

We Want No Moscow Trials in Spain, Minister Pena!

Vital Questions To Spain's Minister of Justice Pena

Gonzales Pena, Loyalist Minister of Justice at Barcelona, has arrived in the United States. Workers interested in defeating the Spanish fascists have a few questions to put to the Loyalist Minister of Justice.

1. Why are revolutionary and devoted anti-fascists hounded by the Loyalist Government?

2. Why does the Loyalist Government permit the G.P.U. to kidnap and murder revolutionists devoted to the cause of the working class?

3. Why are not the anti-fascists now in jail given a public trial? Why does the Loyalist Government refuse to make public the preparations for the trial?

4. Will the Loyalist Government permit a commission to be present at the trial and to examine the defendants and the witnesses?

There is no more fitting person than the honorable Minister of Justice to answer the above questions and to bring back to the Loyalist Government the news that those American workers who are the most militant fighters against fascism will not believe a single word of "testimony" given at a trial which is only a replica of a Moscow trial.

Militant American workers will announce to the Minister: To defeat the fascists you must liberate the anti-fascists.

F.D.R. Includes Canada in US War Zone; Hull Shakes Warning Fist At Europe

Pledge of Armed Support to Canada Shows Imperialist Plans for World Dominion

President Roosevelt last week utilized his trip to Canada to make his most dramatic pronouncement on foreign policy since his Chicago Address inaugurated the new stage in the preparations of the United States for the coming war. Before an audience gathered to watch him receive an honorary degree from Queens College, he pledged the armed forces of the United States to a "defense" of Canada.

The Chicago Address last autumn marked the open and conscious recognition by the Roosevelt administration of a new world war, and the beginning of deliberate preparation for it. Before that, however, at the Buenos Aires Conference, Secretary of State Hull had laid out plainly a main line of the strategy of Roosevelt imperialism. Speaking at the Conference, Hull flatly announced the intention of the United States to maintain and extend its hegemony over all of South and Central America.

War Machine Marches

In the months which have followed the Chicago Address, the administration war machine has marched ruthlessly forward. A series of amazingly provocative notes and proclamations on the Far Eastern situation have told Japan that the United States will not tolerate the closing of rich Chinese markets. With a contemptuous disregard for legality, the administration has refused to invoke the Neutrality Act in the Sino-Japanese War at the same time that it clamps the Act down in Spain.

As soon as Congress opened in January, the billion dollar military budget was steam-rollered over the tiny opposition; and within a few weeks the Vinton Big Navy Bill started on its victorious parliamentary journey. Meanwhile, the Ludlow Amendment was smashed and buried.

The details of the mobilization plans were elaborated, providing the complete structure of military dictatorship, and embodied in bills ready for instantaneous passage at the outbreak of a crisis. The confidential journeys of State Department and Army officials, the "parallel action" in the East, the "complementary action" in Mexico, the naval maneuvers at Singapore, revealed the *de facto* existence of a military alliance with Great Britain.

Isolationists Slapped

The Queens College speech continued spectacularly the same course of development. It was slapped square into the faces of

the isolationists and pure-pacifist dreamers.

Roosevelt has subsequently made some pretense that his remarks are merely part of the "traditional" interpretation of the Monroe Doctrine. This is an obvious sham, and controverted by the opinions of all competent historians. U. S. imperialism exposes its hand openly over a new province, the vast expanse of Canada.

From one point of view, the Roosevelt declaration that the United States will defend Canada is another implicit avowal of alliance between the United States and Great Britain. But the declaration goes beyond this in suggesting that in the tie-up Great Britain must be considered the junior partner. Never before in modern history has one great power had the audacity to state that it is the protector of the dominion or colony of another great power.

Claim War Resources

It is profoundly significant to recall that in recent studies by the War Department of the war material resources of the imperialist nations, the resources of Canada are listed among the reserves of the United States, not of England.

The day preceding the Queens College address, Hull directed a short-wave broadcast to Europe, the two speeches obviously timed to fit together. Hull repeated his familiar platitudes about international law and order, the sanctity of treaties, and the joys of international morality. In even stronger terms than normal, he denounced international anarchy.

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Blackwell, Freed by Spanish Gov't, Snatched from Ship

Russell Blackwell, American revolutionary anti-fascist, who was recently released by the Loyalist Government into the hands of the American consul at Valencia for repatriation, was mysteriously removed from the boat upon which the American consul had placed him for the voyage to Marseilles. The snatching was made by the Spanish Secret Police (Stalinists) who are now holding Blackwell at the headquarters of the Secret Police at Valencia.

His wife, Mrs. Russell Blackwell of New York City, has been informed of these sensational events by Secretary of State Cordell Hull. Like Ossietzky in his prison interview with the press, Blackwell in an interview with the American Consul afterward said he had not been ill-treated.

Promised Freedom

After struggling against fascism and for socialism in Spain, for nearly two years, Blackwell, who has a long and honorable record in the American labor

movement, received the usual Stalinist title as a "Trotskyist-Fascist" and subsequently was arrested in Madrid. Through the efforts of Mrs. Blackwell and friends here, the American State Department was recently prevailed upon to secure his repatriation. Late in July the Spanish government responded to the State Department's request by promptly releasing Blackwell to the American consul at Valencia, at whose residence he took refuge, "under guard" as it was put.

In what may be an unprecedented coup, the Spanish Government through its Stalinist Secret Police, reversed itself and upset the arrangement between the two governments by snatching him from American custody when the American consul turned away from seeing him off on the boat.

The group which has been working for Blackwell's release continues its appeal for assistance. Send funds to John McDonald, 63 Washington Square, New York City.

Socialist Appeal

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ST. PAUL UNIONS DEMAND IDLE FACTORIES BE OPENED, OPERATED UNDER WORKERS' CONTROL

Paper Unions Rule at Bridges Conclave

Calif. State Meeting Admits Impotence to Aid Unions

On the Slide



HARRY BRIDGES

SLATE IS NAMED BY S.W.P. IN NEW JERSEY ELECTION

Candidates Oppose Hague's Political Machine

NEWARK, N. J.—The North Jersey District of the Socialist Workers Party placed in the field this week a ticket of four running for office in the general elections this fall and opened a campaign to broadcast the revolutionary message to the workers in this area.

The following candidates were nominated: Irving Rosenberg (vice-president of the C.I.O. union) for Congress from the 12th Congressional District; Reuben Plaskett (young unemployed leader) for Congress from the 11th; Frank Shapiro (W.P.A. worker) for State Senator; Willis Crews (revolutionary fighter for Negro rights) for General Assembly. The S.W.P. is also giving critical support to the S. P. candidate for U. S. Senator, John Palenig.

Hague Runs Candidates
The issues in the fall elections are much more clean-cut than anywhere else in the country. The reactionary Democratic Party and the reactionary Republican Party, as alike as two peas in a pod, are both controlled by Hague.

To date Labor's Non-Partisan League has not uttered a single peep about running a single candidate for any office in this area in spite of the fact that their hunt for "some one to endorse" has brought them up against a blank wall so far.

Both Reactionaries
The issues are clear for every one but the Stalinists. In each capitalist party there is only one man running for U. S. Senator in the primaries who stands any chance for nomination. Both are out-and-out reactionaries: Barbour for the Republicans, Ely for the Democrats.

Ely has been a creature of Hague for many years and a mortal enemy of the W.P.A. workers. Ever since his appointment through Roosevelt and Hague to the post of State Administrator of W.P.A., he has been carrying out a vicious anti-labor policy. He has been supported at every turn by Washington.

Stalinists in the Soup
The Stalinists are rushing about this week trying to get organizations to send letters and telegrams to Roosevelt, "notifying

Hands Off, Mr. Dies!

Labor Will Clean It's Own House!

An Editorial

Reactionaries everywhere have rallied around the House Committee to Investigate Un-American Activities of which Congressman Martin Dies of Texas is the chairman. They look hopefully to the Committee's becoming a real battering ram to be used against everything and everybody that might in the least interfere with the "inalienable right" of the employers to exploit the workers to their hearts' content.

Every open-shopper, every politician and "labor leader," anxious to show how faithful he is to the interests of his masters, every stool pigeon and petty racketeer comes forward with lies and half-truths to convince the American people that our great American institutions are about to be destroyed by plotters of high and low standing.

To fool some people into believing that the Committee is impartial and against all those who are connected in the popular mind with "un-American" activities, some gestures were made in the direction of investigating the more or less official fascist groups. After a perfunctory examination of witnesses on Nazi activities, the Committee proceeded to its real objective.

