

Workers Of The
World Unite!

Socialist Appeal

OFFICIAL WEEKLY ORGAN OF THE SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY

VOL. II—No. 32

Saturday, August 6, 1938

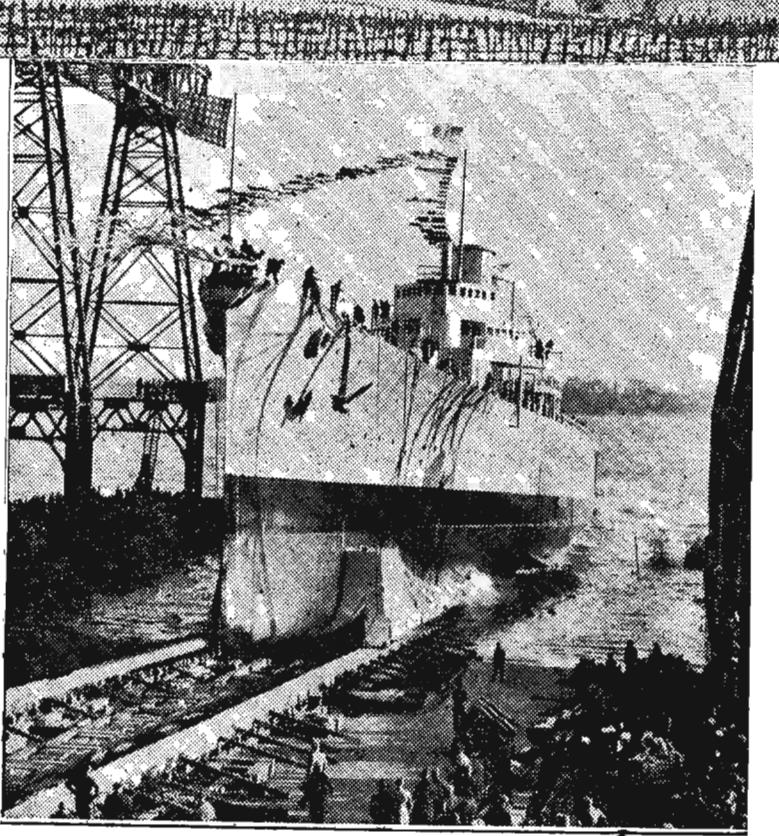
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AFTER 24 YEARS



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



August 4th, 1914!

Twenty-four years ago, the massed armies of the nations of the world began the bloody carnage that exterminated the flower of the organized working class and for four long years spread death and destruction over the face of the European continent.

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

But once again, on the gruesome anniversary of the first world war, humanity awaits the dread beginning of a new conflict. Armies are being whipped into fighting shape. Munition factories work overtime. Bombing planes fill the air, and battleships cruise the seas. And all the while, the diplomats are playing the cards with big profits and human lives as the grim stakes.

The actual scene of the war cannot be foretold in advance. But the danger spots are multiplying. In the Far East. In Czechoslovakia. In Spain. In the Mediterranean. The actual time of the outbreak is still uncertain. Only the imminence of war is beyond question.

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

The conflicts that engendered the last war have not lessened with the lapse of a quarter of a century. Profits decline, the working class is plunged into deeper misery, but the economic crisis remains. And once again the bankers and industrialists prepare to redivide the surface of the earth and to change masters for its exploited slaves.

As in 1914, capitalism can find no other solution to its crisis than war. By that fact alone, capitalism has pronounced its own doom. It becomes a life and death matter for the workers to begin the Socialist reorganization of society.

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

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

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

The lie remains. On the day that war begins, the "great democracies" of England, France and the United States are prepared to trample the labor movement underfoot. The plans are ready. The war against foreign fascism will be waged by establishing fascism at home.

The lie remains. As in the war of 1914-1918, the small nations, pawns in the imperialist struggle, will be treated once again like they were by the plunders of Versailles. Under the banner of "collective security," which has led to the annihilation of the people of Spain by German and Italian Fascism with the benevolent support of Great Britain, the scope of imperialist murder will be enlarged to include the peoples of the world.

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

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

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

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

NEW WAGE CUTS HIT WPA WORKERS Stage Set In Barcelona For Frame-Up Of POUM.

Directors Get Big Raise As Ranks Face Hunger

Wages of 26,262 W.P.A. workers in New York were slashed in June. The cuts ranged from \$4.70 to \$14.95 per month. All those affected by the cuts came from the home relief rolls. Workers in the Professional Division had their wages reduced from \$108.40 to \$98.70, supervising clerks from \$103.35 to \$88.40—a drop of \$14.95—and junior clerks and typists from \$71.50 to \$60.45, a drop of \$11.05.

