WORKERS OF THE WORLD UNITE!

Socialist Appeal

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FOR THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL!

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Smash Fascism In Mexico!

GPU Stages Frame-Up Trial In Barcelona

Charge Seven Militants With Assassination

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

BOLSHEVIK-LENINISTS ACCUSED

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

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

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

Accused Militants

The accused men are:

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

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

One Escaped

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

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

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

Victor Offdik, Czechoslovak worker, militiaman.

In Barcelona Prison

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

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9,000 RUBBER WORKERS QUIT AKRON PLANTS

Goodrich Plants Struck In Fight Against Wage Cuts

By B. J. WIDICK

Labor Secretary S.W.P.

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

Resentment over long-standing grievances at the Goodrich plants

(Continued on page 2)

The Memorial Day Massacre

If the Martyrs Could Speak

For Workers Defense!

Memorial Day marks the first anniversary of the police-murder of ten workers and the wounding of many others in South Chicago during the strike against the Republic Steel Company.

The dramatic newsreel of the events, which was finally flashed on the theatre screens, gave a shocking and all-too-familiar picture of a peaceful picketing demonstration of striking workers being attacked with guns and tear gas bombs by a bestial police force. Into the defenseless ranks of workers, who asked only that the union of their choice be recognized by the steel barons, was poured a running fire of rifle and pistol slugs.

Ten workers, part of that vast army of toilers out of whose blood and sinews and nerves has been coined the fabulous wealth of American capitalism, fell as martyrs in the great cause of labor.

In death, they joined the hundreds of other martyrs who fell under the clubs and pistols and revolvers and machine guns of "democratic" American capitalism in the massacres of Homestead, of Coeur d'Alene, of Cripple Creek, of Ludlow, of Everett, of scores of other battlefields where the organized murder bands of the ruling class mowed down the workers fighting against industrial serfdom.

The blood of these heroes cries out for vengeance. But it cries out also a lesson and a warning.

The private and public thugs of capital, those in civilian clothes and those in uniform, are a direct and brutal threat not ony to the rights of the workers, but to their very lives.

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RELIEF CRISIS IN CLEVELAND STILL UNSOLVED

City, State Authorities Pass The Buck While Jobless Starve

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

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

One in Three on Relief

Unemployment is so wide-

(Continued on page 2)

War Menace Looming In Czech Crisis

Britain, France Act To Forestall Forceful Hitler Coup

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

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

Anglo-French Action

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

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

By no means can it be said

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Workers Must Mobilize To Fight Cedillo

Fascist General, Aspiring to Role of Mexican Franco, Has Backing Of British and American Oil Companies

BREAK WASHINGTON'S BLOCKADE

General Saturnino Cedillo, long groomed by British and American oil interests to be the Franco of Mexico, revolted last week against the government of President Lazaro Cardenas.

After concentrating 20,000 Federal troops, equipped with the most modern arms and supported by a fleet of airplanes, in the state of San Luis Potosi, Cedillo's stronghold, Cardenas launched an audacious preventive attack in the very heart of the Fascist general's stronghold just as preparations for open revolt were coming to a head.

The moment chosen by Cardenas had its advantages. The economic blockade instituted against the Mexican people by the British and American imperialists has not yet been able to overcome the enthusiasm of the masses over the hard blows struck at the foreign tyrants in the last few months.

Moreover, even if there are generals in the army who might not be unwilling to take their chances against Cardenas in hopes of securing foreign patronage, any act of rebellion now would fail completely to gain any popular support from any important section of the population and would have little chance of success. Preparations for reactionary revolt against Cardenas had not yet achieved national dimensions.

If Cardenas and the Mexican masses succeed now in smashing the armed bands of the Fascist Cedillo, he will not only have decapitated and disoriented the reaction, but will have disappointed for a long time to come the hopes of the "peace angels" of the London and New York oil companies.

