

Workers Of The World Unite!

Socialist Appeal

OFFICIAL WEEKLY ORGAN OF THE SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY

For The Fourth International!

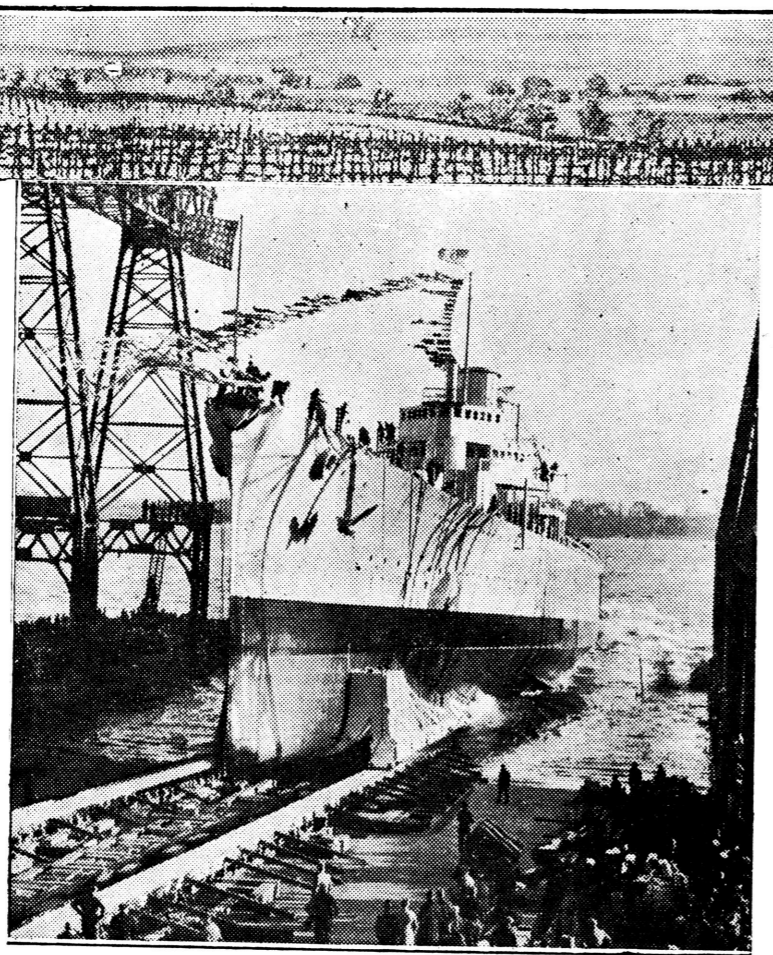
VOL. II—No. 32

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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...

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"...

NEW WAGE CUTS HIT WPA WORKERS

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...

Stage Set In Barcelona For Frame-Up Of POUM.

Long-Awaited "Moscow Trial" of Spanish Revolutionists Believed to Begin; Defense Action Urged In line with its oft-announced policy of physical extermination of all its political opponents...

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...

TEAMSTERS DEFLY 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...

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...

Internal Crisis May Force Japan to Extend War

Hitler Holds Key Japanese imperialism this week once more tested the feasibility of an early attack on the Soviet Union. In a little hilly pocket south of Possiët Bay where the borders of Manchukuo, Korea, and Soviet Siberia meet...

JURY IN HARLAN TRIAL DISMISSED

Deputies and Mine Owners Jubilant At Mistrial First efforts of the federal government to convict Harlan's coal operators and former deputy sheriffs of conspiring to nullify the Wagner Labor Act met with failure when, after an eleven weeks trial, the jury was dismissed last Monday...

OFFICERS ARMED BY STEEL BARONS

Police Supplied With Guns and Bombs; Used in Strike The brazen methods used by the Republic Steel Corporation to smash the Steel Workers Organizing Committee were brought to light this week at the hearings of the Senate Civil Liberties Committee in Washington...

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 parade bore banners demanding housing for low-paid workers, the unemployed and W.P.A. workers...

Stiler to Answer Stalinist Slander

Robert Stiler, formerly connected with the Steel Workers Organizing Committee, Youngstown area, will write a complete exposure of the scurrilous charges of alleged connections with Republic Steel agents made by the La-Follette Civil Liberties Committee. Watch for it in the next issue of the APPEAL.

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.

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 other unions.

