

When election time rolls around again, politicians of the New Deal and Old Deal variety will once more be making their usual impassioned defense of the "American Standard of Living." Nobody—least of all the politicians—ever knew precisely what these grand words signified. But millions of people did know that permanent poverty and insecurity was their share of the American Standard of Living.

Now, a committee appointed by President Roosevelt himself and consisting of such luminaries as the Secretary of War, the Secretary of Agriculture, etc., has verified by detailed figures and official data the grinding misery suffered by millions that passes under the name of an American Standard of Living.

Fully one-third of America's 39,458,300 families received an average income equal to \$471 per year. Compare this figure with the \$2,500 annual income estimated by the U. S. Children's Bureau as requisite to keep a family of five in minimum comfort and decent conditions. Then you will understand why death from pellagra, malnutrition, tuberculosis takes such a large toll from workers and their children.

Eighty-seven per cent of the nation's families received an annual income less than \$2,500. In other words, practically the entire working-class population is struggling to keep its head above water, and a good section of it has already been pushed under. Yet horrible as this appears, there seems to be no bottom to this pit.

Fully 2,000,000 families and individuals earned less than \$250 per year.

Negro family income in the South is one-third of that of the white family; and in the North, one-half.

Four million families and single individuals are entirely dependent on relief. Life for them will end with the dole.

Thus by open admission of its government spokesmen, capitalism is sending its millions of wealth-producing workers to slow death by starvation. The working class is being sapped of its strength by undernourishment, bad housing and shoddy clothing. But on its back sits a tiny oligarchy, and it "neither toils nor spins" but it concentrates in its few hands the natural resources, the fabricating and extracting industries and the nation's commerce and takes for itself the largest single proportion in annual income.

Between the kings and serfs of olden times, there was almost a common standard when compared with the monstrous inequality between the wage-slave and industrial magnate of today.

Eighty-seven families and individuals garnered in more than \$1,000,000 per year each.

One per cent (1) enjoyed an annual income that was almost equal to the combined total of the lowest 42 per cent in the income brackets of the population.

"Neither do they toil nor spin," but their combined annual income amounted to \$6,240,000,000 or 13 per cent of the 48 billion total.

The truth unfolds irresistibly: there is not one but two American Standards of Living. One for the masses and one for the masters. The one for the masses rapidly sliding far under the subsistence level. The one for the masters, high enough to keep their dogs and pets in the same regal style they themselves enjoy, and more to spare.

With this report, the New Deal gives an accounting of six years' stewardship. Out of their own mouths, we hear the confession of bankruptcy. The country is rich and abundant, but the people are in hunger. Industry and technology are without peer, but the factories are idle. Yet the New Deal has succeeded in its own aims. It has propped up the tottering system of capitalism. It has filled the coffers of the one per cent. But the props have

WAR CRISIS IN 11th HOUR

Plea for Liberalism Is Roosevelt Hoax

Drop 'Principles' in
California Primaries;
Pension Hit

By JAMES BURNHAM

The tremendous popular support of Franklin Roosevelt has been, and is, based upon the feeling that he is the Great Liberal, the champion of the masses and their needs and hopes against the machinations of the Tories.

From the 1932 election campaign onward, therefore, Roosevelt has been compelled to nourish this feeling, to find suitable gestures in order to keep it alive and breathing. To accomplish this task while at the same time carrying out firmly his fundamental job of preserving U. S. capitalism against the blows of the crisis: this is the heart of the remarkable, and up to now successful, Roosevelt demagoguery, the key to the unique value of his services to the bourgeoisie.

Purpose of "Purge"

The chief purpose of Roosevelt's current "purge" is to bolster up his standing as a Great Liberal and champion of the masses. The mechanism of the purge shows that this purpose is paramount over the secondary object of strengthening the hold of the Roosevelt faction on the Democratic Party machinery.

Against the advice of the leading machine politicians, Roosevelt was compelled to undertake the purge: compelled not by the desire for "unlimited personal power"—the stock public explanation of his bourgeois opponents, nor by lofty adherence to abstract principles—the explanation which he and his sycophants would like to have believed, but because only such a gesture as the purge could re-consolidate the popular faith in New Dealism, shaken by the depression of the past year.

This is why it is not at all necessary for Roosevelt to win out in most of his purge attempts. He knew that Smith would win the nomination in South Carolina: he had himself predicted so. But the glamorous popular effect of his opposition to Smith was as great, perhaps even greater, in spite of Smith's victory. So also in the cases of George, Tydings and O'Connor—though, it is true, he has more at stake in actually defeating the latter two.

The real nature of the purge comes out most sharply in what it omits—Hague, for example, is not touched by it—and in the California contest.

Left Defeats F.D.R.

The California Primary campaign was entirely different from all others. There Roosevelt supported the conservative and doddering old William McAdoo; and the opponent was not in the least a "disguised Republican" or a Tory, but the "radical" Sheridan Downey, champion of the California Pension Plan. And on the issue of the Pension Plan, Roosevelt was for the first time defeated from the left: Downey carried the Senatorial nomination by more than 100,000 votes.

The California Pension Plan, whatever its utopianism and unworkable as it unquestionably would be in practice, represents in its aims legitimate aspirations of the people, in particular of the middle classes. It is analogous in many respects to the Ludlow Amendment, which expressed the hope and need of the people for peace.

Cracks Down on Masses

In one case as in the other, when confronted with concrete demands, for peace or for decent pensions, the Great Liberal cracked down with the full force of his machine. In spite of overwhelming majority support for the Ludlow Amendment, revealed in accurate unofficial polls, Roosevelt was able to smash it in Congress. The California Primaries, however, permitted popular

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been "one third of the Nation, ill-fed, ill-housed and ill-clad." The conclusion flows inexorably from the report of Roosevelt's own committee:

CAPITALISM MUST GO IF THE MASSES ARE TO LIVE!

King, Ramsay and
Connor in Appeal

SAN FRANCISCO.—Oral argument in the appeal from the life imprisonment imposed on King, Ramsay and Connor, now in prison on a frame-up charge will be heard on Sept. 7 by the First Appellate Court at San Francisco.

The three men, members of the Marine Firemen, were convicted of murdering George Alberts, chief engineer on the steamer Point Lobos, in a campaign to discredit the marine unions. Earl Warren, Alameda County District Attorney who prepared the frame-up six months after Alberts' death is now running for Attorney General of California.

W.P.A. LOCAL IN SPLIT FROM W.A.

New York Union Hits
Communist Party
Misleadership

By GEORGE MILTON

NEW YORK.—What may be the beginning of a national split in the Workers' Alliance was started here last week when Henry Rourke, president and organizer of the W.P.A. Chauffeurs and Mechanics' Local, announced its withdrawal from the Stalinist-controlled Alliance.

The action to break with the W.A. came at a meeting of the membership of both locals, when a resolution was adopted denouncing the Stalinists for "using the Alliance for purposes of Communist Party recruiting and propaganda and throwing overboard the legitimate aims of the unemployed and W.P.A. workers."

Last of W.P.A. Strength

With these two powerful W.P.A. locals goes the only substantial section of the organization's W.P.A. Division, which today remains a mere skeleton of the once strong and influential City Projects Council. The last membership meeting, called by the W.P.A. Division, was attended by less than 300 members. According to official figures, the membership of the city organization has dropped from 24,000 to less than 8,000, with figures constantly dwindling.

The direct cause for the split arose over the issue of the Rourke Locals being allowed to picket

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CLEANERS GAIN IN SYRACUSE; JAIL 2

SYRACUSE, N. Y.—A week's strike at the dry cleaning plant of Wilkins, Castle, Wilkins resulted in gains for the union and was a step towards the organization of the entire dry cleaning industry of Syracuse. The strike, called by Local 88 of the International Association of Cleaners and Dye House Workers, was preceded by the firing of two workers from union activity.

The company, paying wages as low as 15 and 20 cents an hour, attempted to break the strike by applying for a sweeping injunction on the basis that a company union contract plus some yellow dog contracts had been violated. Backed by the Syracuse labor movement, the union was able to stop the granting of the injunction and succeeded in having the dispute referred to the State Labor Relations Board. In the meantime, the strikers have returned to their jobs, which had been occupied by strike-breakers, pending decision by the board. Further organization of the plant, largest and most strategic in the city's dry cleaning industry, is thus made possible.

Two young militant strikers, Herbert Lewin and Bob Johnson, were arrested during the course of the strike, and are being charged with "malicious conduct." A hearing has been set for September 5.

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PACT COVERING 250,000 DRIVERS NETS BIG GAINS

Drivers Win Union
Conditions for
Huge Area

CHICAGO.—Employers of 70 per cent of the drivers in the 11-state North Central Area last week unanimously voted to sign the agreement reached a week ago by committees representing the unions and the operators, thus ratifying a pact that embraces more than 250,000 workers and brings union conditions and wages to a vast number of hitherto unorganized workers.

Only three hours was needed for the employers, meeting in Chicago's Merchandise Mart and observed by representatives of the major trucking concerns of the whole nation, to decide to accept the terms reached after nearly a year's negotiations on the part of the union representatives. The unions, represented at the meeting by the North Central Area Negotiating Committee and General Secretary-Treasurer Thomas L. Hughes of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, met this week in Indianapolis to hear a report on contract.

Basic Hourly Rate

The contract establishes the rate of pay for drivers on through runs at 2 1/2 cents per mile operated based on official mileage, plus 75 cents per hour for time lost in pickups, deliveries, etc., a minimum guarantee of six hours pay at 75 cents per hour, compensation for breakdowns, deadheadings, layovers and impassable highways, and seniority rights.

The contract lays the foundation for other area agreements and ultimately a nation-wide contract. At the Chicago meeting observers from both unions and employers from Pittsburgh, Buffalo and Tulsa and Oklahoma City listened carefully to the proceedings. One of the first tasks of the Area Committee set-up under the agreement will be to secure application of the identical agreement to New York State, Western Pennsylvania and the territory contiguous to Highway 66 to Oklahoma City.

The present contract has guaranteed in advance the immediate and substantial growth of the international union, laying the basis for Teamsters Brotherhood to become by far the largest union in the U. S.

Represents Wage Gains

The contract's wage provisions win substantial improvements for the great majority of the drivers, while also safeguarding the higher wages and better conditions previously secured by locals in some sections. It establishes a series of minimum wages and working conditions which constitute a degree of uniformity that completely changes in a healthy direction the whole problem of further improvement of working conditions anywhere in the area. The workers who secured better conditions previously no longer form isolated garisons in unorganized or poorly-paid areas, but the army of drivers working under good conditions now extends in unbroken ranks throughout the area.

Seniority rights, comparable to those operating in the best organized cities, are established for the whole area. Furthermore, men now in the industry will have first preference if their employer's business is absorbed by another company.

A section of the agreement provides that employers shall not require drivers to pass through any picket line, leaving the unions in a position to give complete cooperation to unions on strike.

Area Committee Set up

The establishment of a permanent Area Committee will enable an experienced and able group of union men to settle many minor disputes and to handle grievances with the full weight of the area union behind them. It also means that when an operator really gets out of line, it can be guaranteed in advance that the operator's entire system will be closed down.