It is to be noticed that the Committee evidently considers the arming of thugs and gangsters by Tom Girdler and others of his stripe, to maim and murder strikers, as falling within the category of good Americanism. At any rate it has not turned to an investigation of such activities. As a matter of fact, one of the main purposes of the Dies Committee is to counteract the evidence brought out by the LaFollette Civil Liberties Committee.

Witnesses before that committee showed how the employers spent huge sums to buy armaments with which to arm the scum of the earth for murderous attacks on active unionists; how vigilante organizations were created and "spontaneous" mobbings organized—all in order to destroy every form of unionism. The Dies Committee has set for itself the task of answering the LaFollette Committee and of erasing the effect left on the public mind by the testimony of the witnesses who appeared before that committee.

* * * * *

Upon the stage first stepped John P. Frey, one of the vice-presidents of the American Federation of Labor. The tremendous publicity given to the representative of the A. F. of L. bureaucracy indicates an agreement on the part of the Dies Committee and the doddering bureaucrats of the A. F. of L. to use the Committee against the C.I.O. Frey presented a lengthy report intended to show that the C.I.O. was largely under the influence of the Communist Party. Many of the things Frey testified to are well known to every one in the least acquainted with the labor movement. Even a casual reading of the *Daily Worker* would show that most of the material presented by Frey in his report was taken from that paper.

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Union Builders Lay Plans; Wreckers Map UA W Split

Stalinists Claim Sanction from Lewis; Urge Him to Set Up Czar Rule Over Auto Workers Union

DETROIT.—Three conferences held this week at Detroit, Cleveland and Toledo supplied a striking contrast between the aims and plans of the union-builders on the one hand and those of the union-busters on the other.

The build-the-union conferences held in Detroit and Cleveland were officially sponsored by the Auto Workers' International and brought a large attendance of representatives and officers speaking for the majority of the membership of the U. A. W.

Resolutions were adopted on the vital problems facing the union: the continued and determined prosecution of the drive to organize the Ford Motor Company. The recent creation of a separate Ford Local to be called Local 600 with its own officers and Executive Board is the first step towards putting body into the structure of the Ford Organizing Committee and implementing this resolution.

The continued drive for the organization of W.P.A. workers into the union auxiliary and concrete steps pledging the organization of the unorganized competitive plants were also featured in resolutions. Confidence and enthusiasm were prevalent among the delegates to these conferences that the union was lifting out of the mire of disruptive factional activity, into which it has been plunged by the union-wrecking agents of the Communists.

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In Toledo, an entirely different picture was presented. There the expelled officers, the Communists

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Approve Plan for No-Profit Industry

Propose Law Would Have State Take Over Closed Plants to be Run by Jobless Workers

AT UNION HOURS, WAGES

Fourteen million jobless workers stand idle throughout the United States, unable to earn a living through gainful employment, fortunate if meager relief provides them with a bare living.

In a nation that surpasses all others in its power to produce, these fourteen millions are turned out upon the streets, the factories boarded up, the smokestacks of industry smokeless.

No profits—no jobs!

Against the senseless contradictions of the profit system—want in the midst of plenty, idle plants surrounded by idle men—workers in St. Paul offer their own solution. Let the workers open the idle factories, regardless of profits! Let them be operated by the workers, under union conditions, hours and wages.

STRANGE MEDLEY AT YOUTH MEET

Patriots From Many Lands Bicker, Pass War Resolution

Under the leadership of the Stalinists, more than 500 delegates to the Second World Youth Congress, meeting at Vassar College in Poughkeepsie, adopted a patriotic resolution on war under the guise of fighting for "peace."

The resolution adopted is a repetition, almost word for word, of the seven-point program outlined by Secretary of State Cordell Hull, in his radio address to the nation last week. Hull's statement, like the Congress resolution, is a definite attempt to unite the "good" democratic nations against the "bad" fascist powers for a new imperialist war.

State-Owned Plants

The act sets up a system by which common necessities can be produced without a profit, and distributed to the workers on a cost basis. The state-owned plants, under the act, would be operated by a public industries commission, on the basis of industrial democracy through workers councils.

Although the operating plan is not thoroughly democratic, since the public industries commission, according to the act, would be appointed by the governor, the provision for workers' councils, which would direct the operation of the individual plants, would serve as the basis for genuine workers' control.

Such an act, which has met the enthusiasm of the St. Paul trade union movement, would be a bitter pill to the bewildered capitalists, who indiscriminately close their plants the moment their profits are unsure. It would serve as a real demonstration of the fact that capitalism is un-

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Pickets Protest Frame-Up Trials

NEW YORK.—While Gonzales Pena, Minister of Justice for Spain, now visiting the U. S., lunched at the Hotel Astor, members of the Socialist Workers Party and the Young People's Socialist League picketed the hotel, protesting the trials of left-wing militants, scheduled to take place soon in Spain.

Attending the luncheon were a number of well known labor leaders, including Norman Thomas and Charles Zimmerman, Lovestone head of Local 22, Garment Workers Union. Zimmerman, who was in charge of the luncheon, prevented delegates from the picket line from presenting a petition to the minister from Loyalist Spain.

Banners carried by the marching pickets, calling a halt to Moscow trials in Spain, attracted considerable attention from the noon-time crowds about the fashionable hotel in the center of Times Square. Yankee imperialism became the savior of mankind.

CHICAGO SLATE IN AT A.F.T. MEET

Fred Beal Defense Defeated by Stalinists

CEDAR POINT, Ohio.—At the convention of the American Federation of Teachers held here last week, the Stalinists made another attempt to get control of the national organization and were defeated by a bloc headed by the Chicago slate, representing the largest local and two thirds of that city's teachers, whose slate elected majority of the membership of the U. A. W.

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AMERICA'S PERMANENT DEPRESSION - V

Panaceas Fail; Only Destruction of Capitalism Can Rid Society of Mass Unemployment

By ART PREIS

Although this is supposedly an age of scientific enlightenment, millions of sick people are still victimized by racketeers selling dangerous and worthless patent medicines and treatments. While the noxious brews of these racketeers may differ in color or content, they all have one thing in common; none of these fake cure-all attack the real sources of disease—in fact, all tend to prolong and aggravate what they are advertised to cure by delaying proper treatment, or even stimulating more virulent attacks.

Diseased social systems also bring their hosts of patent medicine racketeers. These vend their pain-killers and phoney drugs with even greater cynicism and danger to human welfare than the rats who sell colored water to victims of cancer.

The American workers and farmers are the victims of deadly economic and social disorders—mass unemployment, labor exploitation, oppression, poverty, and imperialist war preparations. They are desperately seeking some cure, any cure, for the rigidity of their misery. And the patent medicine men, with ballyhoo and fraud, palm off, at a price, their neatly labeled bottles to the victimized masses. These bottles may be labeled "Inflation" or "Deflation," "Price-Fixing," or "Free Play of Prices," "Spending-Lending" or "Budget Balancing," "Collective Security" or "Isolation," but they all have one thing in common; none of these colored waters attack the real source of our social disorders, the system of capitalism, all stimulate these disorders by delaying adequate treatment or by actually predisposing the victims to more deadly attacks.

Workers Need Radical Cure

The cure of mass unemployment, the deadliest condition next to imperialist war induced by capitalism, cannot be affected by any of the measures projected within the frame-work of capitalism.

Furthermore, it becomes increasingly evident that the capitalist class, that handful of individuals who by their control of the natural resources, productive machinery and distribution mechanisms of our society, together with the government which is its organized arm of force to maintain it in power, does not intend nor desire to eliminate unemployment. At best, the government and the class for which it operates will seek only to alleviate the most outright suffering attending unemployment, and then only when and where the pressure and revolt of the unemployed themselves are greatest. After nine years of unemployment unprecedented in the history of the nation, there has been no recognition by the government of the permanent character of unemployment under our present economic system.

Unemployment has been treated only by relief, even when administered in the form of made-work such as W.P.A. The very term "relief" implies something temporary, like morphine which momentarily deadens suffering but does not cure. But eventually the capitalist class will consider such "relief" too expensive, will reduce the doses as it is doing already, and finally withdraw them altogether.

No Cure Under Capitalism

The working class dare not be content to take "dope" for its suffering. It must seek to organize and effect an order of society in which the causes of its suffering are completely eliminated. It must fight unemployment at its very source, the capitalist system.