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

Further testimony before the (Continued on page 2)

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.

The legality of this meeting, attended by about 150 members, was challenged by a member of the executive board.

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.

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.

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.

Teamsters Defy Court Order to Reveal Records

organized labor. All they would have to do would be to plant a couple of stool pigeons in every union. The stools would then ask for an accounting of funds, the court would back them up, the press would use the event to smear labor, the unions would drain their resources defending themselves, the employers would compile a list of every unionist which would form the basis for all sorts of anti-union activities.

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.

JURY IN HARLAN TRIAL DISMISSED

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."

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.

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

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.

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.

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.

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.

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.

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 weakly 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.

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 than 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.

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.

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

From the very beginnings, the railroad barons sucked on plunder. One source was the public lands. The eminent historian Charles A. Beard bears witness that 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 arbitrary slash perpetrated by Col. Brehon B. Somervell, local Works Progress Administrator, caught most of the project workers unaware. The Stalinist-controlled Workers Alliance, although well informed of the colonel's plans, did nothing to arouse a mass protest movement or to prepare for a adequate action against the cuts.

Instead of organizing the resistance of the W.P.A. workers, the Communist Party officials of the Alliance wasted weeks in futile gestures. Delegation after delegation was sent to Washington. Thousands of ineffective petitions were circulated.

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.

Not content with plundering the government, they also milked the stockholders. According to the testimony of a 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 the five years between 1888 and 1892, the share capital of the Erie Railroad jumped from \$17,000,000 to \$78,000,000 and most of the increase was pure fiction.

But this very watered stock served as an excuse for oppressing the farmers with high rates. The farmers had to use the railroads. They were the highways of commerce which carried the grain to market. High rates for freight, exorbitant prices for elevators and public warehouses,—these were tolls which the modern railroad barons squeezed from the farmer even as the medieval baron did the peasants. The Granger movement scored only a fleeting victory by limiting railroad rates and elevator charges. The Supreme Court first supported them, and then, as the railroad power grew, it reversed itself and emerged full blown as the defender of the rising monopolists.

The workers, too, suffered from the dictatorship of the railroad barons. In the depression of 1877, they slashed wages to the bone. The workers answered with a general strike that spread thru-out the industry. The government sent out the militia to break the strike and the workers met them in pitched battles. The armories were built after this strike, as garrisons from which to crush the picket lines.

In the Pullman Strike of 1894, Eugene V. Debs led the railroad workers in a general strike against the wage-cut demands of the railroad managements. It remained for the Federal government to break the backbone of the strike.

But despite all this, they did build railroads. They plundered the public lands, but they covered them with tracks. They bribed and corrupted legislators. But

NEW WAGE CUTS HIT WPA WORKERS

(Continued from page 1) themselves safe from the indignities and complications of home relief are now forced once more to resort to government charity. This time, their situation is, if anything, even worse than before the creation of W.P.A. For, in spite of having to work for a living, they are forced to spend precious time to cut through mazes of red tape to get supplementary grants in order to keep themselves and their families alive.

The arbitrary slash perpetrated by Col. Brehon B. Somervell, local Works Progress Administrator, caught most of the project workers unaware. The Stalinist-controlled Workers Alliance, although well informed of the colonel's plans, did nothing to arouse a mass protest movement or to prepare for a adequate action against the cuts.

In place of fighting the government, the boss of the W.P.A. workers, the Stalinist leaders are engaged in a campaign to exterminate 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.

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.

They also spread nationwide the network of railroads. They robbed the farmers, wiped out stockholders, and oppressed the workers—but they did build the greatest railroad system in the world. The day of building is 20 years past. All that they now do is plunder and profit. The methods are the same as before. They squeeze out stockholders in bankruptcy after bankruptcy. They milk farmers and workers with increased rates for freight and passenger service. And they try to increase their profits still further by cutting wages 15 per cent. And with all these profits, they are abandoning service on hundreds and thousands of miles of railroads.

This is characteristic of the decline of capitalism. Before, profits was the stimulus to railroad building. Today, with freight-loadings going down, and capitalism declining generally, profits can be kept up only by destroying railroads. That is the fact. Their claim that the 15 per cent wage cut is intended to "save the railroads" is sheer fraud.

We have had enough of such deception and fraud. Let the government expropriate the railroads! Let the workers control the expropriated railroads! This will ensure union wages and union hours!