Ostensibly, the wage cuts were due to an economy program instituted in order to prevent layoffs. Yet in this same period, the salaries of the top-notch bureaucrats were raised by thousands of dollars per month. Field directors received an increase from \$3,900 to \$5,200 in their annual salaries.

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

Plight of W.P.A. Workers

The plight of the W.P.A. project employees who have undergone these wholesale reductions in pay can well be imagined. Thousands of those in the lower brackets have applied for supplementary relief. On the basis of the new pay schedules, they find it entirely impossible to support themselves and their families.

Thousands who had thought

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

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

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

all the organizations involved for the purpose of exerting the necessary pressure upon the Spanish authorities and thereby helping to smash the frame-up and save the lives of the imperiled Spanish revolutionists.

(For more detailed story of POUM trial, see page 3.)

Stoler to Answer Stalinist Slander

Robert Stoler, formerly connected with the Steel Workers Organizing Committee, Youngstown area, will write to Spain for the purpose of investigating the case of the POUM.

In an effort to concentrate the maximum possible protest movement in this country against the frame-up, the National Committee of the Socialist Workers Party has sent an identical letter to the Socialist Party, the anarchists and the Lovestone group, urging joint conference and activities by

AUTO UNION TRIAL TO BE RESUMED

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

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

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

Expulsion Likely

The defendants have been requested to answer the charges and submit all data and evidence prior to the re-opening of the trial, so that the Board can expedite its business and reach a speedy decision. These measures have been taken as a precaution against an outbreak similar to that at the last session. The Board will undoubtedly move rapidly this time and judging from the temper of its members and the weight of evidence against the suspended officers, a verdict of expulsion is a more than likely possibility.

From that point on, the struggle in the ranks of the auto union, spurred and goaded by Stalinist machinations, will continue with renewed intensity. Their tactics may assume new forms, but

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TEAMSTERS DEFY COURT ORDER TO REVEAL RECORDS

Minneapolis Labor Backs Stand of Local 544

BULLETIN

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

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

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

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

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

The suit was initiated in February. Masquerading as an attempt by union members to secure a financial accounting through the courts, the move is actually an attack upon trade unionism.

It called upon the court to break provisions of union contracts with the employers; to end "illegal picketing"; attacked employment by the union of organizers "to intimidate non-union drivers and owners"; charged that the union has secured employment relief from the city for undeserving people, etc.

Background of Plaintiffs

The five truck owners who signed their names to the complaint and summons were, at various times and without too much enthusiasm, members of the Independent Truck Owners Section of Local 544. One had been disciplined by the union for undercutting the stipulated price; another, for becoming an employer; a third, for scabbing; etc.

These people are now connected with the fink drivers' union, "Local Number One," headed by F. L. Taylor, and supported and financed by the Associated Industries and Mayor George E. Leach.

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

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

Part of Nation-Wide Attack

The wave of anti-union terrorism—judicial, police and military—that is sweeping the country, in New York, New Orleans, Iowa, California, and Chicago, is now reaching Minneapolis.

Minneapolis labor has already begun mobilization to defend its rights. The Minneapolis Central Labor Union has appointed an attorney to work with Local 544's attorney in defending the union movement. The General Drivers Union has already publicly announced it will fight all attempts of labor's enemies to gain access to its books for inspection before any group of responsible trade unionists.

Peril to All Unions

Should the union-smashers get away with their attempt to stick their noses into Local 544's records, the employers would have a ready-made weapon by which they could work havoc upon or

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

Fight Against Fink Hall Forces Showdown In NMU

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

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

With the picketing becoming more effective daily, as more and more seamen rally to the struggle, finks are being spirited to the docks in taxi-cabs, men are shipped "off the dock," but militants leave the government ships when they reach port. On the S.S. Southern Cross, one of the M.C. ships, the mate fired the crew, confident

that they could be replaced from the government hall. Unable to obtain a crew, the mate rehired the men that would accept and shipped the remainder of the crew from the dock.

Militants Lead Fight

The determination to close the government fink halls, which threaten to undermine all the gains won in the last four years of grim struggle against the shipowners, has enlisted the support of the most militant and loyal union men of the waterfront. Officially supporting and leading the picketing are the Sailors Union of the Pacific, the Marine Firemen (another West Coast Union) and the Marine Transport Workers Union 510 (I.W.W.).

In addition, members of the National Maritime Union, disgusted with the craven policy of collaboration with the government pursued by their Stalinist officials, have joined the pickets and are refusing to ship through the Maritime Commission hall.

Stories coming from the jury room reveal that members split on the question of unionization of Kentucky coal miners, rather than on the question of the guilt of the coal barons and their hired thugs, the "peace officers" of Harlan County. Accused of intimidation of Harlan County, accused of "intimidating non-union drivers and owners"; charged that the union has secured employment by the union of organizers "to intimidate non-union drivers and owners"; charged that the union has secured employment relief from the city for undeserving people, etc.

