

Smash Fascism In Mexico!

GPU Stages Frame-Up Trial In Barcelona

Charge Seven Militants With Assassination

Stalin-Yezhov Methods Applied In Spain Against Revolutionists Who Have Been In Front Ranks Against Franco

BOLSHEVIK-LENINISTS ACCUSED

PARIS.—Under the direct auspices of Joseph Stalin's G.P.U. a new "Moscow trial" is being staged in Barcelona where seven proletarian militants, fighters in the anti-Fascist ranks since the outbreak of the civil war, have been accused of the actual murder of a militia officer named Leon Narvitch and with plotting the assassination of heads of the Loyalist government.

The trial is an attempt to "prove" by "legal" methods that the Spanish Bolshevik-Leninists, heroic defenders of a revolutionary program for the working class of Spain, are "Fascist agents." The proceedings are not public and the "evidence" consists exclusively of the dossier provided by the Stalinist secret police.

Although the indictment in the case was dated March 10, news of the trial reached here only on May 2. The Parti Ouvrier Internationaliste (Workers Internationalist Party), French Section of the Fourth International, has issued a call to the Anarchist Union, the expelled Socialist Federation of the Seine, and other organizations, as well as the International Aid, for a united front action in defense of the accused militants.

Accused Militants

The accused men are: Manuel Fernandez Grandizo Munis, militant Bolshevik-Leninist, known to the revolutionary movement as one of the founders, along with Andres Nin and Andrade, of the "Communist Left." Long active in the Madrid labor movement, Munis went to Mexico before the Spanish revolution of 1931 and there became secretary of the Communist League of Mexico. When the Fascist rebellion broke out, he returned at once to Madrid and there took his place at the front in the ranks of the Young Socialist militia. He saw months of service on the Madrid front. He was forced underground when the Negrin-Stalin terror began against all revolutionary militants.

Adolfo Carlini, Italian comrade, member of the Italian Socialist Party, fighter in the anti-Fascist militia from the first on the Aragon front. Known in Marseille, in particular, as an honest militant, Carlini won public recognition for his heroism at Estrecho-Quinto and Monte-Aragon.

One Escaped

Aage Kielso, Bolshevik militant, who was arrested but succeeded in escaping his G. P. U. captors.

Jaime Fernandez Rodriguez, Teodoro Sanz Hernandez, Bolshevik-Leninist militants.

Louis Zanon, youth comrade who entered the movement after July 19, 1936, former translator on "La Batalla," organ of the P. O. U. M., and "L'Editorial Marxista." Young and frail, Zanon was broken by weeks of torture and signed a confession of non-existent crimes. He subsequently repudiated this "confession" and demanded a new hearing.

Victor Offdik, Czechoslovak worker, militiaman.

In Barcelona Prison

The indictment also mentioned a mysterious "Max" or "Joan" who is vaguely identified as a "political commissar" whose whereabouts are unknown. He had stated previously that he was German. His precise role in the

9,000 RUBBER WORKERS QUIT AKRON PLANTS

Goodrich Plants Struck In Fight Against Wage Cuts

By B. J. WIDICK

Labor Secretary S.W.P.
AKRON, Ohio.—The recent upsurge of the Akron labor movement received further impetus this week when 9,000 rubber workers completely shut down the six plants of the Goodrich Rubber Company.

Resentment over long-standing grievances at the Goodrich plants (Continued on page 2)

AN OPEN LETTER

To Members of the Communist Party

You look to your Tenth party convention for policies defending the interests and needs of the working class. You still believe it is a party of class struggle and socialism, whose policies are determined by the membership.

In reality, the Communist Party is communist in name alone; your leadership has trampled underfoot the most elementary working class principles; has abandoned any pretense of revolutionary struggle against American imperialism and for socialism. The convention is only a rubber stamp to set a formal seal of approval on policies already imposed upon you.

In face of the current crisis that is convulsing the world, the party spreads the fatal illusion that capitalism can assure peace and provide jobs and plenty for all—if only "democracy" is preserved. In its support of Roosevelt's "against reaction," the party has not raised a finger against the huge armament and naval program of American imperialism. Thus it gives support to American war plans. It has attacked those who demand the withdrawal of American troops from China as agents of Japanese imperialism. It has become known throughout the country as the most vigorous pro-war party.

The Communist parties, formed in the struggle against those who in 1914-1918 rallied the workers around their own capitalist governments under the slogan "make the world safe for democracy," now brazenly repeat this treachery. The banner of Lenin and Liebknecht has been discarded for the banner of Wilson and Roosevelt.

In the struggle for "democracy against reaction" the new party constitution binds the members to act as

agents of the capitalist government in suppressing all revolutionary workers' movements against capitalism and its wars.

Thereby the Communist Party is pledged to destroy working class democracy. Whose democracy will it defend? The right of the exploiters to rule through democratic forms. For the democratic rights of the masses can be defended only by independent workers' action and not by alliance with so-called "democratic" sections of the ruling class. Not a "democratic union," but the united working class front can defeat reaction!