Together Again?



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 youth.

The program is based on the right to work and demands W.P.A. jobs for those between the ages of 16 and 25, regardless of their relief status, and states that earnings of any individual youth are not to be deducted from the family budget.

Other demands of the program ask that all military funds be diverted to work relief and that the Civilian Conservation Camps be transformed into non-military youth projects. Oscar Kohler was named as secretary of the Youth Committee, and the Northwest Organizer, official organ of the Minneapolis Teamsters Joint Council, is publishing a series of articles by Kohler on the problems of youth and unemployment.

As is the case with the Federal Workers Section, the Youth Committee will urge all jobless youth or those with grievances to avail themselves of the aid of the organization. The Federal Workers Section, backed by the trade union movement and using militant labor action, has established an enviable record in gaining relief for the unemployed. The new plan will enable the organization to devote more care and attention to the specific needs of the youth.

WANT ADS

TWO COMRADES WANT TO share all expenses with others who are making an auto trip or vacation in August. Write care of Socialist Appeal.

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 BRyant 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. (69th 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.

Fight Against Fink Hall Forces Showdown In NMU

(Continued from page 1) ermental basis, the C.P. union wreckers have supported every effort of the federal government to chain the seamen.

Stalinists For Fink Hall 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 the government." Resentment of the rank-and-file seamen in the N.M.U., stirred by the refusal of the Stalinist officials to join the united front against the fink hall and their brazen attempts to continue heading the seamen into the government hall, reached white heat last week and led to an assault on the union headquarters here. Provoked beyond restraint by the open betrayal of the union, made clear to every worker in the fight against the government, a crowd of N.M.U. members entered the headquarters and removed the Stalinist officials by physical force.

Anger Justified While class-conscious militants realize that a resort to physical force in inner union affairs usually acts as a boomerang, the resentment that found expression in this crude way certainly is understandable. With their union flooded with a horde of Stalinist stooges, their treasury milked by parasitic functionaries from Thirtieth Street, saddled with a constitution that places all power in the hands of the Communist party-dominated District Committee, and, above all, serving as the puppets of a union-wrecking political party whose main purpose is to bind the working class to the war chariot of American imperialism, there is no reason for wonder at the wrath that visited the union despoils one night last week.

While it may be true that certain reactionary elements on the waterfront attempt to turn the spontaneous movement of the ranks into the channels of reaction, such attempts are doomed to failure. The chance and episodic success of these reactionary plots reflect only the lack of conscious, militant leadership on the East Coast. Under no circumstances can it be argued that the more or less accidental presence of these reactionary currents should serve as an excuse to soften the struggle against the

Mariners' Club Leaflet The speed with which these reactionaries will discredit themselves is shown by the example of the Mariners' Club, so-called "anti-Communist" grouping on the waterfront. Gathering support on the basis of a fight against the Communist Party stooges in the N.M.U. leadership, the Mariners' Club this week came out with a leaflet declaring they wanted to get rid of the Communists in order to better collaborate with the government. This at a time when the whole membership of the N.M.U. is up in arms because the Stalinists openly collaborate with the government!

Other elements within the union (and without) would start a witch-hunt against "politicians" in general, believing that the betrayal of the Stalinists proves, in some manner or another that all politics are bad for unions. To concede for a moment that the Communist Party, with its international record of betrayal and its ever-growing record in the U.S. for union-wrecking, is a party only interested in the aims of the working class, is absurd. A party, whose only interest is in following the orders of a corrupt bureaucracy in the Soviet Union, is most certainly not a working class party. Nor is the struggle against Stalinism an argument against genuine, class struggle politics.

It is against the politics of the Communist Party that the workers in the N.M.U. must direct their resentment. To sweep out of their way the treacherous tool of the shipowners and the government is the task before the rank-and-file.

Every class-conscious militant in the labor movement must join hands in combating the plague of the union movement. PHILADELPHIA WAREHOUSE CLOSED The Warehouse Employees Union, A.F.L., has halted the shipping of drugs and serums from the plant of Sharpe & Dohme, Inc., Philadelphia. Truck drivers, members of Local 107, A.F.L., have refused to pass through the picket line. The workers are on strike because the firm has refused to deal with their union and insists on negotiating only with the Sharpe & Dohme Employees Organization, a company union.

