

WORKERS OF THE
WORLD UNITE!

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An Urgent Appeal AID THE REVOLUTIONISTS!

By James P. Cannon

I received a letter the other day from a comrade, now in France, who was recently in the United States. I want to pass this letter on to the readers of the *Socialist Appeal*. It deals with a matter of paramount importance to all of us—the desperate situation of the hounded and persecuted revolutionists from fascist countries who have sought asylum in France. The undarned story told in this letter is the most convincing argument that can be made for the “American Fund for Political Prisoners and Refugees” which was announced in the *Socialist Appeal* last week.

Here is the letter:

Paris, May 29, 1938.

Dear Comrade Cannon,
“When I saw you in New York, I told you about the situation of the many German refugees; well that was from personal experience with them before I left to go to America. On returning to Paris, I am sorry to say that it is even worse now than it was then. Their lives have become more endangered and I am writing to you to ask for some help. I hope you will understand and will not mind.

“The recent new laws have made things so bad that for them to work is now practically impossible. Once it was possible to work without the cards. But now one can't do that and many of them are being sent out of Paris to other departments. They may be able to stay there for a very little while, but the general feeling is that before the year's out all of them will have got an expulsion order, as the present trend is against them and all left thought or ways.

“I was amazed at the change in Paris when I got back after four months. One of them got an expulsion and gassed himself and his wife. Another comrade found him, he was saved, but the wife died. They got him better and he came home again, only to do it again. This time they found him too late and so he is now dead.

“Another one is very ill from under-feeding and not enough warmth or clothes. Another is still in prison, the second time this year! When he comes out I wonder what they will do with him; there is not much hope for him at all.

“If you could collect some money for them, it would make matters very much easier. It is impossible to ask the French comrades as they are so hard up that they have not enough for themselves, but I thought you might be able to send some over . . .”

There really isn't much to add to such a letter. We have all known for some time that things were far from well with our refugee comrades abroad. The victims of reaction in Europe have cried for our aid for a long time now. We delayed too long with this burning task, to their detriment and our own shame.

Through accidental circumstances and no special merit of our own we still live in relatively favorable circumstances in America. That puts upon us the special obligation to share a part of our limited means with the vanguard fighters of Europe. We must not let them perish. They who have stood up against fascism in their native countries and now continue the fight in emigration are humanity's best pledge for the future.

The committee that has been organized to aid them is composed of experienced and reputable veterans of the labor defense movement. They are going at their task with the conscientiousness for which they are well known, with energy and a firm will. I hope every reader of our paper will respond to their appeal.

The “American Fund for Political Prisoners and Refugees” has a legitimate claim to the support of every militant. Send something today—don't wait till you can spare it—to George Novack, secretary, Room 1609, 100 Fifth Avenue, New York City.

Refugee Fund Is Welcomed Far and Wide

Enthusiastic Response
Greeted Formation of
N. Y. Committee

NEW YORK.—The announcement in last week's *Socialist Appeal* of the formation of an American Fund for Political Prisoners and Refugees has met with enthusiastic response from all sections of the country. At a meeting held in New York a local committee was organized with Lyman Paine as secretary, and plans were laid for an intensive campaign to raise a fund immediately to aid revolutionary refugees in Europe.

George Novack, Secretary of the American Fund for Political Prisoners and Refugees, announced this week that a visa has been obtained for a German refugee and his wife, both of whom were in danger of deportation to Nazi Germany.

A sum of \$300 is needed to provide for their transportation to the country granting them visas. The American Fund now has several thousand collection lists out throughout the country. But this urgent case cannot await their return. The \$300 must be raised within the next few days. The American Fund calls upon all workers and friends of democratic rights to come to the aid of these comrades.

The American Fund announced that it now has several dozen cases demanding immediate attention. The following are but a few of the many:

A former Communist Party member of the German Reichstag, and a leading member of the Lenin Bund, 52 years old. His home was raided by the Nazis in 1933 and his wife was arrested and later released. He was forced to flee and has been in exile, since, living as best he could with the meager assistance of friends. As a result of undernourishment, he developed a serious stomach ailment and kidney trouble. This comrade is now threatened with expulsion from his place of exile.

Assistance is also urgently needed by the wife and two children of an Austrian revolutionist to enable them to proceed to another country. The husband and father, who was among the founders of the Communist Party of Austria, was arrested for revolutionary activity and is now serving a two-year prison sentence.

The cases come piling in, each more tragic than the other, each demanding immediate action.

If you are unemployed and cannot make a donation at this time, get a collection list and help raise money from others to help in this important and necessary task.

Collection lists can be obtained at the office of the Fund, Room 1609, 100 Fifth Ave., N. Y.

Progressives Chalking Up New Scores In N. Y. Painters' Union Fight

Make Clean Sweep Of Offices In Local 892;
Stalinist Campaign Of Slander Fails To
Halt Advance Of Militant Candidates

NEW YORK.—Test votes in elections held last Saturday by Locals 892 and 905 for local officers and delegates to District Council No. 9 indicate that the strength of the progressives continues to rise as the general election campaign in the New York Painters' Union draws to a close. Spokesmen of the Inter-Local Conference of Progressive Clubs predict a comfortable majority for L. J. Stevens, progressive candidate for secretary-treasurer, in the District Council elections on June 25.

Stevens defeated Louis Weinstock, Stalinist big-shot in the painters' union, for the nomination in the primaries held in Local 848, Weinstock's own local. Against Stevens, the Stalinists are supporting a stooge named Ghidoni, nominated by Local 51, whose record is entirely unknown to the membership of the union.

Clean Sweep Made

In Local 892 the progressive opposition made a clean sweep of local offices and defeated the Stalinist Shnurman as delegate to the District Council. William Haupt, who defeated Shnurman two to one for the nomination for secretary-treasurer of D. C. 9 two weeks ago—later declining in favor of Stevens—picked up 50 new votes in a successful race for the post of recording secretary of the local.

In Local 905 in the East Bronx—the Stalinist stronghold in the union, said to contain a fraction of no less than 300 C.P. members—the opposition likewise registered progress. The key post of financial secretary was retained by the popular progressive, Hoffman, with a majority of 785 against the 645 for the administration's candidate Schwartz. The Communist Party forces were able to retain the chairman, their candidate M. Gainer receiving 959 votes against 417 votes for Isidore Polstein, the progressive candidate. Polstein's vote, however, was some 100 larger than the progressives themselves had counted on in this administration fortress.

Dismayed by the steady growth of the progressive movement—organized only within the last few weeks into a cohesive though broad opposition—as well as by their own defeats in the primaries, the Stalinist-Weinstock administration has been working on all cylinders in a last-minute effort to manufacture scandals and frame-ups as “election issues.” In each case the progressives have been right on the spot to expose the machinations by means of hard-hitting leaflets and their paper, the *Progressive Painter*.

One such scandal is the belat-

ed exposure of an alleged fund-grabbing racket run by the Zausnerite Harry Rosen, former business agent of Local 442, and D. Stark, financial secretary of the local, some three years ago. To produce this “exposure” in time for election propaganda, the services of a Stalinist accountant, one Morris Greenbaum, were enlisted. The regular accountant of D. C. 9, Jacob Falk, refused to be used as a local “Vishinsky.” In an open letter to the membership of Local 442, Falk points out eight major errors of accounting in the “exposure” and warns the members against accountants who are “rubber stamps for officials with political aims in view.” Falk challenged Greenbaum to bring him up on charges before the Society of Certified Public Accountants. The challenge was unanswered.

Attempting to smear L. J. Stevens and the progressives with this alleged Zausnerite fund-stealing “scandal,” the Stalinists met with a storm of protests on the floor of the local. Two weeks in succession they had to adjourn the meeting before the business could be concluded.

