

Jersey City

Lesson and Warning

By JAMES P. CANNON

Jersey City today is the testing ground of a struggle destined in the not too distant future to become national in scope and to dominate national affairs.

The most conscious representatives of the two main contending forces which will confront each other in the national struggle that is impending—the capitalist masters of America and the dissatisfied working masses—are closely studying the developments in Jersey City and drawing conclusions for the future.

It is safe to assume that a section of the capitalists have already come to certain tentative conclusions in favor of the Hague method of dealing with labor insurgency. It is important for the workers also to know what the brutal aggressions of Mayor Hague and his cohorts really signify.

They must know what the problem is in order to formulate the proper answer to it. Much can and much undoubtedly will be written on this subject, for it has a transcendent importance. Here I want to present an outline of opinion from the proletarian class point of view:

The Real Meaning of Hagueism

Hagueism is not simply the individual aberration of an illiterate, provincial politician, as liberals, Social-Democrats, and Stalinists represent the matter. The Jersey City events signify a deliberate mobilization of reaction, backed by big industrial and financial interests, for a serious preliminary test of the workers' capacity to resist fascist repression.

It is no accident that the fight of Hague was directed from the start against the organization campaign of the C.I.O. Hagueism is shrewdly devised *anti-labor campaign*, not a seemingly irrational interference with the formal rights of free speech, etc.

By the same token the aggressions of the Hague reaction can be seriously countered only by an organized resistance of the workers. Any other approach to the question is false and can only lead to defeat in the fight against Hagueism in New Jersey and its spread to other centers. No doubt the present attempt to suppress the C.I.O. in New Orleans draws a certain inspiration and encouragement from the Jersey City success of Mayor Hague.

C.I.O. Bureaucrats Debate Struggle

The greatest aid to Hague's campaign has resulted from the pusillanimous conduct of the leadership of the New Jersey C.I.O. They renounced the fight on their own account and handed it over to liberal-Stalinist "civil liberties" bodies. The latter, as is their nature, debased the whole struggle to more or less meaningless court battles. Hague's plug-uglies wielded their clubs and black-jacks on the streets of Jersey City where the issue is really decided.

The high-placed comedians from Washington, who were assigned the task of restoring free speech in Hague's domain, couldn't find their way to Journal Square and had no organized workers' force to protect them if they had arrived. The publicity attending the intervention of Norman Thomas overshadowed the one fact of paramount significance: There was no organized force of Jersey City workers prepared to defend the meeting. But a Workers' Defense Guard, the one factor so far lacking, is precisely the factor necessary for the beginning of a real fight. Only the Workers' Defense Guard, surrounded by the sympathy and support of the workers' mass organizations, can smash incipient American fascism—for that is what Hagueism is—and safeguard the workers' rights in Jersey City.

Business Interests Behind Hague

The experience of the past weeks have shown that Hagueism is capable of organizing the entire apparatus of the city administration, its police and unofficial thugs, veteran's organizations, and all forces of reaction, together with a considerable section of the local population. It is likewise quite obvious that "business," which is the real beneficiary of Hague's anti-labor campaign, is solidly behind him. It is not for nothing that Jersey City's official slogan is: "Everything for Business."

Under these circumstances, it is, to say the least, quite naive to imagine that individuals coming from the outside, or a few dozen, or even a few hundred people from New York, can seriously challenge the Hague reaction on its home ground and overthrow it. On the contrary, the sad fiasco of the comic-opera congressional heroes from Washington is proof that we are dealing here with something far more serious than the incidental and irrational actions of a local Führer. The failure to line up at least the local C.I.O. organizations for serious resistance, for the protection of speakers and of meetings, reduces any outside intervention in the situation to the status of a more or less meaningless sally, doomed to defeat in advance.

Publicity Stunts Helped Hague

On the basis of the experiences of the past week, it can be said with certainty that all such adventurist publicity stunts have only succeeded in playing into Hague's hands and strengthening his appeal to local prejudices against the "invasion" of outsiders. Speakers, and even groups, from the outside can play an auxiliary and stimulating role in a serious struggle; provided only, however, that their intervention is based upon solid support of a section of the workers in Jersey City and that the brunt and burden of the fight is borne by organized workers and their defense squads. A serious challenge to Hagueism can only begin with a movement inside the ranks of the Jersey City trade unions for stern resistance to Hague and his hoodlums, official and unofficial. That is the lesson of Italy, Germany and Austria. Fascism fears no "scandal" and is not to be bluffed. It has to be beaten down.

It is not sufficient to denounce Hague as a violator of the Constitution and its Bill of Rights. These documents are sacred only for the dupes of capitalist propaganda, not for the real masters themselves. The workers in reality have only such rights as they are ready and able to defend with their own strength. Everything else under the subject of democratic rights is a lie. Hague, the authentic American fascist, answers all palaver with brutal force. For their part, the magnates of industry and finance, alarmed by labor's aggressiveness of the past few years, cannot fail to notice with satisfaction that all the arguments in court and all the pious sermons and editorials about the Constitution carry

(Continued on page 4)

"Socialist" Dies



OTTO BAUER

DEATH CLAIMS
OTTOBAUER IN
FRENCH EXILEAustro-Marxist Leader Dies
After Spending Life
In Betrayal

Otto Bauer, the outstanding theorist and political leader of the Austrian social democracy, died on July 4, 1938, at the age of 57, in exile in Paris.

Already prominent in the pre-war days of Victor Adler, he was among the social-patriots who supported the Austro-Hungarian monarchy in the World War. When the monarchy collapsed like a rotten hulk, despite all the efforts of the social democracy to bolster it up, Bauer became foreign minister in the first socialist cabinet which came into being with the declaration of the republic.

Bitter Anti-Bolshevik

Throughout the early years of the republic, Bauer, bitter anti-Bolshevik, concentrated all his efforts in the work of persuading the Austrian proletariat to tolerate the capitalist order, on the ground that a revolution in the country would not meet with the approval of the Allied powers.

When the Hungarian Soviet revolution broke out in 1919, Bauer led the Austrian social democracy in sabotaging the defense of the Hungarian Commune, beleaguering by reaction on all sides, perishing for lack of the military supplies which the Austrian social democracy was in a position to furnish it with.

Philosopher of the school of "Austro-Marxism," the essence of whose wisdom consisted in finding revolutionary formulas to cover passivity, retreat and capitulation in permanence, Bauer led the Austrian proletariat straight to its Calvary. In spite of the obvious lessons of the defeat of the German working class in 1933, Bauer continued to pursue the fatal policy of his colleagues in Germany.

Policy of Defeat

Instead of preparing and organizing the militant resistance of the Austrian workers to fascism, Bauer spent all his time trying to buy off the advancing fascist movement with assurances of the devotion and subservience of the social democracy. In his brochure on the February, 1934 civil war, (Continued on page 4)

Refugee Fund Sends Sum To
Aid Persecuted In Europe

The American Fund for Political Prisoners and Refugees will shortly have functioning local committees in every important city in the country. Committees have been set up or are in the process of formation in Chicago, St. Louis, Philadelphia, Toledo, Detroit, New York, Newark and Allentown.

Dave Burbank writes from St. Louis that they will undertake to raise a fund to bring one political refugee from Europe. Good luck, St. Louis! Which other local committee will do the same?

The response to the first mailing by the American Fund is more than encouraging and indicates that there is a real interest in the fate of our exiled and persecuted comrades in Europe.

Stalin's Third Degree
Methods Are Revealed
By Former GPU AgentStory of 90-hour Grilling of Mratchkovsky Gives
Insight Into Moscow "Confession" Trials;
Torture Ends With Capitulation

Editorial Note—The following highly moving and dramatic account of the technique employed by Stalin's G.P.U. in breaking down the Old Bolshevik Mratchkovsky and forcing him to "confess" to crimes he never committed, has been penned by Walter Krivitsky, former high official of the G.P.U. who broke with the Stalin regime a few months ago and sought safety in France.

We reproduce it from *La Lutte Ouvrière*, organ of the Revolutionary Socialist Party of Belgium (Fourth International) which in turn reprinted it from *Le Courrier Socialiste*, organ of the Paris Menshevik group to which Krivitsky now belongs.

Krivitsky was a close friend of the late Ignace Reiss, also a G.P.U. operative, who was foully murdered by G.P.U. assassins near Lausanne, Switzerland, last year after he had broken with Stalin's bloody regime.

Mratchkovsky, it will be recalled, was one of the defendants in the Moscow "confession" trial of August, 1936. He was executed with the other defendants, including I. N. Smirnov, who is also referred to in this dramatic story by Krivitsky.

Krivitsky's story is a word-for-word reproduction of a conversation he had with Slutsky, another prominent G.P.U. functionary, who "died" in Moscow recently under "mysterious" circumstances. That Slutsky, like Reiss, was foully murdered on Stalin's orders, there can be no doubt.

