army to the Japanese invaders at Shanghai was spiked by Nanking from the rear and ended in tragic defeat. Shanghai was demilitarized.

"Resistance"

In February, 1933 Nanking's long-time, long-distance resistance policy, which meant leaving thousands of poorly armed, ill-fed and unclothed masses of provincial soldiers in the path of the Japanese advance, enabled Japanese imperialism to add Jehol to the empire it had seized in Manchuria. Despite topographical factors which added to the difficulties of the attackers, Japan's armies conquered the province in a campaign which lasted barely eight days. The Jehol campaign was followed in May of the same year by the Japanese seizure of the Luan River region in Hopei province. The sporadic fighting in that area was formally concluded by the Tangku Truce, signed May 9, the full terms of which have never been disclosed to this day. This "truce" resulted in the "demilitarization" of 24 districts, comprising a region of roughly 1,500 square miles, in the region of the Great Wall. Japanese imperialism continued to press forward and in June, 1935 engineered the Ho-Umetzu Agreement whereby all Nanking government troops were to be excluded from Hopei province. Although Ho Ying-ching, the Chinese signatory, was Minister of War in the Nanking government and Nanking's official deputy in North China, Nanking declared it did not "recognize" the agreement but let it go at that. Ho was not repudiated nor excluded from the government. The uncontested Japanese seizure of Manchuria, the surrender of Shanghai, the miserable "defense" of Jehol, the traitorous Tangku and Ho-Umetzu agreements—all these paved the way for Japan's latest military campaign in North China and at Shanghai.

The agreement which brought to a formal close the hostilities

at Shanghai in 1932 provided for the demilitarization of a 12-mile zone around Shanghai. Japan has made it clear that at the conclusion of the latest undeclared war Chinese troops are to be excluded from a zone of much wider radius. Practically all of the Hongkew, Yangtzepoo and Chapei districts which form northeastern Shanghai are now held by Japan's forces and it is not unlikely that these will become a Japanese "concession." The conquest of Hopei and Chahar, inevitably to be followed by seizure of the Inner Mongolian provinces of Suiyuan and Ninghsia, will provide Japan with an important flanking base for future attack on the Mongolian People's Republic and, ultimately, Soviet Siberia.

Nanking's "resistance" to Japan's latest empire push is calculated, not as a serious war for the preservation or assertion of China's independence, but as the minimum necessary to retain the leadership of the Chinese bourgeoisie; to stall off mass opposition to the treachery of the Kuomintang regime, and to justify the confidence of Anglo-American imperialism to the end that a "new deal" may be struck with Japan at a propitious moment. The mood of surrender has animated Nanking from the very outset of the hostilities, which began in North China and only later extended to Shanghai. It is underlined by the declaration of the Nanking spokesman, in particular the statement that Japan is to be maneuvered into drawing out her lines for a costly and possibly disastrous campaign inland. A government seriously bent on defense would never disclose its strategy to the enemy. Intended to deceive? But it coincides with the actual retreat of Chinese troops from the Shanghai area and the weakening of Chinese opposition to Japan.

French Peoples Front

France's Peoples Front Government last week decreed higher prices for wheat and bread, thereby increasing the cost of living of the masses.

With price-control vested in the government, the cost of bread has always been an important political issue since, even more than in America, bread is the basic workers' food. The Socialist and Communist parties have traditionally fought against raising the price.

The present raise, however, is made by a cabinet in which Socialists sit, and under blanket emergency powers voted to the government by the Chamber of Deputies on June 30, with the Communist party deputies voting for these powers.

The dominating figure in the cabinet, Minister of Finance and National Economy, George Bonnet, has embarked on a bold reactionary program to wipe out all benefits gained by the workers from the Forty-Hour Week Law. Thirteen employer-employee committees established by him are scheduled to report to the forthcoming parliamentary session a program of speed-up in the factories.

"What M. Bonnet is setting out to do is to try to change the spirit and temper of the worker and to get him to realize that shorter hours and paid holidays, of which he has been taking full advantage, cannot be maintained unless he puts all his strength into his job while he is working." (New York Times, August 29).

in North China! Moreover, there is nothing to show that Japan has embarked on ever intended to embark on any such suicidal venture as the attempted conquest of all China by a single, continuous military campaign. Japan's policy has been, and remains, the gradual carving of a continental empire from the living body of Asia, the theory of the Japanese imperialists being that each successive territorial conquest renders more difficult, and ultimately will make impossible, any serious resistance. Yet it is precisely on the theory that Japan is now trying, at one fell swoop, as it were, to subjugate all China, that Nanking predicates its policy of long-time, long-distance resistance, in other words, a long-drawn-out war of attrition! Here we have the unmistakable formula of capitulation.

Nanking not Serious

Viewing from afar the struggle now being waged in China one cannot help being struck by the inequality of the contending forces. Backward China faces imperialist Japan. But even more striking is the fact that the fighting in China is taking place after the fashion of a staged drama, with the vast Chinese populace as spectators—spectators moreover, who are not infrequently drawn into the role of passive victims of the contenders. Here we get the measure of Nanking's seriousness in the conduct of the war. If Nanking, governing a country militarily superior to imperialist Japan only in the sheer weight of its vast population, intended seriously to fight for China's liberation from imperialism, it would extend the struggle to all possible fronts and systematically draw the civilian masses into the battle. Arming the masses for the struggle, it would answer the attacks of Japanese imperialism not only by military measures, but by severance of diplomatic relations with Tokyo, following this up by decrees confiscating all Japanese concessions, banks, factories, real estate and other properties in China—in word, by a real defensive and offensive war. Measures such as these (countless others could be suggested) would evoke tremendous mass enthusiasm and call forth international proletarian solidarity for China's cause. A struggle along the lines indicated, with all available forces brought into action, would almost certainly spell defeat for the imperialists of Dai Nippon.

But Nanking, keeping one eye cocked for a "compromise" with Japan, has carefully refrained from taking any of those irrevocable measures which a state of war demands and which pose inescapably the alternatives of either complete victory or defeat with no middle course of "compromise" left open. Nanking fears the Chinese masses more than it does the hosts of imperial Japan. With the latter a "compromise" is always possible; the Chinese masses might want to go "too far" and confiscate all bourgeois property, foreign and native. Tokyo has been equally careful to avoid a formal war declaration. The Japanese imperialists have a lively appreciation of the advantages of undeclared warfare. They realize that a formal war declaration would give Nanking no choice but to respond in kind. In a real war, with the entire Chinese nation mobilized for the struggle, Nanking would be risking its own existence, but defeat for Japan would be practically certain. Tokyo understands

quite well that Nanking is playing Japan's game by restricting the Chinese defense to military action by professional armies and preventing that enlargement of the campaign by which alone victory can be assured.

Britain, U. S. Tied

Nanking's acceptance of Washington's proposal to settle Sino-Japanese issues "peaceably" on the basis of a withdrawal of both Japanese and Chinese troops from the Shanghai area, coinciding with Nanking's announcement of the conclusion of a non-aggression pact with Moscow, and Chiang Kai-shek's appeal for imperialist intervention against Japan's is fresh indication of the Chinese bourgeoisie's lack of confidence in its ability to beat off the attacks of the Japanese imperialists. In line with its policy of the last six years, it naively hopes for intervention by Japan's imperialist rivals, by Soviet Russia, or both. But Washington, pending completion of its armament program, is in no haste to try conclusions with Japan, while Britain, despite the shooting-up of its ambassador by Japanese machine gunners, is too preoccupied with preserving its domination in the Mediterranean to challenge Japan's latest onslaughts in China. The Stalin government, counter-revolutionary to the core, will never aid China in her struggle for national liberation unless such aid should happen to coincide with the interests of the Soviet bureaucracy. Moscow's conclusion of a non-aggression pact with Nanking is merely a diplomatic move designed to hinder bourgeois China from becoming the ally of imperialist Japan in a future war against Soviet Russia.