The whole agreement shows the work of union men, familiar with the problems and abuses common in the industry, and concerned primarily with protecting the interests of the union membership

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LAGUARDIA "BEFRIENDS" JOBLESS YOUTH



Young New York unemployed workers being led out of relief bureau into jail after merciless slugging by Mayor LaGuardia's "finest." They wanted relief for one of their members of the Workers Alliance.

N.Y. POLICE CLUB RELIEF SEEKERS; 16 YOUTH JAILED

Face Jail Terms on
Framed Charges;
Bail High

NEW YORK.—A relief bureau in Brooklyn was turned into a battleground last week as police ousted members and sympathizers of Local 17 of the Workers Alliance who demanded the immediate granting of emergency relief to William Luben, unemployed youth who had just been evicted from his home. Sixteen were arrested, and apparently the LaGuardia administration seeks long prison terms for four, charged with felonious assault.

Led by members of the Progressive Group of the Alliance in Local 17, a mass delegation entered the Bureau and sent a joint committee from Locals 17 and 19 to demand the immediate reopening of the Luben case and emergency rent and food checks. Miss Shirley Buxbaum, a supervisor of Bureau 79, refused to recognize or deal with the committee in any manner whatsoever. She stated that Luben's case was closed, that his eviction from his home did not concern her in the slightest and ordered Luben, who had been serving as one of the spokesmen for the committee, arrested on the spot.

Police Seize Luben

Luben was seized by the police and handled roughly. He was gripped in a vise-like headlock and his eye-glasses thrown on the floor. The workers in the delegation organized a sit-in strike. Six patrol cars and two emergency squads were summoned to drive the sit-in strikers out of the bureau.

Swinging their black-jacks, the police plunged into action. Men, women and children were pulled out of the bureau by their hair, kicked in the ribs, thrown over benches and chairs, pounded on the head, arms, and body with clubs. Two young women were punched in the mouth. Sixteen were arrested, their arms twisted in chains, and flung head first into the patrol car. Many had to receive medical treatment.

More than a thousand workers gathered to witness this brutal assault. Some pushed through the police lines and succeeded in preventing a number of arrests. Mass meetings and picket lines organized on the day of the assault and after were jammed by sympathizers from the neighborhood.

Join in Frame-Up

The police, the relief bureau, and the courts are now collaborating in an attempt to put over a vicious frame-up trial. Long prison terms will be demanded for Luben, Enrico Torlone, Ben Herman and Mildred Gardiner who are charged with felonious assault. They were among the 16 arrested and were held incommunicado for over 24 hours during which time they were fingerprinted, photographed and questioned by the alien squad. Attempts to intimidate and demoralize them in order to force them to give information that could be used in the trials and against the Alliance failed. They spent two days in jail before being released on bail.

The total bail for the 16 defendants was set at close to \$5,000. Twelve of the 16 who were arraigned on charges of disorderly conduct were released on bail

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STEVEDORES ON WEST COAST HIT BY BOSSES' DRIVE

Only Agreement Not
Renewed by Water-
Front Employers

SAN FRANCISCO.—Nearly 50,000 workers paraded up Market Street last Monday in San Francisco's annual display of labor's strength on Labor Day. With nearly 3,000 warehouse workers locked out, and employers threatening to force two other unions to resort to strikes, the marching unions created a powerful impression on the watching crowd.

The parade itself pictured the critical situation in labor's ranks, with American Federation of Labor and Committee for Industrial Organization unions marching in separate groups. A year ago most of the unions marched in one united parade, with only the teamsters refusing to march with the C.I.O. unions. Since then the splitting tactics of Harry Bridges, West Coast C.I.O. director, have resulted in isolating the International Longshoremen and Warehousemen's Union, only major San Francisco organization in the C.I.O.

Splitting Tactics Felt

Already the effects of the disastrous policy of the Stalinists in control of the local C.I.O. move-

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Rivera Says Trade Union Congress Staged by C.P.

Handpicked Delegates Will Extend Sway
of Stalinists, Boom Toledano for
Mexican Presidency

SAN ANGELO, D. F., Mexico, August 27.—Diego Rivera, world-famous revolutionary artist, today branded the forthcoming Pan-American Trade Union Congress in Mexico as a show dominated completely by the G.P.U. He predicted that insofar as its professed aims are concerned—uniting the workers of the American continent and preventing war—it would end in a fiasco.

Rivera declared that the delegates to the Congress have been handpicked by the G.P.U. in order to carry out a program entirely different from the ostensible one before the Congress. Moscow aims to complete another stage in the process of conquering the North American Labor movement for Joseph Stalin. Not least of the real objectives of the Congress is the furtherance of G.P.U. henchman Lombardo Toledano's presidential aspirations. The success of these aims, said Rivera, would be a "catastrophe for the American working class and for American culture."

The complete statement of Diego Rivera is as follows:

Question: What is your opinion upon the coming Inter-American Workers Congress which will be celebrated in this capital?

Answer: The closest unification of the workers of the American continent is a vital necessity. Only such unity can assure the influence of the workers of each of the American countries on internal as well as on foreign policy. In particular only a firm and decisive policy of the united proletariat can prevent America's being involved in a war. Will the forthcoming congress accomplish this aim? I doubt it.

Question: What in your opin-

Armies on Frontiers As Europe Mobilizes

Diplomats Jockey for Position But Only
United Workers' Might Can Beat
Down War Danger

AGAINST THE WAR MAKERS!

Diplomats, politicians, and generals of the great powers played a ghastly poker game across the chancellery tables of Europe last week. A jittery world sick with fearful anticipation waited from moment to moment for the flashes that will announce the outbreak of a new world war, a new catastrophe, a new doomed generation of youth.

Around the issue of Germany's demands on Czechoslovakia the broader issue of a forced showdown among the powers began to take material form.

ARMIES MOVE TO FRONTIERS

Huge armies and formidable equipment moved into position along the frontiers. Hitler mobilized one million men and demonstratively rushed them into the half-finished "Siegfried line" of fortifications along the Rhine. To Nuremberg came a million Nazis for the annual party congress where the Führer was to make his final statement of policy on the Czechoslovak issue.

Ready to match display for display, France and Britain moved in turn toward the great military demonstrations behind which, by grace of a short fuse, a tiny incident, lies the ghastly reality of war itself.

France called the class of 1918—the "armistice babies"—into service. The thousands of youths who came into the world the year the last holocaust came to its close were moved into the Maginot line where they will be the first to go in the new war when it breaks out.

The day that Hitler arrived in Nuremberg amid the blaring pagentry which is his stock and trade France announced that the Maginot fortifications were garrisoned at full strength, that all army leaves had been cancelled, and that classes of specialists had been called to the colors to meet the crisis.

FLEETS IN BATTLE ARRAY

Simultaneously the British Home Fleet, more than 40 men o'war, steamed out of naval bases into the North Sea for "maneuvers"—actually into fighting positions. Only a few miles across the same body of water the newly-built German war fleet also appeared for "maneuvers."

In and out of foreign offices across Europe in the capitals of the smaller states, who form satellites in one or the other of the main constellations of the Powers, scurried ambassadors and ministers seeking or giving last-minute assurances of support or acting fearfully coy while hoping the blow would not fall.

Meanwhile the United States, our own fair peace-loving government with its peace-loving ("I Hate War") President Roosevelt, was by no means out of the picture. Roosevelt's belligerent speech

in Canada a few weeks ago has been supplemented by far more concrete exchanges of a strictly private nature between Washington and London and Paris.

Last week the British government directly sounded out Washington's attitude toward the probable outbreak of war, the help that can be expected in the coming struggle. This query, nor the answer to it, was not made public in Washington but in France on Saturday, appropriately dedicating a monument to America's entry into the last war. Ambassador William Bullitt, Roosevelt's close confidant, all but openly pledged America's readiness to come to the side of its "brothers" overseas once more in their time of trial.

Imperialists Promise Aid

Both Roosevelt and Hull have been dining into the ears of the American people that they cannot expect to stand aloof if Europe is plunged again into war. And this, strictly speaking, is true. They cannot. The question is: Will the masses of the American working people intervene just as cannon fodder or will they, together with the workers of France, Britain, Germany, Czechoslovakia, and the rest of the world know how, in time, to step in and impose a peace of their own making?

That is the question to which we have to find the answer and which we have to help answer.

Press Aid War-Makers

From the press one gets the impression of paralyzed helplessness, of peoples and nations incapable of lifting a finger to avert the catastrophe that now hangs so closely above them. But that is precisely the illusion that the war-makers desire to foster so that it shall be all the more easily to lead men at each others' throats when the interests of agonizing, dying capitalism require it.

In every union in this country and in Europe, in every working class organization the most resolute stand must be taken now AGAINST THE WAR MAKERS! We have already had a clear les-

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World Youth Congress Beats the Drums of War

Labor Unity Spurs Southern Unionism

Houston A. F. of L. and C.I.O. Cooperate in Organization and Strike Activity; Texas Workers Better Conditions

By Special Correspondent

HOUSTON.—Houston is humming with industrial activity. It is the fastest growing capitalist metropolis of the South. Construction work and shipping are setting the pace for the U. S. factories and mills moving south here to make for an industrial boom at Houston while depression paralysis keeps a tight hold on Northern manufacturing centers. But open-shop employers fleeing union conditions are being hemmed in from every side by a strong labor movement.

The boom in union organization is cutting a wide swath in the barrier that keeps the labor movement divided throughout the country. C.I.O. unions are lending a helping hand to striking A. F. of L. unions. A. F. of L. locals are cooperating in C.I.O. organization drives. Progressives stand at the helm and union men are animated by a spirit of unity. The 1938 Convention of the American Federation of Labor will find a proper setting in Houston.

Unity at Union Picnic

A big union picnic which turned into a huge success despite bad weather symbolized the common aims and cooperative spirit of Houston labor. While the picnic was sponsored by the strong S.W.O.C. Lodge No. 2083, the sound truck bore the label of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, American Federation of Musicians' men made up the band; bread and meat carried the A. F. of L. label and the cooling beer was made by union labor. The huge Harris County Park was obtained for the picnic by joint A. F. of L.—C.I.O. pressure with the support of the Galveston Central Labor Council.

Chairman and main speaker at the picnic was H. A. Rasmussen, District Director, Texas and Oklahoma State Workers Organizing Committee. Rasmussen is a former Republic steel worker from the South Chicago area.

John Crossland, outstanding militant in District 4 of the Oil Workers Union delivered a brief but stirring talk for workers' rights and trade union unity. He hailed the growing sentiment among the rank and file of American workers for the unity of labor and lashed out at the union-busting red-hunt of the Dies Inquisition and the perfidious role assumed by John P. Frey in it.

Bill Allison, Secretary of the Houston Teamsters Joint Council, took the microphone several times to address the crowd on behalf of the militant strikers at the huge Coca-Cola plant.