By WALTER KRIVITSKY

Under the pressure of torturing interrogations, carried out over a period of months, and even years, the accused, a prey to threats of hunger, and by confessing all that is demanded of them. There are some, however, whom they do not succeed in breaking. There were two of this type on the eve of the first Moscow trial: Mratchkovsky and Smirnov.

But the G.P.U. knew that Stalin did not want a trial without these two. As a last resort, therefore, the G.P.U. decided to turn over these two unmanageable prisoners to their most experienced police magistrates. I recount here the interrogation of Mratchkovsky, as it was told to me by one of these magistrates, Slutsky.

The Interrogation

"When I commenced the questioning, I was clean shaven," Slutsky declared. "When I finished it, my face was covered with a beard. The examination lasted 90 hours. Every two or three hours came the relentless ring of the telephone from the office of Stalin's secretary, and a voice asked me: 'Well, have you broken him?'"

"But," I asked Slutsky, "did you remain in your office all this time, without leaving it?"

"No, after the first ten hours, I took two hours of rest, during which time my secretary replaced me. Mratchkovsky, during these 90 hours, did not have a single moment of respite. Even when he went to the toilet he was accompanied."

Slutsky's Task

I should mention, to characterize Slutsky, that although he was an old collaborator of the G.P.U., he had remained a man who was good and sincere according to his lights, one of those old Chekists for whom a Mratchkovsky was an incarnation of the past of the revolution and merited an unshakable respect. But Slutsky was forced to repress these sentiments. He had to break Mratchkovsky. His story continued as follows:

"Mratchkovsky entered limping heavily (a result of a wound received in the civil war). I offered him an arm-chair."

"Sit down, comrade Mratchkovsky."

"He sat down. I said to him: 'Well, comrade Mratchkovsky, I have received orders to question you.'"

"He replied: 'I have nothing to

tell you and I do not want to have any conversation with you. You are one of those policemen who are worse than those of the Czar. And in the first place, tell me what right you have to question me. Where were you during the revolution? It seems to me that I do not recognize you.'"

"Noticing two Orders of the Red Flag on my chest, Mratchkovsky said: 'I never saw your type at the front. These decorations—you have stolen them.'"

"I remained silent; I did not interrupt him; I let him say what was on his heart. He continued: 'You call me comrade Mratchkovsky, although only yesterday one of your ilk, in interrogating me, called me reptile and counter-revolutionary. I was born in Siberia; my father died in Siberia, my mother also. I have been in the party since my infancy.'"

A Warrior's Wounds

"Suddenly he rose, brusquely unbuttoned his blouse and showed me his wounds. 'Here are my decorations!' I continued silent. I had some tea brought and offered him a glass. I offered him some cigarettes. He took the glass and the ash-tray and dashed them violently to the floor, shouting: 'You want to buy me? You can tell Stalin that I despise him. He is a traitor. They have already taken me to Molotov. He, too, wanted to buy me, but I spat in his face...'"

"When he had said everything he had to say, I rose and began to reply to him: 'No, comrade Mratchkovsky, I did not steal my decorations. I earned them in the Red Army, before Tashkent, where I fought under your command. I do not consider myself a reptile, nor you either. But did you fight against the party? This you did, and, well, the party has ordered me today to question you. As to wounds, you can see (I showed him those on my body) these are also souvenirs of the civil war.'"

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

Slutsky's Biography

"I had him read my biography and continued: 'After the civil war, I worked in the revolutionary tribunal. Following this, the party sent me into the G.P.U. I remained there and executed the orders of the party. When the party tells me to die, I shall die.'"

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

"At this moment I understood that contact had been established between us. Then I began to explain to him the situation of the Union—fascism, the war danger... I said that personally I was fully convinced that he, himself, was not a counter-revolutionary, but that I was going to show him how far his comrades had sunk, and I brought out the depositions of the others."

Men Without Hope

"Thus passed three days during which Mratchkovsky did not sleep for a single moment. For three days and three nights I fought him. As for myself, during these three days, I had at the most three or four hours of sleep. I led him to such a point that he wept. He wept with me while stating that everything was lost and that there was no hope left."

(Continued on page 3)

N.Y. Unions
Hit Court
Picket BanAnti-Labor Injunction
Fought: 14 Are Held
For Contempt

NEW YORK.—Labor responded vigorously to a vicious anti-union injunction issued last week by Supreme Court Justice Salvatore A. Cotto, permanently restraining members of two unions, the United Optical Workers and the United Retail Employees, from picketing stores of the Busch Jewelry Company and its affiliates. Striking workers defied the injunction and continued to picket for two days.

After the Appellate Division unanimously declined an application for a stay of the injunction, and 14 members of the unions were placed on trial for contempt, pickets were withdrawn from the stores and replaced by roving bands of strikers and sympathizers who paraded through the streets of New York publicizing the strike.

Mobile Picketing

Over the holidays, the roving pickets concentrated on transportation terminals and visited the crowded beaches and resorts, bearing banners and placards calling for support of the Busch strikers. An unusual twist in strike activities was used on the Fourth of July when an airplane flew over the city, trailing a huge banner announcing that Busch stores are on strike.

The injunction granted by Justice Cotto in favor of the Busch company represents a grave danger to organized labor in New York, as its effect is to nullify the Anti-Injunction Law, which forbids the issuance of injunctions against picketing. In defense of the injunction, Justice Cotto declared that strikers picketing the Busch stores employed illegal methods and constituted a menace to the peace of the community.

Judge On Picketing

Justice Cotto, who persists in calling himself "a friend of labor," gave his peculiar view of picketing when he said: "Picketing should never be abused or used as a cloak or weapon to drive capital into making an unreasonable bargain." This attitude met with the approbation of the Busch Corporation, and one of their attorneys declared: "The courts of New York State apparently are the only haven for business people, the employers of the State."

A wide campaign against the injunction is planned by organized labor, with unions, both A. F. of L. and C.I.O., pledged to participate in efforts to have it rescinded. A conference of unions and labor attorneys was planned for this week.

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

OHIO TEACHERS
SUPPORT FIGHT
FOR FRED BEAL

The Ohio State Federation of Teachers has adopted a formal resolution "demanding the immediate pardon of Fred E. Beal and giving endorsement to his fight for freedom." Beal, who led the Gastonia, N. C. textile workers' strike in 1929, is now in prison in that state.

In announcing the action of the Ohio teachers' organization, the Non-Partisan Committee for the Defense of Fred E. Beal, with headquarters in New York, declared that it was "only one of an increasingly large number of labor and progressive groups rallying to the effort to liberate the labor leader."

The committee indicated that Louis Waldman, well-known labor lawyer, recently spent some time in North Carolina in behalf of the Beal defense, conferring with many persons interested in obtaining justice for the imprisoned strike leader. He also visited Beal in prison. Preparations are under way, it was stated after Waldman's return, for legal steps looking toward a pardon.

SPOTLIGHT IS
PLAYED ON JOB
SECURITY PLANSurvey Bares Hopeless Inadequacy of Pet New Deal
Insurance Measure; Beneficiaries Number
Only Fraction of Workless

DOLES DROP AS NEEDS INCREASE

The American Association for Social Security has analyzed the results of the first quarter of New Deal liberalism's unemployment and old age insurance, January 1 to March 31, 1938, and found that its program in this field is anti-social and in every conceivable aspect worse than home relief.

The only "success" that can be registered is the issuance of 38,000,000 social security numbers by a newly-created, superfluous bureaucracy of 13,890 employees in 19 states, (which is five times more per insured person than has been found necessary in capitalist Britain) and the collection by the United States Treasury of \$577,450,100 as compared with \$2,935,829 paid to the lump-sum recipients of old-age benefits.

Miserly Payments

The average cumulative payment to 114,927 persons who had reached the age of 65, and to the estates of those who died, was but \$29.80 after 15 months of contribution payments. While one New York executive who worked for seven corporations simultaneously, and continued to do so, received \$1,001.67 on reaching the age of 65, there were payments below ten cents. Thus, aside from the fact that \$29.80 may keep a destitute family off the relief rolls for about two weeks, about \$197 of the worker's purchasing power

was taken from him for every dollar spent for old age insurance.

Not one single claim of the Social Security Board has been justified. From December, 1937 to March 1938 the employment index for manufacturing fell from 88.6 to 81.7 and from 56.4 to 51.9 for Class One railroads. Retail trade was also showing increased unemployment. According to the claims of the Social Security Board, unemployment insurance should have prevented an increase in home relief rolls. Yet relief costs in March increased eight per cent over February, and in April three per cent above March, just at the time when the flow of unemployment checks was at its peak.

Only 900,000 Benefit

During the period January 1 to March 31, 1938, 16 states received 2,467,065 claims. In spite of approving 1,339,544 of them, they had but 919,550 beneficiaries. These beneficiaries received a total for the quarter of \$42,641,627 or an average of \$15.46 each per month, regardless of the number of dependents in the family. At the same time, in March, the national average of home relief was \$23.43 per month, almost eight dollars more than the average unemployment insurance benefit. In New York State, \$114.85 was spent per case during the first quarter, yet unemployment insurance benefits amounted to only \$56.97, or less than half, for the same period.