The suit was initiated in February. Masquerading as an attempt by union members to secure a financial accounting through the courts, the move is actually an attack upon trade unionism.

Within the N.M.U. events are taking place that have national importance to the trade union movement. Under the complete domination of the Communist Party, the union leadership has consistently thwarted any attempt of the ranks to fight against the shipowners, and the shipowners' greatest ally, the government. Beginning two years ago by advocating the Copeland Continuous Discharge Book, designed to place the blacklist on a government

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JURORS AGAINST UNION

After the chief defense attorney, Forney Johnson, delivered his summary, devoted entirely to a denunciation of the United Mine Workers, sentiment of the jury rapidly changed. Seven of the jurors were from Clay County, a section of small individually-owned mines, and they refused to convict. As one of them put it, "He would rot before he would send a man to the penitentiary to help John L. Lewis, the U.M.W. or the C.I.O."

In a trial that the government characterized as the most revolting display of perjury in the history of the judiciary naturally the chances of the jury being "fixed" were not remote. Such tricks as parading before the jury residence friends of the Clay County delegation arm in arm with the defendants received the admonishments of the court. A trial that had as a by-product three murders and a kidnapping, and several cases of intimidation and bribery of witnesses, could not be expected to proceed without jury tampering.

Defendants Confident

The demeanor of the defendants, among them Harlan's most "respected" citizens and most notorious bar-room brawlers, throughout the trial has been one of beaming confidence. The long list of witnesses, recounting the acts of violence that earned the section the title "Bloody Harlan County," disturbed the accused but little and their attorneys made little attempt to disprove the testimony.

The men who had for so long used the courts as a weapon against the mine workers had little fear that the courts could, in turn be used against them. While

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Gift to the Sheriff

The most revealing bit of information was an admission by J. M. Woltz, chief of the Youngstown Sheet and Tube Company police, of the presentation of about \$1,700 worth of tear gas, gas guns, hand grenades, nightsticks and star shells to the sheriff of Mahoning County, O., for the purpose of suppressing the steel strikers. The link of the police and Republic Steel in Mahoning County was not unusual. The massacre of the workers on Memorial Day 1937 in Chicago had already shown the tie-up between steel corporations and police.

Further testimony before the

(Continued on page 2)

East Side Parade Demands Housing

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

Ironically enough, as the parade neared its end in the most crowded area of the tenement district, fire-engines came clanging through the crowd, in answer to one of the frequent fire alarms. The marchers' slogan: "Tear down the fire traps," took on dramatic meaning.

The Housing Committee is proceeding with its campaign to rally the trade unions behind the program for decent housing and is calling for endorsements of a conference of organized labor to fight for better housing.

Sales of the Socialist Appeal and the Challenge of Youth, organ of the Y.P.S.L., were reported as high. Both papers carried articles on the housing question.

MEMBERS DENIED VOTE IN TEACHERS UNION ELECTION

Stalinists Pull Fake Election to Pack Convention

In typical bureaucratic manner, the Stalinist-controlled administration of the New York W.P.A. Teachers Union, Local 453 of the American Federation of Teachers, has elected 20 delegates to the coming national convention. Although every previous membership meeting had been announced by mailing to the membership, and although the executive board had the week previous decided on the usual mailing, the special meeting to elect delegates was held without a mailing. Instead, telegrams were sent to large job locations (as had also been decided by the executive, informing them of the meeting, but this by no means covered the entire membership).

Seating of Delegates Contested

The legality of this meeting, attended by about 150 members, was challenged by a member of the executive board. A protest is being filed with the A.F.T. contesting the seating of the delegates elected then, all of whom are supporters of the Union Administration.

The union now has about 1,800 paid-up members. Until about ten weeks ago, the Local was paying per capita to the A.F.T. on 100 members, entitling it to four delegates. At a cost of about \$170, the Stalinists then paid up back per capita on another 150 members, so that they would be entitled to a total of ten delegates.

Packing Attempted

About a month ago the executive board was informed that several "Progressive"—i.e. Stalinist—locals had advised the union to send more delegates if possible. Since there was no money in the treasury, a special loan of \$200 was authorized to pay up per capita on another 250 members, now giving the Local a total of 20 delegates. The union cannot possibly afford to send anywhere near that number of delegates to Ohio, where the convention is being held. Most likely, a few will be sent with proxies from the non-attending delegates.

While the union is hard hit by wage cuts from the benevolent New Deal, while vacations for many teachers are cut in half, while several projects are in danger of being liquidated, the Stalinists empty the treasury and even borrow money which should be used on these vital issues for their own political purpose. They are desperately trying to pack the convention with their delegates in an attempt to capture the A.F.T.