Steel Workers Backbone

The powerful edifice of unionism going up in this territory is a tribute to persistent and intensive organization work based on a progressive program and fighting policies. The backbone of the union movement is formed by S.W.O.C. Lodges 2083 and 1742. The Reed Roller Bit plant (Lodge 2083) is rapidly approaching complete unionization which will involve 1200 workers.

Hughes Tool (Lodge 2083) will be 3,800 strong when organization is completed. This plant is owned by Howard Hughes, the round-the-world flyer. A few weeks ago the workers staged a spontaneous sit-down, which was successful in securing the re-hiring of a discharged employee and alleviating inhuman working conditions. Both locals have been built up by militant tactics, reliance on their own strength and little dependence on government agencies.

Oil Workers Cooperate

Local 227, the big Sinclair local, has been for the past two or three years the driving force in the Texas-Louisiana District 4 of the C.I.O. oil workers' union. They have assisted several A. F. of L. unions in organizing and strike activities, notably the restaurant workers and truck drivers.

The Shell and Texaco Local No. 367, located near Pasadena, has also cooperated with other unions. At present it is engaged in organizing a big paper plant into the A. F. of L. Brotherhood of Paper Pulp and Sulphite Workers because they state, "we understand that the International is progressive, democratic and industrial in form."

Progressives Sweep Elections
Meanwhile the annual election of officers at District Council 4 of the C.I.O. oil workers' union swept a progressive slate into office by an overwhelming majority. James Benton, long-time leader of the rank-and-file forces, defeated the conservative administration man, Homer Coffman of Port Arthur, by a vote of 2,589 to 466. J. T. Goodman of Local 227

was elected District Secretary-Treasurer. District 4 is potentially the largest in the entire industry and is exercising a favorable influence in the International Union.

C.I.O. locals in steel, oil and maritime have worked closely with L.L.A. longshoremen. This side of the Gulf has been happily free of the corroding and destructive effects of the Bridges outfit.

With this type of union organization and progress, the Houston labor movement is blazing a trail for the workers of the South. The future on this basis will be a bright one indeed.

STEVEDORES ON WEST COAST HIT

(Continued from page 1)

ment is being felt by the workers as employers take advantage of their isolated position to seek to wrest from them gains won in hard struggle. Warehouse operators, under the guise of demanding a "uniform contract," are trying to re-instate the open shop. Retail clerks, under domination of the Bridges machine although still in the A. F. of L., face the united resistance of owners of San Francisco's 27 major department stores. The Central Labor Council, however, has voted to support the retail clerks in the event of a strike.

On the waterfront, scene of labor's rise since 1934, employers have signified their willingness to renew existing contracts with all unions except the longshoremen. With the renewal of the off-shore and Alaskan agreement last week, all sea-faring groups have passed the dead-line, with contracts automatically continued for another year after Sept. 30.

In the case of the longshoremen, the waterfront employers are insisting that the men refuse to respect picket lines. In this they take their cue from Bridges and the Stalinist leadership of the I.L.W.U., who have in the past asked the longshoremen to crash picket lines, on the plea of respecting their contract with the employers. Job action is to be barred, also, if the employers have their way, and the speed-up is to be instituted.

Believe Compromise Due

While the seamen's unions, following the lead of the Sailors' Union of the Pacific, have made known their uncompromising opposition to the shipowners' plans to undermine the conditions won by the unions, this is not so of the I.L.W.U. Rather, by their conciliatory attitude towards the bosses and their open scabbing tactics against the S.U.P. (as in the Shepard Line dispute), the Communist Party officials of the longshoremen have practically announced their willingness to accede to the demands of the operators.

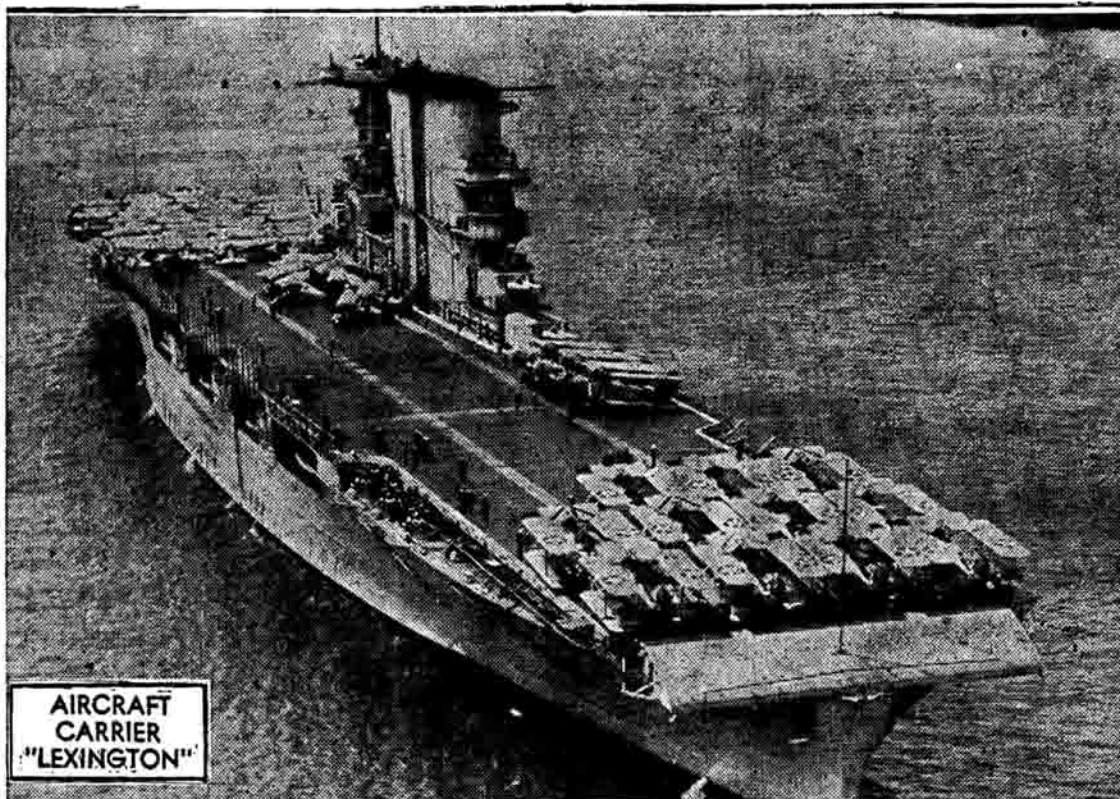
The general consensus of opinion is that Bridges will be willing to compromise on these questions—a compromise that may cost the union members dearly. Even if he wished to fight, he would be forced to appeal for support from a labor movement that he has outraged by flouting every principle of labor solidarity. On the waterfront he would be forced, in event of a strike, to appeal to the S.U.P., a union whose membership he has denounced as scabs. And the teamsters, vital key in any waterfront struggle, have received Bridges' abuse up and down the Coast.

Past actions of Bridges' Communist Party gang of union-busters show only too plainly that they will be ready to accept the bosses' proposals. Militant and courageous leadership they are incapable and unwilling to give, and strike action on the San Francisco waterfront is completely contrary to the Stalinist political line. If only the employers will leave them a face-saving loop-hole, they will sell the longshoremen and the warehousemen down the river.

Militants Win Renewal

The renewal of the agreements with the sea-faring unions, a renewal that the Stalinists attack as a "A. F. of L.-shipowner plot," actually is a result of the firm and united stand of the unions concerned. When Bridges split the Maritime Federation at its last convention, driving out all but Stalinist-controlled unions, the unions leaving the Federation signed a pact pledging themselves to fight for continuance of the basic gains won since 1934. Be-

YOUTH CONGRESS WOULD BUILD MORE OF THESE



AIRCRAFT CARRIER "LEXINGTON"

Inspired by Stalinists, Sponsored by Reaction, It Issues Open Appeal for Robber War Alliances

By HAL DRAPER

The "Second World Youth Congress," recently held at Vassar College, Poughkeepsie, N. Y., with about 500 delegates from 54 countries, gives a composite picture of a caricatured League of Nations Assembly and a typical Stalinist "innocent" congress. The delegates present, the larger portion of whom were of the usual youth careerist type, argued out the viewpoints of the national imperialist states they represented, as do their elder diplomats in Geneva; but the dominant tone was given by the Stalinist line of collective war which was put across. Shouts of "peace" filled the air at Vassar, but the decisions of the Congress spelled out unmistakably the word "war."

The First Congress was held in Geneva in 1936, as the illegitimate offspring of the international federation of League of Nations Societies and the Young Communist International, and was of course also held under the sign of collective security. The intervening two years have been spent mostly in building up the Second Congress.

No Soviet Delegation

A few notes on the set-up of the Congress are necessary before we consider its decisions. There were only four important countries which had no delegations at the Second Congress: Germany, Italy, Japan—and the Soviet Union. The absence of the latter was one of the mysteries at the Congress, and there was a good deal of whispering among the delegates, although nothing was said about it at the proceedings themselves. The delegates of the Young Communist International—including the chiefs of the Y.C.L.'s of America, France and England as well as the international secretary—disclaimed any knowledge of why the Soviet delegation was absent, when asked by others. It was recalled that there had been a substantial Soviet delegation at the Geneva Congress in 1936, that a National Committee had been operating to popularize the World Youth Congress, etc. Yet this time there was only a formal telegram of greetings from Kossarev.

Germany and Italy had remained away from the first Congress also; the official report to the Vassar Congress commented on this as follows: "A source of dissatisfaction (with the First Congress—Ed.) was that the youth of Germany, Italy and Japan all remained away. Their abstention was the more surprising since the young delegates of the first two had until spring (1936) collaborated loyally and without reserve in the preparation of the Congress." The Vassar gathering took steps to remedy this deplorable state of affairs by adopting a special appeal to the youth of Italy and Germany to join their ranks, and the contents of which will be noted below. The Socialist Youth International sent only an observer.

The "Distinguished" Sponsors

The character of the outfit is likewise indicated by the list of official sponsors given in the official report noted above. The list is headed by: His Grace, the Archbishop of York, Great Britain; and His Holiness the Patriarch Dr. Miron Cristea of Roumania, head of the Greek Orthodox Church of that country, and the power behind the anti-semitic Cuza government of about a half year ago.

His Holiness is well known as a bulwark of reaction in the

hind this fighting declaration rallied the major section of San Francisco's organized labor, most unions affiliated to the A. F. of L., and including the powerful teamsters' union.

Faced with this show of strength, and well aware that it was not idle boasting from slipping "leaders" seeking to bolster their standing with the rank and file, the shipowners decided to renew the agreements.

military dictatorship of Roumania. Other "International Patrons" include Barrio, the Spanish Prime Minister responsible for the suppression of peasant actions under the Republic, and Wellington Koo, who was directly in charge of the suppression of the Chinese Communists in 1927.

The official report points to the Roumanian National Sponsoring Committee as an example to other countries; this committee consists, in addition to the Patriarch, of the wife of the President of the Economic Council, the Minister Governor and the vice-governor of the Roumanian State Bank, the President of the Telephone Co., five former State ministers and two present ministers, the Council of Ministers, Royal Counsellors, and the Commandant of the Boy Scouts—all, it must be remembered, creatures of the vicious anti-working class dictatorship.