It becomes ever clearer that only a revolutionary government of the Chinese proletariat, supported by the poor peasants and all the oppressed, and assisted by the international working-class, can win China's freedom from imperialist rape and domination. Unless the exploited Chinese masses, rallying to the demand for arms to repulse the imperialist invaders, succeed in intervening in the present struggle, Japan will emerge from the war with new territorial conquests.

N. Y. Meeting Plans Activity

(Continued from page 1)

conditional reinstatement of the expelled branches and individual comrades, the repudiation of the illegal Altman Central Committee, and the immediate convocation of a city convention on a fair, democratic, and proportional basis.

"We call upon all Party bodies and all Party members to solidize themselves with us and with our action, and to join with us in our determination to carry through the great task of building in this country a revolutionary socialist party."

The Conference adopted a series of organizational proposals to be executed by the provisional City Executive Committee. Among them, registration of membership and reorganization of branches, conference of trade union and unemployed comrades to organize Socialist leagues, city and local mass meetings on Spain, Moscow Trials, and the local election campaign. The Committee was also instructed to work out plans for an independent Socialist mayoralty campaign. The Conference endorsed the

Scottsboro Defense in Phony Deal

That the Scottsboro defense made a "deal" with the prosecution, involving cessation of all attempts to release four of the prisoners, was the assertion made by Judge W. W. Callahan in refusing new trials to three defendants on August 28.

A "hard and fast agreement" made in July provided release of four men and waiving capital punishment for the others and no further appeals of the ninety-nine year sentences of Heywood Patterson and Charlie Weems, according to the judge. This is the first official disclosure that such a deal was made.

When Samuel Liebowitz, chief defense attorney, advised Ozie Powell to plead guilty to a charge of "assault with intent to kill", Powell was sentenced by Judge Callahan to serve twenty years, and the prosecution immediately thereafter quashed the four remaining indictments. It looked like an unprincipled deal. Powell had been maltreated by a deputy sheriff and, provoked unbearably, had defended himself with a knife; at the time the Scottsboro Defense Committee had promised to defend him uncompromisingly; but when Liebowitz abandoned him to Alabama justice the Scottsboro committee gave Liebowitz a clean bill of health, organizing a monster mass meeting at which he was chief speaker.

Morris Shapiro, secretary of the Scottsboro committee and Norman Thomas' representative on it, published an article in *The Nation* admitting that Liebowitz had made a deal with the prosecution whereby three defendants would plead guilty to simple assault but claimed that Judge Callahan had refused to sanction the agreement. Shapiro's flat acceptance of the original agreement—a method of "defense" which violates the most elementary principles of class struggle defense policy—gives credence to Judge Callahan's present assertion.

Soon after the mass meeting at which Liebowitz revealed details of the first deal, persons active in early phases of the case called upon the Scottsboro Defense Committee to comment upon Liebowitz' handling of the case and to indicate the committee's future stand. The Committee remained silent, but brought Osmond K. Fraenkel to appeal the case of Norris, Weems and Andy Wright. No appeal appears to have been filed yet on behalf of Heywood Patterson. Since he pleaded guilty under Liebowitz' instruction, Ozie Powell has no further legal recourse.

The labor movement will not be satisfied with a flat denial of Judge Callahan's assertion. It is time to take the lid off the Scottsboro case and let us have the truth and the whole truth. Norman Thomas is directly involved, and through him the National Executive of the Socialist Party. Did they approve the original deal? What do they know about the July deal? The party membership has a right to know.

Socialist Appeal as its official organ and decided to launch a campaign for subscriptions. Each member must be a subscriber to the Appeal. In addition each member is to get at least one additional subscription within one month.

The name of the organization is to be Local New York, Socialist Party (Left Wing Branches).

Basque Chiefs Fear Workers

(Continued from page 1)

owners when the war was over, even if they had been on the wrong side for a time.... Apart from this certain prospect, there may even have been an understanding on this point with Franco; for the absolute uniformity of the Basque policy of surrendering all industrial cities intact has no counterpart in any modern war, not to speak of civil wars!

Double Treachery

The "iron ring" defending Bilbao had been built months previously under the direction of an engineer who had shortly escaped to fascist territory. The fascists, then, had the plans of the fortifications and could skirt and flank them, as they actually did. But the treachery of the engineer was only made public after the fascists had broken through the fortifications; it was then adduced as the alibi of the Basque government. But months had intervened since his flight. Why was nothing done to construct a new system of fortifications in the interim?

Furthermore, no offensive was begun on the central front to force Franco to divert troops from the Basque front. Nor were airplanes sent from Madrid, then quiet, to defend Bilbao. Why? Had the Negrin government information which made it certain that Bilbao would surrender? Was it, perhaps, a party to the decision? Certainly no other hypothesis explains the passivity of the Negrin Government, during the march on Bilbao during June. The Stalinist alibi that the Negrin cabinet (established May 17) had not had time to organize a campaign on the Madrid or Aragon fronts is absurd on the face of it; no military man worth his salt would deny that three weeks—not to speak of preparations by the Caballero cabinet in which the Prieto-bourgeois-Stalinist forces had the commanding voice—was enough to organize a large-scale offensive.

Our suspicions are completely justified by the manner in which Bilbao surrendered. No attempt was made to defend the city. Not a single factory or wharf was damaged by fascist shells before its fall. The Asturian miners managed to dynamite some of the bridges; but when they sought to destroy supplies which were being left behind, and factories manufacturing war materials, they were driven out of the city at gun-point, or, worse, disarmed by National Republican Guards and Basque soldiers of the regular army and held so that they might fall into the hands of the fascists! The Guards "maintained order" until Franco's forces arrived; patrolled the streets while the fascist troops marched in; then most of them donned Carlist red berets and went to work for Franco!

These unquestioned facts do not come from any private source. Most of them were reported by the regular news-correspondents, including the London Times' G. L. Steer, a Loyalist sympathizer. Neither here nor abroad did the Stalinists deny these facts. They "ignored" them as did the Negrin government. With the result that the Basque Government has consummated its treachery by similarly surrendering Santander and fleeing the country. This outcome was inevitable: for the "liberal" bourgeoisie has no basic stake in fighting fascism. As agents and partners of British and French

capital in Spain, the Basque bourgeoisie had no enthusiasm for joining Franco, with his German and Italian commitments. But more than they hated Franco, they hated the masses of the UGT and CNT. They supported Prieto and the Stalinists in reconstructing the bourgeois state, in depriving the workers of the conquests they had won in crushing the fascists in the chief cities. But despite all repressions, the bourgeoisie had no guarantees that a victory over Franco would not galvanize the workingclass into taking complete power. Against this eventuality only Franco could guarantee them.

Nothing Learned

Neither the treachery of the Basque bourgeoisie, nor the continued blockade of Franco and English imperialism, serve to convince the bourgeois-Prieto-Stalinist bloc that their course is false. Nothing can convince the Peoples Front coalition of this. They are determined to win, if at all—and not a few of the government leaders prefer a compromise with Franco to the possible dangers of proletarian power after victory—on the basis of so thoroughly consolidating a bourgeois regime that Anglo-French imperialism, reassured, will come to their aid.