Teamsters Group In, After Bitter Fight

CLEVELAND, Ohio.—At a recent, bitterly fought, contest in the Cleveland Federation of Labor the whole former leadership, headed by Albert Dalton of the building trades, was ousted and the teamsters group, led by Edward Murphy, came into power. The basis for this overthrow goes back to previous events and chiefly to the hard blows struck at the building trades by the long years of the depression.

One phase of this struggle disclosed more plainly than before the dual jurisdiction existing in some sections of the A. F. of L. One of Murphy's strongest supporters was Frank Converse, international representative of the Operating Engineers. Converse controls several locals of engineers and firemen, including Local 589A, stationary firemen. On the other side of the struggle, and supporting Dalton, was Roy Seitz, International representative of the Brotherhood of Firemen and Oilers, Local 52. Seitz also claims jurisdiction over stationary firemen. For years there has been a dirty fight between these two organizations, and the Federation struggle made it dirtier than ever. At each national convention of the A. F. of L., this matter of jurisdiction is discussed, but nothing is ever done about it. There are too many fat offices involved to merge the two organizations.

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

Blow to Building Trades

Another factor in the Federation struggle was the distinctly anti-labor regime in the City Hall. While Mayor Burton is clever in assuming a "middle" position between Capital and Labor, his safety director, Eliot Ness, is strongly anti-labor and proves it every day. As a result of prosecution by Ness, Don Campbell, president of the Painters District Council, and John McGee of the Building Laborers, were given penitentiary terms on charges of racketeering.

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

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

JURY IN HARLAN TRIAL DISMISSED

(Continued from page 1) government attorney Welly Hopkins made an impassioned eight-hour plea for conviction, the defendants' women, dressed in the latest summer fashions, sat scattered through the courtroom. While they heard their men accused of resorting to almost every kind of vicious cruelty and petty meanness against union workers, the women made plans among themselves for a "victory-dinner."

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

New York Local Leads Fund Drive

Returns from collection lists during the past week have pushed the Local New York Committee, with \$85, to the top of the list of contributors to the work of the American Fund for Political Prisoners and Refugees. With hundreds of collection lists still unreported the New York Committee hopes to be able to maintain its lead over the other committees throughout the country.

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

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

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

BUILDING TRADES LOSE CONTROL OF CLEVELAND LABOR

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All this was accompanied by bribery and corruption. Government officials were bribed with passes on railroads, judges and legislators with shares of stock; and, where this was not sufficient, roads put aside a regular corruption fund with which to complete the bribery. The Erie Railroad, to mention only one, used up in one year \$700,000 as corruption expenses. When the Southern Pacific Railroad was built, a federal investigation proved that its construction was accompanied by widespread corruption of high federal legislators, reaching up even to the vice-president.

Watering the Stocks
Not content with plundering the government, they also milked the stockholders. According to the testimony of former railroad president the "promoters of the N. Y. Central injected fifty thousand dollars of absolute water" into the value of every mile between New York and Buffalo. In five years between 1888 and 1872, the share capital of the Erie Railroad jumped from \$17,000,000 to \$78,000,000 and most of the increase was pure fiction. And at regular intervals, the railroads were thrown into bankruptcy; the small stockholders were robbed of their ownership; and the widow and the orphan, over whom the railroad barons shed their crocodile tears whenever their rates were touched, were squeezed into the poor-house.

Blow to Building Trades
Another factor in the Federation struggle was the distinctly anti-labor regime in the City Hall. While Mayor Burton is clever in assuming a "middle" position between Capital and Labor, his safety director, Eliot Ness, is strongly anti-labor and proves it every day. As a result of prosecution by Ness, Don Campbell, president of the Painters District Council, and John McGee of the Building Laborers, were given penitentiary terms on charges of racketeering.

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

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

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

Railroads Demand Wage Cuts

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

By DAVE COWLES

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

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

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

The brief sketch of railroad history tears the mask of their cant and deception. It strips them bare of pretension and exposes them for what they are: Robber barons and lords of plunder.

Plundering Public Lands

From the very beginnings, the railroad barons sucked on plunder. One source was the public lands. The eminent historian Charles A. Beard bears witness to this in the short quarter of a century of railroad building ending 1872, "a chart of the railway land grants in the West looms up like the map of the Roman Empire in the Age of Augustus." The Northern Pacific, for instance, was "subsidized with land grants as large as a European country." The Southern Pacific received half as much in land grants. The Union Pacific not only received millions of acres of land as a subsidy, but both it and the Central Pacific received additional subsidies of \$16,000 to \$48,000 for each mile of construction. In fact, until the end of the second Cleveland administration, says the same historian, "the public land office of the United States was little more than a distribution center for plunder."