This "model" sponsoring committee, of which the other National Committees are only diluted (less successful) examples, points to the character of the World Youth Congress as the "company union" of the youth.

Among the speakers at the Congress were Mrs. Roosevelt and Aubrey Williams. The delegates were divided up into four commissions: taking up the political, economic, religious and philosophical bases of peace respectively, with the fourth considering the question of activities to be undertaken by the Congress. All the reports of the Commissions were adopted.

Eyewash for "Innocents"

The Religious and Philosophical Commission report based the cause of peace on the "value and dignity of the human personality," saw the cause of war in such machinations of the devil as "glorification and use of force," "idealization of hatred," selfishness and lust," etc., and reaffirmed "Man's loyalty to religious or philosophical truth which comes before allegiance to any institution or individual," putting forward "moral standards," "ideals" and "love" as the means of doing away with these things. The head of this Commission was none other than Raymond Guyot, head of the French Y.C.L. and of the Young Communist International.

Aside from this tomfoolery, which was useful to the Stalinists in ensnaring the religious "innocents" at the Congress, the real business of the Congress was performed in the first Commission, which drew up the political program of the Congress. This program does not merely stop at the bare idea of collective security: it is almost explicitly a call to arms to defend world democratic imperialism against the fascists.

Program Protects Plunder

The program "is founded on the conviction that the principles underlying the Covenant of the League of Nations are right and practicable"—namely, the robber

Treaty of Versailles, based on the right to plunder; and the League Covenant which has become the classic example of futility. From this the conclusion is naturally drawn that peace can be maintained through "a system of international law" and they call for the setting up of "an International Authority," to enforce collective security. The report makes no fine distinctions between economic actions against aggressors and military action. Quite the reverse. The international authority which is demanded is not the spirit of love which Guyot's commission recommended.

As the remedy against bombing of cities, "we urge that the law-abiding states should set up an international force of mobile anti-aircraft units and intercepter planes, to be sent to the places now subject to such attacks." Under the heading of "Collective Defense," the program further states: "Until such time as nations can rely for their security upon the forces of an international authority, we recognize that the law whereby aggression is outlawed, can best be maintained by the pooling of the defense forces of the law-abiding states"—i.e., war against the "aggressor."

Unite the Generals!

This is to be implemented by "a series of regional pacts for mutual assistance," on the model of the Franco-Soviet Pact. And—these youth diplomats are willing to go to any length to "preserve peace"—"the effective coordination of the collective defense forces within each of these regions necessitates regular conversations between the general staffs and military, naval, and all co-operation to ensure the efficiency of such pacts." As an immediate recommendation, it further urges the pooling of armed resources in the Pacific by the signatories of the Nine-Power Treaty, against possible reprisals by Japan against the "law-abiding" states.

This is the real content of this "peace" congress—a call for collective war by one group of imperialist states against another. This is the explicit program of the World Youth Congress—imperialist war. Here are the forces which the anti-war youth must fight in their own ranks—the stooges of world imperialism of the Youth Congress.

After this one need not be surprised that the program comes out explicitly against any self-determination for national minorities, puts forward the white man's burden theory of colonialism, urging the imperialists to civilize the natives, "prepare" them for self-government, with a view of giving up their control when this is accomplished, etc.

This program of collective security was crystallized in the form of a "Peace Pact for Youth," which is to be published broadly by the Congress for signatures, and which will be the agitational instrument of the Congress. Naturally, it is not as frank as the programmatic statement on which it is based.

The "Program of Action"

The last labor of the Congress was the formulation of its "program of action," in addition to the circularization of the "Peace Pact." These include: sending a delegation to report on the Congress to the League of Nations Assembly and sending the report of the Congress to the governments of all countries (this is "mass pressure"); demand for a secretary of peace in all cabinets; an international youth secretary in the League of Nations Secretariat; cooperation with the World Youth Hostel movement; a peace week, with one day of fast and sacrifice; encouraging the study of languages in general and of an international language in particular; etc.

Under the head of "Aid to the Victims of War," this aid it seems

WAR CRISIS IN ELEVENTH HOUR

(Continued from page 1)

son of what war means to the workers. The lashing of German labor to the Fascist war machine has been paralleled in "democratic" France by the vicious destruction of the chief of the workers' gains of the last three years of struggle—the 40-hour week—and in this country we have already heard plenty about the M-Day plans for tying the American working class to the capitalist war machine when the day comes.

Revolutionists everywhere have the task of tirelessly making it plain that the interests of the workers in every land have nothing in common with the interests of the capitalists who are reading the world into another war. They have to make it plain that the only way to avert the catastrophe is to fight it by fighting the capitalists, wresting from their hands the power they can only use to destroy, and to use it to rebuild a world anew in which war shall become the dark memory of a barbarous past.

is quite non-partisan in its application being motivated by humanitarian considerations, like the Red Cross, but with "special efforts" for the victims of aggression. Point 2 under this aid is: "Boycotting the goods of aggressor nations and the alternative measure of promoting the sale of goods of threatened nations." This will insure getting the president of the Czech Chamber of Commerce on the sponsoring committee.

Appeal to Fascists

Another of the tasks set by the Congress was drawing in the countries not represented. To this end special appeals were drawn up for Italy and Germany. The Appeal to the Youth of Italy starts with "we realize that we cannot yet, without your concurrence, speak for the whole world community of youth. We cannot but deplore your absence from us. . . . We send our fraternal greetings to you, the youth of Italy. . . . We are certain that you are not absent from us in spirit. . . . Since "we believe in better conditions of life for young people of all nations, races and classes. . . . our love for our country is so deep that it expresses itself without hatred or enmity for any people. . . . We believe that you too love your country in the same spirit. . . . Youth of Italy! We wish to be brothers with you in this struggle for peace. . . . And so on—not a word about fascism, or the fight against it, or anything except the expression of the deepest fraternal love, in either the appeal to the German or Italian youth.

Second International in Line

The Second International groups at the Congress played through their assigned roles in this farce to the end. In the first place, the various national delegations from the Socialist (Second International) Youth distributed themselves over the political spectrum in almost exactly the same degree as the delegates as a whole on the central questions before the Congress. The British Socialists thought the American Socialists were crazy for being opposed to collective security, etc. The American Socialist Party youth, the Norman Thomas group, distributed a statement to the delegates which, however, as reprinted in their organ, contained no mention of collective security at all!

In view of the bureaucratic way in which the discussions of the Congress were conducted, their opposition to collective security was limited to the meeting of the American delegation, where they politely presented their view in one speech. Voted down and ignored at the general assembly, they quietly accepted their role of critical but loyal support to the Congress. Not a word from them in their organ or at the congress as to their attitude toward this congress of war-mongers—no dissociation or break with the outfit! In their organ, the Socialist Call, they listed 12 countries in the bloc "against collective security," including countries like Bulgaria and Hungary, whose delegates were against the Congress decisions because they belonged to the unsatisfied bloc of nations whose imperialist interests would be harmed by the collective security of the satiated powers. In this way, they lined themselves up politically with the representatives of the reactionary anti-Versailles powers, literally with no attempt to differentiate themselves either at the congress or in their own paper.

The World Youth Congress desires to become the center of the war movement among the youth. The militant anti-war youth must treat it accordingly—struggle against it together with the rest of the war-mongers.

Plea for Liberalism Is Roosevelt Hoax

(Continued from page 1)

support for the Pension Plan to come into the open at this stage, and to nominate Downey.

Roosevelt's manner of intervening in California exposes the demagoguery of his purge in the same way that his intervention against the Ludlow Amendment exposed the demagoguery of his "anti-war" declarations. In both instances, New Dealism is shown to be a means not of fulfilling the needs and desires of the masses, but of leashing the masses to the interests of capitalism.

It is true that the California Plan cannot work, that it would either have no discernible effect (through refusal to accept the script for goods) or result in unbridled inflation.

But the answer to this must not be the condemnation and rejection of its aims, and what these express on the part of the masses. On the contrary, we must affirm the legitimacy of these aims, call for their extension, and show how they may be implemented.

A Thirty Dollar Minimum

We must demand \$30.00 weekly as a minimum income not merely for the aged, but for every worker and farmer, employed, unemployed or part-time unemployed, in the country. This is a paltry enough claim in a country of literally unlimited resources, in a country where Sixty Families own and control for their own

private delights untold billions of dollars.

Is such a demand "utopian"? It is utopian only so long as we grant the right of capitalists to shut down and sabotage industry, to confiscate for themselves billions of dollars, millions of annual income. It is paltry, overmodest even, if we look at what the factories are able to turn out, the land to produce.

It is utopian if we put our faith in the smiles and demagoguery of New Dealism. But it lies only a short way ahead if the masses cast from their backs their worst enemy—their illusions, and take control of their own destiny.

The sweep of the California Plan shows once more, in its own destiny.

The sweep of the California Plan shows once more, in its own way, that the masses are ready to respond to bold and far-reaching perspectives. Let labor learn that lesson: for if labor does not give such a perspective, it will be supplied in good time by labor's grave-digger.

ANNOUNCEMENTS

Insertions in this column are 25 cents for five lines. Copy must be in at the APPEAL office before NEW YORK

SUPPORT THE '16! All out to First Fall Frolic of the Y.P.S.L. Inter-Circle Quiz finals, bar, dancing to latest Goodman, Dorsey, Duchin recordings. Saturday eve., September 17th. Adm. 25c. 159 Rivington St.

WANT ADS

ROOM WANTED in Manhattan with use of telephone, rent not more than \$5.00 weekly. Write Liston M. Oak, 166 E. 111th St., New York City.

Appeal Army

Special 8-Page Issue on World Congress

So as to adequately cover the Founding Congress of the Fourth International, we are planning a special 8-page issue of the Socialist Appeal. Needless for us to say, this historic event is of such importance that it easily warrants the strenuous efforts that will be necessary to put out such a special issue. We intend to have a detailed report of the nature and proceedings of the Congress, the most important resolutions adopted in addition to a special features covering the history of the Fourth International movement.

This issue will unquestionably be of special interest to all comrades, friends, sympathizers and to the working class in general. Instructions and necessary information have already been sent around to all literature agents. They must act at once by sending in large extra orders, with the money if at all possible. We can only get out this extra issue if we receive sufficiently increased orders plus the necessary funds to finance it. Let's start off the Fall-Winter campaign by making this job a real success!

The special World Congress issue should appear approximately in the early part of October. Exact date will be announced as soon as conditions permit.

Double Your Bundle Order For The World Congress 8-Page Issue! Notice: All those who have ordered bound volumes of the Appeal (1937) will receive them within one week. We would like to have more orders. Why have a dog-eared pile of papers when you can have a neatly arranged file?

The Berkeley, Calif., Y.P.S.L. circle has re-assembled and is re-naming its bundle-order activity by taking a bundle of 25 as a starter. . . . And Norman Mini has been appointed lit-agent of the newly-organized Sacramento Branch of the S.W.P. . . . It looks like the worst of the summer is over and things will pick up!

Watch for news about the coming Fall-Winter Appeal Campaign!