Cedillo will not be a push-over. He participated in the civil wars of the past and fought with Pancho Villa, the peasant leader. He is one of the extremely few generals who have managed up

Fights Revolt

PRESIDENT CARDENAS.

to now to retain their own private armies. He has a force of about 10,000 men equipped with modern arms.

Cedillo was minister of agriculture in Cardenas' cabinet. Himself a big landowner, he refused to go along with Cardenas' land reform policies and used his position to strengthen his own armed bands. Nearly a year ago he was forced to resign.

While Cedillo retired to his retreat in San Luis Potosi and there prepared for rebellion, Cardenas did not remain inactive. The Federal army in the northern provinces was systematically reinforced

It is impossible at this point to predict the scope the struggle will take. Even should Cedillo be defeated, his bands could carry on guerrilla warfare for a long time in the mountains of northern Mexico. But the very fact that Cardenas has grasped the initiative has reduced the chances of Cedillo becoming a rallying point for Mexico reaction and of the foreign capitalists.

In this struggle the adherents of the Fourth International support the left bourgeois nationalist Cardenas against the counter-revolutionary imperialist lackey Cedillo. In Mexico it is their task to give all national support to the military struggle led by Cardenas — as in recent times they have supported his anti-imperialist measures — at the same time propagating the methods of the independent struggle of the Mexican working class in its own interest.

For cessation of the economic and political sanctions against the Mexican government!

Vigilance against any attempt to support the Fascist rebels of Mexico!

AN OPEN LETTER

To Members of the Communist Party

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

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

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

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

In the struggle for "democracy against reaction" the new party constitution binds the members to act as agents of the capitalist government in suppressing all revolutionary workers' movements against capitalism and its wars.

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

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

Your leaders also promised to achieve collective security and provide the surest defense of the Soviet Union through the People's Front. This, above all, has been the apology for the abandonment of revolutionary policies. What has been achieved? The myth of collective security has been exploded. The "democratic" powers seek only to arrive at an agreement with the Fascists as to how to divide the world and how to reconcile their differences at the expense of the Soviet Union. Never before has the Soviet Union been in such an isolated and precarious position.

The Stalin regime has sapped the Soviet Union internally by destroying Bolshevism and the Bolsheviks. The greatest blows have been dealt to the Red Army. The Moscow frame-ups have demoralized and repelled broad sections of the world working class, thus further weakening the only reliable defenders of the Soviet Union. Only a break with the policy of People's Frontism, national unity, and frame-ups will make possible the defeat of reaction on all fronts, further the working class movement toward socialism, defend the Soviet Union and assure its development toward a classless society.

Not vestige remains today of the program on which the Communist Party was founded. Having betrayed the principles they originally professed, your leaders hate and fear above all those who remain true to those principles. They have written into the new constitution an unprecedented clause forbidding any member to have "any personal or political relationship with Trotskyites, Lovestoneites or other known enemies of the people." It is in this way that they seek to terrorize the party membership and keep them from any possible contact with the ideas of revolutionary Marxism. They will not succeed.

Your own experiences with the disastrous policies of the Communist Party will compel you to break down this barrier which your leaders seek to erect. It is your duty seriously to review the past and present policies of the party. It is your duty to familiarize yourselves with the program of the Socialist Workers Party, the banner-bearer and continuator of the principles, program and traditions of Lenin and the Bolsheviks.

Cleveland Authorities Wrangle While Unemployed Starve

Workers Alliance Fails To Give Jobless A Lead

(Continued from page 1)

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

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

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

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

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

Twelve Cents A Day

For the month of May, $2,000,000 are needed, but the only action taken by the City Council has been the passage of an $80,000 stopgap for food orders only. This sum is to be provided by lay-offs and delaying promotion in 32 city divisions and bureaus. The largest sum, $23,000, is taken from the street-cleaning division, which is to be reduced because even the horses are not getting anything to eat in Cleveland these days.

All supplementary relief has been cut off. Well did an impoverished working woman cry out at the City Council meeting, "Shame upon the richest country in the world!"

This month, 500 families on direct relief have had to live on 12 cents per person per day. Relief office workers have been working for no pay since the first of May.