Learn from the experiences of post-war Europe: Social democracy, when faced with the crisis of capitalism, could offer the desperate masses nothing but the program of the "lesser evil"—a plan of stabilizing capitalism by supporting the "democratic" regimes which paved the way for Fascist victories. By destroying the independence of the labor organizations, by making them mere appendages to the parties of the ruling class, they drove the workers into passivity and the middle classes into the camp of Fascism. In Spain and in France, the People's Front "governments of victory" are in fact the governments of defeat!

Your leaders also promised to achieve collective security and provide the surest defense of the Soviet Union through the People's Front. This, above all, has been the apology for the abandonment of revolutionary policies. What has been achieved? The myth of collective security has been exploded. The "democratic" powers seek only to arrive at an agreement with the Fascists as to how to divide the world and how to reconcile their differences at the expense of the Soviet

War Menace Looming In Czech Crisis

Britain, France Act To Forestall Forceful Hitler Coup

The menacing shadow of imperialist war hung darkly over Europe last week-end as the Czechoslovakian government mobilized army reserves and closed all roads leading into Germany as precautionary measures against a possible attempt at a coup d'état by the fascist Sudeten German party of Konrad Henlein during the Czech municipal elections.

Intervention by the British and French governments apparently deterred Hitler from military action against Czechoslovakia, for which election incidents to be created by his tool, Henlein, were to have been the official pretext.

Anglo-French Action

Imperialist Britain, desperately anxious to delay as long as possible the world war explosion which would be set in train by a European conflict, warned Hitler against taking military action. France bluntly threatened to come to the aid of Czechoslovakia if German troops attempted to move across the Czech frontier.

The tense situation in eastern Europe forced into the background the Italo-French conflict of the previous week. Faced with the possibility of a fresh Hitler coup, and nervous because of the presence of German troops at Brenner Pass, Mussolini deemed it wise not to fan the flames of his dispute with the government of Daladier. The latter, fearful that Hitler might attempt a coup in Czechoslovakia and thus compel France to redeem its pledge to aid in that country's defense against aggression, saw fit to soft-pedal the dispute with Mussolini, which arose over the question of ending foreign intervention in the Spanish civil war.

One in Three on Relief

Unemployment is so wide- (Continued on page 2)

CLEVELAND.—The suffering inflicted on hundreds of thousands in the City of Cleveland and throughout the industrial state of Ohio has become the object of a political football game between Republican Mayor Burton of Cleveland and Democratic Governor Davey of Ohio.

One in Three on Relief

Unemployment is so wide- (Continued on page 2)

Cleveland is a city of basic industries such as auto and auto parts, steel, and electrical supplies. It has probably the widest diversity of heavy industry of any city in the United States. In the present crisis it has become the hardest hit city in the country.

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Cleveland Authorities Wrangle While Unemployed Starve

Workers Alliance Fails To Give Jobless A Lead

(Continued from page 1)

spread that one out of every three people in the city is living on direct relief or W.P.A. Cleveland has the largest per capita allowance for W.P.A. of any major American city. In spite of this allowance, there are still 20,000 able-bodied workers certified for W.P.A. who cannot get jobs and have been forced on to direct relief.

Because of lack of planning by the city and state governments, direct relief periodically breaks down, and thousands starve until some stop-gap legislation is passed by the city council or the state legislature.

Relief distribution broke down completely at the end of April when all funds provided were exhausted.

Money spent in the county for relief, from January to the end of April inclusive, was \$3,058,233, of which only \$94,256 was direct cash relief.

This means that for the rest of the year, at the same ratio of increase, at least \$17,000,000 will be needed for the ever-growing numbers of jobless in the county.

Twelve Cents A Day

For the month of May, \$2,000,000 are needed, but the only action taken by the City Council has been the passage of an \$80,000 stopgap for food orders only. This sum is to be provided by the City Council, and the Association of Unemployed on Direct and Work Relief, who organized a picket line against the starvation policies of the administration and are now planning to picket the sessions of the investigating committee of farmers. The determined efforts of this group, struggling against the inertia of the Workers Alliance, created such a stir that both the Cleveland Press and the Midwest Daily Record carried a photograph of the picketers. However, the capitalist "liberal Republican" sheet obliterated the words on a sign in the photograph attacking Mayor Burton. The C.P. organ matched this venality by putting in an insert to cover the words on a sign condemning Roosevelt's war budget, in order to conceal the anti-Stalinist character of the demonstrators.

RELIEF CEASES AS 'RECESSION' HITS CHICAGO

34,000 Jobless Families Face Starvation As Funds Fail

CHICAGO.—An empty treasury closed down Chicago's 23 relief stations last week leaving 34,000 families dependent on food-stuffs furnished by the Federal Surplus Commodities Corporation.

At last a special investigation committee of the Ohio legislature has got around to meeting. It aims to hunt for "chiselers on the relief rolls," people with bank accounts who are receiving public aid. This is an old stand-by when the politicians want to throw a partial cover over the plight of the unemployed.