As in the case of old age insurance, the national and state governments had huge surpluses in their treasuries as against meagre sums returned to the workers in the form of unemployment insurance. The United States Treasury on March 31 had a balance in its Unemployment Trust Fund, from taxes collected for two years, of over \$753,000,000; 21 states and the District of Columbia had a balance of over \$17,000,000 in actually collected taxes alone.

The State Treasurer of Massachusetts predicted in May of this year that by the end of 1938 collections in his state would amount to \$80,000,000, whereas only \$20,000,000 would be expended in benefits. As the unemployment insurance tax is levied on employers' payrolls, it is inevitably passed on to the consumer in the form of a price increase. Thus the gov-

(Continued on page 2)

Alleged Plot To Kill Labor
Leaders Is Exposed In Minneapolis

MINNEAPOLIS.—Charges that a fund of \$35,000 was raised to import gunmen to assassinate three leaders of General Drivers' Local 544 were made last week by a former agent of reactionary employers, according to the Northwest Organizer, organ of Minneapolis teamsters.

In a statement to Grant and Vincent Dunne and Carl Skoglund, leaders of Local 544, Ralph H. Pierce accused George K. Belden, head of the Associated Industries, successor to the notorious Citizens Alliance, of being in direct charge of raising the money and planning the murders, which were to take place the day after Pierce's revelations.

Arms Discovered

Press reports of that day stated that police found a car containing two high-powered rifles with telescopic sights near the Central Labor Union offices.

Pierce first told his story to L. Boerbach, painters union official, who promptly informed the Dun-

nes. The drivers' union officers found Pierce and queried him for further details of the murder plot. Pierce was until recently one of the top leaders of the "Associated Independent Unions," an organization inspired by the bosses in an effort to split and destroy the militant labor movement of Minneapolis.

Pierce Arrested

When he learned of the murder plot, Pierce said, he broke with F. L. Taylor and E. T. Lee, leaders of the flunk organizations. He feared retaliation from them, and asked the drivers' officials for money to get out of town.

"The Dunnes and Skoglund refused him money and turned the information over to the police. The police arrested Pierce on a charge of breach of the peace, but no immediate efforts were made to question any of the persons involved in the allegations. The press, too, kept a discreet silence, naming none of the employers involved.

Stalinists Try To Frame Oak In Workers Alliance

NEW YORK.—Liston M. Oak, a journalist active in the labor and revolutionary movement for 20 years, was "tried" and found "guilty" of being a "fascist spy" by Local 1700 of the Communist-dominated Workers Alliance on June 23. In true Moscow Trial fashion, Oak was not permitted to appear to answer the charges nor to submit evidence of his anti-fascist activities.

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

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

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

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

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

Spain while Oak was there—Norman Thomas and Sam Baron, of the Socialist Party, Harry Milton, of the S.W.P., Bertram Wolfe of the Independent Communist Labor League, John McNair of the British I.L.P., and John Dos Passos, novelist. He also had statements in his behalf from many outstanding figures in the labor movement in this country, representing every left-wing political faith, except of course Stalinism.

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

Govt. Lines Up Against Truckers

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

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

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

P.A. jobs for all unemployed, jobs at trade union wages, trade union hours and trade union conditions. To the capitalist politicians we say: If you cannot or will not insure a decent livelihood to the unemployed, get out of your soft legislative chairs. For the workers CAN and WILL!

SOCIAL SECURITY FRAUD IS BARED

(Continued from page 1)

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

Living Standard Ignored

Aside from the fact that for no good reason old age and unemployment insurance does not include workers in non-profit making organizations, domestic and farm workers, but does include highly-paid executives and presidents of corporations, the plan in operation gives absolutely no consideration to basic standards of living.

Paid for directly or indirectly by the poorest sections of the population, the benefits, such as they are, accrue to those who have had the most steady employment and have earned the highest wages. Those who are unemployed at present can never receive any benefits until they have been re-employed. The size of the so-called benefit does not vary to include dependents.

It has also been pointed out that when in 1949 a worker of 20 enters the old age system, he could on the basis of a salary of \$250 per month receive an annuity of \$147.35 from a private insurance company as against the \$85 maximum under the federal plan.

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

The first closed shop contract won by the United Automobile Workers in Ohio was signed last week by Local 464, Cleveland, and the Ryan Foundry Company. The contract provides for a shop steward system to handle grievances, union hiring lists, full seniority, time and a half for overtime based on an eight hour, five day week, Saturday work to be considered on an overtime basis and double time for Sundays and holidays. Piece work employees are guaranteed a basic hourly rate.

Aimed At Alliance
The inquiry has a further aim: to smash the organization of the unemployed.

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

The answer to these vicious investigations is: Hundreds of New York factories are closed. This is criminal waste. They could be used to produce billions of dollars worth of goods, goods to clothe the children of the unemployed, to house families now living in slums, to ensure a decent living to all. Investigate how to open them, start them working under workers' control, use them to help us live.

Investigate how to put through a public works program with W.

Rodney Salisbury

A MODEL REVOLUTIONIST

By CHARLES E. TAYLOR

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

By the time the paper was published, most of the Socialists in the area, where the party was strong, had joined the Nonpartisan League, the nation was in the midst of the World War, the St. Louis convention of the Socialist party had drafted its famous war manifesto. Debs was on trial, as were the Socialist leaders at Chicago and the leaders of the I.W.W. Salisbury had taken an unequivocal stand against the war, as had many another connected with the

promotion of the paper. The terror was at its apex. It was decided to make the proposed Socialist paper the local organ of the N.P.L. At this time the writer, a Socialist from northern Minnesota, became connected with the Producers News, as editor. He got out the first issue of the paper in the midst of the terror, met Rodney Salisbury, and was from the very first aligned with him politically.

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

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

Was Charter Member of C. P.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

THE FIGHT IN THE AUTO UNION

An Editorial

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

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

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

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

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

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

COAST UNION SPLIT WIDENS AFTER PARLEY

Remnants of Federation Now Isolated From Sea-Going Unions

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

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

Delinquents Remain
Despite the solemn decision to unseat all delegates from unions delinquent in per capita taxes, delegates from the Marine Engineers, the Inland Boatmen and a number of I.L.W.U. locals—all delinquent—were permitted to remain. Three "delegates" from the Marine Firemen, repudiated by the branches they claimed to represent, stayed through to the bitter end.

Added to these were the host of non-Pacific, non-maritime, C.I.O. unions controlled by the C.P. All voted with the unanimity made famous by the parties of the Stalinists.

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

Afraid of Teamsters
One such union was the Teamsters Union, which had been the object of some of the most vicious attacks. In an abrupt about-face, the convention decided to send speakers to a meeting of Teamsters Local 85 to "explain the program adopted by the convention." As usual, the resolution passed unanimously, but when it came time to elect the committee no one could find time to attend the meeting. Not one delegate dared face the membership of the Teamsters in person!

At the meeting of the Teamsters which convention delegates feared to attend, the membership voted to adhere to the program initiated by the Sailors Union of the Pacific. This program, which pledges uncompromising struggle against the shipowners, has already been endorsed by five major marine unions.

S.U.P. CREW ON SHEPARD SHIP

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

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

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

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

Local 85 of the United Automobile Workers, Racine, Wis., has won a closed shop contract with the Walker Manufacturing Company. The contract calls for an average 90-cent-per-hour wage and hiring from the union's eligibility list.

Dunne Debates Parson On Gangsterism Charge

MINNEAPOLIS.—Repeated charges of racketeering in the Minneapolis trade unions, familiar cries of employers and the Communist Party, became the subject of open debate last week when V. R. Dunne, organizer of General Drivers Local 544, spoke against Reverend George Mecklenburg, who has been carrying the employers' campaign from the pulpit of the Wesley Methodist Episcopal Church.

The debate, held under the auspices of the Workers Defense League in the banquet hall of the Y.M.C.A., attracted a crowd of 300 men and women, with another 100 unable to be seated in the hall. Dunne told his audience that while charges by the thousand were made against the trade unions of Minneapolis, all efforts to publicly debate the issue were unavailing. "The people who give currency to the ugly rumors are precisely those who refuse to debate—like Mayor Leach and the Communist Party, both of whom were asked to debate tonight and both of whom refused."

Dunne went on to present the actual record of the drivers union:

"In 1933, the average driver received less than \$14 weekly. Our union has changed that. . . . Today the average driver receives \$33.60 for a 48-hour week. During the past four years, the average driver has received wage increases amounting to more than \$1,600—and this is putting it very modestly. . . . Over a four-year period, Minneapolis employers have been forced to give wage increases to the drivers amounting to more than \$5,000,000. Have the employers a reason to attack our union? Some employers are desperate; they are trying to get out from under the weight of organized labor. Together with employers

all over the nation, they are now instituting an Open Shop drive. The drive today is being carried on under the slogan: Free the Labor Movement from Gangsters and Racketeers. Under this guise the employers are making their attack on unionism."