Send all contributions and subs to:

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Peace & Plenty

Back from a trip from Labrador to Siberia, Senator Reynolds of North Carolina wants the United States to add the following to its colonial empire: Bermuda, Newfoundland, and a strip across Western Canada for a highway to Alaska (all to be obtained from Great Britain in payment of its war debt); St. Pierre and Miquelon Islands (in payment for the French war debt); Lower California (in settlement of American oil claims against Mexico); and Wrangell Island. (The U. S. could just help itself to the last by right of prior discovery, although the U.S.S.R. has a weather, aviation, and shipping station there now. It would be a valuable air base, says Senator Reynolds, as it is in direct line from New York to the Philippines.)

The editor of the St. Thomas Mail and Notes, in the Virgin Islands of the U.S., who is running for election to the Municipal Council, would add another bit of territory to the Senator's list. If elected, he says, he will work for the annexation of the British Virgin Islands by the United States—again in payment of Britain's war debt. He points out that possession of these islands would assure more adequate protection for the Panama Canal.

This sounds like the days of McKinley and "Manifest Destiny," though when the imperialists of those days went after Spain's possessions in this hemisphere they were careful not to omit anything. What about Nassau, Jamaica, Trinidad, and ALL of Canada, Senator Reynolds? And did you forget the French Antilles?

The U.S. War Department has blocked plans for a Royal Netherlands flying service between the Philippines and the East Indies. While Philippine circles were anxious for such a service, the United States is averse to foreign planes flying over territory important to American defense. The Philippines have been granted independence, but—

American aircraft manufacturers have just had the most prosperous half year in their entire history. Earnings for the six months ending June 30 were 80 per cent over those of the first half of last year. "A breakdown of this year's aviation sales," according to an article in the New York Times, "reveals that 62 per cent—or \$45,600,000—were for military purposes. . . . The military situation, in fact, is one reason why authorities are so optimistic about sales in the near future."

President Roosevelt is not overlooking the place of electric power in his war plans, and has appointed a committee to draw up a program. This program, as outlined during a conference between the President and authorities on the power-defense question, contained a strong hint that "Federal aid might be extended to the power companies." And the power companies were supposed to be the "economic royalists" F.D.R. was most sincerely concerned about subjugating!

The death toll by war since it was outlawed by the Kellogg pact, as given by Washington military experts, and including only the major hostilities:

1932-35 Bolivia-Paraguay 100,000
1935-36 Italy-Ethiopia 55,000
1936-38 Spain

1,000,000 to 1,500,000
1937-38 Japan-China 1,000,000

The German government has told women to get back into business and industry to take the place of men drafted for the current military maneuvers. The Nazis used to make them get out of business and industry, in accordance with the principle that woman's place was the home, and her sacred duty was motherhood.

When "more than 100" jobs as city porter, paying \$660 a year with the possibility of future increase to \$1,200, were advertised in New York City, over 5000 men lined up in front of the Municipal Building. Hundreds had waited in line all night, and several were injured or fainted in the stampede. By the time of the deadline for filing applications, 9,365 had applied. The unemployed just don't want to work.

Even the New York Times was shocked to learn that one-third of all American families and individuals had incomes of less than \$780 in 1935-36 and two-thirds less than \$1,450. But the Times editors have a remedy, "through insuring better nourishment in youth, better general education, better technical training, to increase the earning capacity of our least fortunate citizens." Have they never heard of the thousands of well educated and technically trained citizens who still can't make a living these days?

Damning Evidence in Sedoff Murder

Trotsky Bares Further Proof of G.P.U. Guilt

Investigation Discloses Direct Tie-Up Between G.P.U. and Hospital Staff; Laxity of Police Assailed

Mr. Judge:

Supplementing my statement of July 19, I have the honor to add the following considerations:

(1) I have consulted competent physicians. None of them, naturally, would venture to counterpose their opinion from afar to the opinion of the highly qualified French specialists who performed the autopsy. But the physicians whom I have consulted agree unanimously that the cause of the illness and the causes of death were not established by the investigation with the necessary fullness demanded by the extraordinary circumstances of this case.

Hides Behind "Professional" Secrecy

(2) The incompleteness of the investigation is most clearly confirmed by the attitude of the surgeon, Mr. Talheimer, himself. He refused to give explanations, appealing to "professional secrecy."

The law grants a physician this right. But the law does not obligate a physician to make use of this right. In the given case the physician must have had some special reason for hiding behind professional secrecy. What is Mr. Talheimer's reason? There cannot be any question at all in the given case of safeguarding the secrets of the patient or of his relatives. It is therefore a question of safeguarding the secret of the physician himself. What does this secret consist of? I have no reasons whatever to suspect Mr. Talheimer of criminal actions. But it is quite evident that had the death of Sedoff followed naturally and inevitably from the nature of his illness, that the surgeon would not have the least interest or psychological inclination for refusing to give the necessary explanations. In hiding behind professional secrecy Mr. Talheimer says that there are particular circumstances in the course of the illness and the causes of death, the clarification of which he does not wish to assist. It is impossible to give any other interpretation to Mr. Talheimer's attitude. Reasoning in a purely logical manner, we can only come

to the conclusion in the given circumstances that the physician could invoke professional secrecy in one of the three cases:

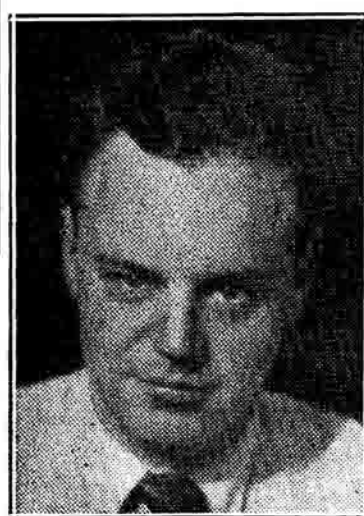
- (a) If he was interested in hiding his own crime;
- (b) If he was interested in hiding his own negligence;
- (c) If he was interested in hiding the crime or negligence of his colleagues, collaborators, etc.

The provoking silence of Mr. Talheimer should in itself have indicated the course of the investigation. It is necessary by all means to uncover the circumstances which motivated the surgeon to hide behind "professional secrecy."

(3) The testimony of the owner of the clinic, Mr. Simkoff, is unclear, scanty, and partly contradictory. Did he or did he not know who his patient was? This question is not clarified at all. Sedoff was admitted to the clinic under the name "Marten, French engineer." But in the clinic Dr. Simkoff conversed with Sedoff in Russian. It is precisely thanks to this that the nurse Eismont, according to her own words, learned that "Marten" was a Russian or knew Russian. As the investigating documents themselves point out, Sedoff was registered under a different name for purposes of security. Was Dr. Simkoff aware of these purposes? And if he was why did he address the patient in Russian in the presence of the nurse Eismont? If it was through carelessness, did not he reveal the same carelessness in other cases as well?

A "Bolshevik Sympathizer"!

(4) According to police information Dr. Jirmunsky, the director of the clinic, was considered a "Bolshevik sympathizer." Nowadays this is a very definite characterization. It signifies a friend of the Kremlin bureaucracy and of its agencies. Jirmunsky declared that he learned the real identity of the patient only on the eve of his death from Mrs. Molinier. If these words are to be taken on faith, we should have



LEON SEDOFF

to conclude that Mr. Simkoff, who informed Jirmunsky in advance over the telephone of the arrival of the patient, concealed from his closest collaborator the real identity of the "French engineer, Marten." Is this likely? In the presence of the nurse Eismont, Simkoff (as has already been pointed out, spoke with the patient in Russian. Jirmunsky knows the Russian language. Or did Simkoff have special reasons to beware of Jirmunsky? What reasons precisely?

(5) A "Bolshevik sympathizer"—this is a definite characterization. Here the investigation clearly stops mid-way. Under the conditions of Russian emigration this "sympathy" does not remain nowadays a platonic one. Generally the "sympathizer" assumes a hostile attitude with regard to White emigration. From what circles does Mr. Jirmunsky draw his clients? Does he mix with the circles of the Soviet embassy, of the trade representation, etc.? If so, then without any doubt the most important agents of the G.P.U. enter among his clients.

(6) Somehow nothing is said in the documents about the political sympathies of the owner of the clinic, Mr. Simkoff. This is a grave omission. The close collaboration between Mr. Simkoff and Jirmunsky impels us to suppose that Mr. Simkoff too was not hostile to Soviet circles and possibly had connections in these spheres.

(7) Dr. Simkoff is a contributor to the medical periodical "Oeuvre Chirurgique Franco-Russe." What character does this publication bear—is it a product of a bloc of French physicians with the Soviet government, or, on the contrary, do White emigres appear in the name of Russian medicine? This question remains entirely unclarified. Moreover, not only the police but even infants know that under cover of all kinds of medical, juridical, literary, pacifist and other organizations and publications, the G.P.U. creates bases of support which serve it, especially in France, for committing crimes with impunity.

Blames "Trotskyites" for Son's Death

(8) We cannot proceed without mentioning one exceptionally significant circumstance which I permit myself, Mr. Judge, to bring to your special attention. As is known, Mr. Simkoff had the misfortune this year to lose two sons, victims of a land-slide. During the time when the real fate of the boys still remained unknown, Mr. Simkoff declared in an interview given by him to the French press, that if his sons were kidnapped this could only be done by "Trotskyites" in revenge for Sedoff's death. At the time this struck me by its monstrosity. I must say frankly that such a supposition could only enter the mind of a person whose conscience was not altogether clear, or to a person who mixed in political circles deadly hostile to me and Sedoff, where agents of the G.P.U. could direct the thought of the unfortunate father to this fantastic and revolting conjecture. But if Mr. Simkoff is on friendly terms with circles which preoccupy themselves with systematic physical extermination of "Trotskyites," it is also not difficult to suppose that these friendly relations could have, even without the knowledge of Mr. Simkoff, been utilized for a crime against Sedoff.

(9) With regard to the personnel of the clinic, beginning with Mr. Jirmunsky, the police investigation invariably repeats the formula of the "non-participation" of these people in active political life, apparently considering that this circumstance frees them from the necessity of further investigation. This view is absolutely false. It is not a question of open political activity but of carrying out the most clandestine and criminal assignments of the G.P.U. Agents of this kind, like military spies, naturally, cannot compromise themselves by participation in agitation, etc. On the contrary, in the interests of a conspiracy, they lead an extremely peaceful existence. Monotonous references to "non-participation" of all the interrogated in active political struggle would

EDITOR'S NOTE

Once again Leon Trotsky turns a probing searchlight on the circumstances which led to the death of his son, Leon Sedoff, in a Paris hospital. Persistent demands of Trotsky supported by friends and comrades in France compelled an investigation into the causes of the strange death of Sedoff. As documents and testimony pile up before the court, all possible doubt must vanish on the score that Sedoff was foully murdered, or that his assassins were the G.P.U., instructed and paid by Stalin to commit this act of personal and political vengeance against Leon Trotsky. The French police are shielding the assassins, who stalk the streets of France maiming and murdering revolutionists. In the adjoining columns, Trotsky rips aside the curtain of protection to make the truth known to the working class.

testify to the extreme naivete of the police, if the wish to avoid an earnest investigation were not concealed behind it.