Demonstration Opposed

However, the seriousness of the problem forces these gentlemen to also undertake a check of city financial affairs to find how much money Cleveland has available for relief. What the jobless may expect to get may be judged from the fact that only three of the committee are from cities, where the hunger clamor is heard close to their doors, while eight are from the rural regions, which begrudge supplying state relief for the jobless proletariat of the cities.

In the committee, Cuyahoga County, with over 27,000 direct relief families, has one representative to counteract the influence of eight country counties that are responsible for from ninety to a few hundred cases each.

A resolution calling for a demonstration was introduced by Ed. Simpson, president of local 88 at the Cleveland Auto Council, which instructed him to bring it up at the Cleveland Industrial Council. The motion was supported by Bates, chairman of the unemployment and W.P.A. division of the auto union, but the Stalinists of the C.I.O. fought against it. These fake "Communists," not wanting to embarrass the Republican mayor, argued that it would be just as effective to send telegrams and hold an open hearing at the Monday night meeting of the City Council.

More than 1,000 jobless (according to the estimate of the local capitalist press) crowded the council chamber in a stormy

OUT SOON!

NOT GUILTY!

The Final Report of the Commission of Inquiry into the charges against Leon Trotsky in the Moscow Trials. Approximately 500 pages.

Climax of Years' Impotence

This final demonstration of the union's complete uselessness to its members under the present leadership comes as a culmination of its half a decade of futile existence, in the course of which it has not been able to organize a majority of the workers, despite the fact that it has a complete monopoly over the field and almost no opposition from the administration. It has not even once succeeded in bringing into action the minority of workers it does have enrolled on its lists—this in a period of mighty labor struggles, in which the very union which shares its office, the

union which shares its office

USSR Entry Into IFTU Is Barred

Woll and Citrine Lead In Blocking Union Affiliation

By a vote of 16 to 4 the general council of the International Federation of Trade Unions, meeting in Oslo, Norway, last week, rejected an application for affiliation by the trade unions of the U.S.S.R.

The vote came after two days of debate in which opposition to the Soviet application was led by Sir Walter Citrine of the British General Council of the Trade Union Congress, seconded by Matthew Woll of the American Federation of Labor. The minority vote was registered by the delegation from Spain and Mexico and two from France, Norway did not vote.

Soviet Isolation Increased

Rejection of the Soviet application by the I.F.T.U., which was followed by a decision to terminate negotiations with the Soviet unions, represents one more step toward completion of the isolation of the Soviet Union for which the policies of the Stalin regime are responsible. Isolation from the working class movement in the outside world complements the growing isolation of the Soviet Union amid the capitalist states whose democratic half Stalin has been so assiduously and futilely courting at the price of sacrificing the working class movement.

There can be no doubt that the cold shoulder Stalin has been given by the I.F.T.U. will increase the confidence of the capitalist powers in their moves to complete Soviet isolation preparatory to attempts to liquidate the Soviet Union by force of arms in the coming imperialist war.

A Pertinent Question

Those who could have fought with some prospect of success, for admission of the Soviet unions to the I.F.T.U. were dis-

Fissure Opens In Chinese C. P. Ranks

Chang Kuo-tao, well-known revolutionist, has been expelled from the Chinese Communist Party of which together with Chen Tu-hsiu, leader of the Fourth Internationalists in China, he was one of the founders in 1921.

ginal founders in 1921-22.

reporting the expulsion, do not disclose the "offense" for which Chang has been expelled, but declared that he has issued a public declaration stating that he is in complete disagreement with the present policies of the Chinese Communist Party. He also has denounced Wang Ming, Stalin's principal Chinese agent, who since his arrival in Hankow from Moscow has been carrying on a violent campaign of provocation and calumny against the Chinese Fourth Internationalists.

Chang Kuo-tao was one of the vice-presidents of the so-called Chinese Soviet Republic.

armed by Stalin himself. Matthew Woll, who certainly has no reputation as a revolutionary militant, doubtless had his own reasons for fighting the Soviet application. But none present answered him when he declared: "How can we fight dictatorship if we go arm-in-arm with Stalin?"

Everyone present at the general council meeting in Oslo knew, moreover, that actually there are no such things as trade unions in the U.S.S.R. The Soviet trade unions, as instruments for the defense of the workers' interests, were long ago liquidated, as were the Soviets themselves. In their place are bureaucratized organs dedicated to the defense of the counter-revolutionary Stalin regime which oppresses the Russian workers.

The Soviet "trade unions" are among the instruments of Stalin's bureaucratic clique rule. The task of the world proletariat is to aid the Soviet workers to throw off the yoke of Stalinism which is leading the first workers' state to ruin. On the day that they succeed in this task and re-establish their own fighting organs, real trade unions, the whole world of militant labor will demand and secure their admission to the organs of the international working class movement.