No program for the elimination of unemployment can be honest and effective that does not look to the destruction of capitalism and the establishment of a collective economic system controlled by and for the masses of workers, poor farmers, and impoverished middle classes as a whole.

The keystone of such a collective economic order is workers' control of industry. The workers as a class must say to their industrial overlords, "You have been running this country up to now, and you've run it into the ground. You are not interested in providing the necessities and comforts of life for the millions whose labor has built the industrial system and gathered and fabricated the raw materials. You want only profits for yourselves, so that you can live in idleness and luxury while the vast majority live in want and insecurity. If you can't give us steady work, under decent conditions and short hours, with a standard of living that this country is capable of providing—

and you have proved you can't—Get out! We'll take over the factories, mines, machinery and railroads, and we'll operate them ourselves for our benefit and not yours!"

What To Do Now?

Many intelligent workers who will agree with this, will, nevertheless, ask, "But what shall we do? We are not sufficiently organized, we haven't the power as yet to establish full control of the economic system? Too many workers are still unconvinced that this is necessary. Yet, we are suffering now!"

We must do what a competent physician does in treating a dangerously sick patient. We must first attempt to build up the natural resistance of the patient and treat the disease symptomatically until the complete treatment can be applied effectively. We must try to reduce the fever, ease the pain, regulate the diet, drain off accumulated poisons, etc. In other words, we must organize the workers to resist every single encroachment of the capitalist disease even while we prepare the anti-toxin which will destroy it utterly.

First and foremost, we must demand and fight for jobs now for every unemployed worker—not just three or four million jobs on W.P.A. or P.W.A., but jobs for every one of the able bodied 14-15 million unemployed men and women in the U.S.

National Public Works Program

These jobs are to come from two sources. The first is a gigantic and permanent national public works program which will provide jobs on projects of immediate benefit to the workers, regardless of whether the work competes with private industries, and jobs which will be open to all unemployed whether on relief or not, or whether any other member of the family is working.

In other words, the projects must be ones like low cost housing and slum elimination, and not building National Guard armories. The giving of jobs shall be on the basis of the right of every worker to a job, not just relief for a family.

The second source of jobs is indicated in the demand that all plants, machinery, factories, mines, etc., which are idle, or turned over to the unemployed, working less than capacity, shall and operated by them in the production of goods for the use of the workers. The government shall provide capital for these workers to enable them to secure necessary equipment and raw materials.

It is insufficient, however, merely to have jobs. The demand should be raised for jobs which will provide for a standard of living equivalent to the government's own minimum standards for decency and health, \$30 per week at present price levels, with automatic increases to correspond with price inflations. Trade union rates should prevail on all such work.

Six Hour Day, Five Day Week

Further, there must be a tremendous campaign organized to force industry to reduce the work day and work week, with a proportional increase in wage-rates, so that large numbers of unemployed may be re-absorbed back into private industry. We must fight for the six-hour day, five-day week, with no reduction in total earnings.

Membership Doubled

The report of the Secretary-Treasurer Kuenzl showed that

L. A. Summer School Ends Fifth Session

LOS ANGELES. — The Labor and Socialist Summer School has recently terminated one week of intensive summer school activity. In the beautiful surroundings of Big Bear Park, 120 miles from Los Angeles, 45 students participated in a course of educational, sports, and cultural activities. This fifth year of the Labor and Socialist Summer School was in itself the most successful thus far.

Organized and sponsored by the Socialist Workers Party and Young People's Socialist League, 4th International, with leading members of these organizations as instructors, the school covered all of the major political and theoretical problems of the working-class movement today.

Classes Held

Classes in American History, Trade Union Problems, the History of the three Internationals, Political Economy, Fundamentals of Socialism, Party and Y.P.S.L. Organizational Principles, and a Socialist World Tour were a daily curriculum.

A living newspaper covering the events of the "outside world" and of the school is now being compiled into a summer school annual.

The whole tone of the school was set by the nature of its opening. The school was postponed for one day in order to allow the entire student body to march under the Socialist Workers Party banner at an Anti-Nazi demonstration. Thus, the first class of the school took place in the streets, in a demonstration involving 3,000 workers, including the Socialist Workers Party contingent of over 200.

CHICAGO SLATE IN AT A.F.T. MEET

(Continued from page 1) strike leader, now serving a long chain gang sentence on a murder frame-up charge. The case for the Beal resolution was vigorously presented by Esther Lieberman, representing the New York minority delegation and also supported by Lillian Herstein, who has a twenty-year record in defending labor cases. The Stalinists who fought the Beal resolution with their usual falsehoods and frame-ups, succeeded in cutting off debate at the crucial moment and defeated it by a small margin of 178 to 144. Because the issues involved were new to them, many of the delegates abstained from voting.

Resolutions on War

Earlier the convention had listened to a debate on the war question between the collective securityites and those elements who had presented a minimum anti-war resolution, the Stalinists joined with other delegates in voting to table both resolutions.

By this gesture they sought to conciliate that section of the convention which sought to act only on strictly teacher questions. The sentiment in the convention seemed to be that action on the war question would divide the organization into warring factions.

The apparent aim of both leading factions appeared to keep as many controversial issues off the floor as possible. At the same time both sides sought to line up as many delegates as possible for their respective states upon the basis of their personal achievements rather than upon the basis of a definite program. As a result of such tactics the unaffiliated delegates voted for the candidates of both states depending upon their personal prominence.

Membership Doubled

The money for these jobs must come from the national government, which must secure it in turn from the bankers and industrialists. The first demand on this score must be to turn all war funds over to the aid of the unemployed. The billions of dollars which the Roosevelt regime is feeding into the pockets of the steel and munitions barons in preparation for the imperialist slaughter of the workers, must be diverted instead into the workers' pockets, through socially useful work.

Secondly, we must demand the nationalization of the banking system, all surplus bank capital and idle assets to be put to use immediately in providing jobs for the unemployed.

Nationalize Subsidized Industries

In addition, all industries, such as the railroads, which have been

draining billions from the public treasury through the R.F.C., and which the capitalists claim they cannot operate profitably without reducing wages, shall also be expropriated and turned over to the control of the workers in that industry. Thus the huge funds which the government is spending for subsidizing of bonuses and dividends on billions of dollars of watered railroad stock, will be

Slogan 'Sales Mean Jobs' Displays Boss Futility

As though they had just sailed across uncharted economic waters and discovered a new route to capitalist "Paradise," the Chambers of Commerce of almost every city of the United States are expending hundreds of thousands of dollars to publicize the amazing news that "Sales Mean Jobs."

But the cause of the depressions is the simple fact that the bosses can't make their profits and therefore won't make jobs. To the Chambers of Commerce, however, the depressions come about because the workers are in a bad humor, and won't buy. One can easily picture the workers pouting in their hovels, refusing to buy food and clothing, and condemning themselves to slow starvation because they don't want to bring back prosperity.

This smokescreen is so stupid that even the Junior Association should be able to see through it—if they have been able to concoct this old, overplayed and long discredited idea.

No matter how often they run their ancient course, the businessmen never learn that the economic world is round, and that they always end up at the point of departure—another crash.

Sidestep Crisis

But today it's asking too much of the ignorance and gullibility of the public, to attempt to sidestep the fundamental contradictions of the profit system, by a campaign for a "Salesmen's Crusade" to squeeze enough purchases out of the turnip-dry consumers of America to bring back prosperity.

The logic of the "Sales Mean Jobs" campaign goes something like this: if people would loosen up and buy something, we would have to make more goods, and consequently we would have more sales, which would . . . etc, etc.

A very desirable turn of events. The catch is, however, that no one has any money to start this snowball rolling. It's the job that makes the sales, and it is at the source that the problem must be

have been in cahoots with Lewis all along. He said:

"I want to say that the suspended and expelled officers have at all times consulted and been advised by the head of the C.I.O. We have not made one move without consulting the Committee for Industrial Organization. And you may rest assured that at the proper time and proper place the C.I.O. will give us the guiding hand this union so badly needs."

The Toledo conference not only howled down the opposition of the two Socialist delegates, George Edwards and Victor Reuther, but it went a step further and decided to give to Lewis his administration the power not only to call the rump conference, but to change the date or to call it off entirely. Here is example number one million of Stalinist "democracy." After howling at the press: "I'm no dictator," said Harry, in effect, "that's why I'm calling a convention, it will settle everything."