Unable to put over this election stunt on the floor of the union, they called a special meeting of members of Local 442 last Saturday in Irving Plaza under the auspices of their “Rank and File Unity Club.” When opposition members of the union entered the hall to attend the meeting, the Stalinists called the cops and had them arrested on charges of disorderly conduct. Among those arrested was I. Gittlin, a well-known anarchist militant in the union, who for years led a single-handed fight against the Zausner regime in Local 442, combining with the Weinstock group to oust it two years ago. The case of the painters arrested will come up in court next Friday.

Race Prejudice Stirred

Another frame-up was the charge that Stevens was nominated in Local 848 by a combination not only of Zausnerites, but of “Nazi-influenced Germans.” As a matter of fact it was Stevens who took a lead in the fight against Zausnerism, had his head cracked by Zausner's henchmen, and was nominated on the slogan “Kick the ex-Zausnerites (Kosloff, Zughart, Pasini, and Co.), who are now Weinstockites, out of the administration.”

In a statement to the press last week, Stevens challenged the Stalinists to name the Zausnerites and the “Nazi-influenced Germans” who supported him in Local 848. He pointed out that

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Labor Gains Smashed By Spain Gov't

Enterprises Are Handed
Back To Exploiters As
Fascists Advance

With the blessings and active support of Prime Minister Chamberlain, Premier Edouard Deladier and, of course, Hitler and Mussolini, General Francisco Franco's fascist force began last week a new drive toward Valencia in another effort to bring the Spanish civil war to a close. Neither the barbarous air raids which took hundreds of civilian lives—over which the “democratic” gentlemen in London and Paris shed such crocodile tears—nor the steady bombing of British ships in Spanish ports by fascist aircraft have been permitted to stand in the way of Chamberlain's “realistic” attempt to come to terms with the fascist dictatorships.

Daladier Accedes

The Anglo-Italian agreement was based upon the premise of an early Franco victory in Spain. These calculations were upset by the stiffening of Loyalist resistance to Franco's drive on Barcelona late in the Spring. This stiffening was generally attributed to the fact that the French permitted arms and supplies to cross the border in considerable quantities. That is why the utmost pressure has been brought to bear by Mussolini and Chamberlain on Daladier to force the hermetic sealing of the French frontier. To this demand, it now seems, Daladier, only yesterday one of the chief “heroes” of the People's Front, is acceding.

Augur, the White Russian journalistic spokesman for the *British Foreign Office*, reported to the *New York Times* on June 20 that the French government had promised Britain to establish a “complete blockade” as soon as the government is relieved of the necessity for answering embarrassing questions in the French parliament.

Fascist Victory Desired

The plan is, as before, to bring about a swift fascist victory in Spain, to hasten a Franco-Italian agreement, and thus pave the way for Anglo-French approaches to Germany. The underlying premise of this policy is to bring about some kind of temporary “appeasement” in Western Europe at the expense of the Soviet Union.

The present policies of the “democratic” powers show how false and futile and disastrous was the policy of suppressing the Spanish revolution in order to insure “democratic support” for the Loyalist cause.

Special dispatches to the *New York Post* by Frank C. Hanighen last week revealed how far the Loyalist regime had gone in destroying the gains made by the workers in the first upsurge of July, 1936. With but a few exceptions, all private factories which were “collectivized” by the workers have now been “decollectivized,” i.e., restored to their original owners.

Pictures Negrin Government

A Loyalist official told Hanighen “that the Negrin government has become more conservative and capitalistic than the government existing before the Aragon offensive and predicted that any future cabinet shifts would turn it even further to the right.” All of this was being done, Hanighen added, to prove that the Loyalist government was not “red.” He then went on to list a number of the principal mining enterprises in which foreign capital, British, French, American, South American, predominates, to which the government has restored complete “freedom.” He even cited a decree “decollectivizing” certain electrical power plants in which German capital predominates.

But events are proving that the suffocation of the Spanish revolution, which was supposed to be “realistic,” was precisely the policy which led more and more speedily to disaster. The destruction of their economic gains, and the Stalin-G.P.U. terror against all revolutionists, sapped the initiative of the masses. The position of the Soviet

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CP Wreckers Force Splits In Maritime

Founding Organizations Withdraw From Pacific
Federation After Bridges Packs Convention
And Unseats Tacoma I.L.U. Delegation

STALINIST “UNITY” IS EXPOSED

SAN FRANCISCO.—The Maritime Federation of the Pacific Coast was split wide open last week when the packed majority dominated by the Communist Party refused to seat the Tacoma longshoremen. Several of its founding organizations, notably the National Organization of the Masters, Mates and Pilots, the Marine Firemen, Oilers, Watertenders and Wipers Association, the Marine Engineers Beneficial Association, and the Sailors Union of the Pacific, walked out of its convention in protest.

Harry Bridges' splitting maneuver in unseating the Tacoma I.L.U. climaxes his systematic campaign to drive from the waterfront all those seafaring organizations which refuse to shack themselves with the ball-and-chain of the Stalinist C.I.O. in the maritime industry.

The Bridges apparatus of would-be dictators is dead set on smashing the Tacoma longshoremen because they voted against affiliation with the Stalinist C.I.O. outfit, declared their

WARN AGAINST AGENT OF GPU ON THE COAST

Suspicious Movements
Of Hanoff Are Noted
In San Francisco

SAN FRANCISCO.—On June 3, Hanoff, suspected G.P.U. head for the West Coast, entered a small restaurant near the waterfront in San Francisco close on the heels of Charles Brenner, well-known militant member of the Sailors Union of the Pacific. As he entered, Hanoff kept his face covered with a handkerchief as if he were blowing his nose. He ordered a cup of coffee (which he never touched) and glanced around until he saw Brenner.

Hanoff then started to leave but when he recognized another worker and saw that he, himself, was recognized, he quickened his step and almost bolted. Outside he nodded to two well-dressed, heavy-set men, who then followed him quickly to a large, high-powered car in which another man sat behind the wheel. They all got in and the car drove off.

Knowing the practices of the G.P.U., it is not hard to guess the purpose of Hanoff's visit. He should be warned that if Brenner or any other militant worker falls prey to the Stalinist's bloody crew, he will be held personally accountable by the workers. There has been altogether too much G.P.U. dirty work in the working class. It is high time the workers called a halt to these outrages and built workers' defense groups in every union.

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Additional Troops Sent To Crush Jamaica Strike

British troops on strike duty in the island of Jamaica were reinforced last week by the arrival of soldiers of the Sherwood Foresters Regiment on the cruiser York. At the same time, police platoons were strengthened in Berbice County, where more than 1,000 sugar plantation workers were on strike.

Two Jamaica labor leaders, Alexander Bustamante and William Grant, arrested on charges of sedition and other offenses, were freed by the court on June 15, as the prosecution was unable to produce any evidence against them.

Commission Appointed

The scandal of Jamaica has led to the appointment of a royal commission to survey social and

solidarity with the S.U.P., and the firemen and refused to smash through the latter's picket lines during the Shepard beef. Bridges, who gleefully conducted a strike-breaking crew through those picket squads under police protection, will not tolerate such militant solidarity with the independent, “non-conformist” seagoing unions bucking the domination of his commissars.

Constitution Violated

This new action on the part of the clique dominating the Federation is a clear encroachment upon the democratic rights of affiliated bodies to conduct their own affairs without outside interference. In fact, the constitution adopted at the founding convention of the Federation, at which the Tacoma longshoremen were present, includes a clause “recognizing the fullest autonomy of each affiliated organization to govern its own affairs.”

The most ludicrous part of the sorry spectacle is that Bridges continues to sing a cracked first tenor in the “Unity Glee Club” of the C.I.O. The keynote of the convention, whose first act was to unseat the Tacoma I.L.U. and to refuse the longshoremen the floor to state their case, was “Unity and Solidarity” on the waterfront for September 30, when the current contracts expire. Bridges revealed his brand of unity a la Stalin in his statement to the delegates who withdraw from the convention. “Let them go,” he sneered. “We'll soon have them all hanging from telegraph poles.”