Bribery and Corruption
All this was accompanied by bribery and corruption. Government officials were bribed with passes on railroads, judges and legislators with shares of stock; and, where this was not sufficient, roads put aside a regular corruption fund with which to complete the bribery. The Erie Railroad, to mention only one, used up in one year \$700,000 as corruption expenses. When the Southern Pacific Railroad was built, a federal investigation proved that its construction was accompanied by widespread corruption of high federal legislators, reaching up even to the vice-president.

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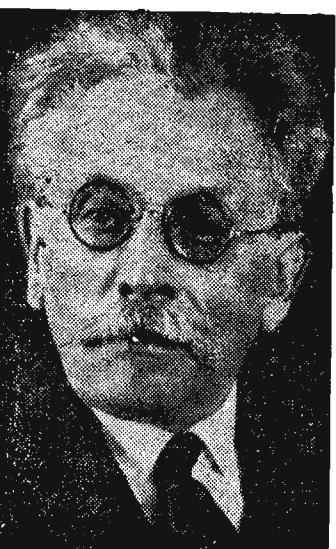
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Together Again?



ABE CAHAN



NORMAN THOMAS

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

Minneapolis Unions Back Fight For Jobless Youth

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

C. P. Scuttles Protest

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

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

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

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

Sweeping Program Adopted

The program, as adopted, is:

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

less of whether any other member of the family is on W.P.A. or any other federal or state agency. THE BASIS OF THIS DEMAND IS THE RIGHT TO WORK IF ONE WANTS A JOB, AND NOT ON THE BASIS OF NEED AS DETERMINED BY THE RELIEF DEPARTMENT.

2. N.Y.A. for all unemployed youth, whether their families are on relief or not.

3. All youth work at the union wage scale.

4. N.Y.A., C.C.C. and part-time earnings are not to be deducted from the family relief budget.

5. Free text books and materials in the high schools and free tuition at the University for all those on N.Y.A.

6. N.Y.A. and state-aid wages for high school students must be a minimum of \$15 per month. N.Y.A. wages for University students must be a minimum of \$60 per month.

7. Transform the C.C.C.'s into non-military youth projects.

8. Divert all military funds to work relief.

CAMPS

CAMP SEVEN OAKS, Eatontown, N.J. (Red Bank Station). Capacity 25, swimming pool, tennis court and other sports facilities, good food, comfortable housing. Daily \$2.75, weekly \$16.00. Fare 80 cents. Further information phone RBYant 9-7620 or Eatontown 515.

ANNOUNCEMENTS

Insertions in this column are 25 cents for five lines. Copy must be in at the APPEAL office before 6 o'clock Monday evening.

NEW YORK

Y.P.S.L. REGIONAL SCHOOL JAMBOREE, Aug. 6, at 916 Ninth Ave. (cor. 59th St.). Meet the comrades from Boston, Newark and Philadelphia in a good old-fashioned get-together. Games, Bathing Beauty Contest and Refreshments. Admission 20 cents.

BEAUTY CONTEST! GALA PARTY thrown by Wash. Hts. S.W.P. and Y.P.S.L. Saturday, August 6 at 9 P.M., at home of V. Fox, 247 Wadsworth Ave., near 185th St. Admission 20c.

AN INFORMAL GATHERING OF ALL PEOPLE interested in the work of the American Fund for Political Prisoners and Refugees will be held Wednesday evening, Aug. 10, at 8:30 P.M., at the home of Laura Woods, 45 Charles St. George Novack, national secretary of the Fund, will speak on "The Right of Asylum" and on the work of the committee. Refreshments will follow the discussion.

POLISH WORKERS CLUB and S.W.P. COMBINE to offer you an evening at the Terrace Beer Garden, 1110 Second Ave. (59th St.). Band, Beer, Entertainment. Proceeds to be used to publish a Polish pamphlet, outlining a class-struggle program for the Polish workers' movement. Saturday eve, Aug. 13. Admission 25 cents.

ROCHESTER, N. Y. 433 N. Clinton St. 287 N. Clinton St.

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

SAN DIEGO, Calif. Universal News Co., 245 B'way

Fight Against Fink Hall Forces Showdown In NMU

(Continued from page 1)

Stalinist betrayers. The speed with which these reactionaries will discredit themselves is shown by the example of the Mariners' Club Leaflet.