Parson on Racketeering

Reverend Mecklenburg began his talk by stating he represented the public, and said the public believes generally that racketeering is going on in the world. He told of racketeering in the Middle Ages, in China, in the Island of Zaba. Turning to the United States, he quoted Thomas E. Dewey on racketeering in the New York restaurant industry.

He said Minneapolis workers had come to him with information that there was racketeering here, and that Big Business was paying tribute to the unions. "I know a firm that has to pay \$4 weekly to be let alone," he said.

"Labor is gouging capital," he concluded. "It is piracy, buccaneering. I say to labor: You have to take the initiative and clean up. It seems to me as a minister of the gospel of Jesus Christ, I want to say: 'For God's sake, let's all get together. Minneapolis is a beautiful city, and we could have a wonderful time here.'"

After the question period, during which the Reverend refused to cite specific instances of racketeering by Minneapolis unions, Dunne closed the debate with a summary.

"Reverend Mecklenburg says Minneapolis is a beautiful city. One thing is certain, and that is that Minneapolis is much more beautiful today for 10,000 truck drivers and their families than it was in 1934. And still, labor is being unmercifully gouged today, even in Minneapolis."

Appeal Army

Typical of the many letters we receive is this one from Comrade E. Panical of Detroit: "I have just received this week's issue. With the article on the U. A.W. we will go to town. The auto workers want a paper like the Appeal, which comes out frankly and tells them who are the union wreckers and how to fight them. A better selling campaign is being organized and from now on we will send you some extra money."

And from Wakefield, Kansas, W. P. Gates, enclosing a contribution to the paper, writes: "I wish to express to you my deep appreciation and gratitude for the very capable and invaluable services you are rendering to our party and all humanity for your fight for that greatest of worthy causes—Marxian revolutionary socialism. This praise is doubly valuable in that it comes from a comrade who is now a 60-year old working class fighter!"

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

This week is Library Placement Week: It's up to the literature agents to see that every library in their section is approached and asked to become a subscriber. Follow instructions as contained in "The Appeal Army" bulletin. You can't fail if you do!

How about groups of comrades and sympathizers getting together and donating a sub to some local public or labor library?

The sub-contest is just beginning to warm up. Grace Carlson of 10.

WE regret to report that the first week of our campaign was disappointing so far as increased subs was concerned. We're depending on a pick-up for the next week. Here's the list:

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

TOTAL 31

We apologize to the St. Paul comrades for failing to credit them with four subs they obtained two weeks ago and which were credited to Minneapolis.

Miriam Gerson of New York City is carrying out a fine idea by taking a weekly bundle order of 10 Appeals while vacationing at camp. . . . A new literature agent of South Haven, Michigan, is starting out with a bundle order

THE SOCIALIST APPEAL CAN BE OBTAINED AT THE FOLLOWING NEWSSTANDS

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

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

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

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

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

ALBANY, N. Y.
R. Zettlemeyer, 637 Hamilton St.

BOSTON, MASS.
Andelman's, Tremont St. (opp. Hotel Bradford)

CAMBRIDGE, MASS.
Felix's, Massachusetts Ave. at Harvard Square

ROXBURY, MASS.
Friendly Variety, Warren St. (Grove Hall)

MINNEAPOLIS
Shinder's, Sixth & Hennepin; Kroman's, Fourth & Nicollet.

SAN FRANCISCO
MacDonald's Bookstore, 65 6th St.

Members of the American Communications Association, C.I.O., employed by the Mackay Radio and Telegraph Company, New York City, have won a contract providing for closed shop, no discrimination because of union membership, hiring hall, full seniority rights and two weeks' notice of discharge or two weeks' pay in lieu thereof.

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

An Open Letter

TO MOISSAYE OLGIN

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

My Dear Mr. Olgin:

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

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

Leader in Anti-LaFollette Faction

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

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

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

What Have You Done, Olgin?

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

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

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

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

Yours, etc.,

MAX SHACHTMAN.

Self-Avowed Assassins

An Editorial

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

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

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

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

TICKETS FOR
THE S. W. P. BOAT RIDE
(New York)

Up the Hudson to HOOK MOUNTAIN

On SATURDAY, JULY 9

Can still be obtained (Price \$1) at the City Office
116 University PlaceNOTICE: The boat will leave PROMPTLY at 9:30 A. M. from
Pier 4, the BatteryThe trip will be postponed ONLY in the event of stormy, rainy
weather AT THAT HOUR

Alive or Dead?



JULIET STUART POYNTZ

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

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

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

July 5—Basic Philosophy of Marxism (Dialectical Materialism).

July 12—Why History Happens—Marxist Philosophy applied to Society (Historical Materialism).

July 19—Economic Mechanism of Capitalism (Marxist Economics).

July 26—Political Mechanism of Capitalism (State and Revolution).

August 2—Imperialism and War.

August 9—Radical Tendencies Today.

2. HISTORY AND PROBLEMS
OF AMERICAN LABOR by
BILL MORGAN (N. Y. Trade
Union Dir. S.W.P.)

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

A brief survey of American labor history and a discussion of labor's current and most pressing problems. Early labor history; Knights of Labor; A. F. of L. and Gompers; C.I.O. and current trade union problems.

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

(Monday nights 8-9,
beginning July 11)

A brief course in the elements of public speaking. How to prepare and present indoor and outdoor speeches. Classroom and field practice. Open to Y.P.S.L. and Party comrades.

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

UNION
BRIEFS

Fifty "no-stop-work" contracts, the first of their kind between a government agency and labor unions, have been signed by the Federated Building Trades unions in fifty cities and the United States Housing Authority. Fifty similar contracts are nearing completion. The contracts provide that the unions will not halt work because of demands for changes in pay or jurisdictional disputes. Thus the bureaucrats of the A.F.L. have hamstrung the workers and prevented their regaining a tiny fraction of what was taken away from them during the long building slump.

Morris Engargola of Brooklyn, New York, recently convicted of having led a group of strikers in an assault on a scab at the plant of the Fein Tin Can Company, was sentenced by Judge George W. Martin to serve ten months in the penitentiary. A sock in the jaw in the interest of the workers costs ten times as much as the sock of a drunken bum.

Drivers unions in two states won a five-day strike against the Gamble-Robinson Company. Negotiations were concluded in Minneapolis, Local 544 officers participating with the representatives of the six local unions. A flat five cents per hour increase was won for all classifications.

More than 300 railroad workers, representing 21 Harris County, Texas, railroad union lodges, voted unanimously last week to wage a fight to the finish against the American Railway Association's threat of a 15 per cent wage cut. At Kansas City, Mo., 1,000 workers met and pledged themselves to fight the cut.

A Turn-Coat on the Witness-Stand

EARL BROWDER TESTIFIES BEFORE THE
McNABOE COMMITTEE

BROWDER: DEFENDER OF THE SOVIET UNION

Reporting the testimony of Earl Browder, secretary of the American Stalinists, before the McNaboe legislative committee, the New York Post of June 30, 1938, gave the following exchange between the witness and the committee chairman:

"If it came to a war between the United States and Russia who would you bear arms for?" McNaboe asked.

"I refuse to admit the possibility of such a war," said Browder. But McNaboe pressed for an answer and Browder finally replied: "Under all conceivable conditions indicated at the present time, I would bear arms for the United States."

Why did the "Daily Worker" of July 1, 1938, reporting this exchange, deliberately suppress the last sentence of Browder's reply, which declared that he would fight for American imperialism in a war against the Soviet Union?

There are few things as revolting as the sight of a turncoat slithering on his belly before the enemy he was once devoted to fighting against.

Of that breed, there are few in history to match the admixture of consummate treachery, cynical effrontery, hypocrisy and servility that marked the testimony of Earl Browder, Stalin's viceroy for the United States, before the red-baiting legislative committee in New York headed by Senator John J. McNaboe.

Disavows Principles

With studied perfection, Browder repudiated not only what he himself stood for only the other day, but disavowed every single principle that was cemented in to the foundation of the international communist movement some twenty years ago.

The brand-new pretensions to "democracy," "Americanism," and patriotism, which were so touchingly emphasized by Browder, were, however, so obviously fraudulent, so patently the product of instructions from the Kremlin's totalitarian bosses as part of their diplomatic masquerade, that the New York Post is undoubtedly right in saying that "even Senator McNaboe"—who is scarcely distinguished either for perspicacity or knowledge of the radical movement—"saw through it."

It is this deliberate fraudulence, this all-too-obvious hypocrisy and double-dealing that distinguishes the Stalinist leaders from virtually all other renegades in the history of the labor movement.