This is his answer to the growing revolt against his leadership of the West Coast C.I.O.: a record of strike-breaking as in the Ford strike, of picket-smashing as in the S.U.P. struggle with the Shephard Line, of false promises as with the timber workers of the Northwest, of union-smashing as in the office workers in San Francisco, of dictatorship as in the case of the auto, steel, and rubber workers' unions.

Harry (You'll-take-orders-from-me-or-else) Bridges gave the show away in a San Francisco interview to the press: "I'm no dictator," said Harry, in effect, "that's why I'm calling a convention, it will settle everything."

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Bridges' Sleight-of-Hand

But the unions in the L.A. Trade Union Conference know that the Communist-Bridges hand-picked convention can settle nothing. Too long have they been held captive by an iron control exercised through paper locals. Do Bridges and his stooges need a few more delegates? Credentials appear as by magic. Do they need some more fake unions? Charters are granted readily to a few communists.

The only thing that can happen is that Bridges will "elect" Bridges, his hero-worshippers will be thrown into hysterics and the real problems of the labor movement will remain unanswered. Had Bridges desired a real convention, he would have consulted with the international representatives and other officers of the unions in California and democratically planned it.

Cut-and-Dried Convention

The convention "decisions" were long ago written by Joe Stalin's man, Earl Browder, and the dish prepared and doctored by the Communist party commissars of California.

The progressive trade-unionists, in the main, refuse to swallow this dish. Those few who haven't as yet seen the real facts will have their eyes opened at the "convention."

Meanwhile the L.A. Trade Union Conference is getting down to business in carrying out its program. A newspaper is being planned and it may first appear as a special "convention" issue setting forth completely its position and answering the many questions that have been raised by an awakening labor movement.

NEW BODY WINS SUPPORT IN L.A.

Locals Back Stand of Leaders; Hail 6-Point Program

By A Special Correspondent

LOS ANGELES, Calif. — The Bridges-Stalinist cry of no support to the ranks and file was thoroughly answered last week as an aroused C.I.O. membership in local after local voted in decisive fashion to support the Los Angeles Trade Union Conference in withdrawing from the Los Angeles Industrial Union Council and boycotting the Bridges privately-called, privately-planned and privately-conducted "State C.I.O. Convention."

The model six-point program of the conference is finding an enthusiastic response in all sections of the labor movement. Solidarity in the struggle against the onslaughts of the bosses in the deepening crisis is recognized as the primary need. Stalinist splitting tactics and dictatorship are becoming thoroughly discredited.

IL.G.W.U. Locals Solid

An overflow meeting of Local 96, IL.G.W.U., the dressmakers' union, by a 2-to-1 majority, acted to support the Conference. The Stalinists made a desperate stand in this local, attempting as a final resort to break up the meeting by a noisy demonstration, while Bill Busick, IL.G.W.U. organizer and leader of the insurgents, was relating the union-wrecking history of the C.P. in the labor movement.

Sales Shut Down

The employers have indiscriminately shut down their plants

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(Continued from page 1) workable and unnecessary, and begin the march on the road to the socialization of industry.

Before Local Unions

Now being studied in the local unions, the act was endorsed by the legislative committee of the Trades and Labor Assembly, which used as the basis for its provisions the need "to banish poverty and the evil consequences thereof by providing unlimited and unrestricted means for continuous industrial operation in every department of productive activity, thereby insuring the satisfaction of every human need of those whose labor and talents are no longer required in private industry."

How long private industry could continue to exist under such a system of state-owned and worker-operated production is problematical. A vicious fight on the part of Minnesota industrialists can be expected.

Wages, according to the act, shall be determined by "payment to the workers of the full value of their collective product." And hours of employment "shall be reduced to the lowest point commensurate with a high standard of living, but not to exceed a five-day week of six hours per day."

Challenge to Capitalists

Such provisions stand as a real challenge to the capitalist system of production, in which profits determine everything, and the needs of the workers are secondary. Sick and tired of the waste under capitalist production, the act stands as its purpose "to enrich the community by enlisting every unemployed worker in the production of all forms of useful wealth" and further states it aims "to safeguard youth of the community by providing opportunity."

Rubber Union Rallies

Earlier in the week, District Council 5 of the rubber workers representing every local west of the Rockies and General Motors Local of the United Automobile Workers, the largest on the Pacific Coast, and the Willys Local of the U.A.W.A., took similar action.

Out of 62 delegates to the rubber workers' council, 61 voted to support the stand previously taken by every rubber workers' local in solidarizing themselves with the conference.

Auto Union Lines Up

At the General Motors and Willys meetings a steady flow of Stalinist speakers attempted to stem the tide. The hypocritical cry of unity—unity on the Stalinist program—was all they could offer; no defense of the charges leveled against them was attempted. The vote in both locals was overwhelming and the Stalinist secretaries of both were forced to resign.

Harry (You'll-take-orders-from-me-or-else) Bridges gave the show away in a San Francisco interview to the press: "I'm no dictator," said Harry, in effect, "that's why I'm calling a convention, it will settle everything."

This is his answer to the growing revolt against his leadership of the West Coast C.I.O.: a record of strike-breaking as in the Ford strike, of picket-smashing as in the S.U.P. struggle with the Shephard Line, of false promises as with the timber workers of the Northwest, of union-smashing as in the office workers in San Francisco, of dictatorship as in the case of the auto, steel, and rubber workers' unions.

Bridges' Sleight-of-Hand

But the unions in the L.A. Trade Union Conference know that the Communist-Bridges hand-picked convention can settle nothing. Too long have they been held captive by an iron control exercised through paper locals. Do Bridges and his stooges need a few more delegates? Credentials appear as by magic. Do they need some more fake unions? Charters are granted readily to a few communists.

Peace & Plenty

August 27 is the tenth anniversary of the signing of the Kellogg Pact "to outlaw war," a handsome piece of paper to which only five nations—Argentina, Bolivia, El Salvador, Uruguay and Yemen—failed to put their signatures.

In the intervening ten years, the following wars were not prevented: The Japanese seizure of Manchuria and attack on Shanghai in 1931-32, the Chaco War from 1932-35, the Italian invasion of Ethiopia in 1935, the Spanish Civil War and the Japanese-Chinese War, which are both still raging—not to mention minor frays such as the present one in Palestine and British bombing operations in India. All the countries involved in these wars signed the Kellogg Pact with the exception of Bolivia.

* * *

The Swiss have just given tangible evidence of their faith in the ability of the League of Nations to preserve peace by constructing a tank trap within 500 yards of the League of Nations Palace in Geneva. There is now a tank trap on every road into Geneva.

* * *

From fourteen to fifteen billion dollars a year, six times the amount spent in the year before the World War, is being paid for armaments in 1938. Thus the nations indicate their belief that war has been outlawed. The "peace-loving democracies," as well as the "war-mad" dictatorships, are doing their bit to keep the munitions works going overtime.

* * *

"There is a spirit that broods over Palestine, and with God's help peace will be restored to the Holy Land," declared MacDonald, British Dominions Secretary, on August 11, on his return from Palestine.

* * *

There is indeed a spirit brooding over Palestine, but scarcely one of peace and holiness. On August 19, Arabs were besieging Hebron and there was heavy fighting going on between the British and Arabs around Acre and the plain of Sharon. British planes machine-gunned Arabs, as the military might of Britain proceeded "to restore peace to the Holy Land."

* * *

General John J. Pershing has arrived in Paris for his yearly tour of inspection of American war cemeteries in France. "Nothing," said the World War commander, "can prevent me from visiting the American graves in France annually as long as I live." Here is comfort for the soldiers of America's future wars. "Go, ye heroes, go and die," secure in the knowledge that every year, no matter how inconvenient for him it may be, your Commander-in-chief will pay a pious pilgrimage to your graves!

* * *

The U. S. Army Air Corps, according to Russell Owen, New York Times star reporter, prefers the name of "flying fortresses" to "bombers," since "they do not like the onus that has become attached to that name." When our military experts succeed in finding pretty names for all such unpopular lethal weapons as poison gas and submarines, nobody can have any objection to being a casualty in the sweet and gentle "Defense of democracy" that some people, with no sense of decency, insist on calling "imperialist war."

* * *

The du Pont family of Delaware, who are not strangers to some of these instruments of death or the profits to be made from them, is building a \$300,000 tomb to house the remains of the late Alfred Irene du Pont, with room for five other du Ponds. This monument will be a tower with a carillon and beacon lights, and a six-passenger elevator—just the right size for the ghosts of all six du Ponds to ride up and down in. Thus one of the greatest of "America's sixty families" will be housed in death in something like the style to which it is accustomed in life.