A Hollow Shell

By its latest action, the Federation stands revealed for what it is—no longer a militant united front of genuine maritime unions against the shipowners and the government, but a hollow shell, wrenched onto a reactionary, union-busting course by the infiltration of stooge shore outfits and the rule-or-ruin policy of the Communist Party.

Originally organized in 1935 on the principle that only organi-

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Puerto Rican Slavedrivers Balk At Wage-Hours Bill

The inclusion of Puerto Rico in the Wages and Hours Bill passed at the last session of Congress is upsetting Puerto Rican employers. On June 17, “industrial leaders” in San Juan sent a radiogram to President Roosevelt protesting the application of the legislation to the island, and predicting “grave economic disturbances” as a result. Embroidery manufacturers in the United States, who send work to the island, had protested to Governor Winship that a 25-cent minimum wage would make it necessary to discontinue that practice.

Since the agricultural industries of Puerto Rico, including sugar, would be exempt from the wage-hour laws, the needlework industry, second to sugar in size of pay-roll, would be chiefly affected. In the last five years the value of the needlework industry, according to the annual report of the governor of Puerto Rico for 1937, increased from \$12,000,000 to \$21,000,000.

Sweated Industry

The needle trades in the island are a sweated industry carried

on under homework conditions. Manufacturers in the United States ship the materials to Puerto Rico for distribution by agents to workers who do the finishing, and the complete products are shipped back to the United States. That this is profitable despite the shipping costs and the commissions of the agents, and frequently of sub-agents who do the actual distributing, is due solely to the almost incredibly low wages paid the slaves of U.S. imperialism. The manufacturers' profits, of course, follow the typical colonial pattern in that they go to absentee owners on the mainland and not to native owners.

About half of the workers in the needle trades receive less than two cents an hour, according to the Report of the Commissioner of Labor of Puerto Rico for 1936-37. Another third receive between two and four cents, and the highest paid (5½ per cent) from nine cents to 25 cents. In 1936-37, the average male worker made \$4.83 a week for 36.5 hours of work, and the

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Willi Muenzenberg Is Entered On Growing Blacklist Of The G. P. U.

Word has just reached New York from a trustworthy source in Europe that Willi Muenzenberg, the Goebbels of the German Communist Party, has been expelled from its Central Committee.

During the last two years a silent struggle has been going on between Muenzenberg, and the G.P.U. In 1936 he was incautious enough to express to F. Brubacher, a former leader of the Swiss C.P., under oath of secrecy, his doubts about the Moscow trials. This confession became known to some of the Swiss Fourth Internationalists, who were at that time preparing a libel suit against the Stalinist press in the name of Leon Trotsky. Naturally, they did not hesitate to unmask the double-dealing of this cynical bureaucrat, and announced that they would subpoena his confidant to testify before the court.

ON G.P.U. BLACKLIST

This incident may not have been the sole cause of Muenzenberg's banishment. In any event, it is an open secret that since that time he has been on the G.P.U.'s blacklist. His removal has not been easy. Muenzenberg is too well acquainted with the devices of the G.P.U. He answered an invitation to come to Moscow in 1937 by entering a sanatorium near Paris. There followed a certain “pause” in the Muenzenberg story.

It is clear that the expulsion of the perfidious

Muenzenberg from the Central Committee of the German C. P. is nothing but a preparation on the part of the perfidious G.P.U. for his final expulsion from the party, if not for more drastic measures. For Muenzenberg, who for long years was the G. P. U.'s wire-puller in Europe, is a too well-informed witness.

PROSPECTIVE VICTIM SILENT

How does Mr. Muenzenberg react in this situation? He keeps quiet. He is undoubtedly cooking up some little scheme to escape the dragnet of Yezhov's police. However, experience has shown that there is only one way to save oneself from Stalin's manhunt: an appeal to international public opinion, an open confession to the world proletariat of one's own mistakes and crimes, a public break with the Kremlin clique. In this way Barmine and Krivitsky saved, not only their honor, but their lives as well.

But it seems that Muenzenberg, who was “great” as the guiding spirit of the petty maneuvers and sly foxes of the German C.P., is incapable of decisive action in any serious crisis. These crooked bureaucrats swear only by backstage ruses, because they have long since lost faith in the working class. Muenzenberg will have to pay dearly for his lack of courage and political firmness. But this is, after all, his own affair.

Maritime Federation Disrupted By Stalinist Union-Busters On Coast

(Continued from page 1) zations whose members were directly engaged in shipping and marine transportation should be admitted, the Federation has become a stamping ground for phony paper unions, incipient careerists hunting for a pie-card, Stalinist free-lancers trained in putting the party line over...

every principle of militant union defense on which the Federation was founded. The closed shop? Bridges reassured the shipowner guests of honor at the class-collaborationist "Town Meeting" that "the union shop is often open to compromise."

CURRAN MOVES TO ELIMINATE RIVAL UNIONS

Militant Organizations Are Threatened By Ray Proposal

NEW YORK.—The New York Maritime Council has begun a strenuous campaign to win the cooperation of government and shipowners in the establishment of "mediation and arbitration machinery" for the settlement of "disputes between unions and the shipowners.... and inter-union, jurisdictional disputes."

Thomas Ray, secretary of the council, last week sent a conference call to the Maritime Commission, the National Labor Relations Board, the Department of Labor, the American Steamship Owners Association, the Shepard Steamship Company and Joseph P. Ryan of the International Longshoremen's Association (A.F.L.).

As a follow-up to this call, Ray sent out a letter elaborating his proposal and asking the shipowners to task for refusing to attend the conference because of their desire to remain aloof from "jurisdictional disputes."

Owners Taken to Task. As a follow-up to this call, Ray sent out a letter elaborating his proposal and asking the shipowners to task for refusing to attend the conference because of their desire to remain aloof from "jurisdictional disputes."

Refusal Significant. The shipowners' refusal to sit at the peace table with the council is also significant. They are deeply appreciative of the aid rendered them by the N.M.U. and its associates in smashing sailors' picket lines.

Stage a Burglary. Finally, the Stalinists attempted what a progressive leaflet calls a "Reichstag Fire a la Goering." They charged that last Sunday morning Stevens and other progressives, including the socialists Marcal and Wagner, staged a burglary at the D. C. 9 offices in order to "cripple the election apparatus."

Stalinists to prove that he belonged to Tammany. Incidentally, in a leaflet entitled "Weinstock's Daily Worker Tries to Blackmail the A.L.P.," the progressives quote from the minutes of the District Council to prove that they made a motion to levy a legal assessment for the A.L.P. several times higher in amount than the contribution actually made by Weinstock.

clades the following planks: 1. Secret ballot in all referendums, except strike votes, especially in the levying of taxes and assessments. 2. Election, not appointment, of all union officials. 3. Dispensation of all jobs available through the union by rotation machine, to do away with the present system of favoritism and discrimination and to give every union painter a fair chance at a job.

It is a minimum program on which every self-respecting union man can stand one hundred per cent. It is one which the Stalinists cannot meet and which only a progressive administration can carry into action.

ASK FOR THE APPEAL AT YOUR NEWSSTAND

Stalinist Wreckers Act Concertedly To Smash Auto Workers' Union

Plunge Locals Into Pandemonium, Seek To Place International In Receivership In Order To Advance Rule Or Ruin Policy

DETROIT.—The Stalinist pack is now in full cry in the United Automobile Workers Union. Driven to the wall by public exposure of their rotten policies and aims, they cannot rest until they have made their killing—even if the proud and powerful auto union is torn to shreds in the process.

The Socialist Appeal predicted that the Stalinists would be determined, regardless of the cost, to seize control of the union. Now that prediction has been confirmed to the hilt. Nothing is too despicable for these unscrupulous political adventurers.

The crisis precipitated by the Communist Party-Frankenstein combination is now ravaging the union from one end of the country to the other. Everywhere local unions have been thrown into pandemonium. The word has gone out from a caucus center, operating far more efficiently than it ever did in building the organization, to crudify Homer Martin once and for all.