Under Moscow Orders

When the social-patriots of the Second International before the last World War pledged themselves to bear arms for the "fatherland," they really meant it; and when the war broke out they redeemed their pledge in full.

When the Stalinists say — as Browder said to McNaboe — that their love for "American democracy" burns with so pure and powerful a flame that they will support U. S. capitalism in the coming war, even if it is fighting against the Soviet Union, the true and "native" upholders of American imperialism know they are talking with tongue in cheek and under orders from the self-same Moscow gang they pledge themselves to fight if war is declared.

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

An American Precedent

If we leave aside for a moment this last—and by no means unimportant point, the only precedent in modern American labor history for Browder's belly-crawling—a precedent which did not, however, reach anything like the depths of depravity touched by Browder—is the famous case of the five New York socialist assemblymen ousted by reaction from the Albany legislature in January 1920: Waldman, Claessens, Solomon, DeWitt and Orr.

What a storm of sulphur and brimstone was poured on their heads by the contemporary communist press for the manner in which the five social-democrats sought to regain their legislative seats! How scornfully and indignantly did the special declaration of the Communist International in 1920 reject the appeal of the American Socialist Party for affiliation, and excommunicate the official Brief for the Socialist Assemblymen because, among other things, "It apologizes for the presence of foreigners in the party by calling them 'potential voters' and hastens to explain that a new rule requires all party members immediately to become citizens."

What would the Communist International of that time say about its American section of today, whose recent convention adopted "a new rule (that) requires all party members immediately to become citizens?"

What the C. I. Said

The turn-coats in Albany prevailed on their party to eliminate the constitutional provision calling upon members elected to public office to vote against any

and all military appropriations, about which the Communist International said at that time "we do not know a single socialist party in the world which has equalled the action of the American party." But even in dropping this provision, the Hillquitites of 1920 never went so far as to guarantee explicitly their support of American imperialism in any war it might wage. They weren't for sale so cheap.

But Browder is, in reply to McNaboe's question, "Would you sell Liberty Bonds tomorrow if war broke out?" — that is, war against Mexico or Japan or the Philippines or the Soviet Union; in short, any war of American imperialism—Browder promptly swore allegiance: "I would. But I would not sell them during the last war." And the *Daily Worker* (July 1, 1938) has the utter shamelessness to print the answer in bold-face type! Browder may now take his place ahead of Samuel DeWitt who, to emphasize the depths of his patriotism, retorted to Tammany's Marty McCue in 1920: "I sold Liberty Bonds and I sold more Liberty Bonds than there were glasses of beer sold over the bar of your saloon." Ahead of DeWitt, we say, because the outraged socialist-patriot was only describing what he did in a past war, while Browder is already pledging himself for the next one!

Qualified Support

When Hillquit said in 1920 that "the socialists of the United States would have no hesitancy whatever in joining forces with the rest of their countrymen to repel the Bolshevik who would try to invade our country and force a form a government upon our people which our people are not ready for and do not desire"—then, however outraged revolutionists were at this vicious declaration, he was at least qualifying his support of a hypothetical war with political considerations of an abstractly democratic nature. When Browder, in his obscene zeal to curry favor with the American bourgeoisie, says flatly that he will sell Liberty Bonds to help finance the next war, he does not even include in his statement the qualifications or reservations which the most ordinary bourgeois democrat would make, as, for example, "if it is not a predatory war," or "if it is not a war to protect Standard Oil in Mexico," or "provided it is a war for democracy, or justice, or to end all war," etc., etc.

No, come what may, regardless of the war that will finally break out, Browder has already stated, in his reply to McNaboe, that he will "fight for the United States." Or more likely, as did the social-patriots in the last war, he will "fight" on the "home-front" by urging others to occupy the trenches and the graves.

Hillquit Never Knew

When Hillquit said in 1920, amid a chorus of protest in his own party, to say nothing of the clamor of the communists outside of it, that "we adopt the existing form of government based upon the Constitution of the United States as the form upon which to build the future society," he surely had no idea that eighteen years later, the boss of the "communist" party would make assertions on the same subject that would make the late Nestor of the Socialist party sound like an uncontrollable barricade-fighter.

Hillquit at least did not deny his socialist objective; even more, he declared that socialism was on the order of the day. Browder, however, is anxious to impress the legislative committee men with the fact that they need not have the slightest fear of communism being fought for in their lifetime. Knowing the bankruptcy of their own social order, the McNaboes everywhere readily read the prospect of a speedily rising movement for the triumph of workers' rule in this country. It is, therefore, no mere idle curiosity that impels them to feel the ground by asking Browder when he expects America to adopt communism. And it is not philosophic resignation, but well-thought-out purposefulness and determination to do all in his power to make his prediction come true, that animates Browder in replying: "America will probably be one of the last to adopt it."

And meanwhile? Fascism—there is the enemy; democracy—there is the cure! And how preserve democracy? As is well known, the Stalinists propose to preserve it by getting behind Roosevelt. In this connection, Browder makes a most revealing, even if not entirely accurate, statement to McNaboe.

Browder and Roosevelt "Eighty-five per cent of the press is opposed to Roosevelt. They are very short-sighted capitalists who do not understand that he is the greatest protector of capitalism."

From this follow, or should logically follow, two conclusions: One, that the Stalinist support of Roosevelt is exactly equivalent to affording decadent American capitalism its greatest protection and as is known, there is only one social force it needs protection from. Two, that the Stalinists should devote their agitation efforts not to the working class, but to the capitalist class, represented by "eighty-five per cent of the press," with the aim of persuading the Liberty Leaguers and their associates to drop their misguided fight against the much-misunderstood Roosevelt on the grounds that they fail to understand that the president is their "greatest protector."

Defender of Capitalism

Not alone Roosevelt, however, but also Browder. For if the former is the Lord High Protector of American capitalism, the latter is his not unworthy coadjutor. It is true that in his report to the eighth convention of the Communist Party in Cleveland in April 1934, Browder, in answer to the question: "What are the ideas, the misconceptions, with which the social-fascists confuse and disarm the workers?"—declared: "In Germany, this idea was, concretely, alliance with Hindenburg against Hitler; in Austria, with Dollfus against the Nazis; in the United States, with Roosevelt against Wall Street." It is also true that he added in the same speech that "Roosevelt, leading the present ruling class, finance capital, stands for degradation, hunger, misery, oppression, fascism, war." But that was before the Stalinist turn at the Seventh World Congress of the Comintern from which—may God forbid!—Browder takes no orders, or would "throw them in a waste basket" if they were sent. Now Browder is for Democracy, for Roosevelt, for the "greatest protector of capitalism." And in the statement entered into the McNaboe committee's records, he made it clear that he is ready to implement his newly-found faith.

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

Wants to Be a Cop

But—There ARE people in the very bosom of the Republic who are guilty of all these dastardly crimes. There ARE seditious and subversive elements in our midst. And if the McNaboe committee is to emulate Our Great President as the "greatest protector of capitalism," if it really wants to put down sedition, mutiny and all other forms of mayhem against law and order—it will find in Browder a man eager and ready to draw up the indictment for the grand jury and put the finger on the criminals.

"I have no desire to hide the fact that there are some people who call themselves communist, who yet proclaim the opposite of all these policies of the Communist party which I have described. These are the groups known as Trotskyites and Lovestonites." (*Daily Worker*, June 30, 1938.)

We have no doubt that the ambitious informer is ready to provide the necessary names and addresses, to accompany the cops with search and seizure warrants, and to take the stand as a witness for the prosecution. If need be, he is ready to act as jailer and executioner, for Browder can easily furnish letters of mark, references and testimonials from his teachers in Moscow, Madrid and Barcelona.

As to Browder's moving decla-

France Under Daladier
Moves Toward National
'Sacred Union' Gov'tPolitical Course of Bourgeoisie Is Influenced by
Growing Isolation of the Soviet Union;
Socialist Party 'Left' Expelled

By TERENCE PHELAN

PARIS, June 21.—The shift to the Daladier government, a long-time stop-gap while the heads of all the parties from the Stalinists on the left to the Fascists on the right horse-trade and jockey toward the ultimate goal of a "Government of Sacred Union" including all parliamentary parties, has made no essential change in France's foreign policy, which still follows the plans of British imperialism.

Started last fall by Halifax's Berlin visit, followed by Chautemps and Delbos' London visit, confirmed by English and French behavior when Hitler seized Austria, and increasingly unceasing with each new move in the continuing Czechoslovakian crisis and the conversations with Mussolini, Chamberlain's plan is nothing less than buying off Hitler in the West by giving him a free hand in the East against the U.S.S.R., while Britain, and to a lesser extent France, feverishly rush armament programs which they hope will permit them at the proper moment to snatch their imperialist spoils at the expense of both exhausted adversaries.