* * *

One section of the American people does not need the relief our generous government is trying to foist on it. A survey of the working capital position of fifty major and fifty moderate sized corporations conducted by an investment firm found that banks "will be unable to count on industry as a source of demand for the greatly increased loans urged on them recently by the Reconstruction Finance Corporation." This is "quite surprising" says the report, in view of the expectation that the undistributed profits tax would cut working capital "way down." Since industry has more money than it knows what to do with, what about some more of it for unemployed relief and W.P.A.?

Await Nazi Move In Czechoslovakia

Hitler Threat Arouses Extreme Nationalistic Fervor; Workers View British Efforts With Skepticism

By FRANK DEMBY

(Special to the Socialist Appeal)

PRAGUE, Czechoslovakia, Aug. 10.—This magnificent city, the juncture between East and West, has been literally overwhelmed by an influx of newspaper correspondents since the beginning of this month—the occasion, of course, being the arrival of Lord Runciman and his entourage. On the surface, Prague is calm; the people do not seem unduly excited in view of the critical situation. They know, at least, that regardless of the results of Runciman's mission, there will be no war while Runciman is here, so they calmly pursue the even tenor of their ways, take vacations, sip their beer in the many pleasant cafes and talk—mainly of the Russo-Japanese situation, rather than of Runciman and Hitler, whom they would like to forget.

The experienced observer, however, is not fooled by the easygoing disposition of the Czechs. There are countless bits of evidence which reveal the tension beneath the surface and explain the highly charged atmosphere of Prague, when compared with London or Paris. One can stroll any evening down the stately Vaclavské, Prague's Broadway, and Fifth Avenue, and notice the number of soldiers who walk briskly past, saluting each other. The population, from capitalist to worker, eyes them with pride. One can almost read behind the gleam in their eyes their obvious thoughts: "There go our soldiers. Look how strong and well-trained they are. If Hitler thinks that he will take Czechoslovakia like he took Austria, he is making a big mistake. We will fight, everyone of us; and our army, almost a million strong, is the best-equipped in the world." How many times now have I heard such thoughts from the lips of various people, representing every social strata and class!

Speak No German

It is obvious that an intense wave of nationalism and patriotism has swept over this small, elongated state, artificially created by the Treaty of Versailles, and now already half inside the jaws of Hitler's Greater Germany. Instances are too numerous to mention, but one made a profound impression upon me. I knew that Czechoslovakian is a slavic language and would be so much gibberish to me, but I did not anticipate any language difficulties as I took it for granted that almost everyone in Prague would speak German. Time after time German drew no response at all. Finally, I asked a comrade to explain this. He replied: "Oh, yes! Most Czechs speak German, but they will not do so nowadays if they can avoid it."

The reasons for this chauvinistic sweep are not hard to find. Hitler's annexation of Austria made the Czech bourgeoisie realize that they were next. Relatively far more powerful and clever than the Austrian bourgeoisie, the Czech bourgeoisie was determined to fight for the preservation of their internal imperialist domain, the right to exploit the nine millions of Germans, Slovaks, Ruthenians, Hungarians, etc., who comprise a definite majority of the total population of 15,000,000. When the general mobilization was called on May 21, there were many misgivings in foreign capitals, even, it is rumored, in the Presidential Palace. Only the General Staff of the Army was confident that the mobilization could be achieved. They knew the strength and training of the army, and the superiority that the famous Skoda munitions works gave them. It turned out to be a master stroke. Everything went off like clockwork. In some towns in the Sudeten areas, when soldiers began to appear, they thought it must be the advance guard of Hitler's legions. The Henleinists turned out to welcome them, only to be immediately disillusioned. Hitler took pause and decided that that was not the moment. The result was to raise Czech patriotism to a feverish pitch.

EDUARD BENES

G.P.U., outside of Russia, and the gangster apparatus, although at present quiet, is waiting for the time when it will be more politic for it to move more openly and freely.

In fact, it is only the small voice of the Fourth International that is raised here against the dictatorial war plans of Czechoslovakia and the chauvinistic poison that has been injected into the bloodstream of the proletariat by these so-called workers' leaders.

Economic Crisis

The present crisis is equally revealed, although perhaps not so dramatically, in the economic field. True, the two gigantic enterprises of Czechoslovakia, the Skoda munitions works and the Bata shoe factories, are still showing profits, but at a diminished rate. The currency is depreciated, the Czech kronen being placed in the category of the "blocked currencies," along with the German mark and the Italian lire. This makes it quite advantageous for foreigners to visit, but in spite of this the tourist trade of Czechoslovakia, which annually draws hundreds of thousands to its famous baths, has dwindled to practically nothing, and most of the baths are closed.

Unemployment is increasing steadily, and the government has made absolutely no provision for relief. "Join the army or starve" is, in reality, the slogan of this "democratic" government; and, of course, neither the C. P. S. P. nor trade unions lift a finger in defense of the unemployed. As a matter of fact, the trade unions, controlled by the Social Democracy, do not even exercise the strength which their numbers permit them, working hours being very long and wages low. The average Czech worker earns about \$5.00 a week; Czechoslovakia may be a tourist's paradise, but hardly a worker's. In true Rooseveltian Popular Front style, the entire burden of the crisis and the war preparations is placed on the backs of the workers.

British Busy Elsewhere

The conclusion that the British Government will not be seriously exercised over Franco's note is

"peacefully." That requires time. Can Hitler wait a year to carry out the policy of peaceful penetration that is to be proposed? Moreover, while the Czech government is quite willing to grant the Nazis almost a free hand in the municipal administrations in the Sudeten area, such proposals will weaken their authority considerably, and they have already indicated that they will insist that control of the police, army and financial departments in the Sudeten cities remain in their hands. Whether Runciman can find a formula (and any formula must be at the expense of Czechoslovakia) that will be agreeable to both Henlein and Benes remains to be seen. The population here is skeptical, but in any case it believes that war is inevitable, and sooner rather than later.

Meanwhile, absolutely no steps are taken by the government to arm the workers or to solve the nationalistic problem in an effective manner. Nor can any capitalist government do so, without unleashing a workers' revolution. It is this that the Fourth International realizes, but which the Czech workers do not yet realize. The instinctive hatred of the workers for Hitler is legitimate and progressive. But they must be made to realize, as the new united organ of the Fourth International, "Proletarske Noviny," points out that Hitler cannot be defeated, nor the independence of Czechoslovakia maintained, without at the same time pursuing an intransigent policy of class struggle against the Czech bourgeoisie. Only a workers' state, part of the United Socialist States of Europe, can save Czechoslovakia.

Believe War Inevitable

England has no qualms about giving Hitler Sudeten Czechoslovakia. After all, it doesn't belong to her, but it must be done

Franco's Refusal to Withdraw Foreign Troops End Non-Intervention Farce

Note Reveals Italian and German Plan for More Aid

By ALBERT GOLDMAN

To the proposal of the Non-Intervention Committee that Franco send his "volunteers" back to Italy and Germany, the leader of the Spanish fascists replied that he wants belligerent rights before any withdrawal and that an equal instead of a proportional number of men be withdrawn from both sides. This is tantamount to a flat rejection of the Committee's proposal and everybody, with the possible exception of the Committee itself, accepts it as such.

This leaves matters exactly as they were for the last two years. The fascist powers will continue to send men and armaments for Franco's forces while the great "democracies" will undoubtedly retain their virtual embargo against the Loyalist Government.

Quick Victory Impossible

The chief explanation for Franco's rejection lies in the serious military reverses he has suffered within the last month. Had he been able to continue his march on Valencia and had he felt confident that the end of Loyalist resistance was really in sight, he could have very well afforded a more affable reply to the proposal of the Non-Intervention Committee. But the hopes which his successful spring offensive aroused for a speedy capitulation of the Loyalist forces did not materialize. On the contrary the Loyalists launched two successful counter-attacks with the result that, at the present moment, the fascist offensive has been stopped and an immediate victory appears out of the question.

Under the circumstances, Franco, necessarily under instructions from Mussolini and Hitler, is frank enough and bold enough to announce indirectly, but nonetheless clearly, that he needs more help from Italy and Germany, and that he does not intend to be hampered by any agreements from getting that aid. And via Franco's rejection, Hitler and Mussolini have once again announced to the world their intention of guaranteeing a victory for their puppet.