Stalinist Program. Packed local union meetings—where administration spokesmen are howled down—are being called upon to vote for a three-point resolution: reinstate the five suspended officers; call upon John L. Lewis to intervene and take over; convene a special convention if Martin refuses to capitulate to the ultimatum.

Stalinists Sabotage. But the problem of organizing W.P.A. workers is another matter. Ever since the adoption of the 20-point program the Stalinists have been sabotaging this work. In line with their belly-crawling attitude to Roosevelt, the Communist Party doesn't want to see W.P.A. workers organized. Sooner or later this organization will embarrass Roosevelt.

Meanwhile the wrecking crew is setting up a dual organization structure within the framework of the union. Having failed to tie up the funds of the union, George Adde, suspended Secretary-Treasurer, has circulated a letter to all local unions directing them to send all dues and Auxiliary dues to a point where no W. P. A. worker can join.

Victimization Patterns. The infernal din resounding through the International consists of one clamor: "We are the persecuted defenders of democracy!" The hypocrisy of this cry is almost too obvious to need contradiction. Unfortunately, however, many good militant elements among the rank-and-file have been deceived by it.

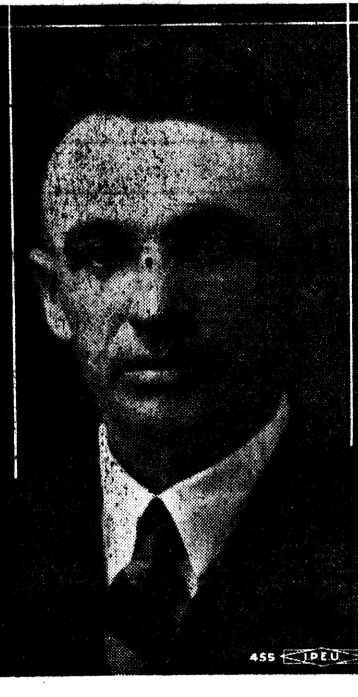
Receivership Sought. But let us return to this question of democracy. The key point of the resolution quoted above is the section calling on John L. Lewis to set up a receivership over the auto union. The auto union elected its officers at the last convention by democratic vote. The constitution gave Martin, as International president, power to remove any officer, subject to trial. Good or bad, the Unity Group voted to grant Martin these powers at the last convention.

Democracy—Where? What was there that even vaguely resembled democracy in this program? Just as much democracy as there is in one of Stalin's firing squads. Indeed Krantenstein is lined up with Stalin's American agents. It was only because this plot was uncovered and exposed that Frankenstein dropped it cold.

The Real Struggle. If this is not a fight for democracy, what is it? It is a struggle for clique control of the auto union. And when this clique establishes its control there won't be any democracy left. It will be a miracle if there is a union left. There can be no neutrality in this battle. Non-intervention means support of the Stalinists.

The pro-war advocates of collective security rankled at the thought of any kind of opposition to war. But what could they do about it? They had already taken a heavy licking on

Passing Mourned



RODNEY SALISBURY

UNIONS REFUSE ENDORSEMENT TO GOV. DAVEY

Ohio Labor Federation Delegates Declare "Nothing Doing"

AKRON, Ohio.—Hopes of labor-hating Governor Martin L. Davey that he would receive A. F. of L. support in his campaign for re-election were dashed to pieces last week when a statewide conference of A. F. of L. delegates rejected that idea.

It is no secret that William Green, president of the A. F. of L. wanted the Ohio union to support Davey in his crusade against the C.I.O. Yet every suggestion by Green's henchmen at the conference that Davey be called to address it was so roundly booed that the conference adjourned after merely reaffirming the old policy of "reward your friends and punish your enemies."

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

A Veteran Passes RODNEY SALISBURY DEAD

A few grief-stricken lines from Pete Gallagher and John Boulds have brought us the shocking report that Rodney Salisbury died of a brain hemorrhage in the Plentywood, Montana, hospital on June 14, 1938, after a three-day illness. He was fifty years old.

The death of this model revolutionist came as an especially rude blow to those of us in New York—Jim Cannon, Marty Aborn and myself—who had known and esteemed him since the early days of the communist movement.

Prominent As Leader

Born on May 2, 1888, in Brinsmade, North Dakota, he moved to Montana, where he homesteaded in the hard days. From the early founding of Sheridan County, which was later to become Montana's "red county," he was a familiar figure in and around Plentywood. For years he was among the leading spirits of the fighting weekly of Montana's workers and farmers, the Producer News, and a prominent leader in every progressive movement.

In 1922, he was swept into office as sheriff of Sheridan County and served three terms. There never was a more unique sheriff in the United States, for his "jail" was plastered with the posters of the International Red Aid, the International Labor Defense and the Mooney Defense Committee. Many a homeless and hungry migratory worker learned that Rodney's "jail" was far more like a hotel for the night.

Ran For Governor

In 1932 he was the Communist Party's candidate for governor, stumped the state as he had a dozen times before, and did a dozen times after, indefatigable as speaker and organizer of the thousands of workers and farmers of the state who knew him intimately and respected his courage, selflessness and devotion. At the time of his death he was still president of the Montana Farm Holiday Association, which he founded.

Rodney made good friends and good enemies. He hated oppression and iniquity and his only ambition was the triumph of the revolution. And hard-headed and tough-fisted militant that he was, he had no lack of ability to fight for his views. That is why he could not reconcile himself with Stalinism, and joined our movement in its early days. The bureaucrats hated and feared him, and they had good cause.

S. W. P. Pays Tribute

The National Committee of the Socialist Workers Party, to which he belonged and in which all his work and hopes were bound up, sent the following telegram to Rodney's comrade, Pete Gallagher:

"Please convey to Rodney's family and all friends and comrade-hearted comrade and friend, Rodney Salisbury His death is a rades our sorrow and condolence at the untimely death of our no-heavy blow to our movement and to all the oppressed who found in him always a faithful champion, counselor and friend. Our lives are richer for having known him and his undying memory will inspire us to keep up the good fight to the end."

Rodney is survived by a widow and five children, Michael, Jardis, Camille, and Gene and Patrick.

MAX SHACHTMAN.

Appeal Army

National Appeal Campaign: This past week, letters have been pouring in from all over the country describing plans and local campaigns being initiated July 1, the date for launching our 10,000 circulation drive. Ann Charloff, the new literature agent of Los Angeles, has requested extra sub-blanks, bulletins and other campaign material and has already ordered 100 extra copies of this week's Appeal.

From Frisco, El Booth writes, "We will launch into the campaign with enthusiasm, since good ground work has been laid for such a campaign." She also promises to make good use of the expired sub-lists that have been sent out. In Chicago, a special meeting of all literature agents was held with the aim of getting the Appeal more widely circulated in that city. And from Boston, comrade Leonard informs us that we can expect many new subscribers shortly.

Here's this week's result in new subscribers: Notice the splendid results of Minneapolis and the not so splendid results of New York City:

Table with 2 columns: City and Number of Subscribers. Includes entries for Minneapolis (15), St. Paul (4), Chicago (3), Pennsylvania (3), Detroit (2), San Francisco (1), Boston (1), Miscellaneous (1), New York City (1/2), TOTAL (32 1/2).

The following issues are missing from our files: Vol. 1—Nos. 6, 7, 18; Vol. 2—Nos. 2, 3, 9, 18, 22. We request branches and subscribers to send in as many copies of these issues as possible.

The SOCIALIST APPEAL can now be obtained at any of 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 Third Ave., S. W.; at Third Ave., N. W.; opp. Jefferson Theatre; at Second Ave., N. W.; at Sixth Ave., N. E.; at 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.; 46th St. and B'way, S. E.; Essex and Delancy Sts.; Book-store at Grand and Attorney Sts.