Fascist Orbit Extends

Rumania has swung largely into the fascist orbit; Austria is actually incorporated into the Third Reich; Czechoslovakia, though unlikely to be territorially occupied by Hitler, is being rapidly bullied into a governmental realignment which will make it either decentralized and impotent or actually pro-Hitler; and Poland, long on the fence, is plainly revealed by the recent terrorization of Lithuania to be playing the anti-Soviet game. A look at the map will show more plainly than any words what these shifts mean to the Soviet Union. Herein is grimly foreshadowed the tragic end of the un-Marxian Stalinist policy of "socialism in one country" (with its vicious concomitant of "no socialism anywhere else"), its reliance upon the "democracies," and that wholesale deception of the international working-class, than which only the distrust that motivated it is more contemptible.

Yet in France the Stalinists continue to check the militancy of the working class, to pin all their hopes on class peace and the Franco-Soviet pact, unembarrassed by their new allies, the de la Rocque Fascists, whose spokesman Ybarnegaray has recently come out strongly in favor of it—this at the behest of those elements in the French General Staff whose technical military distrust of the Red Army, following the purge of the generals, has been somewhat offset by the similar shake-up in the Reichswehr, and by a close study of the military side of the occupation of Austria, which, practically successful because of the lack of resistance by Austrian clerico-fascism, was technically far from perfect.

Workers Mark Time

Deeply discouraged by the

severe set-backs suffered in the spring strike wave through the misleadership of the Stalinists and the C. G. T. bureaucracy, French workers en masse have recoiled to nurse their wounds and take stock. It is, on the whole, a time when general militancy has for a moment ebbed; to pretend otherwise would be wishful thinking. The Stalinist treachery has thus a double edge: not only did it canalize militant strike action back into compromise settlements that were essentially defeats; but by that very betrayal convinced many workers under its ideological influence of the hopelessness of militant action—a vicious circle.

Yet other workers, quite on the contrary, draw the opposite and correct conclusion: they move away from the cesspool of betrayal and gropingly seek a true revolutionary leadership. Here and there — among the technicians, department store employees, postal and telegraph workers, and numerous crafts—sporadically violent revolts against further class collaboration, against Daladier's anti-labor decree laws, against the sacred union for war, burst significantly forth, are with more or less difficulty quashed by the bureaucracy.

Seine Federation Revolts

Symptomatic of this latent fire of militancy under the ashes of temporary calm was the recent revolt of the whole Socialist Federation of the Seine (Paris and its workers' suburbs) against the Blum-Faure leadership of the S.F.I.O. (Second International Socialistists). This Federation, ideologically dominated by the "Revolutionary Left" led by Marcel Pivert, a manoeuvring centrist of the Tyler-Zam stamp, had had the courage, remembering the police-murder of the Clichy workers under the "Socialist" minister Marx Dormoy, to protest energetically against the Sacred Union and its war plans, and both to issue internal bulletins and lead public manifestations against continuance of the party's class-collaborationist policies.

It goes without saying that the whole federation was simply expelled en masse from the party—an expulsion confirmed last week by the S.F.I.O.'s annual convention, which, in a disgusting display, underwrote the Bonapartist Daladier decree government, approved in advance the coming nationalist government, and prepared to follow its Macdonald, Leon Blum, anywhere he may lead.

New Party Formed

Pivert's Revolutionary Left is now reconstituted as an independent party under the name of the P.S.O.P. (Socialist Workers' and Peasants' Party), predictably about 6000 strong.

The new P.S.O.P. has in its rank- and-file valuable militant elements whom the Bolshevik-Leninists gladly welcome as comrades in the heavy tasks ahead.

Another Fine Issue Of
New International Due

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

1. Behind the Stalinist line of the People's Front—by Max Shachtman.
2. The Stalinists and Roosevelt—by Albert Gates.
3. "They, the People"—by Dwight MacDonald.
4. Reply to Burnham article on "Max Eastman's Science"—by Max Eastman, together with

editorial response.

5. Zionism and the British Lion—by Ben Herman.

6. The New Roosevelt Program—by David Cowles.

Those who wish to be sure of obtaining the August issue should place their order at once. The subscription rate is \$2.00 per year; single copies 20 cents. Address all communications to the New International, 116 University Place, New York, N. Y.

Krivitsky Tells
of G.P.U. Tortures

(Continued from page 1)

"At the end of the third day he asked to see Smirnov. I gave the order to bring Smirnov into my office. Their meeting overpowered me. They embraced. The two of them wept. Mratchkovsky was the first to speak, and addressing Smirnov he said: 'Tvan Nikitch, let us do what they demand. It is necessary.'

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

Mratchkovsky urged him, but Smirnov remained adamant. At this moment, weeping, they embraced each other. Smirnov was led away. Mratchkovsky again became irritable and once more spoke of Stalin as a traitor.

"On the fourth day, he signed what he was to confirm before the tribunal. I returned to my home, and for a week I was not only incapable of working, but likewise incapable of living.

"That, Krivitsky, was the interrogation of Mratchkovsky."

MAX SHACHTMAN.

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MAX SHACHTMAN

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Smash the Cotillo Injunction!

There is no lack of signs of the capitalist offensive against labor. The Hague ban on the C.I.O. and all radical labor organizations, is not accidental or incidental, but an ominous harbinger of tomorrow. After Hague, Harvey and Hoffmann, we have the action of the New Orleans authorities, who have created a virtual reign of terror against the C.I.O. in that southern metropolis.

Now comes the monstrous injunction obtained by the Busch Jewelry Company from Judge S. A. Cotillo of New York, prohibiting the C.I.O.'s United Retail Employees, Local 830, and the United Optical Workers, Local 208, from picketing the struck stores.

Already 12 pickets have been cited for contempt of court because they allegedly violated the Cotillo injunction. Company attorneys are preparing to press another contempt action against the unions because, although they promised to suspend picketing the Busch stores until the Appellate Division could express its opinion in October on the validity of the injunction, they have nevertheless carried on mass demonstration picketing in various sections of New York!

We think the union officers, by promising to suspend picketing until a higher court hears the case in October (three months from now!), have chosen the wrong way of fighting the injunction. For the whole trick of the bosses and their judges is to cripple a strike for weeks and months on end, while a couple of squads of lawyers fight the issue out in court after court. In this way, the strike fight between the masses of workers and a handful of employers, is suspended, and the ground shifted to a purely legal fight that drags on and on and on.

There is only one way of effectively fighting the injunction threat to labor, especially one like that issued by Cotillo, which is especially detestable by virtue of its sweeping nature. That way is direct struggle against the injunction by the workers against whom it is directed.

To rely on the employers' courts is like leaning on a trap. To rely on anything but the organized mass strength of labor is to lean on thin reeds or imaginary ones.

Lawyers and court fights are all right, within limits. But lawyers are no substitute for labor's own fighting strength and militancy.

The workers have only those rights which they win in battle. The only way they can keep those rights they have won is by continuing the fight for them.

The only way of keeping the right to picket, of breaking the injunction menace, is to keep right on picketing, with a line just as big as the workers think is necessary for their victory! And victory was never won by avoiding battle.

Helping Mexico

In reply to inquiries about the government's attitude towards Mexico, Secretary of State Cordell Hull has denied that a proposal to sponsor a loan of \$200,000,000 to help Mexico build roads and fund some of its indebtedness, and a proposal to purchase \$10,000,000 of Mexican oil for the U. S. Navy, were withdrawn by the government under pressure of Great Britain, with whom the U. S. is now negotiating a trade agreement.

The "Keep America Out of War" Congress, which put the questions about the proposals, confines itself to urging the imperialist government of the United States to . . . stop being imperialistic. It asked: "Is not this the time when the United States should make this test case of the application of the good neighbor policy a convincing demonstration of our good faith?"

We are ready to leave the K.A.O.W. people with their hopeless illusions and their heroic efforts to persuade the leopard that his spots are not really necessary. They simply refuse to understand that Roosevelt's "good neighbor" policy means nothing more nor less than the policy of persuading—and where need be, forcing—the Latin America countries to be "good neighbors" to American businessmen, industrialists and financiers. This has been the "good neighbor" policy of American imperialism ever since it began trying to cajole or coerce the Latin American peoples to put their necks under the Wall Street yoke, and Roosevelt is right in the old tradition.

There is, however, a very positive and concrete way in which help can be extended to the Mexican people in their fight to oust the blood-sucking oil barons of the United States and Great Britain.

Throughout the Northwest in particular, there is a powerful farmers' and workers' cooperative movement. In a multitude of localities, these cooperatives operate their own gas and oil stations,

which, while not as powerful as Standard Oil, Sinclair or Shell chains, are nevertheless fairly strong.

Altogether there are 1,150 operative petroleum associations in the United States, with 325,000 members and an annual business of \$69,985,000.

It would be a splendid act of solidarity—and financially not disadvantageous—on the part of these American cooperatives if they decided to negotiate directly with Mexico for the purchase of all their gas and oil supplies. There is every reason to believe that the Mexican authorities—to say nothing of the Mexican people as a whole—would receive such a proposal in the proper spirit.