The unions and the Workers Aliance have demanded that the funds for relief be taken from the sinking fund of the city instead of other departments.

For weeks, a battle of words has been fought between the Republican city administration and the Democratic state administration. Mayor Burton and Governor Davey have delivered many radio talks, which have not, however, proved an effective substitute for bread and oleomargarine.

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

Demonstration Opposed

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

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

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

More than 1,000 jobless (according to the estimate of the local capitalist press) crowded the council chamber in a stormy session. About 150 jobless staged a sit-down strike in the chamber, declaring their intention of remaining until the relief crisis is solved.

In the meantime, there had been spontaneous sit-down strikes in all the relief stations. The Workers Alliance, which in Cleveland is absolutely dominated by the Communist Party, did not take the initiative in any of these sit-downs.

In the relief crisis of last fall, a huge and militant demonstration, organized under the leadership of Bert Cochran, chief shop steward of local 217, was held on the public square by the C.I.O. It was to forestall similar action that the Stalinists allowed the organization of a sit-down in City Hall, hoping gradually to wean their hungry and restless followers from all public action that might embarrass the ruling class.

Unity In Censorship

The Stalinists were also forced to leap into action by the activities of an independent group of militant unemployed, the Association of Unemployed on Direct and Work Relief, who organized a picket line against the starvation policies of the administration and are now planning to picket the sessions of the investigating committee of farmers. The determined efforts of this group, struggling against the inertia of the Workers Alliance, created such a stir that both the **Cleveland Press** and the **Midwest Daily Record** carried a photograph of the picketers. However, the capitalist "liberal Republican" sheet obliterated the words on a sign in the photograph attacking Mayor Burton. The C.P. organ matched this venality by putting in an insert to cover the words on a sign condemning Roosevelt's war budget, in order to conceal the anti-Stalinist character of the demonstrators.

RELIEF CEASES AS 'RECESSION' HITS CHICAGO

34,000 Jobless Families Face Starvation As Funds Fail

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

Funds made available by the state and local levy at the beginning of 1937 have proved inadequate in the deeping crisis, and Chicago finds itself short $1,500,000 in funds needed to meet the bare necessities of the unemployed this month. For the rest of the year, there is required, $14,000,000 above the present budget.

Governor Horner proposes to increase the relief appropriation of the state by $500,000 a month. Of this, Chicago may receive $400,000, which would still leave a monthly deficit of $1,100,000. City authorities wish the state to assume the complete deficit.

Horner has countered with proposed legislation empowering cities to borrow from existing funds, or to impose new licenses and excise taxes.

While city and state authorities squabble over which department the funds are to come from, both assume that the money will be collected by new taxes on the masses of the people. No proposals for taxing the rich have come from any of the officials.

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Chicago Case Workers' Union Falls Down Miserably In New Relief Crisis

By L. MALGRECKI

CHICAGO. — Once again an example of "respectable unionism" turned out to be a farce when the relief administration local of the Municipal Workers Union here proved completely helpless in the face of a relief crisis which threw its entire membership out of work.

In this crisis, affecting 34,000 families on relief and 1,900 city workers, the union is tagging along after Relief Commissioner Lyons, changing all its policies to suit those of the administration, and in every way playing the role of a company union.

Second Crisis in Two Years

The present relief office shutdown follows two years after a similar crisis which was dragged out over two months by having the offices remain "in operation" on skeleton staffs, which catered to a very few extreme emergencies and kept the clients hanging on thin hopes, begging for crumbs at the offices instead of demonstrating at city hall.

To avoid a repetition of this prolonged misery the executive board of the State, County and Municipal workers of Chicago, finally demanded a complete shut-down of the offices this time to force the hand of the state legislators. The union leaders, however, made no preparations to enforce their demand, keeping the members busy with lobbying visits to "educate" the individual politicians on the legislative bodies.