Slanders Against Chen Tu-Hsiu Repudiated By Noted Chinese Scholars

Stalinist Calumnies That He Is Japanese Agent Indignantly Denounced In Hankow Public Statement

A vigorous defense of Chen Tu-hsiu, leader of the Fourth Internationalists in China, who has been under a hail of calumny by the Chinese Stalinists ever since his release from a Kuomintang prison last autumn, has been published in Hankow, present seat of the Kuomintang government, by nine prominent Chinese scholars.

To the Stalinist slander that Chen Tu-hsiu is a Trotskyist "bandit" and a "traitorous spy for the Japanese imperialists" the scholars reply:

Hit Stalinist Lying

"It is not necessary for us, as non-communists, to interfere in the internal theoretical controversies among the communist factions, which are always attacking each other. But we were greatly surprised to discover false accusations against Chen Tu-hsiu in two Communist periodicals, 'The Masses' and 'Emancipation.' Under the pretext of defending the unity of the opposition to Japanese imperialism, the ridiculous accusation is made that Chen Tu-hsiu is a traitorous bandit who receives money from and conducts spying activities for the Japanese."

"But, as we know, our countrymen are well acquainted with the long career of Chen Tu-hsiu. His words and his deeds throughout this time of war are also known to everybody. If a man like Chen Tu-hsiu can be freely accused as a traitorous bandit, then everyone will have license to similarly accuse his opponents.

End This Slander

"We must put an end to this stream of slander! We live beside Chen Tu-hsiu. We know him very well. Whether on the score of friendship or for the sake of justice we cannot keep silent about this falsehood. We believe all friends of Chen Tu-hsiu, likewise those in whose minds justice

Gov't Starts Harlan Mine Owners Trial

Long Record of Terror Brings Federal Prosecution

LONDON, Ky.—With a jury finally selected after a week's time, the trial of 64 Harlan County coal mine operators and hired thugs got under way this week as the government prepared to call witnesses to prove charges of conspiracy to terrorize union officials and mine workers belonging or sympathetic to the union.

The coal companies and operators on trial are all members of the Harlan County Coal Operators' Association, an organization whose primary purpose has been to prevent, by the most ruthless means, organization of the rich coal fields of Harlan County. Others on trial are former deputy sheriffs, who used their authority to carry out the instructions of the coal mine operators.

Pursuing in China the vicious campaign against revolutionists which is being carried out by Stalin's G.P.U. in Spain, the Stalinists in Hankow, where Chen Tu-hsiu resides, are howling for the blood of the outstanding leaders of the Fourth Internationalists.

"New China," a Stalinist rag, compelled to make some reply to the statement of the nine scholars, asks: "Is it untrue that Chen Tu-hsiu is a traitor? Such a statement will be justified only if Chen Tu-hsiu openly renounces the organization of the Trotskyist bandits and takes part immediately in the campaign against them."

A letter received from China this week by the Socialist Appeal describes how agents of the Chinese Communist Party have been visiting bookshops and buying up wholesale the translated works of Leon Trotsky and other revolutionaries, also all literature in any way critical of the Stalin murder regime in the Soviet Union, and consigning it to the flames in the best style of Adolf Hitler.

Chinese Comrades Acknowledge Fund

Charge Conspiracy

While murder, arson and kidnapping were common methods used by the employers to suppress any attempt to organize the miners, the trial is being conducted on the basis of a conspiracy to evade the Wagner labor relations act. In the event of a conviction, the defendants face the possibility of prison terms, fines, and loss of civil rights.

Frame-ups played their role in the long and bitter struggle between the mine operators and the workers of Harlan County, and while the defendants in the current trial are free on bail, men are still serving prison sentences for the crime of resisting the bosses' gunmen and trying to organize the miners.

The indictment on which the 44 companies and operators, plus a score of "peace officers," are being tried was returned by a Federal grand jury last September, after an investigation in which agents of the Department of Justice questioned more than 1,000 witnesses.

Gerson and Socialism

The following is a final accounting of the fund raised by the Socialist Workers Party to aid the Communist League of China (Fourth Internationalists):

Y.P.S.L. Lower East Side \$168.58
Y.P.S.L. East Bronx 1.00
S. Zola 1.00
Y.P.S.L. member50
Philadelphia Branch 2.00

TOTAL \$173.73

Acknowledging receipt of the funds, our Chinese organization writes as follows:

Dear Comrades:

It is with a sense of deep revolutionary gratitude that we acknowledge your generous response to our recent appeal for funds. This money, given by poor comrades, shows that the Pacific Ocean cannot interrupt our cooperation. Again, it is proof of the solidarity of the international proletariat, a proof which gives us further courage to meet the tasks of the Chinese and international revolution.

Our forces are small, but we proudly fly the banner of the Fourth International in the face of international and internal oppressors, and Stalinist slander, provocation and terror.

Your response to our appeal is of tremendous aid and we will struggle firmly to merit your trust.

Warm greetings to our comrades of the Socialist Workers Party! For the Fourth International! For the International Revolution!