Such arrangement, if properly consummated, would not, of course, resolve the whole complex of problems facing the Mexican masses. But it would go a long way towards cementing the bonds of solidarity between the toilers of both countries. It would be an impressive demonstration on both sides of the Rio Grande against the gang of financial and industrial lords of the United States who are the common oppressor and exploiter of the two peoples.

What do the farmers' and workers' petroleum cooperatives have to say?

Next Step for the Painters

All objective observers agree that but for the reaction among the rank-and-file New York painters to the bureaucratic ouster of Weinstock by the General Executive Board of their union, the Stalinist crew would have been turned out of office by a clear majority in the recent elections.

The viciously red-baiting nature of the G.E.B.'s decision turned many of the honest and militant elements in the union to vote for people in whom they had not much more faith than they have in the headquarters gang.

Even then, had the progressive opposition polled about another three hundred votes, the victory would have been on its side.

The biggest mistake that the progressives could make now would be to slacken their efforts or suspend them altogether. The Stalinist administration, now that it is assured another term in office, is making the usual hypocritical pleas for unity. In so far as building and consolidating the union, making it more aggressive and able to raise the living standards of the painters, and all other constructive measures are concerned, the true progressives will not be found in the rear ranks. But if the Weinstock plea means—as it does—silencing all criticism and lulling the vigilance of the militants in the union, it is nothing but a cheap bureaucratic ruse which will not deceive the progressives.

The main strength of the Stalinist machine in the union—as elsewhere—lies in its closely-knit organization, maintained during all the 365 days of the year. The main weakness of the progressives—if we leave aside the heterogeneity of their ranks—lay in the fact that they organized only at the last minute.

The period ahead is not only one of union-building. It is also the period of maintaining and consolidating a powerful, constructive, wide-awake progressive organization in the painters' union. It is tragically true that there is every reason to believe that the Stalinist administration is unsundered by the latest experience. There is every reason to believe that in the period ahead—especially when it is frightened by the appearance of the substantial opposition—its rule of the union will be at least as ruinous as it was in the past. The same gang in control, allied to the same old Zausner elements; the same arbitrary and bureaucratic management of the Stalinist clique; the same contempt for the wishes and interests of the rank-and-file; the same steady and devious undermining of the working standards of the painters; the same policy of class collaboration.

The only force that can act as a corrective to these evils, and finally eliminate them, is an organized movement of the progressives, with a militant platform and a vigilant eye. The great need now is not the dispersal of the movement launched to defeat the Stalinist machine at the painters' polls, but its consolidation on a firmer, more permanent and sounder basis.

Page the Communist Party

We see where the March Federal grand jury in the Southern District of New York, through its foreman, John V. D. Cornell, has urged upon President Roosevelt the deportation of aliens on relief who have lived in the United States three years without obtaining first citizenship papers.

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

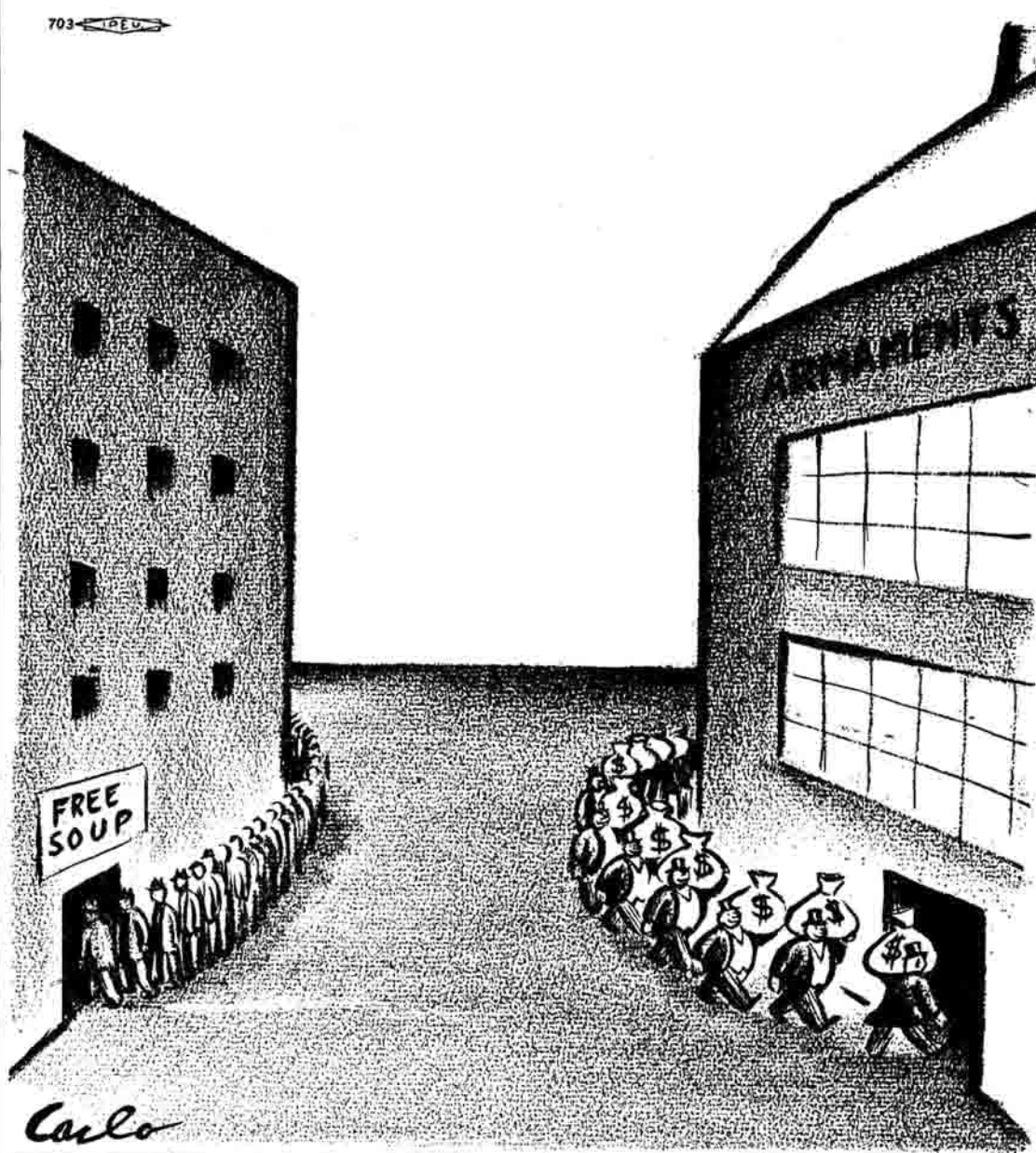
Personally, we don't think much of the idea, but we're willing to pass along the tip to the grand jury that they ought to get a lot of help for their proposition from the Communist Party.

Its last convention passed a rule providing that no alien can be a member of the party. And Prissie Fardsbenge, the 20th-Century American, says: "If they ain't good enough to join the Communist party, they ain't good enough for relief." Prissie will fill out all deportation warrants in his 13th Street office.

NOT TWO--THREE!

"BOTH PARTIES CLAIM JEFFERSON SPIRIT," reads a *New York Times* headline over a report of Republican and Democratic speeches at the Jefferson memorial meeting in Virginia on July 4. What about Browder's party? Its claim is as good as anyone else's!

The New Deal On Parade



Jersey City

Lesson and Warning

(Continued from page 1)

little weight against the fists and clubs of Hague's hoodlums. Force is the argument of the advance guard of American fascism. Woe to the workers of America if they do not learn in time to talk the same language!

A Fight of National Significance

The fight against Hagueism has an extraordinary national significance insofar as it poses in all seriousness the problem of combating the beginnings of American fascism. It imposes on revolutionary militants, in the first place, the general task of widespread agitation for the formation of the workers' defense guards as the only way to combat fascism. Along with this must go a thorough-going exposure of all illusions that people's front combinations, liberalistic wailings, and court struggles can seriously interfere with the advance of American fascism. It is necessary to explain to the workers, on the basis of European experience, that if they do not fight fascism by their own organized defense guards, fascism will crush the labor movement.

In Jersey City, and in New Jersey generally, the main task of those who understand the problem and want to meet it realistically is to carry on an intensive agitation along this line, and to introduce resolutions to this effect in all labor organizations, both A.F. of L. and C.I.O., to which they have access. Revolutionary workers who are the only possible leaders of a fight to the finish against fascism will naturally take part, in the most energetic and courageous manner, in actual demonstrations against Hague.

Fight Cannot Be Delegated

But it would be adventurist folly for them to substitute the numerically weak forces of the vanguard for the genuine mass struggle of the workers' organizations. It is worse than folly for the workers' organizations to "delegate" their fight for labor rights, which is their fight for existence, to lawyers, grand-standing congressmen, "civil liberties experts" and the rest of the publicity-seeking, windbag fraternity. This is labor's own fight. Only the workers, organized and steered for physical combat, can stand up against fascist reaction and defeat it in New Jersey and on a national scale.