When the actual crisis was at hand the board ended up by betraying its demand and fell in 100 per cent with the trick strategy of Lyons, who took over his two present jobs, at a salary in five figures, in the very midst of the 1936 crisis, while reliefers were starving and the skeleton staffs were putting in two months of volunteer work. Lyons' strategy is, of course, a repetition of the skeleton-staff "emergency aid" policy which worked so successfully at the time and saved LaSalle Street millions of dollars at the expense of the clients and workers.

Board Reverses Stand

After Lyons definitely announced he was going through with his treacherous plan, the union board immediately reversed its stand and came out in favor of skeleton staffs. To do this, it actually had to play the role of strike-breaker; since already the workers of one office, union and non-union, had unanimously voted on their own initiative to shut down their office by a stoppage; and the board had to tell them not to do so.

Questioned by militants on the floor of a union meeting on the eve of the crisis, the union leaders "explained" that the workers "could not" go out on any walkouts because the Relief Administration has an agreement with the Bell Company that it will always keep phone operators at its office switchboards! The S.C.M.W.U. board was more concerned about preserving the "honor" of the administration before the telephone company than it was about the welfare of the clients and the workers in the agencies.

The meeting was attended by scarcely more than a hundred of the 1,900 workers about to be laid off the next day—concrete proof of the union's loss of influence among the workers and of the fact that they no longer take it seriously or respect it. This organizational bankruptcy serves the leadership well—their own handful of yes-men can control all the meetings.

Even a motion for a 24-hour protest walk-out was defeated at the meeting, illustrating how the union's ruling clique, after having failed to gain a single thing for its members in five years of union history, having failed likewise to forestall the present crisis to the slightest degree, is now incapable and unwilling to pursue any line of its own against the administration.

Climax of Years' Impotence

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

The cause is very simple: as things stand, there is absolutely no reason why a worker should join the union, outside of purely intellectual adherence to the idea of unionism, nor why, having joined it, he should be active. Unless the union becomes an instrument for making concrete gains for the workers, it is bound to remain in its present moribund condition.

What are the facts behind this?

Causes of Bankruptcy

1. The union is under a leadership whose idea of unionism consists of press releases and protest telegrams. This is in keeping with the Communist Party's Moscow-dictated idea of avoiding all struggle in "democratic" countries as much as possible, at no matter what price for the workers. The "parlor pink" leadership, headed by Alinsky and Van Houten, is playing the game of the Communist Party, which places its party line before the workers' interests. This must be said, not out of red-baiting, but for the opposite reason: the C.P. is today "red" by tradition only; what the union needs is more, not less, of a "red" policy in its original militant sense.

2. In 1936, when the C.P. was anxious to "make up" to the A.F. of L. leaders for its union-smashing tactics, and stampede workers into the Federation at any price, the relief agency workers were split up into separate groups for the private and public agencies, so that the latter could get into the corrupt American Federation of Government Employees. This craft jurisdictional division broke the backbone of militancy in the profession. Agency workers of the two different groups have actually been forced to scab on each other — in the 1936 crisis the private agency workers had to take over some of the public relief cases and thus helped keep their colleagues in the public agencies out of work.

Forbidden to Strike

3. In 1937, when the C.P. dropped its line of leaving pro-C.I.O. unions in the A.F. of L. (to work for unity), the public agency workers joined the S.C.M.W.U. and the private agency workers the U.O.P.W.A. In line with the Lewis-Roosevelt horse-deals at the time, when Roosevelt opined that government workers should be deprived of the right to strike, the S.C.M.W.U. forbade its members to strike, by a notorious article in its constitution. If the union had existed at the time of the Boston police strike, it would have had to unite with Coolidge in breaking the strike, since police are government workers!

Having thrown away the only club that organized workers can hold over their employers, having deprived itself of labor's basic right and weapon, the self-emasculated S.C.M.W.U. can do nothing but spend its time in futile, pleading negotiations, with nothing to back them up.

Union Becomes An Office

4. By the very logic of this betrayal of the elementary principl of unionism, the S.C.M.W.U. central office, with its conferences, top negotiations with the relief administration bureaucracy, press releases and "protest telegrams," carries on the sum total of union activities; automatically the union office becomes all-important, while the organization of the workers themselves, in their places of work, is unimportant and unnecessary.