Mariners' Club Leaflet

The speed with which these reactionaries will discredit themselves is shown by the example of the Mariners' Club Leaflet. The government hiring hall, although it means death to all marine unions, has proved no exception. Here the N.M.U. officials bend every effort toward getting the union membership to ship through the fink hall. "Pack the Fink Hall" is one slogan, coupled to its mate, "you can't fight

Socialist Bares Barcelona Frame-Up Against POUM

Tells How Militants Are Persecuted By the Stalinist GPU

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

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

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

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

Trial Legal Assassination

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

Three Arguments

The indictment of July 11 includes three kinds of arguments: It first discusses the ideology of Madrid, bearing on its reverse in invisible ink a coded text mentioning a certain "N." (Nin? Nunez? Numa? Nina? Negrin?), found with a fascist agent in Madrid, the architect Javier Fernández Gómez. This Gómez must have been executed. A vital part of the indictment of the P.O.U.M. rested on him. Then why did they make him disappear so soon? But we know the opinion of several men in the government on all this. The frightful concoction of the Moscow trials could not get along without the blood of suspicious personages. The "N. Forgery" furnished the substance for the book by Max Rieger (what G.P.U. agent is hidden under this pseudonym?) "Espionage in Spain," with a preface by Jose Bergamin, who has decided to fall to the lowest depths, and for a pamphlet by Georges Soria, published in London.

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

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

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

Demands Counter-Trial

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

Are recent facts desired? On the night of April 23, 20 workers, members of the P.O.U.M., left the Model Prison in Barcelona for

Vancouver Jobless Fight For Right To Live

By E. ROBERTSON

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

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

Public Supported Strikers

In line with the radical traditions of Vancouver, the sit-downers got large spontaneous support from citizens, including even small shopkeepers and the Protestant churches. The CCF (socialists) with seven members in the provincial parliament and representatives in the City Council demanded that Patullo's government get out or make good the "work and wage" program it had used as suckerbait for power. The Communist Party characteristically dodged admission of its share in the strike leadership, but nobly championed the sit-down through its myriad ladies' and gentlemen's peace societies. Instead of enlisting the willing trade unionists for sympathetic strike action the Stalinite Workers' Alliance petitioned the council to petition the government to inaugurate a rearmament campaign which would absorb the unemployed! A local parson and Stalinite fall-guy, worried more about Vancouver's dubious "art treasures" than the health of the unemployed, offered them his church to sleep in if they would vacate the gallery. To his flock he apologized for his liberalism with the reminder that "these are honest men and we don't know how soon we will have to call on them to give their lives for their country."

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

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

Mayor Mobilized Forces

In the meantime Mayor Miller of Vancouver ranted red-baiting nonsense in the press and wired Patullo for more cops. The latter tried vainly to break the strikers' ranks by shrieking that half of them were non-residents and offering magnanimously to ship these "foreigners" back where they came from. Promptly a sympathetic youth organization took a census and announced that 73 per cent of the strikers had been in the province at least five years and most of the rest were Canadians who had been kept on the run so long by the buck-passing authorities that they no longer had a legal home.

The strikers themselves pointed out they were willing to go anywhere if they were guaranteed work at fair wages. Patullo wired the Dominion Government at Ottawa, also "Liberal," not for work for the men, but to get the use of the federal "mounties" and to secure a blockade against the entry of any more unemployed into B. C. Ottawa stalled and then wired its O.K. At dawn the next morning, Sunday, the yellow-striped heroes of American pulp magazines stormed the Post Office with tear-gas and threw the strikers out the doors or through the broken plate-glass windows.

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

Street Warfare

Steve Brodie, the unemployed leader, was slugged by half a dozen mounties at once and left unconscious in the gutter. Thirty-four other workless were loaded into ambulances and 22 more into the Black Maria. But the main body of the strikers broke free and, joining their comrades who were simultaneously being tear-bombed out of the Art Gallery, began marching to their union headquarters. But the mounties, eager to split more heads, beat them off and bombed their headquarters; maddened, the workless stormed down the main streets, smashing shop windows for blocks before being scattered.

When news of the brutal clubbing spread, Vancouver was in an uproar. By the afternoon, while street cleaners mopped up the \$30,000 worth of broken plate glass, 10,000 people gathered in a city park and shouted for the

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

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

Triumphal March

A hastily convened delegate conference of the city's unions voted to sponsor a protest campaign, but the heads of the Trades and Labor Council sabotaged action. Lacking the indispensable fighting support of the unions, and confused by the Stalinite and C.C.F. tactics of "appealing and deplored," the unemployed strength was gradually spent, but not before 700 more had joined the delegation in Victoria. These crossed first to Nanaimo and made a hundred-mile triumphal trek down the island, stopping en route as guests of the little mining and lumbering towns. In Victoria the men demanded work from the province or rail tickets to Ottawa, where they planned a sit-down siege to force a federal works

program. When Patullo refused to meet their delegation the 800 marched four abreast, singing "Hold the Fort," through rows of helpless police into the swank Beacon Hill Park and again sat down.