The most striking confirmation of this is seen on the Aragon front. The Catalan militias, predominantly CNT, and with ten thousand POUM militiamen among them, made the most important military gains in the first months of war. They re-conquered almost all Aragon and immobilized Zaragoza, seat of one of the biggest garrisons and heavily fortified, which was to have been for the fascists what Burgos was further west. Once the fascists began receiving arms and planes from abroad, however, the ill-armed CNT-POUM militias could not take Zaragoza without planes and artillery. But they received none of these materials which were arriving from Russia, Mexico and other sources. While the Civil Guards, Assault Guards and Carabineros (who were not sent to the front, but were used to "preserve order" by cowing the workers) were armed with brand-new Russian rifles, automatic pistols, machine guns and artillery, and fleets of warplanes stood idle on the Madrid front between offensives, the Aragon militias had worn-out Mauser rifles, one machine-gun to fifty men and one revolver to about thirty men. "A Government which sends boys of fifteen to the front with rifles forty years old, and keeps its biggest men and newest weapons in the rear, is manifestly more afraid of the revolution than of the fascists. Hence the feeble war-policy of the past six months, and hence the compromise with which the war will almost certainly end," writes George Orwell, soldier with the I.L.P. contingent on the Aragon front.

War Sabotaged

When Santander fell and the government sought to make a showing by initiating the present Aragon offensive, the main forces, those of the CNT, were not entrusted with the artillery; instead, some "International Brigades"—Stalinist-led—were given the artillery and machine-guns while the CNT troops manned the trenches with their inadequate weapons. As a result, the offensive never developed any power. While the war is thus sabotaged, the government continues

Mc. Grady Lands Job as Radio Company Boss

Edward F. McGrady, Assistant Secretary of Labor, former president of the Newspaper Printing Pressmen's Union, of the Boston Central Labor Union and of the Massachusetts Federation of Labor, and for fourteen years thereafter the legislative agent of the A. F. of L., is resigning to become vice-president of the Radio Corporation of America, "in charge of labor relations."

McGrady is distinguished from the other "Labor leaders" together with whom he ruled the destinies of the organized working class for decades, only by his superior vigor and shrewdness. For nearly two decades he determined the A. F. of L.'s policy toward legislation. That he now drops all pretense of serving labor and becomes vice-president of one of the biggest employing corporations, is a revealing insight into the class-outlook of the men who dominate the American labor movement. They are in the old American radical's phrase, "the labor lieutenants of American capitalism."

unabated the reactionary offensive against the proletariat. Another POUM leader has been killed, this time by "legal" execution: Mena, Political Commissioner of the POUM militias at Lerida, charged with "inciting to revolt." The French press, with the exception of L'Humanite report this.

Even more significant is the arrest of Joaquin Ascaso, president of the Council of Aragon. Ascaso formed the Council in September, 1936 and shortly thereafter it was enlarged to include representatives of the Popular Front parties, but it remained predominantly CNT in composition. It organized on a collective basis the economic life of re-conquered Aragon and made possible provisioning of the Aragon front by the neighboring villages.

With the establishment of the Negrin government on May 17 a rabid campaign was organized against the Aragon Council. Stalinist spokesmen, at the PSUC Congress in Barcelona at the end of July, openly called for a repetition of the Barcelona repression in Aragon. All attempts to organize a strong Stalinist movement within Aragon failed, for the peasants are in favor of the collectives. Now the government has struck from outside. Ascaso is held on the preposterous charge of "embezzling jewels." Although only thirty years old, Ascaso is one of the most popular CNT leaders.

Thus the war against fascism is sabotaged by the government, while the latter incessantly wars against the revolutionary workers.

Admiral's Vote

Sandwiched in between the chauvinistic speech of a Rear Admiral and the smug prayer of a naval chaplain, was none other than Fiorello H. La Guardia, at the launching of the new cruiser in the Brooklyn Navy Yard last Thursday. The naval officers gave him a genuinely enthusiastic welcome to the launching party. As the ship down the ways, the loudest cheers of all came from little Fiorello.

If the Mayor should ever get his dates mixed and read a boiled shirt speech to an overalled audience, some of his naive supporters would get jarred out of their seats.

EXPULSION DRIVE IS UNDER WAY IN MASS.

Alfred Baker Lewis has filed charges against the 7 Appeal members of the State Executive. The specific charge was that they jointly signed a statement in the name of The Appeal Association which "condemned and rejected" the gag rules and the Spanish resolution of the N.E.C. The 7 members are: John Hall, John Dwyer, Wm. Adam, Walter Birch, Antoinette Konikow, Augustus Mason and Lawrence Trainor. Charges were filed also against David Udell, of the Appeal, for stating at an S.E.C. meeting that "we want to drive a wedge between the C.I.O. leadership and the rank-and-file."

Comrades Dwyer and Adam, members of over 5 years' standing, will be the first two who will feel the traitor's axe, as Dwyer is a member-at-large and Adam is a member of Worcester local where the majority of the activists are Appealites, but for fighting against Socialist principles the dead-wood will be rounded up. Lewis named two members of his stooge S.E.C. majority to sit on the trial board trying Dwyer: Pineo, who has been on Lewis' personal pie-card payroll for years, and Mary Dickson, a Fabian Socialist professor, who has stated time and time again that she wants the Left-wing expelled.

The remaining five will have to be tried in their Locals which are solidly Left-wing, namely Lynn and Boston Central.

This is the first decisive attempt by Lewis to split the Mass. Socialist Party. Needless to say, over 90% of all active members are Appealites and regardless of the expulsion drive, we shall continue to solidarize ourselves with all those expelled and refuse to recognize any expulsions.

Lewis Pays for Votes

How the Right wing gathers up the necessary amount of dead-wood is revealed in a letter of July 14 which Lewis sent to two ex-members of the party:

"Joe Salerno, Charlotte Marchese, 5 Conduit Street, Lawrence, Mass.

Dear Comrades:

I earnestly hope that you will both re-register for membership in the Socialist Party.

I am enclosing check which I hope you will cash and send in for your back dues which are now a full year in arrears each. I want you to do this as there has been criticism of you by the Trotskyites, and I have no patience with that sort of vicious criticism knowing the services which you have given to the Party in the past.

One of their criticisms, which is technically correct, is that you have not kept in good standing. I know your situation and I am taking this method of helping you to keep in good standing.

I would appreciate hearing from you.

Fraternally yours,
Alfred Baker Lewis"

The Last Supper

The kiss of Judas was no sweeter than the "intimate", "friendly" invitation extended by the Lewis old-ladies' expulsion club to John Dwyer. With no further comment, we publish in full the chatty epistle inviting him to have his head chopped off!

Dear Comrade Dwyer:

"I'm sorry about the change in the date of the 'hearing' if it

inconveniences you at all. Comrades Lewis set the first date as 11 a. m. Sunday, which is inconvenient for me; since it was to be at our house I complained to comrade Lewis and he suggested Friday evening as he plans to be in Western Massachusetts for a meeting late Friday. He suggested either Friday evening or early on Sunday morning—I have an important examination at the college on Saturday morning, so Friday evening was decided on, tho' it doesn't seem very convenient for anyone.

"I have invited Comrades Lewis and Pineo to supper promptly at six, on Friday, am writing Dr. Konikow inviting him, and hereby invite you. If Mrs. Dwyer can come and would like to, bring her along. We'll have a simple quick meal as Comrade Lewis may have a meeting later in the evening.