Communist League of China, Shanghai, April 19, 1938.

which was born during the Russian Revolution of October 1917, became, in the hands of the Stalin gang, a bargaining agency with the capitalist governments. Each Communist Party, directed from Moscow, had to do the bidding of the Stalinist machine.

Seeking Alliances

In recent years, with the danger of war drawing nearer, the Stalinist machine, in order to protect its jobs in Russia, has sought to gain favor of the capitalist governments for an alliance. In order to have such capitalist countries as France, England and the United States as allies in case of war, Stalin and his henchmen have given up every last shred of Communist principle. To prove this to the capitalists of all countries, Stalin has killed off all of the leaders of the October Revolution—Zinoviev, Kamenev, Bukharin, Rykov—in Russia itself by means of frame-ups directed against Trotsky and all those who have remained true to their working class ideals.

The trial is expected to last several weeks, as the government plans to call 250 witnesses, while the defense will undoubtedly counter with a long list of opposing witnesses.

them willing tools for its aims. Those who remained true to their principles in the parties of the Communist International and refused to be bribed and dictated to, were expelled from the Stalinist organizations. Those who remained are nothing more than agents of Stalin's job-trust in Russia. Under slogans for a "People's Front" or a "Demo-

U. S. TO INCREASE MILITARY FORCES

WASHINGTON.—A tremendous increase in the organized military forces of the United States during the next four years will take place under a bill signed recently by President Roosevelt that establishes a Regular Army Reserve of about 75,000 men.

For many years the chief reserve strength of the army has been in the National Guard, a force that trains and keeps in a semi-mobilized state nearly 500,000 troops. In addition, more than 100,000 officers are enrolled in the Officers' Reserve Corps, largely recruited from universities and colleges. The new reserve is designed to keep under control of the War Department the 26,000 enlisted men who each year leave the regular army.

To be eligible for enrollment in the new reserve, an applicant must have completed an enlistment in the regular army, must be unmarried and under 36 years of age. In return for placing himself under orders from the War Department, the reservist will receive \$24 a year for the term of his enrollment.

It is estimated that the Regular Army Reserve will cost \$450,000 the first year. At the end of the fourth year the cost is expected to be about \$1,800,000 annually.

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The indictment on which the 44 companies and operators, plus a score of "peace officers," are being tried was returned by a Federal grand jury last September, after an investigation in which agents of the Department of Justice questioned more than 1,000 witnesses.

Trial Follows Exposure

The investigation by the Federal agents began after hearings on conditions in Harlan County by Senator Robert LaFollette's Committee on Civil Liberties.

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Roosevelt Is Forced To Take Notice Of Hague

Investigators Hunt for "Conspiracy" Against Democratic Rights In Realm of the Jersey City Fuehrer

The Democratic administration has finally taken notice of Boss Hague of Jersey City. After President Roosevelt and Postmaster General Farley had both asserted that they could do nothing against the national vice-chairman of their own party, Attorney-General Cummings announced last Wednesday that the Department of Justice was conducting a secret investigation in Jersey City to determine whether a conspiracy existed there "to injure, oppress, threaten or intimidate any citizen in the free exercise or enjoyment of any right or privilege secured to him by the Constitution or law of the United States."

More Anti-Hague Moves

The administration's move was hastened by the fact that both the Senate Civil Liberties Committee and the New Jersey State Assembly Committee to investigate frauds in Hudson County plan to undertake investigations during the summer.

Apparatus of Hague

Hague's opponents took various actions against him this week. The N. Y. Post obtained a temporary injunction in the federal court restraining Hague's officials from preventing its sale in Jersey City for any Hague critic and that "swift and severe repression," as Lee Pressman, C.I.O. counsel phrases it, has met all attempts of workers to exercise the rights granted them by the National Labor Relations Act.

Roosevelt's Hand Forced

The Roosevelt regime was forced to change its front by the nation-wide protest following its expression of indifference toward Hague's dictatorship. The Democratic attitude was fiercely assailed, not only by such liberal supporters of the New Deal as the New York Post and the labor press, but also by conservative Republican sheets like the N.Y. Herald-Tribune, echoing ex-governor Landon, who suddenly blossomed forth as a defender of democratic rights in order to gain political capital from the clearly reactionary stand of Roosevelt.

The C.P. spokesman was testifying before the Joint Legislative Committee on Law Administration and Enforcement to the indictment on which the 44 companies and operators, plus a score of "peace officers," are being tried was returned by a Federal grand jury last September, after an investigation in which agents of the Department of Justice questioned more than 1,000 witnesses.

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It is with a sense of deep revolutionary gratitude that we acknowledge your generous response to our recent appeal for funds. This money, given by poor comrades, shows that the Pacific Ocean cannot interrupt our cooperation. Again, it is proof of the solidarity of the international proletariat, a proof which gives us further courage to meet the tasks of the Chinese and international revolution.

Our forces are small, but we proudly fly the banner of the Fourth International in the face of international and internal oppressors, and Stalinist slander, provocation and terror.

Your response to our appeal is of tremendous aid and we will struggle firmly to merit your trust.