Since the union refuses to involve its membership in any action requiring organizational strength, it can just as well have 100 workers attending its meetings as 1,000—the smaller number can just as easily elect the executive board and pass resolutions for it to forward to the administration or the legislature; on the other hand, this means that the officers have to trouble themselves less over sordid organizational work and can remain sure that the union stays in the hands of their own clique.

Lack of Union Democracy

5. The unimportance of the "mere" rank-and-filers in this set-up dovetails perfectly with the Communist Party's policy of bureaucratic rule wherever its henchmen are in control. Since the overwhelming majority of the membership do not attend meetings, in fact are not engaged in any real union activity of their own, the C.P. clique can safely run everything at the expense of a strong organization. Every time a new issue is brought up on the floor of the union, it is immediately referred to the executive board, so that there can be an opportunity to get the "party line" on the question before acting on it.

The total result of all this has been a do-nothing policy smoke-screened by a great deal of talk. For a long time the reaction of the majority of the rank-and-file in the offices was non-participation in union activities either because of open disgust or simply because of a justified inability to see anything worth while in the union. This reaction of the workers resulted in abandoning the union to the C.P. clique and, even worse, of implanting the notion that unionism can play no important role in effecting improvements of working conditions.

Lately however, a new restiveness and impatience is making itself felt among the rank-and-file. This reached a climax in a feeling of revolt which has now broken out over the leadership's sell-out to Lyons in the relief crisis, added to a new feeling of responsibility caused by the realization that if those who are now dissatisfied had attended the meeting they might have changed the decision.

A Program of Action

Union militants feel that now is the time to lay the foundations of a militant group in the union which alone can make it into an instrument of the agency workers and a powerful ally of the unemployed. Such a group would be in a position to take over the reins rapidly from the present clique, in view of the latter's complete ineffectualness. Once in power, it would undertake a series of militant rank-and-file actions which might at first slightly decrease the paper membership, by getting rid of deadwood, but would vastly increase the active membership by galvanizing the workers into activity. As a result of this militancy the union would immediately make concrete gains which would soon swell its ranks to far greater proportions than those of the present union rolls.

The program for such a militant group, as suggested by those who favor its formation, would include demands along the following lines:

1. A fighting leadership, freed of the pussy-footing policies imposed by the Communist Party. Employee solidarity, not handholding with the administration.

2. One industrial union, uniting workers in public and private agencies, with the principle that "an injury to one is an injury to all."

3. Reaffirmation of the right to strike, and immediate tests of the strike weapon by refusal to work overtime, short protest stoppages in the best organized offices over questions on which the office administration will not yield, etc. These could serve both to steel the membership and to show the administration that the union means business.

4. Organization by offices, with functioning office committees, regular office meetings, office bulletins, a dues rebate to the offices for organizational work, and direct dealing with office supervisors over grievances.

5. Complete union democracy, not merely in name, but by insistence on the maximum of rank-and-file participation, and emphasis on the importance of rank-and-file action.

With such a program, union militants feel, it would be possible to build a union which could put an end to immense case loads, unpaid overtime, the appalling sickness rate in offices from overwork, political favoritism, and other inexcusable abuses against which the union has hitherto not raised a finger; to demand and win higher wages, better hours, more vacation and sick leave, and a general security which no public agency worker has ever enjoyed up to now.

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BRIDGES GROUP BACKS BOSSES' MASS MEETING

Open Shop Employers Offered Forum By Frisco C. I. O.

SAN FRANCISCO. — San Francisco's crusade for the open shop, led by the Committee of 43, an organization of leading anti-union employers, found ready response from Harry Bridges' C.I.O. Industrial Council last week, when George Wilson, president of the council, proposed cooperation with the bosses in holding a mass meeting in Civic Auditorium.