"Tell Mrs. Dwyer I have the Burbank Book and find it Delightful.

Be sure to come promptly to supper on Friday.

Fraternally

Mary Dickson"

T. U. "Discipline"

"There was a national progressive group—the 'unity caucus'—of the United Auto Workers, meeting in Toledo. Before this group met, there was a meeting of the Socialist League. Several motions were adopted: One of them: for the right of groups to exist in the auto union. Another: for independent political action on condition of no connection with Republican, Democratic or any other capitalist parties.

"Bert Cochran raised these two points, in according with the League decision, as motions at the caucus meeting. The Stalinists bitterly opposed and defeated them. Walter Reuther (party member) openly sided with the 20 Stalinists, speaking and voting with them.

"We raised the question of discipline on the party branch floor afterward, and the only answer forthcoming from Ben Fisher (county organizer) is, 'Why don't you prefer charges.' We have pointed to the fact that Ben Fisher (who is also a NEC member), Hy Fish, state secretary, and Alan Strachan, NEC member, were all present and as leaders of the party it is their responsibility to exact discipline. But they fail to do anything whatsoever except shrug their shoulders."—From a Detroit letter.

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CALIFORNIA PARTY DISPLAYS RECORD GROWTH, ACTIVITY

By Glen Trimble

SAN FRANCISCO.—On August 11 the National Executive Committee suspended the charter of the California State organization without a hearing. On Saturday, August 28, we were given a mock "trial" by a hand-picked committee appointed by the NEC to "take over" our organization. The party activists from all over the state attended the session en masse and we put our accusers on trial before them. The irrefutable facts brought out at this hearing will have an interest for comrades in other states who have been hearing so much about California.

We were charged with "demoralization of the state membership and stultification of party activity by incessant factional warfare." Local by local and member by member we proved that the presumably responsible SEC majority had recorded 100 per cent failure in recruiting and 100 per cent success in demoralizing and stultifying its own locals and its own members. Clarity has so demoralized itself that it has not been able to present a single candidate for responsible state or active local office since the state convention in February of this year.

Simultaneously the Appeal locals and members presented a record of strengthened morale, increased activity, and actual membership growth. Despite the resignation of the laggard old-guard Finnish Branch and the Stalinist-influenced Oxnard Local (both Clarity supporters of a sort), and the "stultification" of the Clarityite Stockton local, and the anti-trade union-discipline Bakersfield local the total membership of the State is larger than it was immediately after the Old Guard split and the Workers Party entry. By comparison with the national totals for the same period California has exceeded more than twice the national average.

Registration High

Registration despite a widespread boycott by Clarity supporters, totaled 249 on August 15th. This figure may be compared with 237 non-Old Guard members in March, 1936 (figures

taken from official local secretaries' reports of the period). The actual membership allowing for registration stragglers is approximately 300. Let any other state match the California record of 249 registrations out of 300 membership by August 15, 1937.

Numbers have significance only in terms of Socialist work—official delegates from local after local reported no sign of Clarity, state. The challenge went unanswered, lectures, classes, trade union strength, street meetings, recruiting, nevertheless. Above all, the youth has advanced, recording a growth from 40 to 125 in Los Angeles, 4 to 18 in East Bay, new circles in Stockton, Dominguez Hills, San Bernardino, tightened state and regional organization, active organizers touring the state. No better evidence of the political health of the Appeal group and the political decay and rottenness of its opponents could be presented.

Another charge was "sabotage and neglect of the party press and literature". This charge, made farcical by the miserable paucity of literature issued by the National Office in the past year, was turned against its makers. We challenged them to prove sales or support of any party publication even approaching that of the Appeal comrades in the west. We proved consistent and openly admitted sabotage of the official state paper, Labor Action, and practical non-support of the Call by most of the Clarity supporters. Against this we presented our own record of support to a state paper through sixteen hard-won issues, a functioning book shop in Los Angeles and street meeting literature distribution.

We produced a bulletin issued June 1, 1937 regarding re-registration, and urged all locals to use the re-registration period to increase support to the party press, as well as generally revive and strengthen activity of inactive members. The secretary instructed locals to use the National Office Call drive bulletins as a basis for this phase of the re-registration visiting work. We suggest that if our record called for charter-jerking, Wisconsin's twenty-times worse percentage deserved at least a mild rebuke.

Clarity's Case

Against this proof of revolutionary accomplishment and of reformist failure what did Clarity offer? Rodgers read a document written for him (he is not trusted to extemporize), reiterating the old charges and buttressing them with no evidence except a rather smelly mess of irrelevant an innocuous stolen personal letters, hear-say, slander, distorted quotation and warnings that "communism" would destroy us. The delegate from Fresno very pertinently characterized their case as charges of "liar, thief, slander and 'you don't play fair'" and commented, "It seems to me that in every factional fight where the struggle becomes bitter, the group that is being liquidated ideologically resorts to such charges to take the place of a political position that can be attacked".

Clarity failed to rally a single local, branch or YPSL delegate—official or unofficial—(this latter alternative for Clarity's benefit was included in Rodgers' invitation. Even the SEC majority, though called, failed to come. Only Rodgers, Clement and four lonely rank-and-filers could be resuscitated for the occasion. The attitude of this handful was "what does it matter? We have the NEC!" Just so, and the NEC has..... them.

The rest of the Socialist Party of California—every active local, the entire YPSL, ninety eight per cent of the active membership—has had an eye-witness demonstration of the determination of the NEC to expel "revolutionists within the Socialist Party". It was not fact, legalism, or the organizational charges which were at issue. Bursting through these comparative trifles was the clear fact that the Socialists of California were political enemies and that the verdict of "guilty" had already been signed, sealed, and delivered.

Reformism is in the ex-Socialist Party saddle, but the victory will be empty and bitter. Only revolutionary Socialism can expropriate the expropriators and lead the working-class in the conquest of the earth. California Socialists prefer to aid in and share that victory.

Farmer-Labor Leaders Plan The Dissolution of Their Party

MINNEAPOLIS, Minn.—When, on August 7 in New York City, Farmer-Labor Governor Elmer A. Benson of Minnesota said "he would be in favor of having President Roosevelt run for a third term," (N. Y. Times, Aug. 8), he was telling the people that the days of the party of which he is the standard-bearer, as a group independent from the Republican and Democratic parties, are drawing to a close. He was doing more. He was stating that the Minnesota Farmer-Labor Party has not the slightest intention of participating in a national Farmer-Labor movement, but, instead, that its leaders have already made up their minds to lead it into a Liberal Republican-Liberal Democratic People's Front in the 1940 national campaign.

In short, the Minnesota Farmer-Labor Party is treading the inevitable path to dissolution. To be sure, it is impelled at a more rapid pace in this direction by the Popular Front line of the Communist Party. But from the very first years of its political successes under Floyd B. Olson, the truth is that the FLP never was for one instant independent of the capitalist parties. The All-Party Committees (forerunner of the People's Front) which have been a feature of every election since 1928 assured the influence of the old political machines within the FLP.

Benson is not the only Farmer-Labor leader to go on record for the People's Front. On August 24, Senator Ernest Lundeen (a supporter of Lemke's candidacy in 1936) announced a sectional meeting of the Farmer-Labor bureau in Washington. "Lundeen, although insisting no attempt will be made to outline a program at this first meeting," says the report, "indicated efforts probably will be made to enlist support from the more liberal elements of both Republican and Democratic parties." This is the Stalinist formula for their People's Front.