Appeal Army

Table listing subscription rates for various states and territories, including California, New York, Pennsylvania, etc.

We are pleased to report that many more branches heeded our emergency plea of a few weeks back and sent in funds which considerably reduced their debt to the Appeal and our debt to the printer. There is every reason to believe that the emergency is over for the time and that no more cries of help will be necessary for the rest of summer-period, providing branches do not lapse back into old habits and providing also that there is a pick-up in the number of new subscribers each week. We again want to thank all comrades and sympathizers who sent in individual contributions.

Notice: Watch for special announcements which will be of tremendous interest to all readers of the Socialist Appeal. They should appear a few weeks from now. We guarantee that they'll be good news to all!

Here is the list of new subs obtained last week. There is plenty of room for improvement: SOCIALIST APPEAL 116 University Place New York City

THE SOCIALIST APPEAL CAN BE OBTAINED AT THE FOLLOWING NEWSSTANDS

- NEW YORK CITY: MANHATTAN: Fourteenth St. at University Place, S. E.; at Broadway, S. E.; at Fourth Ave., S. W.; at Fourth Ave., N. E.; at Fourth Ave., S.E. (1 and 2); at Fourth Ave., S.W.; at Third Ave., N.W.; opp. Jefferson Theatre; at Second Ave., N.W.; at Sixth Ave., N.E.; Rand Book Store, 7 E. 15th St.; 12th St. and University Pl., N.E.; Candy Store, 75 Greenwich Ave. Forty-second St. at Fifth Ave., S.W.; at Sixth Ave., S.E.; at Sixth Ave., S.W.; at Seventh Ave., S.W.; opposite Sterns; 103 W. 44th St.; 23rd St. & Fourth Ave., S.W. Essex and Delancy Sts.; Bookstore at Grand and Attorney Sts.; Candy Store, S. E. 9th St. and Second Ave.; Biederman's Book Store, 12th St. and Second Ave.; Wigerson, 145th St. and St. Nicholas Ave.; 110th St. and Columbus Ave. BRONX: Jerome Ave. & 170th St.; Jerome Ave. and 167th St. (opp. Loew's Theatre); Sorokin, 206th St. and Bainbridge Ave.; Jerome and Burnside Ave.; 16th St. and Prospect Ave.; Allerton Ave. Station; Freeman Ave. and Southern Boulevard; 174th St. & Boston Rd.; Kingsbridge Rd. & Ave.; East Moshula Subway Sta.; 3897 Sedgwick Ave. BROOKLYN: Havemeyer Ave. and South 4th St.; Pitkin Ave. and Strauss St.; Sutter and Van Sinderen Ave. ROCHESTER, N. Y. 433 N. Clinton St. 267 N. Clinton St.

# Socialist Bares Barcelona Frame-Up Against P.O.U.M.

## 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, anarchists), 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 account, the organizers of defeat are intending to suppress men whose very existence in the prisons poses the question of responsibility.

### Three Arguments

The indictment of July 11 includes three kinds of arguments. It first discusses the ideology of the P.O.U.M. "The general line of this party's propaganda was the suppression of the Republic and its democratic governors by violence and the installation of a dictatorship of the proletariat." It reproaches the P.O.U.M. with having attacked a "friendly country, whose moral (!) and material support has permitted (sic) the Spanish people to defend their independence," and having "slandered Soviet justice," no doubt by not approving that of the Moscow executioners. It asserts that the leaders of the P.O.U.M. were "in contact with the fascist organizations of rebel Spain and also with the international organizations known under the general name of 'Trotskyists' and whose activity inside a friendly power shows that they are in the service of European and Asiatic fascism." This is shamelessly to make the Barcelona procedure a direct sequel to the Moscow trials!

Like the indictments of Prosecutor Vishinsky, this document exudes bad faith, falsification, and lies that are utterly untenable (it is true that everything can be made tenable by firing squads). The P.O.U.M., whose battalions have so frequently been heroic at the front, is accused of having retreated before the enemy. The kidnapping of Nin by the G.P.U., with the obvious complicity—were it only from impotence—of the Negrin government, becomes the "mysterious escape" of the principal accused. The P.O.U.M. is considered responsible for the street fighting in Barcelona in May, 1937, while it was in reality launched by the anarcho-syndicalist militants of the C.N.T., much more numerous than those of the P.O.U.M. as all Spain knows. Finally, after having several times abandoned the "N. Forger," the indictment takes it up again in order to base upon it the thesis of espionage and obtain more surely the capital penalty.