Warm greetings to our comrades of the Socialist Workers Party! For the Fourth International! For the International Revolution!

Communist League of China, Shanghai, April 19, 1938.

which was born during the Russian Revolution of October 1917, became, in the hands of the Stalin gang, a bargaining agency with the capitalist governments. Each Communist Party, directed from Moscow, had to do the bidding of the Stalinist machine.

In recent years, with the danger of war drawing nearer, the Stalinist machine, in order to protect its jobs in Russia, has

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MAX SHACHTMAN

Editor.

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The working class, as an organized force, is today entering politics on a scale unprecedented in the history of this country.

The days of that particular brand of class neutrality, of political indifference, which was summed up in the Gompers' "reward your friends and punish your enemies" formula, are drawing to a close.

Labor's hat is in the ring. The question is no longer *whether* labor is to enter politics, but *how and to what end*. The mere entry of labor, as an organized force, into politics does not in the least guarantee *independent* class action, or a strategy which will in actuality be to labor's interest. Caught in the meshes of a false policy, labor's political awakening can be utilized to forge new chains rather than new class weapons.

We are now going through a testing period. The first great expression of labor's political upsurge is the C. I. O.-stimulated Labor's Non-Partisan League with the strategy outlined for it by its leading national spokesmen. The first major experiment in this strategy was the Pennsylvania Democratic primaries.

It is of decisive importance for the labor movement to assimilate the results and lessons of this crucial experiment. It is not a matter for hasty, over-night comprehension. Let us, however, summarize those first conclusions which stand out even on the surface of the Pennsylvania events:

1. It is not nearly so easy to capture the Democratic party machinery (the main line of present L. N. P. L. strategy) as some optimists of the labor movement have fondly imagined. The machine, sustained by patronage, graft, propaganda facilities, and more than a century's traditions, is solidly entrenched. The mere fight for its control is not a sufficient political and social motivation to lead the masses to break away from its old leadership in overwhelming numbers.

2. Much more important: *From the point of view of labor, the Democratic Party is not worth "capturing" even if or where this might be possible.* It is like trying to capture a jail, only to discover when you have succeeded that you have locked yourself inside the cell-block.

In order to make his campaign in Pennsylvania, Thomas Kennedy was compelled to come to terms with the notorious Guffey machine, to fight for a slate on which he was the sole labor representative, to make promises and engage in practices which decreed, necessarily, that even if he had won the nomination he and the mighty labor movement behind him would have found themselves the captives of old-line Democratic politicians, not the other way around.

This is the case not only in Pennsylvania, but generally. Labor needs its own instruments to serve its own ends. The political gun of another class, when triggered by labor, always backfires.

The Pennsylvania gun has already begun sputtering. The L. N. P. L. tactic leaves the Pennsylvania workers holding a very empty bag: for it compels Lewis to order them, now, to support in next autumn's elections the very slate (Jones-Earle) which Kennedy branded as the enemy and betrayer of the C. I. O. and the entire labor movement.

3. On a still more extended level, the Pennsylvania experience again indicates, as has been so often demonstrated elsewhere and at other times, that *even from the point of view of specific practical results, the primary and central business of working class politics is not to gain immediate and extensive electoral posts.*

L. N. P. L.'s present strategy makes immediate electoral posts its dominating aim, on the ground that this brings the quickest practical result for labor. Experience teaches otherwise. There is a qualitative as well as a quantitative factor in politics. Quite apart from longer-

time aims, even in terms of concrete practical results, labor gains most from its *independent* organization and action as a class.

Such independent organization and action is what makes governments sit up and take notice, far more than speedy elections to office accomplished at the cost of firmer and more conscious class action—at the cost, thus, of decreasing rather than increasing the class strength of the workers.

Kennedy's half a million votes did not win the nomination for him; but they are not forgotten, and they play a larger role than those same votes would have had if they had gone down the line for the State Committee's slate. But that same half a million votes, or a half or a quarter of that half million, would have been ten times more effective in advancing labor's cause if they had been dynamited altogether out of the capitalist party political framework, and had been assembled in terms of some form, even if only partly developed, of independent working class action.

To elect a senator at the price of weakening the class strength of the workers does not for a minute fool the astute leaders of capitalism and reaction. To deepen and invigorate the independent class power of the workers, whether or not anyone is elected today as a result—whether, for that matter, the process occurs on the parliamentary field or on any other: this and this alone serves the interests, immediate and remote, of the workers. Through this means and this alone will the voice of labor ring louder in the land.

The Relief Crisis

The statements currently being made by Harry Hopkins and other Administration spokesmen before the Congressional Committees conducting hearings on the new "Spending Program" sum up to a recognition of an impending general crisis in the relief situation.

This impending crisis is pointed to only the more dramatically by the crises already present in the states of Ohio and Illinois.

It is absolutely clear, from Hopkins' testimony itself, that the Spending Program, even if passed by Congress without curtailment or restriction, is no more than a drop in the bucket. The \$177,000,000 a month for W.P.A. will not provide half the jobs that are and will be needed. The provisions for cash relief will not keep millions from slow starvation.