To those in Minnesota who refer to themselves as "real Farmer-Laborites" (as distinguished from the "All Party Farmer-Laborites"), this means a triumph for the liquidationist All-Party line which has been fought by the rank-and-file of the Farmer-Labor Party ever since Floyd Olson first introduced it in his early campaign. This

means that the Communist Party has now infiltrated into the FLP apparatus to the point where the Stalinists will now be able quite rapidly to lead it into the Democratic party for the purpose of their "broad People's Front."

All this fine talk that "a Labor Party helps break the masses from their ties to the capitalist parties," in the light of these latest facts, is seen to be utterly unrealistic. In a very short period of time, it is more than likely that the FLP in Minnesota, for many years considered by the liberals a shining beacon of progress, will have little to distinguish it from the American Labor Party mess in New York City.

The actions of Benson, Lundeen, and many other leading F-L spokesmen follow closely upon the heels of the draft resolution of the state committee of the Minnesota Communist Party dated July 10, a copy of which has come into our hands.

"The organized labor movement, especially the CIO, Labor's Non-Partisan League, independent Farmer-Labor and progressive parties, large masses of toiling farmers and city middle classes (reads the draft) have tended to rally around Roosevelt in the Democratic Party, seeking by independent organization and struggle to influence that party... to work for progressive and democratic solutions to the pressing problems that confront the masses. This regrouping of the class forces was already foreshadowed in the vanguard state of Minnesota by the alliance between the liberal Democratic forces with the Farmer-Labor Party behind Roosevelt and Benson against the Republican alliance with the Liberty League Democrats.... This advance of labor and the people is further being stimulated in Minnesota by the Farmer-Labor administration, by the transformation of the Farmer-Labor Party in the direction of a broad people's front and by the increased activity and influence of the Communist Party," etc., etc.

If there exists a single honest Socialist who had the slightest hopes that the Minnesota Farmer-Labor Party would be a means of developing independent political action of the workers on a national scale, these recent developments should root out such illusions.

APPEAL GREETINGS

"The resumption of the publication of the APPEAL is more than justified. More than the violation of the promises, by the NEC, to publish an inner-party bulletin, more than the fact that the Call is essentially a factional organ of Clarity (with permission to Thomas for the publication of his particular confusion) is the pressing necessity of an organ of revolutionary Marxism to educate the advanced workers on the significance of the great events of the day. We would be remiss in our duty if we were to continue to permit the miserable Call to pass off as the organ of revolutionary socialism. Revolutionary Marxism must have its champion and the APPEAL must assume that role."—Albert Goldman, Chicago.

City Central Committee, Local Boston, voted to send revolutionary greetings to the SOCIALIST APPEAL and donate five dollars.

From Fresno Branch, California:

"Were we elated when we re-

ceived the copy of the APPEAL! The idea of having a paper that expresses our views at the present moment gives us an added spur in our struggle against the right wingers."

"I have just received—and 'devoured'—the first issue of the new SOCIALIST APPEAL. It is a good job. And what a relief to have once more a 'revolutionary voice' to read! I think this one issue will mean a big boost in left-wing morale. I am enclosing \$5 for my subscription and donation. And I'll send you at least \$2 every month—more if possible—to help keep it going. I certainly think every left-winger should make every financial sacrifice possible to keep it a weekly paper."—Hildegard Smith, Hutchinson, Kansas.

"I extend greetings, and I commend you for your decision and action in republishing the SOCIALIST APPEAL. Now and at all times, the Socialist movement requires clear thinking and courageous action. I enclose \$5.

Kindly renew my subscription and accept the four new ones, names of which I herewith enclose."—Chas. L. H. - Marston Mills, Cape Cod, Mass.

Party organizations and leaders throughout the country are greeting the appearance of the revolutionary organ. We reprint a few:

Louisville, Kentucky

"The Socialist Appeal is a real paper. Please send us ten more copies of the new issue for which we will send the money upon sale.

"For a Revolutionary Party Enrico Panicali Louisville, Kentucky"

Rochester Y.P.S.L.

"The Y.P.S.L. of Rochester extends you their warm greetings as you venture forth to defend revolutionary Marxism in the Socialist Appeal. Last evening (Aug. 25) the circle unanimously accepted the position of the Appeal on the crucial political issues, coming out solidly for a new revolutionary Fourth International. We also passed a blistering denunciation of the left-wing purgings by the Alt-

man-Clarity bloc in New York which I have just mailed to the New York City Central Committee.

"The first issue of Appeal was taken up so quickly that I am personally sending in this order for thirty more copies of the first issue, and enclose payment.

Fraternally,

Richard E. Posner, Asst. Organizer"

St. Paul, Minnesota

"We have just received the first issue of the Socialist Ap-

peal and all comments indicate that they are all glad to get it and like the appearance. More later.

Paul A. Rasmussen."

Local Rochester

"Greetings to Socialist Appeal from one who as a delegate to the Chicago National Convention was unaffiliated with any faction, but who observed and learned from the left wing.

B. C. Bennen, Organizer, Local Rochester Chairman, Monroe County

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Enclosed find \$..... for which send me The Socialist Appeal. (\$2.00 per year; \$1.00 for six months).

Name

Address

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Feuchtwanger Defends Stalin Against Attack of Andre Gide

By Blake Lear

Rudely shaken for the first time by the German fascist dictatorship, thoroughly permeated with liberal-bourgeois prejudices, and shamelessly virginal politically, Lion Feuchtwanger fills to a nicety the role of literary advocate for the Stalin régime.

Feuchtwanger's pot-boiler, *Moscow 1937*, is explicitly directed against André Gide's *Return from the USSR* and his *Retouches*, bitter criticisms of the Stalinist bureaucracy, which have created a furore in Europe. More generally it is addressed to the liberal intelligentsia of the world, whose faith in the USSR has been severely shaken by the recent executions.

Only the fact that the good bourgeois Feuchtwanger trembles sympathetically to all the bourgeois manifestations of the Stalin régime, as one tuning fork does to another, can explain his statements upon the key questions of soviet life. Let us examine a few:

A Bourgeois Defense

On wage differentials: "The idea that, so long as citizens in a socialist state cannot all live well, they must all live meanly, or at any rate very modestly, seems to me an atavistic derivative of primitive Christian views and more pious than reasonable."

On freedom of political criticism: "...one never hears criticism of the general principle of the Party. In this they 'conform,' that is true." And elsewhere: "At bottom, the Soviet dictatorship is confined to prohibiting the propagation of two opinions in word, deed, or writing: first, that the establishment of socialism in the world is impossible without a Union revolution, and, secondly, that the Soviet Union is bound to lose the coming war."

On Stalin's estimation of the masses: "If he tolerates all the cheering, he explained, it is because he knows the naive joy the uproar of the festivities affords those who organize them."

Why did Trotsky lose in his fight against Stalin in the Soviet Union? "...Trotsky clung to the principles which had been proved during the heroic, emotional period, but which were bound to go awry the moment they had to serve everyday needs." In addition—a grievous error—he "declared world revolution to be a necessary condition for the establishment of socialism; he adhered rigidly to the Marxist doctrine of absolute internationalism; he advocated the tactics of the permanent revolution and demonstrated with a great show of logic the correctness of the Marxist proposition that the establishment of socialism in any one country was impossible."