### Demands Counter-Trial

If the P.O.U.M. trial takes place, if in other words the masked assassins of Nin, Marc Rhein, Tiolin, 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, 22 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 smelly cash, and shipped their occupants down to Vancouver to walk destitute in the 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 hosed, 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 strikers 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 a suckerbait for power. The Communist Party characteristically dodged admission of its share in the strike leadership, but noisily 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 Stalinist Workers' Alliance petitioned the city council to petition the government to inaugurate a rearmament campaign which would absorb the unemployed! A local person and Stalinite fall-guy, worrying 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.

## New Internat'l Features Debate On Labor Party

Another excellent number of The New Internationalist is off the press and on sale. The August issue of the magazine contains a variety of outstanding articles, fully up to the high standard one has come to expect of this outstanding organ of revolutionary Marxism.

The question of a Labor Party is presented in two articles submitted by James Burnham-Max Shachtman and Hal Draper. Burnham and Shachtman adopt a pro position on the question now being discussed in an internal discussion within the ranks of the Socialist Workers Party and Y.P.S.L. (Fourth Internationalists), while Hal Draper espouses the minority attitude. These discussion articles are preceded by a statement by the Political Committee of the Socialist Workers Party, explaining why the major issues being discussed are also brought to the outside for consideration. Unquestionably, the presentation of the Labor Party problem in the columns of The New Internationalist, from an altogether fresh viewpoint, will arouse the greatest interest in all labor circles.

### Article by John Dewey

Professor John Dewey, as previously announced, writes a critical comment on Leon Trotsky's essay, "Their Morals and Ours" (published in the June, 1938 New Internationalist) in his reply, "Means and Ends—Their Interdependence." Leon Trotsky's answer is anticipated in the September number of the magazine.

## REFUGEES FLEE NAZIS; SPURNED BY 'DEMOCRACY'

### Cite Cases of Exiles Sent Back to Concentration Camps

The Belgian La Lutte Ouvriere 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 Baldus, 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 Schussnigg's Austria, that genuine democracy exists in parliamentary countries.

### 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 deploring," the unemployed's 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 delegations the 800 marched four abreast, singing "Hold the Fort," through rows of helpless police into the swank Beacon Hill Park and again sat down.

### 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.

### Struggle Continues

When news of the brutal clubbings 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

## JAPAN PROVOKES SOVIET IN CLASH

(Continued from page 1)

panese are now so heavily embroiled along vast fronts in China, the Soviet government was able to take a firmer stand against the new provocation and far as can be gauged from dispatches, the Red Army patrols have given the Japanese pause.

But it is precisely because Japan is having such difficulties in China and on the home front that its ruling generals may plunge ahead into a suicidal war with the Soviet Union in the hope of somehow extricating themselves from their predicament by precipitating what would necessarily become a world conflagration.

In this, however, there can be little doubt that the Tokyo generals will await word from Hitler as to the probable course of events in coming weeks in Europe. Whether the Japanese will be able to keep developments from running beyond them, or whether Stalin, desperate over the growing isolation of the U.S.S.R. in European affairs and over the continuing internal crisis, will welcome the welding influence of an external enemy, are still imponderables in the present critical situation.

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 revolutionists 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!"

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## French Party Brands Klement Kidnapping As Work Of GPU Agents

## AUTO UNION TRIAL TO BE RESUMED

(Continued from page 1)

the essential object will remain the same, and the auto union will remain in constant danger of convulsions and schism as long as the Stalinists can influence appreciable sections of the membership. It will continue a permanent necessity that the union wreckers be subjected to a withering fire of progressive unionism.

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 Stalinism only if it can survive 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.

### 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 desires for vigorous, qualified officials and organizers, this work will take a great leap forward.

### New Provocation of G.P.U.

"The Internationalist Workers Party denounces this new provocation, 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 esteem in the fields of science, literature and democratic, liberal, as well as labor politics..."

### Plan Joint Action to Combat Stalin's Terror System

PARIS, France.—Members of the Internationalist 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.

At the same time, the leadership of the P.O.I. announced that the constituent congress of the newly formed Workers and Peasants Socialist Party (P.S.O.P.), a left wing of some 15,000 members whose leaders were recently expelled from the Socialist Party of France, voted to accept a proposal for joint action with the French Fourth Internationalists. One of the first points to come up for joint action between the two parties will be the Klement case.