In this situation, the purely legalistic and parliamentary activities now being pursued by the Workers' Alliance under the guidance of the Stalinists are criminal. Lasser and Benjamin get their names in the paper, but the unemployed get neither jobs nor cash.

For the sake of the most elementary self-defense, if for nothing more, the time has come for the unemployed to snap out of it if they are not to be literally mowed down next winter—or even sooner—by malnutrition, cold and disease.

The unemployed movement, which has in its past glorious and mightily effective traditions of struggle, has got to recognize that what is needed now is mass action and not names in the paper.

Militant demonstrations, a series of uncompromising sit-downs, will open up funds which all the "legislative campaigns" from now till Doomsday will never unlock.

A "Peace" Banquet

The Keep America Out of War Committee, among the original sponsors of which are Norman Thomas and the Lovestoneites, were holding a "planning-for-peace" dinner in Washington on Friday of this week, preparatory to a week-end anti-war congress to which the usual "leaders in religious, educational, farm and labor organizations" were being invited.

This precious committee of befuddled pacifists opposes, among other things, a big navy program. Is that why they had President Roosevelt, greatest big navy planner of all time, on the list of guests invited to the dinner?

Perhaps they think they can persuade Roosevelt of the error of his ways! But would any serious prohibitionist think of inviting whisky manufacturers and brewers to join in a crusade against intoxicating liquor?

Here we get the true measure of the pacifists. Afraid to lead the workers into action against war, they are always to be found on bended knees praying to the imperialist war-makers to keep peace. And when war does break out, these gentlemen usually climb on the imperialist bandwagon. Will Norman Thomas and Jay Lovestone explain what they are doing in this crew?

time aims, even in terms of concrete practical results, labor gains most from its *independent* organization and action as a class.**The Spanish "United Front"****Felix Morrow Writes a Marxist Study of the Events in Spain**

Revolution and Counter-Revolution in Spain, by Felix Morrow. Published by Pioneer Publishers, New York (203 pp., 50 cents).

By ERNEST ERBER

The need for a Marxist analysis and interpretation of the world-shaking events in Spain has long been keenly felt by those fighting for the ideas of Bolshevism. This indispensable and long-awaited work has made its appearance with the publication of the above volume.

The revolutionary movement of the English-speaking world will find in this book an invaluable weapon in the fight for the program of the Fourth International.

Utilizing the concrete experience of Spain it drives home the lessons of the difference between class collaboration and class struggle as no abstract thesis could succeed in doing.

The present work begins, with only a slight overlapping, where the author left off in his previous work, "The Civil War in Spain." The latter, now unfortunately out of print, serves as a valuable introduction to the present volume, since it gives a wealth of background material on Spanish political developments since 1931, unavailable elsewhere in such comprehensive form. It is not, however, necessary to an understanding of the events dealt with in the present volume.

In his effort to achieve conciseness, the author has not fallen into the error of making untenable assertions. The book abounds with quotations from a variety of sources which

bolster the argumentation. In fact, the wealth of the material presented should make the work a valuable source book on the important governmental decrees and the political declarations of the various parties.

Approaching the question as a Marxist historian, Comrade Morrow makes no pretense at being "objective" in the sense of the bourgeois historian's objectivity. Historical phenomena are treated from the standpoint of the class struggle and the roles of the participants judged by the criterion of the struggle for working class power.

This approach reveals the leaders of the Spanish working-class in a sordid light. One is at a loss to find an analogy in history for such a concentration of treachery, betrayal, and blundering stupidity in one epoch. The roles of the cynical mercenaries of the Stalinist movement, the bewildered opportunists of the anarchist bureaucracy, the "practical" politicians of the Prieto school, the naivete and political dishonesty of the Caballero wing of social democracy, and the whining centrists of the vacillating P.O.U.M. are analyzed at every decisive stage of the struggle.

The author does not, however, limit himself to criticism. The policy of the opportunists is constantly contrasted to the revolutionary strategy advocated by the Fourth Internationalists.

Their strategy on the struggle for power, the economy, the national and colonial question, the international situation, and the military struggle composes a program for the Spanish revolution. New Facts Presented

Comrade Morrow presents many facts which are new even to those of us who made a special point of keeping informed on the Spanish events. These facts, dug out of little-known provincial papers, government documents, or the abundance of eye-witness accounts, attest to the wide re-

But this fight will only be successful when the workers of Spain and the world will have learned the lessons of Spain so graphically portrayed in this book.

For Workers' Defense!

(Continued from page 1)

On whom can the workers rely for elementary protection? On the Roosevelt government? Even when it bestirs itself to an "investigation," it cannot bring to life labor's dead. It is not labor's government, but the government to preserve that system out of which South Chicago massacres grow inevitably. Rely on the courts? They are the legal bulwarks of private property owners—the sworn enemies of labor. On the police and National Guard? They are the hirelings of capital, their strikebreakers in uniform.