A Story-teller's Story

It is not hard for Feuchtwanger to prove to his complete satisfaction that Trotsky is a terrorist. "Trotsky has given expression time and time again to his unbounded hatred and contempt for Stalin. Would he not translate into action what he had expressed in word and writing?" Q. E. D.

What impression did the trial give? "...the impression one received was that the accused, prosecution, and judges had the same, I might almost say sporting, interest in arriving at a satisfactory explanation."

Does the language of the trial seem melodramatic, like a bad dream? "That the confession sounded emotional is due chiefly to the translation. It is difficult

to catch the modulations of the Russian language and, when translated, it can very easily have a superlative, extravagant and odd effect." This from a man who confessedly doesn't speak Russian!

Why were there no documents, no witnesses? "Details of circumstantial evidence, documents and depositions may interest jurists, criminologists, and historians, but we should only have confused our Soviet citizens had we spun out all kinds of details." What typical contempt for the masses is expressed, and what cynicism!

Does Feuchtwanger consider the defendants guilty? Well—ah—yes! "I must admit that, although the trial has convinced me of the guilt of the prisoners, I can find no completely satisfactory explanation of their behaviour before the court..." Further: "What I have understood is excellent. From which I conclude that the rest which I have not understood is also excellent."

What is necessary to make everything comprehensible? "It would take a great Soviet poet to make their guilt and their sin comprehensible to Western minds"

Swears by Stalin

Could it possibly be that Stalin has concocted a frame-up? Oh, no. "Read any book or any speech of Stalin's, look at any portrait of him... It at once becomes as clear as daylight that this modest, impersonal man cannot possibly have committed the colossal indiscretion of producing with the assistance of countless performers so coarse a comedy..."

Let it not be thought, however, that Feuchtwanger, who can admit that a petty-bourgeois mentality is developing in the USSR, and who can dismiss criticism in the USSR as "carping, whining, and alarming," without a qualm, has no criticisms to make. He dislikes the totalitarian régime in literature, he thinks that "sabotage" is caused in great part by "incompetence pure and simple," he is opposed to the fulsome praise of Stalin, he has his doubts about the Moscow trials—yet, in the end, he finds "the attitude which many Western intellectuals have adopted towards the Soviet Union short-sighted and without merit."

Moscow 1937 is significant because it indicates the struggle which has begun among the intellectuals over the question of Stalinism. Preceding every deep social crisis, like the wind which precedes the storm, comes ideological turmoil among the intellectuals. Some come over to the side of the socially progressive forces; others, like Feuchtwanger, for long or for short, remain with the reaction.

California YPSL Summer School

This year's annual Socialist Summer School in California met with unprecedented success.

From all parts of the State members of the YPSL and their friends arrived by thumb, truck, and train to spend a week of highly concentrated study at the workmen's Circle Camp in the San Bernardino Mountains. Under the trees or in the cabins students assembled to read and discuss Marxian economics, philosophy, history, or union organizational work, cementing a real

Sacco-Vanzetti Rally Disrupted by Chicago Clarity Leaders

By Melos Most

CHICAGO.—A Sacco and Vanzetti Memorial Rally held by the Socialist Party on Chicago's south side was disrupted in the presence of protesting outsiders by a group of Clarityites led by Roy Burt, national party secretary, and Maynard Krueger, national action committee member, in an attempted "coup d'état" to capture a left wing center.

At the rally, held August 17 by the Jackson Park branch, Burt and Krueger appeared with a group of Clarityites some of whom had to introduce themselves to the branch membership. Before the lecture could begin, Burt personally rose to move that four branch officers be considered removed and new elections be held then and there, without even time for the required official notice, on the basis of a reapportionment of delegates made by the County Delegate Body the night before.

Outsiders Protest

The action was so disruptive that outsiders present who were total strangers at least to us of the left wing, took the floor to protest that "we have come here to hear about Sacco and Vanzetti, not your internal squabbles." The Burt-Krueger-Clarity "packers," however, refused either to refer the question to a special meeting or to move executive session (fearing too much discussion).

Burt finally accepted an amendment to hold the election at the next meeting when members declared they would otherwise boycott it and protest its legality, but refused to call a closed meeting before then at which his case for a midterm election might be examined.

The members of the branch, now forewarned, will overwhelmingly repudiate this action at the next meeting and uphold their branch officers. Several Clarity rank-and-fileers have begun to express doubts about the unholy alliance with Burt, an Altman-Thomas sympathiser. Charges against Burt are being preferred by 14 branch members present at the meeting.

Attack on Left

The Jackson Park branch, second biggest in the city, is the south side center of the left wing. It ranks first in fund-raising, attendance at city-wide functions, and union activity.

Having no Altman to do their dirty work for them, the Clarityites themselves have had to take the initiative in beginning the split here. That they have begun by disrupting a public Socialist meeting is only one more proof of the fact that they can only carry out their plan of stopping the leftward advance of the membership by trying to liquidate the Party.

foundation for future study and activity.

After six hours of work, appetites were sharpened with swimming, baseball, etc., until the dinner gong rang and the forks began to fly. At night around a bonfire impromptu entertainers amused the camp, and voluminous voices stirred the hills with revolutionary songs. Aside from winning many new recruits into the League, the entire organization felt a stream of new blood run thru its veins when the students returned, and has started on the road of developing a powerful revolutionary cadre of youth.—Tida Moore.

Letters from Barcelona Picture Bourgeois-Stalinist Repressions

The following extracts are from a number of letters, sent from Barcelona between Jan. 25 and May 15, 1937. Their authorship cannot be revealed lest the GPU murderers and another victim to their list.

JAN. 25.—Counter-revolution continues making headway, and each day we are in a more and more delicate situation. The PSUC under Moscow's orders as interpreted by the Barcelona Consul (Antonov-Ovseenko), is organizing physical repression. They already have their Cheka, directed by elements from outside. Tonight in a town near Barcelona in Tarragona province there is fighting with guns because PSUC elements have tried to occupy CNT headquarters.

This we interpret as a provocation against the CNT. It was initiated by flying squadrons of the PSUC, composed of foreigners. Yesterday there was a meeting in Barcelona at which it was proposed that POUM be liquidated.... The man who said it was Carrillo, the same who, at the Valencia Congress of the United Socialist Youth, declared it necessary to invite the Catholics to join the youth organization because "we have stopped being Marxists and are fighting for Spanish independence"....

MAY 4.—I am writing to the rhythm of pistol shot, rifle shot, an occasional hand grenade, and some machine-gun firing.... The Ramblas are held by the CNT-FAI-POUM.... Since yesterday afternoon the overall element is back on the street, armed and with barricades springing up like mushrooms. The uniformed crowd retired to their strongholds, and from there keep up intermittent firing.... It started with provocation from government armed forces. Yesterday the Commissioner of Public Order sent out the uniforms to take the Telephone Building. The overalls resisted. The mass was aroused. Without orders from their organization, they went out into the streets, and there they are. Last night CNT-FAI ordered their men back, but the overalls paid no attention....

It's a sorry sight to see the Telephone Building with only the Catalan and Spanish flags and no anarchist flag. It is the first time since July 19 that the black-red symbol of proletarian power is down. So many anarchist flags have come down in the city that the CNT-FAI masses must feel terrible....

M. just came in; he says the CNT at 3 p. m. ordered its people to drop arms and retire to work—but they are still at it. We are locked in, running low on food but trying to hold out.

MAY 5.—It is 11:30. M. tells me that in about 10 minutes the overalls will attack the Assault barracks around the corner. The slogan is: "CNT-FAI-POUM! Long live the revolution!"