The Press Bureau of the P.O.I. issued the following release on July 16:

"This morning French members of the Fourth International, disturbed by a two days' absence of Rudolph Klement (alias Camille), engaged in administrative and technical work for the Fourth International for some time, discovered that he had disappeared from his residence. At the same time, a copy of a letter addressed to Leon Trotsky and signed Rudolph Klement was received by one of them. It was postmarked at Perpignan, on the frontier of governmental Spain, which is controlled by the G.P.U. police occupying, as is well known, the commanding positions in the "governmental" police forces of Spain.

"We don't doubt but that we are confronted here with another gangster act perpetrated by Stalin's police, known as the G.P.U. U, right in the heart of Paris. This police requires falsifications, fabricated witnesses, etc. for the trial being built up against the Workers Party of Marxist Unification (P.O.U.M.) and the Fourth International at Barcelona.

A Russian Hand

"The text of the document (the letter signed Rudolph Klement) which the G.P.U. apparently intends to use for the purpose indicated, is written in German, but the spelling of some of the words can be traced directly to Russian orthography. For instance, the name Beals (Carlton Beals, the journalist who was exposed as a Stalinist agent in the Mexico City hearings of the Dewey Commission, having served the Soviet T.A.S.S. press agency for a number of years previously.—Ed.) is spelled Bills in accordance with the orthography used by Russian Stalinist papers.

"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? Where has Klement been taken? Has he 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? Is such a "new witness" to become another wheel in the mechanism of the Stalinist inquisition for some new machination against our movement?"

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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 agitation.

At least, so they say.

The trial of the leaders of the POUM which is about to take place in Barcelona is a transparent frame-up, based on the best models of California and Moscow justice.

That the Stalinists are the principal instigators 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.

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 democracy"? 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 anarcho-syndicalist movement in Spain, which claims 2,000,000 members, which supports the reactionary People's Front government, and which could blow up the whole infamous Stalinist regime 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 working 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 beginning to be felt. The first open signs appeared some months ago, at several of the trade union conventions.

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 "overbearing 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 excellent), 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 Roosevelt'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 dissatisfaction with Roosevelt's party and faction, with many of Roosevelt's specific policies and—

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

The reason for this is that Roosevelt still represents to the masses their hopes and needs. Aided by his demagoguery, supplemented by the treacherous propaganda of trade union bureaucrats, Stalinists, reformists and liberals of all types, they explain the difficulties and disappointments as due to the sabotage of Wall Street and the "Tories."

Roosevelt thus performs the work of a necessary safety-valve, preventing the pressure of mass discontent from turning against its true enemy, the capitalist system itself and the capitalist 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 President and a conservative or reactionary Democrat against him, the old two-party system would go up in smoke 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 retains his mass support, and they know why he retains it; and they know also that fundamentally 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 contingency. 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 socialists 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 bourgeois 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 Social 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 future 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 beyond 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 arbitrarily 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 progressively deteriorated, shedding members and principles 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 affiliated 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 a committee to meet with the Old Guard group to discuss re-unification. Thomas and Co. are exhilarated by the prospect of returning 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, war finds its own level, so in politics, the centrists finally return to reformism. The circle is thereby completed.

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?

AMERICA'S PERMANENT DEPRESSION-II

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

By ART PREIS

Some day the "New Deal" era will be known as the "Years of the Great Deception." Few political demagogues have demonstrated so great a divergence between the word and the deed, the promise and the fulfillment as has Franklin Delano Roosevelt.

Borne into office on a tremendous tide of popular protest against the brutal indifference of the Hoover regime, Roosevelt has steered a course with such political adroitness that he has maintained his popular hold upon the masses of American people despite the fact that his policies have failed to effect a single fundamental 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 clean out the small independent banks and a host of small depositors. The major financial groups were given a new lease upon the country. Backed by government power and credit, finance capital consolidated its power.

For those who point the finger at Wall Street as the root of all evil, and pin a halo to the scalp of F.D.R., it is well to recall that the genial Great White Father, when he had the greatest opportunity ever presented to uproot the choking weeds of Wall Street by nationalizing the banking system, chose rather to nurture their growth.