Unpleasant as Franco's (or rather Mussolini's) intransigence may be to Prime Minister Neville Chamberlain, the prediction can be safely made that the latest slap in the face of the Tory Government will not change its policy of reconciliation with Mussolini. It is true that last April it was expressly stated by the British Government that it "regards the settlement of the Spanish question as a prerequisite of the entry into force of the agreement between the British and Italian Governments," but what that meant was that the British Government was perfectly willing to wait for a Franco victory before the agreement would be declared officially in force. It would be absurd to suppose that the British politicians did not know of Mussolini's determination to reach an agreement with the Spanish workers.

Workers' Aid Needed

Should the French workers begin a real struggle against the non-intervention farce (which guarantees intervention on the part of the fascists only), the Spanish workers would be tremendously heartened. So much so that they might even begin to speak more in sharp terms to the Loyalist Government which, because of its desire to save Spanish capitalism, has been looking to the French and British capitalist governments for aid against the fascist governments.

Undoubtedly both the Communist and Socialist parties of France will raise a howl about the necessity of relaxing control over the Spanish border. But so long as the Daladier Government knows that neither party will do

anything more than howl, it will continue its policy of preventing real assistance from reaching the Loyalist Government.

The victory of the Spanish workers depends upon the ability of both the Spanish and French workers to free themselves from the paralyzing hold of the treacherous reformists of all types and to fight fascism with the methods of social revolution.

"peacefully." That requires time. Can Hitler wait a year to carry out the policy of peaceful penetration that is to be proposed? Moreover, while the Czech government is quite willing to grant the Nazis almost a free hand in the municipal administrations in the Sudeten area, such proposals will weaken their authority considerably, and they have already indicated that they will insist that control of the police, army and financial departments in the Sudeten cities remain in their hands. Whether Runciman can find a formula (and any formula must be at the expense of Czechoslovakia) that will be agreeable to both Henlein and Benes remains to be seen. The population here is skeptical, but in any case it believes that war is inevitable, and sooner rather than later.

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WIRE VISITING SPANISH MINISTER, PROTESTING PENDING POUM TRIALS

NEW YORK.—A group of prominent educators and writers protested to Gonzalez Pena, Spanish Minister of Justice, on his arrival in New York, Monday, against the impending trial in Spain of left-wing socialists, anarchists and POUMists.

The telegram stated:

Newspapers report impending trial CNT-FAI, UGT, Socialist and POUM members. As devoted Partisans of the Spanish workers in their struggle against Franco and international fascism, we demand that prisoners be tried before the Popular Tribunal in open court and that the prisoners be permitted to choose own counsel and be represented by either Spanish or foreign attorneys. We also request that an international committee of labor representatives be permitted to interview prisoners and be present at trial.

Signed: John Dewey, John Chamberlain, Ludwig Lore, Dorothy Dunbar Bromley, Max Eastman, Benjamin Stolberg, Sidney Hook, Meyer Shapiro, Carlo Tresca, Anita Brenner, Dwight Macdonald, George Novack.

The telegram was sent by the American Fund for Political Prisoners and Refugees. A similar telegram was sent to Prime Minister Negrin.

Soviet-Japanese War Inevitable

Trotsky Sees Japanese Militarists Headed for Blow-Up; Internal Difficulties Force Stalin's Hand

By LEON TROTSKY

The feeling of satisfaction over the truce between the U.S.S.R. and Japan should not inspire optimism about the near future. Japan cannot move deeper into China and at the same time tolerate the U.S.S.R. in Vladivostok. No diplomatic art can remove this antagonism. Tokyo would prefer to postpone settling its accounts with the U.S.S.R. until its position in China is secure. But on the other hand, internal events in the U.S.S.R. tempt Japan to forge the iron while it is hot, that is, to measure strength immediately. Hence the ambiguous policy of Japan: provocations, border violations, bandit raids, and simultaneously—diplomatic negotiations so as to retain the possibility for temporary semi-retreats in case the U.S.S.R. proves stronger than Japan would like.

In Moscow the inevitability of a Far Eastern war has long been understood. Generally speaking, Moscow has always been interested in delaying the war, as much because rapid industrialization strengthened the military power of the Soviets as because the inner contradictions of Japan, where a semi-feudal regime still exists, are preparing the greatest social and political catastrophe.

Tokyo Holds Key

The key to the situation is now in the hands of Tokyo. The Japanese government is ruled by generals. The Japanese generals are commanded by lieutenants. This constitutes the immediate danger in the situation. The lieutenants grasp neither the position of Japan, nor the position of the U.S.S.R. Despite the Chinese lesson—and partly because of the Chinese lesson—they are seeking easy victories at the expense of the U.S.S.R. They are generally mistaken. If they provoke a war, it will not produce the immediate collapse of Stalin; on the contrary, it will strengthen his position for a year or two, and this period is more than sufficient to reveal in reality the full inner bankruptcy of Japan's social and political regime. A big war will bring to Japan revolutionary catastrophe similar to the one which befell Czarist Russia in the last great war. The collapse of the Stalinist dictatorship will come only in a second turn. That is why for the rulers of Japan it would not be wise to force Stalin into doing what he does not want, that is, defending the U.S.S.R. with arms in hand.

Coyoacan, D.F., Aug. 12, 1938.

FRENCH WORKERS FACE MAJOR LOSS

Basky, Veteran Militant, Dead

Delivering the coup de grace to the last remaining conquest won as a result of the strike action of the French workers in June, 1936, the bonapartist government of Daladier (unanimously approved in the Chamber of Deputies last April) continues to advance the march of reaction in France. The newspapers laconically inform us that this is not an "abrogation" of the 40-hour week, but a "modification of its interpretation."

The prime minister stated in his radio speech: "I am not against the forty-hour law or any other social law, but I say that factories must work normally." Thus, in the interests of national defense and increased production, the previous extension of the work-week to 48 hours in the armaments industries has provided the wedge which reduces the French workers to a palpably worse condition than prior to the great strikes of June, 1936. Of course, the 40-hour law, for the time being, will remain on the statute books, but "overtime" will now be paid at no more than 10% above the regular wage.

Troops Break Strike

Simultaneously with this heavy blow, Daladier scored another victory for the bourgeoisie when he moved in hundreds of Sengalese troops to Marseilles in order to unload ships there and thus attempt to break the militant dockers' strike, which has been going on for more than a month now.

The resignation of the Minister of Labor, Ramadier, and that of Minister of Public Works, Frossard, both members of the neo-Socialists (a parliamentary right-wing split off from the S.P.), may not have any great political significance, but it is also possible that these rather astute politicians still fear what the reaction of the workers will be to this open provocation of Daladier's. When one stops to consider that unemployment in France has been increasing steadily during the past six months, then the amazing demagogic of Daladier is fully revealed. If it is necessary to increase production, then why not put the unemployed to work? The answer lies in Daladier's statement that "labor costs are too high." The bourgeoisie are not interested in providing work for all and decent living conditions. Like all good capitalists, their hearts are to be found in their pockets.

Opposed Stalin

In 1927 he opposed the Stalin faction in the Russian Communist Party and supported the Left Opposition headed by Trotsky. He was summoned to appear before the leadership and offered the alternatives of giving up his struggle or expulsion. He refused to yield and together with a number of other Hungarian workers who supported his stand was expelled.

Following his expulsion he and his co-workers published a weekly paper in the Hungarian language, the *Proletar*, in which they expounded the views of the Left Opposition. They were making plans for the publication of a paper in the English language when other and larger splits took place over the same issues, and Basky and his co-workers joined with the new forces to found the Communist League of America in the fall and winter of 1928-29.

Basky remained with the Communist League until six months after its merger which formed the Workers Party when he left with a small group. He was connected with this group up to the time of his death.

PARTISAN REVIEW

In the August-September Issue:

ART AND POLITICS by Leon Trotsky

MARXISM IN OUR TIME, by Victor Serge

THE SOVIET CINEMA, by Dwight Macdonald

THE ENGLISH LITERARY LEFT, by F. W. Dupee

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Editor
HAROLD ROBERTS GEORGE CLARKE
Associate Editors
S. STANLEY
Business ManagerLabor Will Clean
It's Own House

(Continued from page 1)

In the struggle between the C.I.O. bureaucrats and the A. F. of L. bureaucrats the main strategy of the latter group is to smear the C.I.O. with a Communist color. For the moment the Dies Committee is perfectly willing to lend its services to the A. F. of L. leaders, but only for the purpose of destroying the C.I.O. To the reactionaries even the A. F. of L. is unacceptable, but they are willing to be friendly to Green and his lieutenants in order to weaken the Lewis organization. Their friendliness to the A. F. of L. will disappear suddenly under conditions where they can no longer use it against the C.I.O.