Yagoda's Repertoire

(10) But, Mr. Judge, without an earnest, intensive, and courageous investigation the crimes of the G.P.U. cannot be uncovered. To give an approximate idea of the mores and methods of this institution I am obliged to quote from the official Soviet magazine "October" of March 3 of this year. The article is devoted to the show trial which resulted in the shooting of the former head of the G.P.U., Yagoda. "When he used to remain in his study," the Soviet magazine says of Yagoda, "alone or with his henchman Bulanoff, he threw off his mask. He moved to the darkest corner of the room and opened up his treasure chest. Poisons. He contemplated them. This beast in human image admired the flasks in the light, apportioning them among his future victims." Yagoda is the one who organized my own, my wife's, and our son's deportation; the Bulanoff mentioned in the quotation accompanied us from Central Asia to Turkey as the representative of the authorities. I do not enter into a discussion of whether Yagoda and Bulanoff were guilty of the crimes of which it was deemed necessary to accuse them. I call attention to the quotation simply to characterize in the words of the official publication the environment, atmosphere and methods of Stalin's secret agency. The present head of the G.P.U., Yeshov, the attorney Vyshinsky and their foreign agents of course are not whit better than Yagoda and Bulanoff.

Police Wink at G.P.U. Crimes

(11) Mr. Judge, one cannot read without indignation the report of the police signed by Haurat and Bolet. Regarding the preparation of a series of attempts on Sedoff's life the report states: "Apparently, his political activity really was the subject of sufficiently close observation on the part of his adversaries." This phrase alone gives the police away completely! Where it is a question of preparing the murder of Sedoff in France the French police speak of "sufficiently close observation" on the part of anonymous "adversaries," and adds the word "apparently." Mr. Judge! The police do not want to uncover the truth as they did not uncover it in the theft of my archives, as they uncovered nothing in the case of the murder of I. Reiss, as they do not intend to uncover anything in the matter of the kidnapping of Rudolf Klement. In the French police and in their higher-ups the G.P.U. has powerful accomplices. Millions of chervontzi are expended only to safeguard the impunity of the Stalinist mafia in France. To this must be added considerations of a "patriotic" and "diplomatic" nature which are conveniently utilized by the murderers in Stalin's service who operate in Paris as if in their own home. That is why the investigation in the case of Sedoff's death bears a fictitious character.

The Death List

(12) Yagoda drove one of my daughters to untimely death, the other—to suicide. He imprisoned my two sons-in-law who subsequently disappeared without a trace. The G.P.U. arrested my youngest son, Serge, on a preposterous charge of poisoning workers, after which he disappeared. By its persecutions the G.P.U. drove to suicide two of my secretaries, Glazman and Butov, who preferred death to ignominious testimony under Yagoda's dictation. Two others of my Russian secretaries, Posnanski and Seruk, disappeared in Siberia without leaving a trace. In Spain the agency of the G.P.U. arrested my former secretary, a Czechoslovakian citizen, Erwin Wolfe, who disappeared without a trace. Just very recently the G.P.U. kid-

napped in France another of my former secretaries, Rudolf Klement. Will the French police find him? Will they care to make any effort to search for him? I permit myself to doubt this. The above-mentioned list of victims embraces only the people closest to me. I do not speak of the thousands and tens of thousands of those who perished in the U.S.S.R. at the hands of the G.P.U. as "Trotskyites."

(12) Among the enemies of the G.P.U. and its marked victims, Leon Sedoff ranked first with me. The G.P.U. did not take its eyes off him. During two years at least the gangsters of the G.P.U. tracked Sedoff like game. These facts are irrefutably established in connection with the murder case of I. Reiss. Can we suppose even for a moment that the G.P.U. lost sight of Sedoff during his stay at the clinic and passed up such an exceptionally favorable moment? The investigating authorities have no right to such suppositions.

Police Wink at G.P.U. Crimes

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Coyoacan, D.F., August 24, 1938.
L. Trotsky.

Rivera Says Trade Union Congress in Mexico Staged by Stalinists

(Continued from page 1)

open and secret ones, will participate.

Question: What do you believe will be its practical result?

Answer: The results of the Pan-American Trade-Union Congress will depend to a great extent on whether or not Lombardo Toledano will succeed in subordinating the working class movement of this continent to the orders of his Moscow chiefs. I am convinced that he will not succeed. In tying his fate to the G.P.U., Lombardo Toledano is preparing a catastrophe for his policy and for his career.

Question: How does the opposition look upon the Congress?

Answer: It is very doubtful whether the opposition will be able to enter the congress. The congress does not consist of delegates elected by the masses. The tasks of the congress were not discussed by the masses. The organizational work is carried on behind the stage with the G.P.U. agency, performing the greater part of the work. Consequently there is every reason to believe that the congress will be a congress of a carefully selected workers' bureaucracy. I shall be glad to be mistaken.

Question: In recent declarations William Green declared that it would be a congress of Communists and extreme leftists, and said that the A.F. of L. would not accept the invitation to attend.

Answer: Wm. Green falsely represents the congress as a "revolutionary" one in order to justify his own reactionary policy. Green does not want the uni-

fication of the workers of all Americas because he himself represents the worker's aristocracy of the United States and views with contempt the Indo-American workers.

QUESTION: What significance does the presence of John L. Lewis of the C.I.O. have at the Congress?

ANSWER: What aims Lewis pursues in his participation at the congress I cannot say as yet. This will become clear from his attitude at the congress itself. It is absolutely clear, however, that Lombardo Toledano and other agents of Moscow, North American and Mexican, have as their aim the submission of the C.I.O. to the dictates of Moscow. For Moscow diplomacy this question is now of decisive importance. It is a question of transforming the workers' organizations of all America into an obedient instrument of Stalin and his G.P.U.

With this aim the Comintern, as is known, sharply changed its policy. Browder became a Rooseveltian, Toledano a Cardenista. But this is only to lull the adversary. Their real aim is to penetrate at any price into the state apparatus. Precisely because of this Moscow supports the ambitions of Toledano. If these aims should be achieved, this would mean, in the full sense of the word, a catastrophe for the American working class and for American culture. We do not want the transformation of Mexico into Catalonia, where the hirelings of the G.P.U., no better than any fascist, now strangle all that is honest and independent in the proletariat and in the intelligentsia. As I have already said, I

LATE FLASH!

Mexican G.P.U. Plot Trotsky's Death!

Laborde, Mexican G.P.U. Head, Spent Months in U. S. Preparing Final Blow Against Trotsky and Friends

An elaborate plan of the G.P.U. to assassinate Leon Trotsky, Diego Rivera, the noted Mexican artist and some of their friends was brought to the attention of the *Socialist Appeal* just as we were going to press. The information has been received from entirely reliable and authentic sources.

A few months ago Hernan Laborde, leader of the Mexican Communist Party "left for Moscow." In reality, Laborde remained all the time illegally in the United States. His task was to utilize the preparation for the September congresses in Mexico for a decisive blow against Trotsky, Diego Rivera and their friends.

But the police, apparently, stumbled on Laborde's tracks. At any rate that was the impression of the leaders of the Communist Party who became terrified of an international scandal and of compromising the New York agency of the G.P.U. Laborde received

W.P.A. LOCAL IN SPLIT FROM W.A.

(Continued from page 1)

an order to leave the United States immediately. There is no reason to believe that he went to the U.S.S.R. On the contrary, there is evidence that he returned clandestinely to Mexico where he kept his incognito in order to support the version of his stay in the U.S.S.R.

"Direct Action" Ordered

The latest instructions received by Laborde in the middle of August were to strengthen the campaign of persecution against Trotsky and his friends, not confining it to political and bureaucratic measures, but passing over to "direct action." In connection with the murders of Trotskyites in France, Switzerland and especially in Spain, it is not hard to guess what "direct action" means.

The Central Committee of the Mexican Communist Party has already informed New York that they started to carry out instructions received from the G.P.U. in New York. A strictly conspiratorial meeting was convoked with the participation of only certain members of the Central Committee and organizers of "fighting actions," among them two or three foreigners who went to Mexico in connection with the preparation of the congress "against war and fascism."

At this meeting the reporter (apparently Laborde himself) demanded not only that the political campaign against the Trotskyites be strengthened tenfold but that the necessary atmosphere be created "for the physical liquidation of Trotsky and some of his friends." In regard to the "political" campaign, the reporter promised full material assistance on the part of the Minister of Education, Vazquez Vela, and his closest assistants.

Toledano Follows Suit

A parallel campaign, in the words of the reporter, is being carried on by Lombardo Toledano, president of the C.T.M. (Mexican Federation of Labor), who, during his recent trip to Europe, received all the necessary instructions from the G.P.U. and also the necessary material means (in particular, a slanderous film against Trotsky). Among the delegates to the Congress, there are a great number of foreign agents of the G.P.U., whose main task consist in creating in Mexico a "favorable atmosphere" for carrying out the latest Moscow instructions.

The Mexican Communist Party is now fully subordinated to the leaders of the Communist Party of the United States and through them receives all orders from Moscow. This strange order of things is very easily explained. Mexico has no Soviet institutions and the agents of the G.P.U. in Mexico, having no diplomatic protection, are obliged to maintain the strictest secrecy. They, therefore, avoid any direct contact with the local Communist Party, fearing that it might harbor police agents.

Leaders Immune in U.S.

In the United States, the most important agents of the G.P.U. enjoy a diplomatic immunity and can therefore transmit the most secret instructions to those leaders of the Communist Party who enjoy the unquestioned confidence of the G.P.U. These trusted persons, in turn, transmit the instructions to Mexico.

There is no room for doubt that the agents of the G.P.U. are now concentrated in Mexico on a mission of murder against the world's outstanding revolutionist and his supporters. Killer Stalin has been seeking this opportunity for some time.

Let the labor movement be aroused! Only by incessant vigilance on the part of every honest worker and intellectual will the foul plot of the G.P.U. be exposed and crushed. The searchlight of publicity will bring these rats out of their holes. Then let them beware of the wrath of an aroused working class!

N.Y. POLICE CLUB RELIEF SEEKERS

(Continued from page 1)

of \$40 each. Bail of \$1,000 was demanded for each of the four held for felonious assault.

By the next night, \$4,000 was raised to cover the last of bail for the latter. The relief bureau officials, however, took advantage of the very moment of their release to prefer additional charges and had them arrested once again and thrown back into jail. The officials of the local bureau, acting in consultation with the central E.R.B. at 902 Broadway suddenly charged a day and a half later that Luben had thrown Euxbaum, the Supervisor down the stairs. Another charge of assault was preferred against Luben and his bail raised by an additional \$150. The three others had their bail raised by \$50.

Police Cause Violence

All the charges are patent frame-ups. Responsibility for the disorder at the bureau falls on the shoulders of the police and the bureau officials. During the course of all the fighting, whenever the police ceased their attacks all violence stopped. It is therefore clear who initiated the violence. The police claim that someone tore a black jack out of the hands of one of the policemen and struck him. The charge, of course, is an absolute lie.