Bourgeois democracy, already obsolete in most of Europe, is also approaching its twilight in America with the decline and decay of American capitalism. The fate of America, like that of the rest of the world, will be decided in the oncoming struggle between fascism and the workers' revolution. The Jersey City events signalize the opening skirmishes of this grandiose struggle.

THE CONFERENCE AT EVIAN

An Editorial

A conference being convoked this week at Evian, France, to consider the refugee problem, is focusing world attention upon this running sore, recently rendered more acute by Hitler's conquest of Austria.

Driven from their homes and their homelands by the black plague of reaction, thousands upon thousands of refugees seek vainly for a safe anchorage from which they can rebuild their lives and breathe again.

Despite the needs of these sufferers from reaction, it is hardly to be expected that the countries represented at Evian will do much to aid them. The hopes of the majority of Jewish, anti-fascist and other exiles, centered upon Evian, are destined to disappointment.

Not only do the participating governments impose severe restrictions upon immigration into their domains, but they are closing their doors ever tighter. Nor do they wish to offend friendly powers, or possible allies in the next war, by welcoming or making life easier for their political opponents.

Capitalism in its death agony can no more solve the refugee problem than any of the other social problems clamoring for solution. The existence of these refugee hordes is in itself a

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

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

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

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

BOOKS FOR WORKERS

A Historic Document

NOT GUILTY. Report of the Commission of Inquiry into the Charges Made Against Leon Trotsky in the Moscow Trials. xv+422 pp. New York. Harper & Brothers, \$2.50 (At the Labor Book Shop, 28 East 12th St., N. Y. C., paper covers, \$1.00).

The trial of Zinoviev-Kamenev in August, 1936, and the trial of Radek-Platakov in January, 1937, have passed into history as milestones along the road of degeneration of the first workers' state under the Bonapartist regime of Stalin.

The extirpation of the leaders of Russian Bolshevism marked a high point in the counter-revolutionary development of the Soviet bureaucracy. All the efforts of Stalin's totalitarian press to conceal its true meaning will, as heretofore, prove unavailing.

A Historic Verdict

The report, embodying the results of many months of painstaking, meticulous inquiry, finds that both trials were conscious and calculated frame-ups, that they served "not juridical but political ends," and that Leon Trotsky and the recently deceased Leon Sedov, his son, are innocent of the monstrous charges on which the Stalin regime sought to convict them. By implication, naturally, the Commission finds that the Old Bolsheviks who stood trial in the Moscow courtroom, far from being the hideous criminals that they were forced to represent themselves as being, were tragic victims of Stalin's frame-up system.

These conclusions were published months ago in summarized form. Now they are available in full in this volume, together with a digest and analysis of all the evidence upon which the Commission based its findings. It is not possible, in the space of a brief review, to give anything like an adequate description of this book, which is a companion volume to "The Case of Leon Trotsky," wherein was contained the transcript of testimony and evidence taken in Mexico by a preliminary commission of inquiry headed by John Dewey.

Overwhelming Evidence

But this much can be said: No one reading this volume with a conscientious desire to learn the truth about the Moscow trials will reach any other conclusion than that the Dewey Commission could have arrived at no other verdict than it did. The evidence supporting the verdict is so overwhelming as to preclude the least doubt as to its correctness. For this reason, "Not Guilty" will be of immeasurable value to the labor movement everywhere, and especially the labor movement in America, where militants are currently battling the Stalinist union-wreckers and their frame-up methods.

It stands as a permanent and irrefutable condemnation of the bloody Bonapartist regime in the Soviet Union, an eternal bar sinister on the disreputable house of Stalin, a sharp weapon which the revolutionary militants can use against labor's most vicious enemy—the Communist Party. Need it be said?—every militant must read—and possess—this volume. F. G.

Lyons versus Sinclair

TERROR IN RUSSIA? Two Views—Upton Sinclair and Eugene Lyons. 63 pp. New York. Rand School Press. 25 cents.

Revolutionists will not be surprised to discover in Upton Sinclair an ardent endorser of Stalin's bloody purges. The "idealistic" socialist muck-raker of the first decade of the present century, who waxed indignant over the savage persecution and exploitation of America's workers, and was moved thereby to write such novels as "The Jungle" and "King Coal," found no difficulty in climbing on the patriotic bandwagon in the World War and urging those same workers to the imperialist shambles for the profit of their exploiters.

He finds the Moscow trials and executions no more revolting than the world war slaughter. They are even desirable as a means of "preserving" the workers' state in Russia—just as the world war was desirable "to make the world safe for democracy" against the threat of German militarism!

Belief Versus Evidence

Sinclair turns not a hair at Lyons' smashing exposure of Stalin's frame-ups and the horrible counter-revolutionary regime upon which they throw such a baleful light. Evidence? Sinclair is simply not interested in it. Enough for him is his belief "that the Bolsheviks would have let the G.P.U. agents tear them to pieces shred by shred before they would have confessed to actions which they had not committed."

Countering Lyons' showing that the Soviet Union under Stalin has become a stifling intellectual desert of conformity, Sinclair cites the fact that translations of his books have been published in hundreds of thousands of copies—and are actually circulated. Thus Sinclair, presumably, derives a handsome income from Stalin's

State Publishing House. A vested interest in Stalinism would represent a host of shining reasons why Sinclair should defend the bloody regime in the Soviet Union. He does not pause to think what would happen to a book of his that would be critical of the Stalin regime. This smug endorser of the blood purges might, however, reflect on the fact that none of Andre Gide's latest writings are obtainable in Stalin's paradise.

Lost On Sinclair

Eugene Lyons does a good job in his exposure of Soviet Bonapartism. On Upton Sinclair it is lost. But those genuinely concerned for the fate of the proletarian revolution in Russia will derive useful knowledge from reading what Lyons saw and learned during his long stay in the Soviet Union as United Press correspondent.

From Sinclair's contribution to this discussion they will learn only that the Author of "The Jungle" is simply an adherent of Stalin's "going concern" and by no means the friend of the persecuted he cracks himself up to be. He espoused the cause of revolutionists imprisoned and exiled by the Tsar. For those persecuted and murdered by Stalin he has not a word to say. There is the measure of a sentimental "socialist!" L. F. J.

A Timely Pamphlet

WHAT IS SOCIALISM? By Albert Goldman. 48 pp. New York. Pioneer Publishers. 10 cents.

The pressing need for explaining the revolutionary position on current problems and advanced aspects of socialist policy has meant that up to now the reformists have pre-empted the field of cheap popular pamphlets which set forth the elementary notions of the socialist philosophy. For the worker who wants to know what socialism is, before entering upon a consideration of more abstruse questions, there has been little that one could furnish since the publication of Engels' "Socialism Utopian and Scientific," other than the usual essays on Fabian socialism by Laidler or the tracts put out by the Old Guard social-democrats when they were still in control of the Socialist Party.

The new pamphlet by Albert Goldman is the first published which answers the question "What is Socialism?" on the basis of the real problems of today and from the standpoint of revolutionary Marxism. That in itself is enough to indicate why it should be in the hands of every questioning worker.

A Concrete Approach

The three lectures were originally delivered before a study group of trade union workers in Chicago, and it is one of the characteristics of the pamphlet that it approaches the question not from the side of abstract doctrine but from the viewpoint of the workers' experiences and problems. Goldman begins by posing the three major problems facing the workers: unemployment and insecurity; the low standard of living which exists under capitalism for the masses even in the best of times, and war. It goes on to show how socialism would solve these problems.

In simple terms he sketches the socialist answer to the basic questions: what the profit system is and why it leads to the subjection of the working class; the cause of unemployment and crises; why capitalism must engage in a murderous imperialist war; how socialism would raise the standard of living of the masses. Is socialism contrary to "human nature"? Isn't it enough to defend "democracy" and thereby gain what we want? Goldman answers with a clear explanation of the Marxist philosophy of why things happen in present-day society, emphasizing throughout that the struggle of the classes lies at the bottom of the question.

Applying Principles

More than half the pamphlet, however, deals with the application of socialist principles to actual problems of the day—the Popular Front, united front, what kind of party is needed by the workers, the Communist and Socialist Parties, revolutionary internationalism, etc. Above all is emphasized the question of the present situation of the Soviet Union, which to so many workers stands as a question mark over the whole ideal of the socialist society; and the author fulfills his promise "to show the reasons why the situation in the Soviet Union is so contrary to the theories and ideals of socialism, and that conditions in the Soviet Union, instead of disproving socialist theories, actually confirm them."

As is true of most attempts to compress an explanation of socialism in a small number of pages, some points are over-simplified (for example, the section on the cause of crises) and others are treated in too abstract a manner. In any case, a whole series of elementary propaganda pamphlets is needed along the lines of this one. The success of "What is Socialism?" should be a good start. H. D.