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Painters' Elections See Progressives Advancing

(Continued from page 1)

there were many German painters in that local, but that in the past they had supported Weinstock almost unanimously. To slander them as Nazi-influenced, Stevens declared, is to stir up the vilest kind of race and national prejudices and to play the game of the Nazis themselves. In Local 1011, overwhelmingly Jewish in its composition, the Stalinist Aaron Lotker, present chairman of the District Council, attempted to rehash this reactionary slander at a meeting at which Stevens spoke. The Jewish workers of Local 1011 gave the slander the proper answer by booing him out of the hall. In other locals, Jewish workers have similarly responded to this chauvinistic outrage.

Daily Worker Lies

Still another frame-up was attempted last week, after the Jewish Forward had commented favorably on Steven's candidacy. The Daily Worker charged editorially that Stevens is a Tammany man who had opposed campaign contributions by the union to the American Labor Party. The Stalinists hoped in that way to bludgeon American Labor Party leaders into support of their stooge against Stevens. In a statement to the press as well as in a leaflet, the progressives pointed out that what Stevens and other progressives had opposed was not financial aid to the A.L.P., but illegal raids on the treasury, such as Weinstock constantly undertook, contrary to the constitution and by-laws of the union, in favor of the Daily Worker and other Stalinist causes. It was the method of the contribution to the A. L. P. which was protested on the grounds of illegality. Stevens challenged the

Stalinists to prove that he belonged to Tammany.

Incidentally, in a leaflet entitled "Weinstock's Daily Worker Tries to Blackmail the A.L.P.," the progressives quote from the minutes of the District Council to prove that they made a motion to levy a legal assessment for the A.L.P. several times higher in amount than the contribution actually made by Weinstock. The Stalinists "referred" and thus buried, the motion fearing they would have to go through legal procedure—once the precedent was established.

Stage a Burglary. Finally, the Stalinists attempted what a progressive leaflet calls a "Reichstag Fire a la Goering." They charged that last Sunday morning Stevens and other progressives, including the socialists Marcal and Wagner, staged a burglary at the D. C. 9 offices in order to "cripple the election apparatus."

Stevens has challenged the administration to present proof of his responsibility for the alleged "burglary" to the District Attorney's office on penalty of making themselves guilty of compounding a felony. Of course, this challenge has gone unanswered. Libel action is being considered by the progressives.

The progressives, although answering every attempt of the Thirteenth Street frame-up artists to befog the membership, have nevertheless continued to stick to the real issues. They rely for winning the elections on June 25 on a program which in-

Bonapartism Rules In France As Parliament Is Sent On Vacation

The Daladier government, having had its plenipotentiary powers renewed until November, has sent its dutiful parliament home for summer vacations.

Working Class Stifled

The slightest sign of a willingness to fight on the part of the Stalinist and reformist leaders would have sufficed to call into the streets the French working class, including the tens of thousands of state functionaries, among whom there is a strong strike sentiment. Daladier's power would have crumbled overnight.

Since the collapse of the People's Front government of Leon Blum, the Socialist and Stalinist leaders have found themselves in a most embarrassing situation. Blum himself stated openly in *Populaire* that the Socialist Party has been deeply shaken by the defeat of his short-lived cabinet.

Tolerating Daladier

Nevertheless, at the congress of the S.P. held in the early days of June in Royan, Blum won support for his proposal to tolerate Daladier's domestic and foreign policy with 4,817 votes for his motion.

Taste of National Union

Even Paul Faure wrote in *Populaire*, a few weeks before the congress, that "the atmosphere in which he (Daladier) rules, the guarantees which he gives to gain the confidence of the trusts, provide us with an advance taste of what a National Union... under his leadership would be.

Another member of Blum's majority states: "The People's Front is dead, whether one wishes it or not. The truth of the matter is that no party has the courage to bury it."

Blum therefore has recourse to arguments of pure "legality." He says: "The engagements of the People's Front still bind by law (!) the parties who entered into them."

In A Blind Ally

Thus the Socialist party has now arrived, after all its ambitious promises, to fill decadent bourgeois democracy with genuine proletarian content, exactly at the point where the German

Social Democracy stood before Hitler's victory—in the blind alley of the lesser evil.

But many partisans of Blum's majority are beginning to lose their illusions. Seeking the causes of the defeats, one of them wrote in *Populaire* during the pre-congress discussion: "The program (of the People's Front) was actually incapable of realization because, although its end was well established, the means to attain it were not foreseen."

Such a statement on the part of a Blum supporter and enemy of the Socialist left wing throws a revealing light on the confusion and disorientation which dominate the Socialist Party.

S. P. Enters Third Period

Afraid of the masses, and fearful of losing the last vestiges of favor from their bourgeois colleagues of yesterday, the Socialist Party has now entered the "third period" of its opportunism since the events of February, 1934.

Then came the "reform radicalism" of the People's Front, whose main task was to stifle the revolutionary offensive of the French proletariat.

Left Wing Perspectives

What are the forces and perspectives of Pivert's new left wing? Its membership, amounting to 4,000 at the outside, is concentrated mainly in Paris.

The situation calls for a genuine Marxist party, ready to oppose boldly the priests of the People's Front and to raise the banner of the proletarian revolution.

The near future will show whether this group will definitely establish itself as a centrist formation which, though it may gain a certain mass influence, will provide another instrument for burying the French revolution.

How Fascism Begins

It began in the same way things have begun around North Jersey. First small bands of thugs, claiming to be patriots, veterans and so on, aided and protected by the police, break up meetings, beat up workers.

On To Struggle

Workers, prepare for struggle! Place no confidence in anything—be it promises of probes and greater protection by the city Commission or the cops or anything else—but your own organized strength!

Teach the Jersey City workers how to smash Hageism there by showing them how we can smash it here!

Anti-Hague Drive Launched By SWP

A vigorous campaign against the blighting menace of Mayor Hague's reactionary dictatorship, already near-absolute in Jersey City and extending into other parts of New Jersey, is being conducted by the North Jersey District organization of the Socialist Workers' Party.

When the Newark police opened up the crowd around Norman Thomas as he attempted to speak from a stand in Newark Military Park on June 4, in order to let in the band and the hoodlums that broke up the meeting, two things were proved conclusively: that the fight against Hageism and what it stands for is not confined to Jersey City, or Jersey City officials, or Jersey City cops alone, and that the fight cannot be conducted in a slipshod, haphazard, unorganized manner.

Now Newark is supposed to be a liberal city, under a liberal City Commission, with its mayor elected on the slogan "Keep Hague out of Newark," and with only one of the five commissioners (Byrne) an acknowledged Hage man.

Attack On Unions

As Hague met each new attempt and won, Byrne grew more vicious in Newark. He knew the difference between his function and Hague's. Hague was preventing better conditions for the workers in Jersey City by preventing the organization of unions.

Alliance In Action

It was only the resolute determination of the Alliance to stop this anti-labor measure (like the determination of the Hudson County Crucible Steel workers not to permit the Hague cops to break their recent strikes) and their show of strength in mobilizing hundreds of unemployed workers in the City Hall the day before the Commission, and the support given them by the C.I.O., that forced the Commissioners to refuse to act on it one way or the other, preferring to drop the matter.

Temporarily, the anti-labor forces had been checked. But not for good. Byrne made a series of talks, addressing the veterans' organizations, commending them on the fine stand "their leaders" had taken.

Workers Must Fight

Workers cannot afford the luxury of "crawling in a corner and wanting to die" when the bosses and their agents attack them. Because then their enemies will crawl right in after them to really finish them off.

Jersey Boss Sees Red

He also declared that William Carney of the C.I.O. had threatened to invade his domain with 3,000 armed men, although he later admitted that Carney's men, whom his cops slugged, arrested and deported last November, numbered less than two hundred and were unarmed.

Admires Roosevelt

He humbly professed great admiration for the head of his party, Franklin D. Roosevelt, who has not lifted a finger against him, although he repudiated the financial and political support accorded the Democratic Party by the C.I.O.