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

Struggle Continues

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

Despite their partial victory and the heroic militancy of the B. C. single men, the immediate task of the million and more Canadian unemployed is still bleak. Both the Stalinites and C.C.F. play a conciliatory role in the unions to the detriment of militant support for the jobless. Secure in the knowledge of this, the dominion and provincial houses do nothing. Both are afraid to continue the camp system because it allows the unemployed to become concentrated and organized as at present. There continues to be no federal system of relief for any type of unemployed and no guarantee of local relief. For the tens of thousands of jobless who are unlucky enough to be unmarried, there continues the routine of rod-riding, jails, starvation, and police-clubbing. Canada is to them 3,000-mile no-man's land and will remain so with the deepening depression until the government gathers them in for cannon fodder or until a militant leadership in the trade unions extends them hands of solidarity in the struggle against Canadian capitalism.

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

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

REFUGEES FLEE NAZIS; SPURNED BY 'DEMOCRACY'

Cite Cases of Exiles
Sent Back to Concentration Camps

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

The following four cases are characteristic:

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

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

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

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

Unable to Find Work

Numerous refugees allowed to remain in Belgium live only thanks to occasional and individual support. All these exiles are strictly prohibited from living by their labor. Their labor power cannot be bought. This produces among most of them, unemployed and living in the most deplorable conditions, a demoralizing effect that few can surmount.

Those who resist are precisely those among the exiles who best have understood the experience that they have lived through.

Many of these refugees, who have fled Fascism in the hope of finding a freer atmosphere in which to live and work, have been bitterly disillusioned by their experiences and have turned away from the workers' political organizations of the 2nd and 3rd Internationals, who, in their propaganda for "Democracy against Fascism," have created the illusion, especially in Schuschnigg's Austria, that genuine democracy exists in parliamentary countries.

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

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

Drive on Competitive Plants

The 20-point program placed high on the list of its activities, the organization of the competitive plants. Little or nothing has been done to place the run-away and decentralized plants under contracts. Yet the problem remains as urgent as ever. Failure to seriously undertake a program of organization can in this sphere jeopardize and eventually crack the entire wage structure of the unionized section of the industry.

Undoubtedly, Stalinist sabotage has seriously impeded the actual execution of this program. But the daily needs of the auto workers make imperative an immediate undertaking of concrete organizational measures. A constructive program must be undertaken even as the enemy is ferreted out from within. Otherwise the union faces the danger of breaking under the pressure of the employers. Inefficiency and downright incompetency of responsible Executive Board members has contributed no little to the failure to put the program into effect. They should not be allowed to stand in the way. If the membership asserts its desire for vigorous, qualified officials and organizers, this work will take a great leap forward.

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

We repeat again that only the membership can be trusted to see this program through to the end. A democratic and militant union can only be assured by an aggressive, alert and vigorous rank and file.

French Party Brands Klement Kidnapping As Work Of GPU Agents

Plan Joint Action to Combat Stalin's Terror System

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

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

Revive 20-Point Program

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

Wage cuts, temporarily postponed by the employers waiting for the proper moment and carefully feeling out the union, will soon bulk up large as the major problem before the auto workers.

Reading's cops are not likely to soften up with the passing of time. The 20-point program demands a vigorous and organized fight against wage cuts. The union can successfully cope with the wage cuts.

UAW Organizes WPA

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

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

As It is a forgery fabricated by G.P.U. specialists on the basis of the burglarization of private archives? How was this document forged? Was the signature extorted? Where has Klement been carried off to Moscow via Spain like Erwin Wolf or Marc Rein, the son of the well-known Russian socialist leader Abramovitch? Does the G.P.U. intend, by means of this document which is meant to cover up its crime, to produce a fabricated "new witness" against Trotsky and the Fourth International?

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

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

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

SOCIALIST APPEAL

Vol. II—No. 32 Saturday, August 6, 1938

Published every week by the
SOCIALIST APPEAL PUBLISHING ASS'N
at 116 University Place, New York, N. Y.
Telephone: National Office: ALgonquin 4-8547

Subscriptions: \$2.00 per year; \$1.00 for six
months. Foreign: \$2.50 per year. Bundle order
3 cents per copy. Single copies 5 cents.

All checks and money orders should be made
out to the Socialist Appeal.

Entered as second-class matter September 1,
1937, at the post office at New York, New York,
under the Act of March 3, 1879.

MAX SHAHTMAN

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S. STANLEY

Business Manager

The Popular Front
and the POUM

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

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

At least, so they say.

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

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

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

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

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

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

Third Term for Roosevelt?

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

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

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

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

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

British Repressions
Continue in Burma

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

Violent, which apparently be-
gan over incidents provoked by
members of the pro-imperialist

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

The reason for this is that Roosevelt still rep-
resents to the masses their hopes and needs.
Aided by his demagogic, supplemented by the
treacherous propaganda of trade union bureau-
crats, Stalinists, reformists and liberals of all
types, they explain the difficulties and dis-
appointments as due to the sabotage of Wall
Street and the "Tories."