The ardor with which the case is being pressed, the severity and the large number of charges, and the vigilance with which the defendants have been hounded at every turn point to one conclusion—the city's administration seeks a crushing sentence against militant workers, hoping thereby to paralyze the unemployed with fear as a prelude to new relief cuts and attacks on the standards of the unemployed. To the Surplus investigation and the isolated arrests that have taken place at various bureaus is to be added this new trial.

The demonstration itself came as an answer to continued unbearable provocations by relief bureau officials. Bureau 79 has been the scene of numerous arrests before. Located in a Negro section of Williamsburg, the bureau is notorious as one of the most vicious labor-hating centers in New York. It refuses relief in even the most desperate cases and because of this is known as

a prostitute factory which forces young Negro women into the streets. The bureau utilized the demonstration as a pretext for closing entirely the next day and refusing to accept any cases at all.

Relief Long Refused

For eleven weeks, Luben, who is an unemployed, single, unattached young worker, has sought relief at bureau 79. Each time some new red tape, some new postponement. His case is only a single example of the plight of youth in New York as a whole. Denied jobs by a rotting capitalist system and refused the most elementary relief by a rotten capitalist city administration they have absolutely no place to turn. Five weeks the bureau definitely rejected Luben's case and denied him relief, on the grounds that a detail here and there of the story was incomplete. At this time the Stalinist-controlled Local 50 was handling his case. It had utterly failed to put up any real fight for Luben who is well known as a left-wing Alliance member, and it meekly accepted the work of the bureau.

The leadership of the Alliance in New York refused to handle his case on one pretext or another and refused to fight for recognition of the grievance committee of Local 17, a progressive local, at Bureau 79.

Story Documented

Luben has had new documentary evidence for over five weeks in the form of rent receipts, letters, statements from former employers, landlords, storekeepers, and neighbors. These substantiate every detail of his story and every point in dispute. In spite of the fact that Luben has been evicted from his home, the bureau refused even to consider his case and listen to the evidence. It answers only with arrests. On July 21 Luben was arrested for sitting-in at the bureau. Judge Halpern who sentenced Luben said, "My job is to enforce the law, not worry about where Luben sleeps."

The whole labor movement in New York City must fight against the frame-up trials. Resolutions of protest must be sent to LaGuardia, demanding immediate relief for Luben and the dropping of all charges.

Legal defense has been provided by the Workers Defense League. The American Fund for Political Refugees cooperated in the raising of bail.

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MAX SHACHTMAN

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A Broad Hint

It was taken for granted by everyone that no idle curiosity prompted President Roosevelt to appoint a commission to investigate industrial relations in Great Britain. If he were merely interested in finding out how labor disputes were settled in England, his labor experts could have furnished him with that information very easily.

The theory was generally accepted that his purpose in sending a commission to Great Britain was to prepare the ground for a revision of the Wagner Labor Relations Act. Recently the C.I.O. has charged that the whole idea was conceived by Tom Girdler. John L. Lewis ostentatiously refused to participate in naming a member of the commission.

With the publication of the report of the Commission the suspicion that the purpose of the commission was to point to the necessity of amending the Wagner Act has been strengthened. While it made no recommendation for new legislation or for amending the Wagner Act, the general tenor of the report justifies the conclusion that it will ultimately be used to enact legislation which will be detrimental to the interests of the workers.

The report speaks very highly of the Trades Dispute Act of 1927 which prohibits sympathetic strikes; it comments very favorably on the government machinery for arbitration and conciliation; above all it seems to approve of the system whereby union officials and representatives of employers, who are not directly connected with any dispute, are the ones to undertake a settlement.

No American worker is opposed to learning from the experiences of their fellow-workers of other countries. But from their own experiences they know enough to permit as little intervention from government boards as possible.

There are already movements in existence having as their purpose the incorporation of unions and the establishment of compulsory arbitration. The American workers should guard jealously their freedom of action and should not permit any kind of a report to lessen their opposition to interference by the government.

When Roosevelt, in commenting on the report, praised "the cooperative spirit, coupled with restraint, which is shown by those who represent both employers and employees in Great Britain" there was to be detected a broad hint that the workers should be "reasonable" in their demands and refrain from militant action to achieve them.

We are certain that the workers will disregard the hint. If anything they have been far too reasonable and have permitted their leaders to stifle their militancy. They are entitled to much more than they have and the more militant they are the more will they get.

Expropriate the Railroads

The railroads of this country are in a desperate plight. Most of the companies are in the hands of receivers; there are more miles of road now in bankruptcy than at any previous time.

What shall be done? The operators have a simple solution. Reduce the wages of the workers by fifteen per cent.

Are the workers to blame for the condition of the roads? All they did was to work; they had no voice in the management of the industry; they had nothing to say about the methods of operating, the financial arrangements, the payment of interest. When times were good and the owners of railroad bonds and stocks received tremendous amounts as interest on their investments, the workers did not share in the huge profits. They were only there to do the work.

But when the dividends on stocks and interest on bonds are not received regularly, the bosses can see no other solution than to lower the standards of the workers.

Let no one think that the workers of the industry have received very high wages. The

average annual earning last year was \$1,115.00. Approximately 750,000 workers received less than \$750.00 a year. The bosses, of course, are not in the least worried about the low standard of living which the workers are compelled to endure.

It is no wonder that even the conservative leaders of the railway unions rejected the proposal to arbitrate the dispute. After the 15% cut is put into effect and after a strike is threatened a fact-finding commission will be appointed by the President and not until the commission reports will the unions have the right to go on strike.

The whole cumbersome machinery, created by the Railroad Labor Act of 1920 for the express purpose of paralyzing the initiative of the workers, will undoubtedly be used to compel a compromise, which will mean a substantial reduction in workers' wages. If the workers force their leaders to act decisively, nothing in the world could make them accept any reduction in wages.

If the attempt on the part of the railway operators to reduce wages has done anything, it has proved that they are absolutely incapable of running an industry that is so vital to the interests of the workers in the industry and to the life of the whole country. The railway barons are in the first ranks of those who robbed and despoiled the wealth of this country. And now that they have run the industry to the ground they have the effrontery to ask that the loss be shifted to the workers.

The Roosevelt Government has been pouring millions of dollars to help extricate the owners from their difficulties. Those millions could have easily been used to buy the railroads. What is necessary now is to take the industry away from the capitalists and to let the workers operate the railroads.

Mexico's Real Allies

Re-affirming its right to determine those steps necessary for its own national welfare, the Mexican Government, in a note given to the press last Sunday, replied to the latest provocations of U. S. Secretary of State Cordell Hull. At the same time, however, the Mexican note attempts to gain time by agreeing to one form of partial arbitration, whereby the U. S. valuation claims on the land seizures would be submitted for examination to a joint committee.

The Mexican note submits to analysis Hull's "eternal laws of property," and has no difficulty in showing that these are mere fictitious creatures of the Secretary's imagination. Among other precedents for expropriation in the national welfare, without "full compensation," the note makes an ironic indirect reference to the abrogation of gold payment clauses by the Roosevelt Administration—a prime and unmistakable example of expropriations without any compensation whatever, even though in that instance the expropriation was carried out for the sake of saving capitalism and not for the welfare of the people.

Meanwhile, it becomes clearer than ever that the issue between the two governments is not going to be settled by these elaborate exchanges of diplomatic correspondence. The real question is not at all one of the alleged dictates of "international law," which is for that matter a law which exists only in the minds of international jurists. What is at stake is the interests of imperialism against those whom imperialism oppresses.

This was recognized implicitly by Cardenas when he violated diplomatic precedent by stating the content of his latest reply in a speech to the Mexican Congress before it was embodied in the official note. It is to be regretted, however, that Cardenas does not act similarly with respect to the workers of the United States. For him to rely on maneuvering with the Roosevelt Administration condemns him in advance to defeat. It is to be hoped that in the future he will put less energy into the composition of the elaborate communications to the U. S. State Department, and will address himself to the U. S. workers and farmers, the victims, jointly with the Mexican people, of the exactions of U. S. imperialism for which Hull speaks.

What the Army Is For

"Surprising to most U. S. citizens would be the contents of the General Staff 'White Paper'—a thorough plan for suppressing civil disorder in the U. S. In it every large city is divided into possible battle zones. Paved highway intersections throughout the U. S. are marked down for airplane runways. That U. S. officers mull their 'White Paper' a great deal of the time and talk about it none of the time, is due of course to the fact that no U. S. citizen would like to think about it any of the time."

—From a feature story on operations of the U. S. Army in *Time* magazine, August 22.

OPERATORS SIGN 11-STATE PACT

(Continued from page 1)

by a practical working agreement. As many companies are being organized for the first time, and even the unions are accustomed to working on such a vast scale, it is to be expected that many details will have to be handled as the problems appear.

The task of securing the North Central Area contract took well

over a year's work. It took organizational form at the St. Paul conference of the North Central District Drivers Council on January 8, 1938, with Minnesota, Iowa, North and South Dakota, Nebraska and Kansas City, Missouri, actively participating, and Tulsa, Oklahoma, cooperating.

More Unions Join

In the latter part of the same month, there was a conference in Minneapolis with a committee of Wisconsin locals, resulting in Wisconsin's adherence to the program and a meeting projected for March 1 in Chicago. The Chicago meeting represented an organizational expansion beyond

the confines of the old North Central Drivers District Council, becoming a provisional over-the-road conference. That meeting formulated contract proposals and submitted them to the Labor Relations Board of the American Trucking Association.

On the basis of the contract proposals, the unions in Ohio, Indiana and Michigan joined the union group. The next entry was that of the St. Louis, Missouri, teamsters and with them the balance of the Missouri locals. The final entry into the North Central Area Negotiating Committee was that of the Louisville, Kentucky, Local.

"In Stalin's Realm"

"The Russian Workers' Own Story"

Reviewed by JOE HANSEN

V. I. LENIN

When Boris Silver visited "Stalin's Realm," as he calls the present U.S.S.R., his memories of Czarist Russia gave steadiness to his vision and coolness to his judgment. He visited cities he had not seen for 30 years, observed their changes, renewed old acquaintances and heard their estimates of what had happened since 1905, lived on kolhozes (collective farms) and in villages where tourists are not permitted, dwelt on intimate terms with the common people of Russia, listened to their arguments, their hopes for the future, their confidential discussions among themselves.

The workers, the peasants, the rank and file members of the Communist Party in Russia, the small bureaucrats, even informers of the G.P.U. and not a few rascals in positions of power told their own life stories to Boris Silver and he presents these thumb-nail biographies as well as significant anecdotes in his book as simply and sincerely as they were told to him.