In their blindness the A. F. of L. leaders do not see that Dies and those behind him are out to destroy every form of unionism, no matter how conservative. In strengthening the hand of the reactionaries against the C.I.O., the A. F. of L. leaders are preparing their own destruction.

* * *

The Dies Committee is concealing its real motive of attacking every form of trade unionism (and incidentally the New Deal) by concentrating its attack on the Communists. It is using the time-honored method of smearing labor organizations with an unpopular color.

Militant and progressive workers will not be misled by the fact that the Dies Committee is attacking the Stalinists and in some cases actually showing the truth about their activities. The justifiable hatred which every sincere revolutionary worker has for the treacherous Stalinist leaders on account of their disruptive and demoralizing activities in the unions, their slanderous accusations against and their willingness even to murder their political opponents, should not lead any one into the incorrect position of openly or secretly supporting the Dies Committee.

No one is more anxious than we are to destroy the influence of the Communist Party in the labor movement. That influence is of the most reactionary character. One can truthfully say that the Dies Committee is not conducting a red-baiting campaign for the simple reason that the Stalinists are themselves the most vicious red-baiters. It is as if one section of red-baiters is persecuting another section of the same tribe.

Either because of stupidity or as a crafty maneuver, the reactionaries still consider the Stalinists as revolutionaries. The attitude of hostility to the Communists among the most reactionary sections of the population will disappear only during a war when the Communist Party will be recognized by everyone as the most loyal supporter of the government conducting the war. At present the reactionaries find it convenient to attack the labor movement by picturing it as under the influence of the Communists.

Our appreciation of the Stalinists as a reactionary force cannot and does not minimize our hostility to the Dies Committee. We want the Stalinist influence destroyed but by the workers themselves, and not by reactionaries of the stamp of Dies. We look to the development of the class-consciousness of the workers to uproot the influence of the Stalinists.

When the workers in the automobile workers' union mobilize against the Stalinists for their disruptive work, then we offer our support. But the hounding of the Stalinist bouders by reactionaries will be met by our opposition.

The aim of the Dies Committee is not to destroy the Stalinist influence in the labor movement but to destroy the labor movement itself. This fundamentally reactionary character of the Dies investigation determines our attitude of implacable hostility to the Committee. Every bit of influence we have in the labor movement will be mobilized against the Committee and its shoddy investigation.

Lewis' Eloquent Silence

John L. Lewis is still silent on the works of the union-wreckers in the C.I.O. But his actions speak volumes.

While Lewis does not find it expedient to make any personal statement, his agents are loudly peddling a policy which undoubtedly has his approval. More likely, Lewis is the author of the policy.

John Brophy, Lewis' right-hand man, turns up at the California State Convention of the C.I.O., bestows his official blessings on Dictator

Bridges and denounces as "dangerous radicals" the majority of the industrial unionists who protested this fiasco as a culmination of the debilitating rule of the same Bridges.

Wyndham Mortimer, announced in the press to be Lewis' favorite in the auto union, declares at the Stalinist rump conference at Toledo that the expelled officers "have at all times consulted and been advised by the head of the C.I.O."

No official statement of support for the new administration of the National Maritime Union which ousted the Stalinist clique has been forthcoming from Lewis or his lieutenants. This silence, at best, indicates non-support.

On the West Coast, in the auto union and in the maritime organizations, progressive unionists are waging a bitter battle for the life of their unions. The issue that is being decided is whether the labor organizations shall be a weapon against capitalist oppression or whether they shall be subtle tools for Stalin's foreign policy. There can be no neutrality in this struggle. Where does Lewis stand?

Lewis favored the Stalinists and promoted them to key positions soon after the creation of the C.I.O. The Stalinists ferreted deeply into the organization, and, now after their long sapping work has been completed, the job of undermining the labor unions is under way in real earnest. Lewis is reaping the whirlwind. But it appears that he is so completely involved that he can no longer extricate himself. Thus in union after union, the wreckers count heavily on Lewis' support.

Lewis leans upon the Stalinists today as a counter-balance to those forces in the C.I.O. who fought against his prestige politics which, when joined with Bill Green's, threw a monkey wrench into the unity negotiations. Lewis can no longer trade on his great personal popularity. That was on the wane since the "little steel" strike was defeated and went down precipitously as the ensuing months went by, and the C.I.O. drive made no headway. A rupture with the Stalinists at the present time would place Lewis at a decided disadvantage in the C.I.O. and probably give Dubinsky and his allies the upper hand. The bureaucrat Lewis would sooner join with the Stalinists in wrecking the powerful C.I.O. unions, as he once wrecked the United Mine Workers, than see his influence clipped and himself demoted to a second-rate position. Lewis comes first—the labor movement second.

Lewis' failure to speak out in the present C.I.O. crisis has contained within it more than a tacit support of the Stalinists. In his own cunning way, he is allowing his agents to "stick their necks out" while he watches the reaction. If the kickback from the labor movement is too strong, it is not impossible that Lewis will drop the Stalinists like a hot potato. With this thought firmly in mind, let no one be surprised if one of these days he reads a flamboyant denunciation of "Communism" by Mr. Lewis.

But in any case, that will in no way mitigate Lewis' responsibility for the present wrecking activities of the Communist Party. It is within his province to deal them their heaviest blow right now. His failure to do so makes him guilty with them of the damage and destruction being wrought on the labor movement.

The alliance of Lewis with the Stalinists is not without principle—if anything these unscrupulous adventurers purvey can be called principle. They share a common stand for the Roosevelt war program. For different reasons, it is true, but nevertheless with similar actions. The labor movement is now warned in advance of the disastrous consequences of this "program."

The reports are daily coming through that the defeats suffered by the Stalinist union-busters are being turned into routs. Neither Lewis nor ten like him can stop this onslaught. And if he is foolhardy enough to get in the way, he will place himself directly under the double-barreled fire of progressive unionism.

Sacco and Vanzetti

A Pittsburgh judge announces that he will publish a book proving the innocence of Nicola Sacco and Bartolomeo Vanzetti, and promises to name the guilty persons. We hope the judge has written a book so revealing in its facts, so devastating in its exposures and so convincing in its logic that even Harvard's president-emeritus, A. Lawrence Lowell, will be forced to recant his academic sanction of the murder of Sacco and Vanzetti eleven years ago.

To millions of workers throughout the world, books proving the innocence of the two Italians are merely redundant. They know that when the executioner pulled the switch that sent the death-dealing current through the bodies of Sacco and Vanzetti, two innocent men were murdered—murdered as surely as if paid assassins shot them down from ambush.

And these millions of workers know where the real guilt rests, too. The seven years of legal trappings that preceded the death of Sacco and Vanzetti did not for a moment the identity of the cruel exploiters who hoped to deal all labor a blow by taking the lives of "the little fish peddler and the good shoemaker."

The sham justice of the Massachusetts courts that legalized the killing of these two men made clear to workers everywhere the whole sham of "democracy"—the democracy that answers a simple worker's plea for freedom and justice with death in the electric chair.

Today, eleven years after, workers throughout the world remember the tragic death of Sacco and Vanzetti. Nor will they soon forget.

Horse Trader's Alibi

"Explaining" the Republican
ALP Coalition

By JAMES BURNHAM

In the history of the politics of the labor movement, there have been few more shameful and shameless deals than the coalitions recently entered into in New York City by the American Labor Party. With the workers genuinely striving to create a party of their own, the bureaucrats running the A.L.P. have treated them like a flock of cattle, and have handed them over to one of the old parties in every district where they were able to strike up some kind of contingent bargain with the old party bosses.

The incipient mass protest from the ranks has finally stimulated an official statement from Alex Rose, Secretary of the A.L.P., published in full in the *New Leader*. This kick-splitting apology comes close to a new low.

Three Main Points

The statement makes three main points. To begin with, Rose explains that "only a few" Republicans and Democrats have been endorsed—so why should everyone be so excited? In other words, there have been only about 25 or 30 sell-outs, which is not bad for an imperfect world. He argues like the father of the Indian princess who was only "a wee bit pregnant."