Roosevelt, in his speeches, championed the "little man," the

small independent producer. He scored with fiery tongue the industrial monopolists. His new "Magna Charta," the National Recovery Act, as its one outstanding achievement wiped out thousands of the "little men" by virtue of its price-fixing "codes of fair business practice" and further entrenched industrial monopoly. And, startling as it may sound, while we have read of innumerable investigations under the Anti-Trust laws, there has been not one successful prosecution since Roosevelt took office.

'Subsidizing' Home Owners and Destroying Crops

Much has been made of Roosevelt's "social" legislation. Chief among his "reform" acts have been the Agricultural Adjustment

Act, the establishment of the Home Owners Loan Corporation, and the Wagner Labor Act.

The first was an attempt to subsidize wholesale crop and livestock destruction, while a third of the nation was in dire want, and resulted in the ruin of tens of thousands of small dirt-farmers, tenant-farmers and sharecroppers. The rich landlord farmers continued to collect their rents and shares, and pocketed the bounty of the government.

The H.O.L.C., instead of protecting the small home-owners, has merely guaranteed interest payments to the banks, mortgage companies and insurance corporations. Thousands of small home-owners, unable to meet interest and amortization on government loans, have been foreclosed, while the mortgage sharks get good hard government cash in place of shaky mortgages and increasing property taxes.

Bargaining Rights Won on Picket Line

Another diamond in the Roosevelt crown has been the act defining the rights of collective bargaining for labor. Under this act, and its defunct predecessor, Section 7A of the N.R.A., organized labor was presumably guaranteed the rights of collective bargaining free from coercion and restraint by the employers. Yet, in every single great test of these acts, and there have been scores of them in the past four years, labor has won recognition for its bargaining rights only by blood and struggle.

The Maritime strikes, the Textile Strike (when Roosevelt threatened to call out the Federal troops against the strikers), the Minneapolis Teamsters strike, the Toledo Auto-Lite, the Milwaukee power, the Koehler, the Little Steel, the General Motors, the Rubber strikes, and thousands of other bitter physical struggles, testify to the fact that Roosevelt had given the workers merely the rights they always possessed, the rights they have always had to wrest from the ruling class in life and death conflicts.

How F.D.R. 'Solved' Unemployment

However, the greatest problem which faced Roosevelt when he took office was that of unemployment. There were 15 million unemployed in the U.S. when he became President. So far as the elimination of mass unemployment in this country is concerned, Roosevelt's program has accomplished exactly nothing. There are 15 million unemployed in the U. S. today.

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

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

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

Riot Insurance and Political Expediency

The history of relief and work relief programs under Roosevelt is one of constant mass struggle by the workers for every slightest concession and the skillful use by Roosevelt of federal funds for political maneuvers. Relief comes under two headings on the Roosevelt Budget—riot insurance and political expediency.

It is significant to note that the order in which Roosevelt applied himself to the national problems when he took office were first to safeguard the bankers, 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.

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

These funds provided only a bare emergency relief in the form of food orders, and because of the necessity for state and local governments declaring themselves in practical bankruptcy in order to obtain these federal grants, many state and local communities refused to avail themselves of such funds. As a result scarcely a third of the needy unemployed received any of these starvation benefits.

C.W.A. Stiffles Mass Jobless Revolt

As winter approached, and as the first year of Roosevelt's tenure 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 humanitarian 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 program of "pump priming" and credit inflation into which Roosevelt 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 unemployed 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 maintaining 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.

The pump-priming of the C.W.A., a mere 400 million dollars failed to increase buying power to an extent whereby industry and business might revive. Roosevelt "prosperity" failed to materialize, and the unemployed were again on a rampage. Demonstrations and hunger marches swept the streets of every city. City halls, state legislatures and the federal capital were invaded by militant masses demanding relief. The answer of Roosevelt was the F.E.R.A. This program provided funds for direct and work relief.

FERA Wage Down to Relief Level

Work relief under the F.E.R.A. was initiated in September, 1934. The full program was cleverly built up to provide the maximum of employment just prior to the 1934 and congressional elections. Even so, at its peak, the F.E.R.A. employed a million less workers than the C.W.A., although the need was just as great. Further, the wages paid amounted to a maximum of \$12 per week, which in February, 1935, were cut to the equivalent of each worker's emergency relief budget. This was a fancy scheme to exact work for what amounted to direct relief, and was followed shortly by the rapid demobilization of the work program.