The night was terrible, with radio speeches by CNT leaders in Valencia pleading with the overalls to back down. An Assault Guard just came over. He wants to know, what will we do if the overalls attack them? He knew in advance; as far as we can make out, his real purpose was to insinuate that if the attack breaks, we can get ready to take in some of his crowd as prisoners; they don't like fighting the overalls. At Sans, 400 Civil Guards were disarmed and arrested without a fight.

MAY 5.—4 p. m. It's a good thing the overalls did not let the phone building go altogether but

fighting rages in others. The attack here has not developed. We were warned that the Assault Guards might now attack us so we got ready. We can't get out because all the nearby streets are in the hands of the uniforms. We will not attack but will not die without a fight. We hear some sailors have fraternized with the overalls.

CNT has ordered the overalls back again, this time threatening to disown them if they don't obey. The friends of Durrutti have given out a leaflet urging the workers to stay in the streets to defeat the counter-revolution, and hailing POUM as a comrade organization. The machine-gunning is getting louder.

MAY 9.—All over, at least temporarily. On Thursday we were told to give up our arms and that all armed forces would be taken off the streets. Our military committee agreed. The doors were opened and in came the Assault Guards, Estat Catala and some PSUC people. They took our guns. Some of the yeggs among them wanted to kill M., and took a workout tearing up posters and papers, smashing furniture etc.

We went out in twos and threes and got over to GHQ, which sent some new overall guards over to our place. M. urged them not to, saying the men would be held as hostages. The argument was still going on when the police phoned up: the new guards were already pinched. Fortunately, we had a couple of Assault Guards under arrest and we made a trade.

All Thursday was tense, although we enjoyed sunshine and fresh air for the first time in five days. We could go around the lower end of Ramblas, but not to the Plaza Catalana. I saw a couple of doctors from the U. S. ambulance corps; they wanted the dope and seemed not to have swallowed the Stalinist line 100 per cent. But they are very confused. We worked all day and M. spent the night in an ex-brothel, very luxurious, he says, including soap, while I stayed at the Hotel for 12 pesetas and got no soap. The government had the phones and we had to talk guardedly whenever we called.

Friday was relatively quiet, although 5,000 police from Valencia paraded provocatively. On Saturday all the workers were back at their jobs and giving up arms to their unions, etc. The streets swarmed, as they still do, with armed police of all varieties, including many foreign Stalinists and professional gangsters. They patrol with fixed bayonets in groups of four and six. The PSUC is howling for suppression of POUM.

MAY 15.—I want you to use these letters to counteract the international slander campaign. The May events have clearly demonstrated the counter-revolutionary role of Stalinism in bourgeois service. Hand-in-hand with police and reactionaries they go around in searching parties, using strong-arm tactics, tearing up union cards, arresting, shooting workers (12 of the Libertarian Youth found dead in Sardanola)... They have enlisted writers in their slander service. They pay well. Ramon J. Sender, who showed up the real character of the republic so well in his *Man and Seven Red Sundays*, has been lined up with rubies; now he undertakes to modify his books for Russian publication.... Dos Passos knows a thing or two, but will he tell?

Maine Shoe Strike and CIO Leadership

Old line chiefs, methods fail to bring victory

By Russell Scott

Today there is a local of the United Shoe Workers of America in Lewiston-Auburn. But on the other side of the ledger we read: Four months of exhausting struggle, \$250,000 spent—the final result: 500 union members out of the 6,000 originally on strike. A cost of approximately \$500 per member, to say nothing of the mood of defeatism which now characterizes the Maine Shoe workers.

Notoriously an open shop state, whose chambers of commerce in shoe centers were publicly advertising "No labor trouble" and "cheap labor", Maine had twice before, in 1929 and 1932, successfully crushed attempts to organize shoe factories.

Early in March 1937, the undaunted shoeworkers of Maine, unable to tolerate conditions any longer, disgusted with the passivity and discredited leadership of the AFL, impressed by the militancy of the auto-worker strikes, invited the United Shoe Workers of America, affiliated with the CIO, to organize the 6000 workers in the nineteen factories of Lewiston and Auburn.

The rank and file of the United Shoe and Leather Workers and the Shoeworkers Protective Association, long rival unions, had just repudiated their reactionary leadership by voting for amalgamation into the United Shoe Workers of America and affiliation with the CIO.

Leaders Hang On

The discredited leadership of the two unions, however, maneuvered so that they constituted the Shoe Workers Organizing Committee of the CIO under Powers Hapgood. The general organizer of the SWOC was William B. Mahan. Mahan's history is instructive. Having lost an election in his own union, he conspired to sell out a strike his union was running, to John D. Nolan, head of the rival union. This attempted betrayal had resulted in Mahan's suspension from his union. The other party to this conspiracy, John D. Nolan, is the present secretary of the SWOC.

Another A F L Type

In the midst of setting up new offices for the merged union came the call from Maine. William J. Mackesy was made chief organizer. A pacifist and opportunist, with a background of training for the priesthood, Mackesy is best characterized as a frail demagogue.

The second organizer, Paul Salvaggio, is an earnest and sincere worker with strong anarchistic leanings, whose fights with Mahan & Co. had been long and bitter. His work was hampered by Mahan, who was afraid that Salvaggio might outdo him and run for general organizer of the SWOC at the next convention.

As a counter weight to Salvaggio, one of Mahan's cronies, Martin J. Lawless of Lynn, Mass., pugnacious, red-baiter, arrogant, and a hard drinker, was made organizer. His tactics were typically AFL: as long as "his" cutters were out, the strike was won; the rest didn't matter.

Along with Lawless went May Dauphine, a staunch supporter of Mahan. May had been business agent of the Lynn Stickers Local for 2 years previous and that at a recent election

had so well executed her duties of officers, she received only 40 votes out of a possible 1200. She is an ardent Coughlinite and had been a delegate to the Union Party's national convention. She was notorious for her red-baiting. While on a picket line, she threatened to have one of the militant strikers arrested for distributing official strike bulletins! Her reason: she thought "It was Communistic literature".

Over this conglomeration of discredited "leadership" was director Powers Hapgood, vice chairman of the S. P. National Executive Committee. Hapgood was aware of the past records of these bureaucrats and betrayers. Nevertheless, he allowed this corrupt and discredited gang to determine the destiny of 6,000 militant shoeworkers. Hapgood elected to act as conciliator and peacemaker among the politicians and in so doing weakened his position as director of the SWOC and discredited himself as a Socialist trade unionist. He soon found himself so busy making peace among the "big-shots" that he lost touch with the rank and file and so lost their faith and confidence. It is significant that when Hapgood and the others were released from jail recently, only about six strikers were outside the jail to greet them.

Meanwhile, the local leadership, consisting of a group of young militants, rebelled and formed a progressive bloc within the organizational committee, fighting for mass demonstrations, for strike bulletins, for more effective picketing, for enlargement of the organizational committee. Mahan began a systematic red-baiting campaign against those local leaders, intelligent, militant workers who couldn't be kidded any longer.

Relief Doled Out

Mahan took complete charge of the vital factor of relief. Every dollar which came to aid the strikers had to pass through his hands! He carried all the cash, sometimes thousands of dollars in his coat pockets and simply passed the money out according to the merit of the case in his eyes.

The reaction against Mahan's dictatorial methods was so great that the strikers threatened to injure him bodily unless he was removed from his position. He was finally removed through the organized pressure of locals in the New England district which threatened to stop financial support of the strike if Mahan continued to handle the money.