Secondly, he claims that there is a chance—just a chance, mind you—that with the coalition policy the A.L.P. will hold the balance of power in the State Senate. Few points could be worth less now. In the first place, he doesn't even pretend that the A.L.P. could al-

so possibly hold the balance in the State Assembly—and even if in general a position of holding the balance is worth anything, it obviously does not do the slightest good to hold it in one house and not in the other. But in the second place, even holding a balance of power in the Legislature as a whole, when that balance would be bought at such a price as the A.L.P. is now paying, would not be worth a "pinker's damn" to the workers.

Rose himself readily proves this in his third point, which is surprisingly enough, that neither of the old parties is any good. "The A.L.P. rejects the illusion that either one of the major parties, as a political party, as against the other is more concerned with progressive legislation."

Argument Worthless

How this argument is in favor of the deal made with the regular Republican Party organization of New York County is beyond the powers of ordinary mortals to discover.

The truth is that for labor to organize its own political strength on the basis of numbers of officials immediately elected is always wrong and self-defeating. This holds not merely for the long term, but for the short term as well. Clearly, the A.L.P. can bloc up with one or the other of the old parties at Albany only by accepting a policy acceptable to the given old party: that is, only by accepting a capitalist policy and by throwing over a working-class policy.

Far more substantial and concrete gains, even on the short

term, are made by the display of independent working-class strength: it is this which forces concessions much more thoroughly than drawing the teeth of working-class strength through coalitions. An A.L.P. candidate running a solid second or even third in Manhattan, but doing so on a clear-cut working-class program with firm working-class support will get a lot more attention in Albany, and everywhere else, than an A.L.P. candidate running with the support of Kenneth Simpson's Republican machine, and on a program acceptable to Kenneth Simpson.

Only G.O.P. Wins

But what caps the climax is that the Republicans have endorsed A.L.P. candidates only in districts which are virtually certain to go A.L.P. without outside help, or virtually certain to lose even with it; whereas the A.L.P. endorsements to Republicans are in each case absolutely essential to give the Republican nominees a chance to win. The sell-out was paid for by a rubber check.

Naturally, Bro. Rose does not see fit to explain why the whole deal was carried through in the dead of the night, with the membership of the A.L.P. given not one single chance to make its voice heard. Rose and his friends all express their eagerness to defend democracy on the battlefields which Roosevelt is preparing for them. But they are terrified even at the thought of a little democracy intruding into "their" party.

Nazi Chieftain



FRITZ KUHN

JAIL TWO IN ANTI-NAZI PROTEST

LOS ANGELES.—Two members of the Socialist Workers Party, John Murphy and John Morino, last week were found guilty by a jury of violating the Los Angeles handgun ordinance and sentenced to five days in the county jail by Judge Paonessa of the Los Angeles Municipal Court. Marshall Ross, attorney representing the two men, requested bail be fixed for purposes of appeal, and it was set at \$500 for each of the two defendants.

Murphy and Morino were arrested for posting leaflets announcing a recent demonstration and picket line before a German Bund Anti-Communist convention in Los Angeles on the 6th of August. The Los Angeles section of the S.W.P. and the Y.P.S.L. were the most active and militant supporters and participants in the demonstration attended by over 3,000 people.

The Communist Party members appeared only through the guise of the Anti-Nazi League and the United Anti-Nazi Conference, and were very militant and enthusiastic in singing the "Star-Spangled Banner," "My Country 'Tis of Thee," and shouting the slogan "Down with Fascism—Up with Democracy."

Sing Workers Songs

At one point in the meeting, the C.P. leadership was incapable of curbing the enthusiastic singing of the "International" by its working-class membership when the revolutionary song was begun by the S.W.P. contingent who injected the only union and working-class songs and slogans in the demonstration, while holding the front line position in the demonstration and receiving the brunt of all the jostling and shoving of the police.

At the very height of the demonstration the leadership of the Anti-Nazi groups gave orders to disperse and were booted and opposed by a large section of their own followers. When large sections of the crowd demanded to remain until the Nazis left their convention hall, the frantic leadership warned them against pro-

Pinning 'em Down

By JAMES CASEY

CAMPAIGN THUNDER

The election campaign is on and for the militant class-conscious worker this means redoubled political vigilance and action. Issues, large and small, are being distorted, ignored or their existence denied. Candidates and their helpers are rending the air with the latest demagogic whoppers. These professional fish-story tellers are all lovers of humanity—they say so themselves—and anyone critical of their fables must be mankind's deadliest foe.

The militant worker will not be abashed either by the thunder raised by these soothsayers or the imposing strength of their army. He will recognize in their tales a confession of fear and inability to wrestle with the nation's political and economic problems and he will drive ahead with his program for a better world.

In recent years millions of voters have been won over to the proposition that only the Republicans would plunge the country into war and foist upon the American people yoke of fascism; that the Democratic party would fight both these evils and lead the people out of the economic crisis to a new prosperity. From this sunny proposition was evolved a second one, which is now making the widest rounds, to wit: that only President Roosevelt could guide the government ship in these troubled times and any change in the White House would foredoom the nation to blackest disaster.

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THE MESSIAH IS COME!

A dangerous Rooseveltian fiction has been fashioned out of a maze of paralogisms and it is being endorsed as political truth by liberals, "progressives," Stalinists and other self-appointed spokesmen of the working class.

Until the time the Communist Party was ordered to change its line to conform to Moscow's imperialist alliances, Stalinist leaders (now the loudest exponents of the Rooseveltian myth) were among the most energetic and eloquent in their indictment of the President as an arch-enemy of the working class and the New Deal as a smoke-screen to save the profit system.

As for the liberals, who have ever scorned the necessity of acquiring a sound political philosophy, and whose only care is the maintenance of the status quo, the Rooseveltian Messiah myth is an expression of wish-fulfillment.

Millions of rank and files, harassed by hunger, unemployment, low wages and impelled by the threats of war and fascism are almost helplessly falling in line behind their vacillating leaders. Rooseveltianity is sweeping the city and countryside. And the President is not the least of those spreading the gospel of the new messiah.

In his first and second campaigns for the Presidency, Roosevelt talked a great deal about loyalty to the Democratic Party platform. Today he talks principally of loyalty to Franklin D. Roosevelt and is calling upon the electorate to confound and retire Senators and Representatives whom he has placed on the purge list.

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PROGRAMS AND MEMORIES

To the average voter, this development suggests the existence of basic differences on major issues between the President and the group of pariahs. Such an impression is further being strengthened by a powerful daily press, by droves of "faithful" government officials, Federal job dispensers and political units in every corner of the land.

As a matter of fact, the blacklist has nothing to do with any fundamental disputes between the warring Democratic factions and all talk of one side being purely "left" and the other extremely to the "right" is plain, unadulterated poppycock.

In 1932 Roosevelt and his colleagues were catapulted into office because the American masses were sick of the capitalist crisis, of Hoover and Republican reaction. Again, in 1936, the administration was returned to office due to the still bitter memories of Hoover, coupled with Roosevelt's rosy promises and the steady drift of the voters to the left.

But, despite the leftward swing of the citizenry, the Democratic Party platform was and is a definitely anti-working class document saturated with demagogic phrases and dedicated to restoring and skyrocketing profits for the bosses. On all major issues, it is basically the same as the Republican platform—as like as two peas in a pod.

Roosevelt and his Democratic associates have all worked harmoniously in raising the dividends of Big Business and in shameless betrayal of the demagogic pledges embodied in the platform.

The few controversies that have arisen center merely around methods of how best to restore the normal heartbeats of the gasping capitalist monster.

In the formulation and execution of the methods, the record shows Roosevelt to be sometimes to the left of his party associates, at other times decidedly to the right. On the armament question, for example, the President has stood out for the largest army in the nation's peacetime history and for a navy second to none. On the issue of war preparations Roosevelt has been as reactionary, if not more so, as any member in either house of Congress, Democratic or Republican.

This all leads to the question as to what achievements the President can dangle before the people's eyes to warrant his presumptuous attitude—leaving aside entirely the fact that he was re-elected mainly because he was opposed to reaction, tyranny and war.

* * *

LOOK AT THE RECORD

When Roosevelt assumed the Presidency, the national debt totaled 23 billion dollars and there were in the country from twelve to fifteen million unemployed. Today, after six years in office, the Roosevelt administration has increased the debt to 38 billions and there are again from twelve to fifteen million workers looking for jobs. In addition, the standard of living has declined while prices and wages have been sadly out of proportion to huge profits amassed by the large corporations.

It is very true that the Roosevelt administration appropriated funds for WPA projects. It is likewise true that scores of companies have benefited by contracts to supply materials for the made-work. It is also a fact that the administration voted inadequate relief