In June, 1935, the federal government ended the F.E.R.A. At one stroke, 5 1/2 million families were left to starve, or to go back to the tender charities of bankrupt local communities.

A recurrent pattern marks the entire course of Roosevelt's treatment of the unemployed. Unemployment is considered temporary. Periods of starvation relief and jobs at coolie wages are followed by periods of outright starvation. This plan is calculated. The administration is testing how little it will take to satisfy the unemployed. Further, it is blindly hoping for a business pick-up which will relieve the problem. The pick-up fails. Demonstrations, hunger marches, riots. Shortly after the ending of the F.E.R.A., Roosevelt notes a decline in his popularity. Too many millions of workers have had to jam Section 7A down employers' throats with their bare fists. Production has registered scarcely any rise. The unemployed are fuming.

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 program. The W.P.A. gets slowly underway 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 1935 up to the present.)

New Deal Housing



Old Party Lines Break Down In Round of Primary Voting

The country is witnessing this summer a set of primary campaigns exceeding in bitterness and in social significance any comparable struggles during the past several decades. Outstanding in this development is the irrepressible tendency of profound social conflicts, driven by depression and crisis, to break through the surface of ordinary party-machine electioneering.

In the normal times of a past now dead and gone forever, primaries were almost always cut and dried affairs. Serious contests were rare exceptions. Candidates were agreed upon, after suitable haggling, by the party bosses; and participation in the primary elections themselves was confined for the most part to faithful hacks and ward heelers, with only a small fraction of the "enrolled membership" marching to the polls.

This year, however, there is hardly a State in the Union which is exempt from bitter struggles. In nearly every election which has so far taken place, the voting turnout has come within a few per cent of the total registered voters.

In a number of States the contests are still, it is true, primarily of the old machine type: a State patronage machine versus the Federal patronage machine; a local city boss against a governor wanting to cut in on the local graft; etc.

But in the majority of cases, the primary campaigns are reflecting, in however distorted a manner, the discontent, uncertainties and strivings of vast social groups which remained passive and inarticulate in the days of "normalcy." The mighty clash of the awakening labor movement with the social system that tries to strangle it in birth, the restlessness of the middle class, the battle of C.I.O. and A.F. of L., the cleavage between Roosevelt and the old guard Democrats, the complaints of the farmers, all are finding their symbols in the competing candidates for Congress and State House and Legislature.

Outstanding from the point of view of the labor movement was the campaign in Pennsylvania, where the workers girded themselves as a class behind Tom Kennedy's attempt to place himself at the head of the Democratic ticket. Vain and futile as the effort was, it was nevertheless the most organized and

dramatic step yet made by labor in this country toward entering the political arena as a class.

Maverick's Defeat Under the leadership of Labor's Non-Partisan League, analogous tactics are being repeated in a score of States. In an exactly comparable situation in Texas, Maury Maverick last week went down to defeat in the Democratic primaries by a combination of the Chamber of Commerce, A. F. of L. and the well-to-do farmers. The tactics of entry in the old party primaries leaves labor politically hamstrung; but even so tentative a form of class action sharpens the class lines as a whole, and brings to the surface the underlying social divisions.

Just as obvious as the more organized entry of labor into the political arena is the pressure of the growingly disoriented middle classes, particularly in the West. Combining reactionary demagoguery with hill-billy music and a platform consisting chiefly of the Ten Commandments, W. Lee O'Daniel swept a field of fifteen in Texas to win the Democratic nomination (equivalent to election) for the governorship.

Fascist in Kansas In Kansas, the potentially fascist direction of such movements as that which threw up O'Daniel finds more open voice in Dr. Gerald B. Winrod, leading candidate for the Republican nomination for the governorship. Dr. Winrod's publications have been

British Repressions Continue in Burma

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

Rioting, which apparently began over incidents provoked by members of the pro-imperialist

Muslim League (a rapidly developing movement of Indian fascism), led to the armed interference of the 5,000 troops permanently stationed in Burma by the British rulers. After firing upon the crowds of demonstrators, 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 "divide and then 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, suffering under the "civilizing virtues" of British imperialism for 250 years and now facing the prospect of a rapidly approaching new economic crisis, are beginning to stir. We can confidently predict greater struggles in the immediate future. All the more reason why our support goes to these long-oppressed people.