While these internal struggles were taking place, the shoeworkers were battling all the reactionary forces of the state. One of the first things which the local police did was to set up an arbitrary picket line limit not less than 500 feet from the factory area. This should have immediately called out a mass demonstration of workers in front of their factories, taking advantage of the lack of any state law on picketing. The damper was put on the striker's militant determination to smash this police ruling, when Mackesy called on the workers to obey it and keep the peace! Later when strikers went over Mackesy's head and broke through this arbitrary line, not one was arrested for the violations.

The manufacturers soon got a blanket injunction against the strike as illegal and all the leaders were jailed on contempt charges except Mahan who, when arrest seemed imminent, kept a safe distance from the masses.

The natural reaction of the strikers at the jailing was one of resentment. They wanted to demonstrate by surrounding the jail, but on advice of Attorney A. Raymond Rogers, this form of demonstration was prohibited as "it might antagonize the courts." Rogers was a delegate to the Union Party's recent National Convention and ran on its Coughlinite state ticket in Maine.

In addition to the injunction, the manufacturers invoked an old conspiracy law to arrest all the other organizers, even Mahan. A few were also charged with inciting to riot.

The jailed leaders were replaced. But if the previous leadership was bad, the new was even worse. There came Charles Murdock from Marlborough, Mass., who had run on the Democratic ticket for Congress in the last election. Every strike talk he gave was a campaign speech for Roosevelt. George Gorham was another, a vicious red-baiter and still a strong proponent of craft unionism. Charles Oldman, close to 70 years of age, realized his uselessness and begged to be allowed to return to Lynn. And to replace Hapgood, John L. Lewis sent Garfield Lewis of the United Mine Workers. His whole role is summed up in repeating his favorite phrases: "And now, my friends, when you go to the ballot box on election day, vote for your friends and defeat your enemies," and "The greatest president this country ever had is Franklin Delano Roosevelt."

Government "Help"

It was now June, after four months of strike, the leadership hopelessly entangled in legal technicalities, no secondary leadership built up, the strikers apathetic from lack of activity, and funds practically exhausted. Now a "savior" appeared: the National Labor Relations Board. For months the strikers had been told to put their faith in the government. Surely they would get justice now, "the government was behind them". Daily the hearing room was packed with eager, anxious strikers. The outcome:

1. Three charges of the union (interference with organization, existence of a bloc list, refusal to bargain collectively) were dismissed on grounds of insufficient evidence.

2. The other two charges brought by the union (discrimination against employees for union activity, and the company-dominated nature of a local organization which appeared after the strike weakened) were withdrawn, the union fearing adverse ruling on these also.

3. The NLRB after two weeks finally ordered an election with the local (company) union on the ballot.

The final blow was the plaintive and apologetic resolution drawn up by Hapgood and approved by the SWOC as the only way to save the face of the union:

"...Whereas it is not our purpose to unnecessarily prolong a condition whereby manufacturers of shoes in Lewiston and Auburn may be unable to reopen their factories; or their business be permanently injured because of their refusal, heretofore, to deal with us on the ground that we

Chicago Backs Appeal

The Chicago party is divided into two distinct sections, the English section and the foreign language branches. The Chicago organization has for many years been one of the weakest sections of the Socialist Party notwithstanding the fact that the National Office was always located here. Following the fight with the Old Guard and prior to the entry of the Workers Party members the party was almost non-existent.

With a paper membership of anywhere between five and eight hundred, it was impossible for the Cook County Socialist Party to mobilize even a tenth of them for any party work. The English branches were composed of trade union bureaucrats over whom the organization exercised not the slightest control, stay-at-homes, (the banquet-activists), National Office functionaries, social workers, etc.

The bulk of the membership was in the language branches. These branches are a completely unknown quantity so far as the Party is concerned. They are not an intimate part of the organization as such. Their dues are paid directly to the national office. They have their own activities which are essentially cultural. Politically, these branches are right wing, akin to the European social democracy, lacking however, their virtues of size and money. More than that, being completely dissociated from the party organization as such, not subject to its decisions, campaigns, or discipline, they are nevertheless represented in the County Central Committee with such a bulk of delegates that they are in a position to accept, reject, change, or mutilate any decision adopted by the County Executive Committee.

Fortunately for the revolutionary section of the Party, these delegates were not even sufficiently interested in the party life to have attended meetings of the CCC. In a period of a year and half these delegates were never present at such meetings. Old party members have never even seen the overwhelming majority of the leading members of the language branches!

Appeal Works to Save Party

This fact was one of the reasons responsible for the establishment of a working bloc between the Appeal and Clarity

did not represent a majority of their employees;

"... Be it resolved that at a meeting of Local 114 ...the strike now in progress be and is hereby terminated."

There are definite lessons which the shoeworkers must assimilate: 1. The reactionary left-overs of the trade unions who are jumping upon the CIO bandwagon must be vigorously exposed and fought—they are capable of betrayal only.

2. The workers must learn the strike-breaking role of the N. L. R. B. and the Roosevelt administration.

3. We must point out the relationship of the CIO leadership to capitalism. The CIO is a progressive step in trade-unionism, but the leadership's class-collaborationist policies, its constant red-baiting, its bureaucratic administration, prove conclusively it will act as a brake upon leftward moving workers.

forces in the Chicago organization for one purpose: To attempt to save the party organization and to activate it. The Appeal forces entered branch executives, took over all kinds of posts in the local Party organization, did almost all the public speaking for the Party, and in general, was well on the way toward rebuilding the Socialist Party in Cook County.

The convention and post-convention period brought a halt to this development. The determination of the reactionary forces to exclude the revolutionists from the party forced matters to a head. It is now a well known fact that the proposal of the Appeal Group to Clarity, to establish a political bloc, or at least a working bloc against the right-wing concentration, was rejected by them in favor of the gag resolution which it carried with the complete support of the right-wing. From then on the fire of Clarity was directed against the Appeal.

In the July County Central Committee, two important decisions were taken. Firstly, Norman Sanders, a leading member of the Appeal Association and County Labor Secretary, was elected to the Executive to fill the vacancy left by Ben Fisher, who resigned to take over the secretary's post in Detroit. Secondly a motion calling for a referendum on the gag resolution was unanimously adopted. The election of Sanders would give the Appeal a majority or near-majority in the County Executive Committee. With a real majority in the CCC (the English speaking branches) the Appeal would have a majority of the executive bodies in the Cook County Organization!

Clarity and Language Branches

Now comes Clarity—but not without its allies. At the August CCC meeting, held on the 16th, some leading members of the Appeal group were given their first opportunity to gaze upon the representatives of the language branches. The meeting was packed with such delegates, rounded up by MacDowell and Trager, for one purpose: to upset all the decisions of the July meeting of the CCC.

The first action of the meeting was the consideration of a motion introduced by MacDowell, the "constitutional expert", to rescind all the decisions of the July meeting on the ground that the meeting was illegally constituted and therefore all its decisions were illegal. The motion carried in spite of the fight made by the English branches. Sanders was then removed from the CEC and MacDowell "elected". The unanimous decision on the referendum was rescinded to be reconsidered at a future date. These decisions were carried after heated discussion in which the Appeal delegates were physically threatened by the representatives of the language branches.

Naturally, the real reason for this action by Clarity was not constitutional. MacDowell quite frankly stated that "we do not want to give the Appeal group a majority or near-majority in the CEC because we do not know how long they will remain in the Party!"

But the Chicago party, as the facts prove, stands solidly with the Appeal.