On To Struggle

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MAYOR HAGUE HOLDS STAGE IN N. JERSEY

Uses Forum Of Court To Expound His Fascist Views On Labor

The struggle between Boss Hague and the C.I.O. was transferred during the past week from the streets and parks of Jersey City and Newark to the Federal Courtroom at Newark where the C.I.O. and American Civil Liberties Union had brought injunction proceedings to prevent one or two days a week. Conservative estimates again place the number of unemployed at 13,000.

Bosses On Offensive

In the face of this new depression the American bosses are preparing a new offensive against the labor movement—to put the burden of the crisis off on the workers. They look hopefully toward Hague in North Jersey.

Hague on Offensive

On the stand, Hague belligerently transformed himself from a witness into a prosecuting attorney. In real fascist fashion the Jersey Fuehrer assailed the C.I.O. movement as "un-American," "Communist," and "revolutionary," aiming to overthrow the government and organized religion by force and violence.

For a Real Struggle

Meanwhile, the C.I.O. concentrates its struggle against Hageism almost exclusively upon the courts, although so far neither the courts, the capitalist politicians, nor the preachers have advanced their struggle a step. Even if the court should render a favorable decision, who will enforce it in New Jersey?

LA NOCHE de la FIESTA

See Announcement NEXT WEEK

Attempt Made To Bar Appeal Sales

NEW YORK.—The owner of a newsstand at Broadway and Marcy Avenues, Brooklyn, reports that a group of youths threatened to withdraw the *Daily Worker* and *Freiheit* from his stand if he continued to carry the Socialist Appeal.

This is but another incident in the campaign of the Stalinists to squelch the voice of the revolutionary proletariat in America. Although recently the Stalinists wailed about the attempts of the fascist followers of Father Coughlin to keep the *Daily Worker* off the newsstands, they find it perfectly consistent to emulate the fascists.

We feel sure that all workers will support and patronize the newsstands that carry the Appeal, and will repel all attempts, by whomsoever made, to ban working-class papers therefrom.

Labor Book Shop Suggests Books For Militants

The entire radical movement and all others interested in the Moscow Trials will be glad to know that Harper & Bros. have finally set a definite publication date for the Final Report of the Commission of Inquiry, June 28. The volume will have approximately as many pages as "The Case of Leon Trotsky."

The regular edition will sell for \$3.50. The Labor Book Shop has contracted with the publisher for a paper cover edition which will sell at \$1.50. Advance orders are being taken at 98c up to the date of publication.

Offer Britain Concession

The extent to which the Chinese bourgeoisie is looking to its Anglo-American imperialist mentors to save it from Japan was indicated by a *New York Times* report to the effect that the Chinese had actually offered to return their former Hankow concessions to the British in the hopes that British troops would be sent there.

Leaflet License Law To Get Test

NEW YORK CITY.—The new city code, prohibiting the sale of pamphlets and other literature on the streets without a license, which requires the payment of a fee and wearing a peddler's badge, is to receive a court test as the result of the arrest of two men last week for selling a Socialist Labor Party pamphlet.

Carter Mack Dies, Loss To N. Jersey

NEWARK, N. J.—Carter Mack, a Negro comrade and charter member of the Socialist Workers Party, Lenin Branch, of the North Jersey District, died June 13 of illness resulting from pneumonia and overwork.

Stalinist Wreckers Organizing To Break Up Auto Union

The union into a powerful force to meet the challenge of the depression. The issue is clearly put. It is not a question of crucifying anybody for his opinions. A full and open trial will reveal the facts and the workers will be able to judge for themselves whether these men were justly suspended.

Stalinist Wreckers Organizing To Break Up Auto Union

In the meantime, the job of every militant, of every honest rank-and-filer, is to stop the Stalinist crew of wreckers and splitters, and to defend the union against their attacks.

Kuomintang In Crisis As Japanese Advance Up Yangtse To Hankow

U. S. Courts "Incidents" By Ordering Gunboats To Remain In Zone Of Hostilities; Floods Remain In Zone Of Hostilities; Floods

By LO SEN

Flood waters of the Yellow River, rushing through breached dikes in northern Honan, have stopped the Japanese threat to Hankow from the north. They are at the same time bringing death and untold privation to scores of thousands of peasants abandoned to their fate in the flood area.

The Japanese drive on the provisional Kuomintang capital is now being concentrated along the Yangtse River, where Japanese warships are trying to shell their way through barriers in the river channel.

U. S. Seeks "Incidents"

The announcement by Admiral Harry E. Yarnell that American gunboats would remain in the zone of hostilities has paved the way for new "incidents" like the sinking of the Panay last December.

Meanwhile at Hankow itself signs of an internal political crisis have been multiplied. A week ago it seemed that Chiang Kai-shek had decided to abandon the city. Government officials and bureaus had already begun a new exodus farther inland.

Road to Victory

The empty threats of the Stalinists are useless. What is needed is a concrete program that will arouse the masses. This would involve a bold social policy which will satisfy the immediate needs of the workers and peasants who are bearing the chief brunt of the cost of the war; the ruthless expropriation of funds and supplies now hoarded by bankers and merchants in order to provision guerrillas and refugees; the setting up of peasants' and workers' committees to exert vigilant control over the handling of these supplies and to rout out the widespread sabotage and corruption which has done so much to sap the Chinese defense; the setting up of committees in all towns and villages which will see to it that the wealthy landlords and merchants pay the largest share of the necessary war levies without passing them on to the peasants; and above all, the organization of peasant unions and the launching of a vigorous drive for the seizure of all land by the peasants.

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 Associate Editors.
S. STANLEY
 Business Manager.

Expropriate The Railroads!

The railroad workers, one of the largest single sections of the American working class, are facing a new 15 per cent wage-cut.

When the railroads first announced their proposal for a cut, the Railroad Labor Executives Association, composed of the union officials, replied with a threat to take "national strike action if the matter is pressed."

They declared further that they would demand of Congress that it empower Roosevelt to take over and operate the railroads in case of a serious strike.

The ideas expressed by the labor officials, even if not properly and fully developed, were correct.

Three days after their statement, however, they announced that they had abandoned their demands on Congress.

There is absolutely no reason in the world for such a retreat.

The railroad industry is bankrupt. Its bankruptcy is part of the general decay of American capitalism. It is a living illustration of the inability of the American ruling class, the bankers and capitalists, to provide the workers with jobs, or to provide the employed with a living wage.

For the railroad workers to take the wage-cut lying down, would not only be a blow at themselves, but a blow at the entire American working class. The railroad workers have a golden opportunity now to show the workers of all industries the road to take—if they themselves will only take militant action. For a railroad wage-cut would only be the signal for cutting wages of the already badly-paid workers in all industries.

The most concentrated preparations must be made immediately to resist the insolent offensive of the railroad corporations and their banker-lords. But the railroaders must not limit themselves to strike preparations against the wage-cut. They can and should go further.

The railroad companies admit their bankruptcy, their inability to run the roads on the present basis. They have admitted it in another way in the past, by throwing hundreds of thousands of employees on the scrap-heap.

If they cannot run them, let the workers run them! The employers have made countless millions of profit on watered stock, on over-capitalization, on phony bonds. Demand their expropriation! Let the government take over the railroads, but under the management of the railroad workers! The workers can run them, even more efficiently, without the payment of profit or interest, and with such a reduction in hours as will make it possible to re-employ the dismissed railroad workers at trade-union wages!

This would be a serious step towards counteracting the attempts of Wall Street to unload the burden of the crisis on the shoulders of the workers. It is

a step that every railroader, employed and unemployed, would support and fight for.

We Are Not Excited

The Grand Jury has indicted a whole slew of men and women as Nazi spies and espionage agents, and the entire capitalist press, with the *Daily Worker* naturally in the lead, is having a Roman holiday with the big spy scare. It appears that "our government" is in danger, "our institutions" are imperilled, "our territory" is menaced, "our lives" are threatened, and there is a bomb under every subway seat.

We refuse to get excited. Our "democrats" are not concerned with fighting fascism, otherwise, for example, Roosevelt would never have had Frank Hague as national vice-chairman of his party, and LaGuardia would never have run on the same ticket with George U. Harvey. They are interested, above all, in preparing the war-hysteria atmosphere, in which a few spy raids always play an impressive part for the ignorant and gullible.