A TRUE WITNESS SPEAKS

Boris Silver himself, although now a Belgian Socialist, spent his childhood in Russia, learning the language fluently and becoming a member of the Bolshevik wing of the Social Democratic party prior to 1905 (leaving it after the 1905 revolution when he was forced to flee Russia because of his revolutionary activity.) This early acquaintance with Russia enabled him upon his return in 1933-34 to travel freely, to have workers confide without fear their real opinions so that he gained information utterly impossible to anyone without such advantages. It also enabled him to see the political forces on a broad scale, a quality entirely lacking in such authors as Eugene Lyons who in his *Assignment in Utopia* confuses his own rather sordid personal problem of whether to work for Stalin or to work for capitalist democracy with the major political issues confronting the working class of Russia, molding himself and his small problem into the heroic proportions of a true-hearted youth seeking after Utopia who permitted a vulgar materialism called "Bolshevism" to sully his spotless ideals. Even after rejecting Stalin, Lyons still bases his entire concept of Bolshevism upon Stalin's theoretical formulation of Socialism in one country. Lyons prefers imperialism. The actual issue facing the Russian working class Lyons does not even pose in his book—rebirth of Bolshevism or reversion to capitalism.

Silver, on the contrary, is not a dewy-eyed sentimentalist struggling to choose between a petty-bourgeois Utopia and the "human values" over which float the Stars and Stripes of imperialism. He is not a professional hack of the Duranty type, nor a non-political specialist like Tchernavin who can report only a single phase of what is happening in Russia and that completely disconnected from a large view of the class forces in struggle. Silver is a careful observer with an intimate knowledge of Czarist Russia and an intelligent conception of what socialism signifies against which to measure the things he comes across in "Stalin's Realm."

A FIRST ENCOUNTER

No sooner does he settle down in the train after crossing the border than Boris Silver encounters his first experience with the seething undercurrent of unrest and dissatisfaction among the common people. When she is sure that the ticket collector has left and that they are alone, the daughter of a middle-aged workman with whom Silver has been talking asks him in a low voice:

"Do you believe in Trotsky or Stalin? . . . who in your opinion is the better man of the two? Speak in a low voice, we can hear you all right."

This question after years of Trotsky's exile and Stalin's bloody repressions constitutes, together with the warning to speak in a low voice, one of the major topics among all the people with whom Silver talks. Trotsky to them still symbolizes the revolution and the struggle for socialism, Stalin the reaction. After one of the carefully staged street "demonstrations" which constitute part of Stalin's propaganda machine, one of the workers confides his sentiments to Silver. First he tells a very disheartening story of the miserable conditions under the G.P.U. regime, the scarcity of food, the lack of freedom, the constant spying, the difficulty in smashing the bureaucracy. Silver asks the worker if he isn't painting too gloomy a picture of the future.

L. D. TROTSKY



He Symbolizes Revolution to Soviet Workers.



Years of Stalin Rule Have Not Crushed His Ideas in Soviet Union.

"STALIN CAME A LITTLE LATE"

"Oh, no," replies the worker. "No Socialist should despair of the future. Stalin, I hope, came just a little bit too late. There is a generation growing up which has had the benefit of a sound socialist education under Lenin, and many young men and women are still being so educated, though with great difficulty. All the peasantry, by mere instinct, hate the very name of Stalin. In the south he's liked just about as much as the czar was, and he's less feared. It won't be long before all the people will begin to see the light."

That Stalin's propaganda falls far short of convincing those against whom it is directed is graphically shown by a conversation between a woman member of the Communist Party and a worker in a restaurant. Stalin's 3½ hour speech had been rebroadcast upon every radio program steadily for three weeks. It had been translated into all languages of the Soviet Union as well as all European languages and reprinted in countless editions of the press, in millions of leaflets, and recited by professional readers at all social gatherings as part of the "entertainment."

After listening to the woman's eulogies on the genius of Stalin, the worker bursts out, "Stalin, Stalin, Stalin! I guess things must be wrong somewhere or that the Kremlin crowd is smitten by some nervous disease. I will ask you a question, my fair and enlightened comrade, does your party believe that people will except any animal as a lion because thousands of asses—I exclude you, of course—go braying 'Lion Lion'? I think they would rather suspect an ass in a lion's skin. Was it ever found necessary to run about proclaiming Lenin a lion? People merely had to understand Lenin and they admired him automatically."

Even members of the Communist Party itself hold Stalin in contempt. Silver records the following statement from an argument between two party members: "Our children who have to become the embodiment of Communism are not only prevented from reading Trotsky; they must, I say again must, believe that Stalin is all that he pretends to be, while we all know that, judging by the standard of the people whom he drove out of the Communist movement, he is only at best a mediocrity . . ."

"DOWN WITH THE GEORGIAN SWINE"

While Silver is visiting a kolhoz, a representative of the Communist Party arrives and draws the manager aside for conversation. Say the workers upon the arrival of the official: "We'll see that he is well watched; maybe he's a Communist sent by that Gruzinskala swinia ('Georgian swine')."

The manager of the kolhoz is suspected of "being a bit of a Trotskyist" by a member of the Communist Party loyal to Stalin because the kolhoz is run on sound lines and the manager is very popular with the workers and peasants of the kolhoz. But he does not report his suspicions to the G.P.U. In the evening when more than a thousand gather to hear speeches by Silver and two members of the Communist Party, the following incident occurs: Grisha an Old Bolshevik begins speaking, "Comrades, I bring you greetings and a message from the proletariat who conquered and now hold power in the Soviet Union . . ." He is interrupted by a baritone voice: "Doloi Gruzinskala Swinia! ('Down with the Georgian swine'). Several voices shout, "Shut up, Peter, he's not going to speak about Stalin."

The chairman restores order and Grisha gives a short speech without once mentioning Stalin. He gets a great ovation.

Later the manager of the kolhoz in pointing out with local pride the humane rules and well-ordered condition of the kolhoz and justifying the fact that against the Soviet law he had hired a homeless worker who had been unjustly deprived of his passport by the G.P.U. (a sentence equivalent to death by starvation) says: "Even Stalin would be safe and properly treated here as long as he only claimed the rights of any ordinary man."

(Continued in the next issue.)

THE RUSSIAN WORKERS' OWN STORY, By

Boris Silver, 251 pp. London, George Allen & Unwin, Ltd. 7s. 6d. 1938.

Pinning 'em Down

By JAMES CASEY

WAYCROSS, Ga.—This little city of 14,000 is a typical Georgia community, embracing all the traditional prejudices against the North coupled with a show of reverence for organized religion, and exemplifying the political development of the vast majority of the State's population.

It is here that Senator Walter F. George came to answer President Roosevelt's appeal to the voters to have him retired from the Upper Chamber in favor of Federal District Attorney Lawrence Camp.

Georgia, with its 4,000,000 population, has just passed through one of its bitterest primary campaigns in its history. Staff correspondents of Northern metropolitan dailies have written columns upon columns about the battle of the candidates, but none of the articles gave more than a superficial account of what had occurred. There were several reasons for this inadequate coverage, the most important of which is that none of the capitalist papers would print the true stories behind the distorted facts.

A political study of Waycross, even within the limited space of this column, not only affords a picture of the temper of Georgia's masses, outside the principal cities of Atlanta, Macon, Savannah and Augusta; it offers a better understanding of the moving political forces in this as well as other States of the agricultural South.

For many generations, Georgia was dominated in its northern and southern districts by Democratic party chiefs, whose main function was to serve the State's banking and public utility interests. These leaders made deals among themselves in the naming of State legislators, U. S. senators and governors. (As is well known, a Democratic primary selection in Georgia is equivalent to election.)

Those were the heydays of Major Cohen, the late "Hoke" Smith, Thomas W. Hardwick, the late Tom Watson, Volney Williams and several others. Then came the capitalist crisis.

HUNGER SHATTERS

NEW DEAL ILLUSIONS

Hunger and destitution stalked the farming and urban sections. Hundreds of tenant farmers lost their homes and flocks, with their families, to the cities to join the growing army of unemployed. The workers and farmers listened to the false promises of the New Deal first, with great hopes, then with skepticism, increased bitterness and disgust. With the disillusionment in the New Deal, the State's political bosses also fell from grace and lost their hold on the masses of the people.

But although the big political bosses and the interests they represented lost their power to deceive, the toilers had not become sufficiently class-conscious to act independently, nor even to free themselves completely from machine politics. What transpired was a steady drift of political power from state to county political cliques.

Like most of the other Georgia cities and villages Waycross, the principal community of Ware County, is controlled by a political clique, whose members are all installed in public office at comfortable salaries. The Waycross clique represents the city bank, the Atlantic Coast Line Railroad, which gives industrial life to the county, the tobacco curing plants, the canning plants, the three blocks of retail stores and the daily newspapers. The clergy has as one of its jobs the rallying of the congregations behind the ruling clique.

These office-holders are, on the whole, a greedy, bigoted, deceitful, reactionary and ignorant lot. The county school superintendent, for example, cannot write a simple letter in grammatical English, while the sheriff is a boastful advocate of white supremacy.

RECOUNT STORY OF LYNCHING

An insight into the mentality of the office-holders can be gained by recounting their "choice" story as they gather to reminisce of the olden days. This story centers around the exploits of a Ware county sheriff who, some twenty years ago, turned his jail keys over to a mob that dragged a Negro from his cell to a tree, tied him to its branches and burned him at the stake. The officials joke and laugh, as they recite the gruesome tale, finishing off proudly with a description of the tree, which now stands as a shining landmark on the outskirts of Waycross.

Besides this unsavory collection of shyster politicians, Waycross has other dubious distinctions.

It is the gateway to Okefenokee Swamp, with its flora and fauna and wild life, of which thousands of glowing essays have been published. In all this Chamber of Commerce propaganda there is not a line of mention of the colony of living dead that exists at the southern end of the swamp.

No one dares to enter the swamp without a veteran guide. To reach the swamp colony, one must take a "donkey train" (a locomotive with a freight car attached running on a single track and ride two hours through the scorching marshlands which are infested with all kinds of insects.

The hundred or more families of the colony are housed in tiny one and two-room huts, owned by a lumber company which also controls turpentine lands in the area. The company also owns the one-room wooden schoolhouse, the general store, the little wooden church and all the streets and sidewalks, built entirely out of boards. The men and boys, needless to say, work for the company and the families are constantly in debt to the concern for food, clothing and rent.

Few of the parents can write even their names, while most of the children have never seen a street car or train and haven't the faintest idea of what a talkie is like.

VOTE FOR COUNTY POLITICIANS

The turpentine toilers together with railroad workers, store clerks, factory employees and farmers in the Waycross area follow, almost religiously, the county political bosses at the polls. (Negroes, of course, are barred from voting except in presidential years). Toilers of Valdosta, Dublin, Rome, Thomaston and other small Georgia cities give similar support to their county bosses.

Consequently the arguments aired over the Reorganization Bill, Supreme Court changes and other New Deal policies by Senator Georgia, Camp and former Governor Talmadge were of little moment to the tenant farmers and workers in most sections of Georgia. For this reason, it was difficult for staff correspondents to prophesy the primary winner.

Georgia's masses are distrustful and tired of the big-time politicians. They are disillusioned; they feel that things are not as they should be, but they are groping in the dark.

What is true of Georgia also applies to North Carolina, South Carolina and Alabama. The farmers and workers of these States are ripe for militant leadership and a militant working class program.

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