The mass meeting, scheduled for June 3, is expected to be the culmination of an eight-month campaign by the Committee of 43 against the labor movement in this "union town." The Committee, outspoken opponent of the closed shop, has utilized jurisdictional disputes in San Francisco to advance a scheme for a "joint mediation board" which would settle all labor disputes.

Boss Plan Rejected

The A. F. of L. Labor Council has rejected the "impartial" plans of the bosses, and the action of the C.I.O. Industrial Council is unlikely to find support there. San Francisco is still an A.F. of L. town, with less than 10,000 of its 100,000 union men enrolled in C.I.O. unions.

The main base of the C.I.O. council is the longshoremen's union, controlled by the Bridges' machine. Bridges, while militant enough when it comes to breaking through picket lines of other unions, prefers to "talk it over" with the boss.

One of the leading figures of the Committee of 43, Roger Lapham, president of the American-Hawaiian Steamship Line and head of the Waterfront Employers Association during the 1936-37 strike, engaged in a public debate with Bridges in the closing weeks of the strike.

Desires Coincide

As far as Bridges is concerned, the coming mass meeting is more likely to become a love feast than a debate, for actions of the West Coast C.I.O. director recently have coincided remarkably with the desires of the employers.

The stand of the Committee was made clear at a luncheon held recently, where the chairman frankly stated the organization's opposition to the closed shop, boycotts on "hot cargo," and "violence." The chairman disclaimed any wish to destroy or weaken the unions.

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.

NEW YORK

PINS AND NEEDLES! A theater party for the SWP to Pins And Needles will be held on Wed. eve. June 1, and Tuesday eve. June 7. Tickets, all at $1.65, can be secured from Miller or Paine by leaving an order at the City Office, 116 University Place.

SONGS AND BEER IN AN OUTDOOR GARDEN! The party has taken over the Terrace Beer Garden with its dance floor, orchestra and outdoor garden for festivities on Saturday eve, June 4 from 8 P.M. on. Admission at the door 25c. 1110 2nd Ave. (59th St.)

CAMP SEVEN OAKS, Decoration Day Week-end, Friday evening through Monday dinner, $6.50. Daily $2.75. Fare 80 cents, Red Bank Station on the Jersey Central Railroad. All sports. Good Food, No Tents. Plumbing. Address Stern, 58 E. 4 St., BR. 9-7620 before Saturday. Camp phone, Eatontown, 515.

MINNEAPOLIS

HAL DRAPER, National Secretary, Y.P.S.L., speaks at 669 Second Avenue North, Friday, June 3, on "Fascism in America?" V. R. Dunne, chairman. Auspices S.W.P. and Y.P.S.L., Admission 10 cents.

Suburban Theatre
Ardmore, Pa.
CZAR TO LENIN
Friday-Saturday, May 27-28
Philadelphians: **You can't afford** to miss this most remarkable film of the October Revolution!

Akron Goodrich Plants Strike Against Pay Cuts

(Continued from page 1)

flared into a sit-down late last week in protest against seniority violations among electricians. It immediately received factory-wide support and the next day large picket lines closed the shops.

All Grievances Up

L. L. Callahan, president of Local 5, United Rubber Workers of America, announced that the negotiating committee would use the opportunity to settle all major grievances. Negotiations were proceeding satisfactorily early this week.

The strike climaxed a series of victories over the past two weeks, which successfully stopped a vicious anti-labor offensive.

Recently the fight of progressive Goodrich unionists against wage-cut proposals received a 10 to 1 majority vote from the rank-and-file and inspired the entire Akron labor movement.

The report of the United States Department of Labor, which followed the vote by a few days, substantiated the claim of unionists that wage-cuts were unjustified. The company's claim that decentralization was inevitable unless wages were reduced was exploded by these actions. However, it may be expected that Goodrich will attempt to decentralize some production to penalize the union for its militant stand.

Firestone Contract Renewed

The solidarity of rubber workers led to a renewal of the contract between the Firestone Company and the U.R.W.A.—a contract which included provisions for a standard six-hour day and maintenance of present wage scales.