Every important country—we repeat, every single one, not even with the exception of the United States or the Soviet Union—has its secret agents trying to spy out the economic and military plans of every other country. Where its own spies are not enough, it uses free-lance agents. And the spies, like the governments they work for, know neither limits nor scruples. In war-time, spies become "heroes," and when was is over they sometimes have statues erected to commemorate their services.

So the latest spy scare is another piece of hypocrisy—one of those tricks governments use to work the people up to a fine frenzy of war-chauvinism.

And let us not forget that a spy scare is an excellent device for diverting the attention of the workers from their growingly serious plight under the system of rotting capitalism.

Where Anything Goes

According to its official resolutions, the Socialist Party is on record in support of the Loyalists in the Spanish civil war.

According to the same resolutions, the Thomas organization considers war an inevitable product of capitalism, which can be eliminated only with the elimination of the present social order. Hence, the need of a militant struggle against imperialist war and capitalism.

In words, we see, not so bad. But if you imagine that the S. P. obliges its members to present the party's view in public activity—especially if the view is tinged in the least degree with radicalism—you show a deplorable ignorance of the Thomas party. Take the latest example:

The Peace House, a pacifist group, has just issued a leaflet, with an enrollment blank in which the signer is to pledge himself thus: "I therefore am determined not to support any kind of war, international or civil, and to strive for the removal of all the causes of war."

Among the signers already listed we find Harry W. Laidler, chairman of the New York S. P., and Devere Allen. Allen, by the way, is the man usually chosen to report on the anti-war resolution at party conventions!

The S. P. is a party where anything goes. Or more exactly, anything but a revolutionary, socialist policy. Those who advocate such a policy are bureaucratically expelled by the hundreds, so that the party leaders may do just as they jolly well please. Witness the Thomas junket with Herbert Hoover and Owen D. Young!

Leon Trotsky

Mexico and British Imperialism

The international campaign which imperialist circles are waging over the expropriation of Mexican oil enterprises by the Mexican government has been distinguished by all the features of imperialism's propagandistic Bacchanalias—combustible impudence, deceitfulness, speculation in ignorance with cock-sureness in its own impunity.

The signal for this campaign was given by the British government when it declared a boycott upon Mexican oil. Boycott, as is known, always involves self-boycott, and is therefore accompanied by great sacrifices on the part of the boycotter. Great Britain was until recently the largest consumer of Mexican oil; naturally not out of sympathy for the Mexican people, but out of consideration for her own advantage.

Britain and Cedillo

Heaviest consumer of oil in Great Britain itself is the state with its gigantic fleet and rapidly-growing air force. A boycott of Mexican oil by the British government signifies, therefore, a simultaneous boycott not only of British industry but also of national defense. Mr. Chamberlain's government has shown with unusual frankness that the profits of Britain's capitalist robbers loom above state interests themselves. Oppressed classes and oppressed peoples must thoroughly learn this fundamental conclusion.

Both chronologically and logically the uprising of General Cedillo grew out of Chamberlain's policy. The Monroe Doctrine prevents the British admiralty from applying a military-naval blockade of the Mexican coast. They must act through internal agents, who, it is true, do not openly fly the British flag, yet serve the same interests as Chamberlain—the interests of a clique of oil magnates. In the White Book issued by British diplomacy just a few days ago we may be sure that the negotiations of its agents with general Cedillo are not included. Imperialist diplomacy carries on its major business under cover of secrecy.

Ignorance and Deceit

In order to compromise the expropriation in the eyes of bourgeois public opinion, they represent it as a "communist" measure. Historical ignorance combines here with conscious deceit. Semi-colonial Mexico is fighting for her national independence, political and economic. This is the basic meaning of the Mexican revolution at this stage. The oil magnates are not rank-and-file capitalists, not ordinary bourgeoisie. Having seized the richest natural resources of a foreign country, standing on their billions and supported by the military-diplomatic forces of their metropolis, they strive to establish in the subjugated country a regime of imperialistic feudalism, subordinating to themselves legislation, jurisprudence, and administration. Under these conditions expropriation is the only effective means of safeguarding national independence and the elementary conditions of democracy.

What direction the further economic development of Mexico may take depends decisively upon factors of an international character. But this is a question of the future. The Mexican revolution is now carrying out the

same work as, for instance, the United States of America accomplished in three quarters of a century, beginning with the Revolutionary War for independence and finishing with the Civil War for the abolition of slavery and for national unification. The British government not only did everything at the end of the eighteenth century to retain the United States under the status of a colony, but later, in the years of the Civil War, supported the slaveholders of the South against the abolitionists of the North, striving for the sake of its imperialist interests to thrust the young republic into a state of economic backwardness and national disunity.

Britain and Slavery

To the Chamberlains of that time, too, the expropriation of the slaveholders seemed a diabolical "Bolshevik" measure. In reality the historic task of the Northerners consisted in clearing the arena for the independent democratic development of bourgeois society. Precisely this task is being solved at this stage by the government of Mexico. General Cardenas stands in the series of those statesmen of his country who have been fulfilling work comparable to that of Washington, Jefferson, Abraham Lincoln and General Grant. And, of course, it is not accidental that the British government in this case, too, finds itself on the other side of the historic trench.

The world press, in particular the French, preposterous as it may seem, continues to drag my name into the question of the expropriation of the oil industry. If I have once already refuted this nonsense, it is not at all because I fear "responsibility" as was insinuated by one talkative agent of the G.P.U. On the contrary, I would consider it an honor to carry even a part of the responsibility for this courageous and progressive measure of the Mexican government. But I do not have the least basis for it. I first learned of the decree of expropriation from the newspapers. But, naturally, this is not the question.

Two Aims Pursued

Two aims are pursued in interjecting my name—first, the organizers of the campaign wish to impart to the expropriation a "Bolshevik" coloration; secondly, they are attempting to strike a blow at the national self-respect of Mexico. The imperialists are endeavoring to represent the affair as if Mexico's statesmen were incapable of determining their own road. A wretched and ignoble hereditary slaveholders' psychology! Precisely because Mexico today still belongs to those backward nations which are only now impelled to fight for their independence, greater audacity of thought is engendered among her statesmen than is granted to the conservative dregs of a great past. We have witnessed similar phenomena in history more than once!

The French weekly, "Marianne," a notorious organ of the French People's Front, even asserts that on the oil question the government of General Cardenas acted not only as one with Trotsky but also... in the interests of Hitler. It is a question, you see, of depriving the great-hearted "democracies" of oil in case of war and, contrariwise,

of supplying Germany and other fascist nations. This is not one whit more clever than the Moscow trials. Humanity learns, not without amazement, that Great Britain is being deprived of Mexican oil because of the ill-will of General Cardenas and not because of Chamberlain's self-boycott. But then the "democracies" possess a simple way of paralyzing this "fascist" plot: let them buy Mexican oil, once more Mexican oil, and again Mexican oil! To every honest and sensible person it is now beyond all doubt that if Mexico should find herself forced to sell her liquid gold to fascist countries the responsibility for this act would fall fully and completely upon the governments of the imperialist "democracies."

Prompting from Moscow

Behind the back of "Marianne" and her ilk stand the Moscow prompters. At first glance this seems preposterous, since other prompters of the same school use diametrically opposed librettos. But the whole secret consists in the fact that the friends of the G.P.U. adapt their views to geographic gradations of latitude and longitude. If some of them promise support to Mexico, others picture General Cardenas as an ally of Hitler. From the latter point of view, Cedillo's oil rebellion should be viewed, it would seem, as a struggle in the interests of world democracy.