The only defense of the workers and their rights is self-defense. The only one labor can rely upon is itself! The only shield that labor can create against strikebreaking thugs, strikebreaking police—the assassins of the workers—is a WORKERS' DEFENSE GUARD, organized by the masses themselves, controlled by the masses themselves.

Only with such a Guard—conscious, resolute, militant—can labor defend itself and give a good account of itself in conflicts with the armed murderers of capital.

That is the lesson of the South Chicago massacre. That is the appeal that labor's fallen dead have written in their own blood. Prayer and supplication for mercy to the enemy is for sirs. Militant action is for men.

On to a Workers' Defense Guard! Its creation will be the best memorial to the heroic steel workers who were murdered a year ago.

Once More**On Housing**

An Editorial

Senator Robert F. Wagner, who fathered the Housing Act of 1937, says there is an "immediate shortage of over five and one-half million homes, with an additional need for over ten and one-half million homes for the period between today and 1950."

Mr. Miles L. Coleen, deputy administrator in charge of large-scale housing for the Federal Housing Administration, admits that "the program permitted by the Act is not an extensive one. With its lending power for a three-year period limited to a total of \$500,000,000, the Authority will not likely be able to produce more than an average of 40,000 to 50,000 dwellings a year."

One For Every 100 NeededForty to fifty thousand a year—to meet an existing shortage of five and a half million homes, means *one* house built for every *hundred* needed. A drop in the bucket!

And even those homes and houses—who can buy them or rent them? Certainly not the millions who are most in need of decent housing. They cannot afford the large down payments and monthly installments; the others cannot afford the steep rents.

All the Housing Act does for them is—guarantee the profits of the banks and builders. Nothing more! In Mr. Coleen's own words: "Probably the most significant contribution of the Home Loan Bank Board... has been in rescuing savings and loan institutions and increasing in some degree the funds available for home finance."

Roosevelt pours countless millions into bankrupt railroads through the Reconstruction Finance Corporation. He insures bank loans and builders' profits. But he doesn't do the first thing necessary to answer the burning housing question: **BUILD HOUSES!****There Is Money Enough!**A minimum of **FIVE BILLION DOLLARS** is needed to launch a genuine government-subsidized *building* program, on a three point basis: sound construction, union labor, low cost, low rent. The five billion dollars are not as hard to get as may be thought. They are in the hands of the "Economic Royalists," of the "Sixty Families," and their associated multi-millionaires. They are there for the taking.The New Dealers talk a lot about the "Economic Royalists" and their social abuse of their stupendous wealth. What about *doing something*? What about a serious capital tax that would reduce private control of "socially-abused wealth" and help launch a substantial building program?

The Economic Royalists can afford it, be sure of that!

Millionaire radio manufacturer, W. C. Grunow, owns, according to Ferdinand Lundberg's excellent study, *America's Sixty Families*, a bath-tub made from a single slab of Mexican onyx marble, costing \$12,000 and equipped with fixtures of 24-carat gold plate." The various establishments of the Du Pont family have at least 723 bathrooms alone.

Millions of families in the United States live in shacks and flats without even an indoor toilet!

How the Plutocrats Live

The Southampton estate of the late Henry H. Rogers has a swimming pool that set him back a cool quarter of a million—\$250,000. Millions of families in the United States do not even have running water at home!

Pierre Du Pont spent \$25,000 to have a single bush brought to his Longwood estate. The late Rodman Wanamaker spent \$1,000,000 to have his estate decorated with fine specimens of small-leaved box.

How many workers' and farmers' families enjoy even electric light in what they call "home"?

The Henry Du Pont residence at Winterthur, Del., has 150 rooms, 40 of them bedrooms. The Pierre Du Pont residence at Longwood, Del., has near 200 rooms and over 100 servants. The Vanderbilt family alone has some 30 separate residences, "most of them very ornate." The main Marshall Field estate in Lloyd's Neck, Long Island, is estimated at a value of \$15,000,000. The Philadelphia estate of the Stotesburys has 145 rooms, 45 baths and 14 elevators!

But how many families sleep two and three and even more in one room?

Rich Must Be Made to Pay

The government must have a housing program of its own. It must undertake to build small homes and apartment buildings. It must subsidize the building of these houses, so that the millions of cruelly underpaid can afford to move into them.

The money for such a program is available. It is in the hands of the fabulously wealthy plutocracy of the United States, which now spends it on rosebushes, million-dollar swimming pools, gold-plated bathroom fixtures, fairyland yachts, hundred-thousand-dollar booze parties and private railroads on its estates.

Demand that the Roosevelt government crack down on those who are wallowing in wealth! Demand a capital tax that will make possible a program for wiping out the slums and really housing the shack and fire-trap dwellers of the United States!

N. Y. Mass Meeting

under the Auspices of the

SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY

Analysis of the Communist Party National Convention and the Stalinist Constitution

For the United States

BEETHOVEN HALL

210 East 10th Street

FRIDAY, JUNE 3, AT 8:30 P. M.