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

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

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

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

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

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

Rounding the Circle

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Muslim League (a rapidly develop-
ing movement of Indian fas-
cism), led to the armed inter-
ference of the 5,000 troops perma-
nently stationed in Burma by
the British rulers. After firing
upon the crowds of demon-
strators, the military authorities set
up machine-gun outposts and
barred the streets to the people of
Rangoon, capital of Burma. Martial law was declared and
armored cars patrolled the area.
The hoary British policy of "di-
vide and rule" was at work
again!

This latest and most violent in
a series of bloody incidents now
sweeping over India indicates
that the masses of people, suf-
fering under the "civilizing vir-
tues" of British imperialism for
250 years and now facing the
prospect of rapidly approach-
ing new economic crisis, are be-
ginning to stir. We can confi-
dently predict greater struggles
in the immediate future. All the
more reason why our support
goes to these long-oppressed
people.

AMERICA'S PERMANENT DEPRESSION-II

New Deal Takes Care of Bankers First; Juggles Relief as Riot Insurance and for Political Machine

By ART FREIS

Some day the "New Deal" era
will be known as the "Years of
the Great Deception." Few poli-
tical demagogues have demon-
strated so great a divergence be-
tween the word and the deed, the
promise and the fulfillment as
has Franklin Delano Roosevelt.

Borne into office on a tremen-
dous tide of popular protest
against the brutal indifference of
the Hoover regime, Roosevelt has
steered a course with such poli-
tical adroitness that he has main-
tained his popular hold upon
the masses of American people
despite the fact that his policies
have failed to effect a single fun-
damental change in our economic
and social order.

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

Temple" are very much with us.
Indeed, his first political act, the
Bank Moratorium, served merely
to clear out the small inde-
pendent banks and a host of small de-
positors. The major financial
groups were given a new lease
upon the country. Backed by gov-
ernment power and credit, fi-
nance consolidated its

small independent producer. He
scored with fiery tongue the in-
dustrial monopolists. His new
"Magna Charta," the National
Recovery Act, as its one outstand-
ing achievement wiped out thou-
sands of the "little men" by virtue
of its price-fixing "codes of
fair business practice" and fur-
ther entrenched industrial monop-
oly. And, startling as it may
sound, while we have read of in-
numerable investigations under
the Anti-Trust laws, there has
been not one successful prosecu-
tion since Roosevelt took office.

**'Subsidizing' Home Owners
and Destroying Crops**

Much has been made of Roose-
velt's "social" legislation. Chief
among his "reform" acts have

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

The first was an attempt to
subsidize wholesale crop and live-
stock destruction, while a third
of the nation was in dire want,
and resulted in the ruin of tens of
thousands of small farm-
ers, tenant-farmers and share-
croppers. The rich landlord farm-
ers continued to collect their
rents and shares, and pocketed
the bounty of the government.
**'Subsidizing' Home Owners
and Destroying Crops**

The H.O.C., instead of pro-
tecting the small home-owners,
has merely guaranteed interest
payments to the banks, mortgage
companies and insurance cor-
porations. Thousands of small
home-owners, unable to meet in-
terest and amortization on gov-
ernment loans, have been fore-
closed, while the mortgage sharks
get good hard government cash
in place of shaky mortgages and
increasing property taxes.

**C.W.A. Stifles Mass
Jobless Revolt**

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

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

**How F.D.R. 'Solved'
Unemployment**

However, the greatest prob-
lem which faced Roosevelt when
he took office was that of un-
employment. There were 15 mil-
lion unemployed in the U.S. when
he became President. So far as
the elimination of mass unem-
ployment in this country is con-
cerned, Roosevelt's program has
accomplished exactly nothing.
There are 15 million unemploy-
ed in the U. S. today.

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

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

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

This "benevolent venture,"
adopted in most European coun-
tries years ago, is in reality a
clever scheme of government tax-
ation of the workers, whereby a
tremendous fund is being built
up, largely from deductions in
workers' wages. Thus, this grand-
iose scheme resolves itself into
a gigantic swindle, a deferred
payment of the work program.

Party Labels Inadequate
All of these phenomena, to-
gether with the running fight in
a dozen States between the
Roosevelt and anti-Roosevelt
camps of the Democratic Party,
unit in emphasizing the growing
inadequacy of the old party la-
bels and the old party frame-
work.

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

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

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

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

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

**(This is the second of a series
of articles on unemployment.
The next article will continue
the story of "The New Deal and
the Unemployed," covering the
Roosevelt unemployed program
from the winter of 1933 up to
the present.)**