Let us, however, leave the clowns and intriguers to their own fate. We do not have them in mind, but the class-conscious workers of the entire world. Without succumbing to illusions and without fear of slander, the advanced workers will completely support the Mexican people in their struggle against the imperialists. The expropriation of oil is neither socialism nor communism. But it is a highly progressive measure of national self-defense. Marx did not, of course, consider Abraham Lincoln a communist; this did not, however, prevent Marx from entertaining the deepest sympathy for the struggle which Lincoln headed. The First International sent the Civil War president a message of greeting, and Lincoln in his answer highly appreciated this moral support.

Workers, Support Mexico

The international proletariat has no reason to identify its program with the program of the Mexican government. Revolutionists have no need of changing color, adapting themselves, and rendering flattery in the manner of the G.P.U. school of courtiers, who in a moment of danger will sell out and betray the weaker side. Without giving up its own identity, every honest working class organization of the entire world, and first of all in Great Britain, is duty bound to take an irreconcilable position against the imperialist robbers, their diplomacy, their press and their fascist hirelings. The cause of Mexico, like the cause of Spain, like the cause of China, is the cause of the international working class. The struggle over Mexican oil is only one of the advance-line skirmishes of future battles between the oppressors and the oppressed.

LEON TROTSKY.
 June 5, 1938
 Coyoacan, D. F.

U. S. Will Fight in New War, Says N. Y. Times

The New York Times is the most powerful, authoritative and authentic organ of American finance capital. It is not given to momentary hysteria. Its policies are weighed coldly and deliberately, from a point of view which has little in common with the rantings of cheap and yellow journalism.

The position of the Times is acknowledged by a dozen governments, including the government of the United States. In decisive matters, the Administration often speaks first to the public through columns written by Arthur Krock, head of the Times staff in Washington. Because of its traditional adherence to Anglo-American collaboration, British imperialism also, as is well known, frequently uses the Times as its American mouthpiece.

Voice of Authority

The Times utilizes its editorial columns sparingly. Most often they are filled with dull or trivial pieces of no great significance to anyone. Only occasionally, on a subject of genuine and decisive importance, does the Times square off and make known its point of view in two or three firm and weighty columns, compared to which the editorials of most other papers sound like small boys quarreling. On a presidential election (it will be remembered that almost alone among the big bourgeois papers, the Times declared for Roosevelt); labor acts or reorganization bills; sit-down strikes; above all, on foreign policy, this newspaper speaks with the voice of authority.

In the light of these considerations, it is impossible to exaggerate the importance of the leading editorial which appeared in the Times of June 15. Coinciding with and complementing perfectly the recent addresses of Secretary of State Hull and his assistants, the Times, in this editorial, entitled "A Way of Life," states its program for American imperialism on the most vital of all questions. There is no ambiguity here; no illusions nor day-dreams; this is the voice of the rulers speaking.

U. S. Will Go to War

The content of this editorial can be summed up in a single sentence: A war is coming and the United States is going to take part in that war. Indeed, with a surprising lack of hypocrisy, the editorial says this in so many words in its very first sentence: "Though the United States has lived for two years under a Neutrality Act which expressed its wish to remain at peace, the American people are not neutral now in any situation which involves the risk of war, nor will they remain neutral in any future situation which threatens to disturb the balance of world power."

Naturally the Times does not leave it at just that. The editorial goes on in an amazingly frank manner to state both the genuine reasons for the United States' entry into the coming war and also the ideological and moral justification which is being and will be used to enlist the people of the United States in that war.

Imperialist Frankness

The United States is on the side of China, says the Times. And with contempt to mere hypocrites, it remarks: "We are not ashamed of a frank commercial interest in desiring the continuation of the Open Door." But not China alone. The United States is also on the side of Czechoslovakia, against the European "aggressors." And with scorn for purist isolationists: "The average American knows that, despite geographical remoteness and a traditional desire to avoid entanglements in other peoples' quarrels, we are inevitably the natural allies of the democracies of Europe."

And to the pacifists and dreamers in general:

"We shall be fully prepared, if war on a large scale envelops Europe, to choose the side of the democracies."

"That will mean, at the very least, what it meant in the years from 1914 to 1916: an immense moral support... and a deliberate policy of favoring our friends in the interpretation of laws which control our relations which govern our policies on the high seas (the Times is not at all 'legalistic' in its thinking—in a crisis it knows how unimportant are the laws on statute books). At most it will mean, as it meant in 1917, a decision on the part of the United States to intervene...."

U. S. Rivals Warned

"It is important that the statesmen of aggressor countries should realize that today, no less than in 1917, there are specific and vital American interests in all parts of the world which would almost certainly be affected by war on a large scale..."

"No remoteness from the scene of a potential European conflict can isolate the United States from the consequences of major war. No Neutrality Act can prevent the American people from favoring their natural allies. In any ultimate test of strength between democracy and dictatorship, the good-will and the moral support—and in the long run more likely than not the physical power of the United States—will be found on the side of those nations defending a way of life which is our own way of life...."

How empty seem the eager and nervous debates between "isolation" and "collective security" in comparison with this! The Times cuts through the controversy because, unlike the debaters, the Times means business—imperialist business, and it knows that imperialist business means war.

The "Democratic Garb"

Of course, the Times also draws around its program the shining folds of "international law and order" and above all of "democracy." The frankness—the Open Door, the defense of imperial interests—will disappear as the war approaches nearer; the "way of life" will alone remain. "Loyalties," "freedom," "tradition," "progress," "equality"—these will be inscribed on the banners. They are all included abundantly in the editorial. But today the Times can still afford to speak more openly about the hard realities lying behind the banners.

There are many, unfortunately many, who regard the position of Marxists on the question of war as sectarian and over-rigid. Let them study well this remarkable editorial. The program of the Times differs from that of the Stalinists only in being less hypocritical; it differs from the isolationists only in being more realistic, only in dealing with the real world instead of a world in someone's imagination.

You have got to be either for or against imperialism; there is no middle ground. And if you are for it you are for its wars, whatever slogans you use to try to hide them. And if you are against imperialism and its wars, you have got to overthrow it. There is no other way. The Times rightly calls its program "A Way of Life." And in the modern world there is one and only one other to oppose it.

SPANISH WORKERS' GAINS ATTACKED

(Continued from page 1)

Union which Stalin thought to strengthen by preserving capitalism in Spain, is now more perilous than ever before. The capitalist "realism" of Chamberlain-Daladier-Negrin can be fought only by the revolutionary realism of the masses.

important factor of the agents' commissions in increasing costs. The average agent's commission is from 20 to 30 per cent of the workers' earnings, and in 22 per cent of the cases it is from 30 to 50 per cent.

With wages at less than two cents an hour for half of the workers, the consternation of the bosses at the prospect of a 25-cent minimum wage is comprehensible. But the Puerto Rican workers must not let themselves be impressed by threats that application of the law "would bring further economic difficulties by diminishing the working opportunities." They must oppose amending the Bill to exempt Puerto Rico. In an Island where food costs are from 20 to 25 per cent higher than in New York City, 25 cents an hour is scarcely too much to demand.

Puerto Rican Bosses Balk At Wage Bill

(Continued from page 1)

average woman \$3.49 for 34.4 hours. When the Puerto Rican Reconstruction Administration set up a needwork cooperative, it was found it could not profitably pay the wage asked by the I.L.G.W.U. of \$1 a day.

Commissions Not Mentioned

The "business leaders" protesting the Wages and Hours Bill have pointed to high "labor unit costs," attributing them to "less skilled and less efficient labor." They fail to mention the

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SPAIN FEATURED IN N. I. FOR JULY

Among the many features of the July issue of the New International, which is now on the press and will be ready for sale shortly, is a sensational article on the "Betrayal in Spain," written by a syndicalist militant who was both participant and eye-witness in the civil war in Spain.

With indisputable facts and detail, the author shows how the rulers of Loyalist Spain—the Popular Frontists—have been steering the struggle to defeat in the interests of the financial and political overlords of British imperialism.

The revelations, dramatically written, are certain to create comment everywhere. Branches are urged to make all the necessary arrangements for the widest distribution of the July issue. All orders should be forwarded to the business manager at 116 University Place, New York, N. Y.

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