Firestone broke the united employer front when it realized how costly the battle with the rubber workers would be.

"If Firestone signed, so can Goodrich!" progressive unionists declared in rallying Goodrich workers for direct action to settle grievances.

Successful settlement of a strike at the Sun Rubber Co. last week gave further incentive to the aroused Goodrich workers. Victorious strikes by Akron truck drivers, and waiters and waitresses, added fuel to the rekindled labor movement.

An "enthusiastic" welcome was given last week by hundreds of U.R.W.A. rank-and-filers to a Goodyear company-sponsored rally. Thunderous cheers greeted a company stooge as he mounted the rostrum. Two hours later, the militant audience was still cheering when the stooge descended from the platform in despair after being able to utter only a few words during the entire period.

The events are a remarkable tribute to the courage and solidarity of the rubber workers who have withstood a series of union-busting attacks, ranging all the way from "red apple" propaganda to mass lay-offs which have made thousands destitute.

The well-laid strike-breaking plans of the Greater Akron Association and the Chamber of Commerce have been punctured flatter than a worn out tire at the present time.

Union Position Better

Negotiators for the Goodrich union have been placed in a stronger position by the signing of the Firestone contract. Besides the six-hour day and no wage cuts, it includes vacations with pay — one week for five years' service, two weeks for ten years, seniority rights guaranteed with no lay-offs until the work week has gone down to 24 hours, and the acceptance of the union's grievance committee setup.

Goodrich this week issued secret orders to its office staff to consider this week of idleness as its vacation, indicating that the plant probably will not reopen until next Monday.

Because of this sign and the bitterness of management toward the union, the rubber workers are preparing for a prolonged strike, even though satisfactory negotiations are progressing.

The famous slogan of the five-week Goodyear strike — "Hold That Line!"—has been revived, showing that the gum miners are returning to their old tradition of militancy.

Next Issue To Report Congress

The next issue of the **Socialist Appeal** will contain a report of the first All-American-Pacific Conference of the Fourth International which was held here recently.

With representatives mandated by sections of the Fourth International in the United States, Canada, China, Australia, Cuba, Puerto Rico and other countries, it followed on the Latin-American preconference held in Mexico City several weeks ago with representatives from a number of the most important countries of the Western Hemisphere.

A number of documents of primary importance for the revolutionary movement, especially of the New World, were adopted. Considerations of space prevent us from printing in this issue anything approaching a full report of the conference.

ASK FOR THE APPEAL AT YOUR NEWSSTAND

Appeal Army

Things are happening that should make party literature agents all over the country sit up and take notice. Just look at Minneapolis, will you, jumping right out in front and licking New York City! And they've only started their sub campaign! Here's the record for the week:

MINNEAPOLIS	13
New York City	11
Detroit	4
St. Louis	3
New Jersey	2
Kansas	2
Cleveland	1
Rochester, N. Y.	1
Chicago	1
Miscellaneous	1
TOTAL	39

* * *

Only one bundle order increase came in this week. This came from Ben Hubert, of Saskatchewan, Sask. (Canada).... Ben starts off with a modest bundle of five but we know he will raise it.... And Ben paid in advance! Congratulations to whoever is doing that fine work in Minneapolis..... Abe Miller is jealous and promises an early revenge... Detroit is the first of the auto cities to get under way in getting some subs.... Whereabouts are Cleveland, Toledo, Los Angeles? How about starting a local sub campaign in these cities?.... And Chicago has been sinking lower and lower... Literature agent Karl Shier writes every week from Chicago about how much the **Appeal** is liked, but why not let some other people like it, too?

* * *

National Appeal Campaign: Attention: All Literature Agents! In a few weeks we hope to have the campaign definitely under way. You will shortly receive all necessary information and instructions on what the campaign is all about. And don't worry—you'll have plenty of time to prepare it locally. We can tell you now that it will mean plenty of drive and keep everybody busy. A National Newsstand Week, Library Week, Street-Sales Week, etc. are being planned.

* * *

Get your Appeal at your local newsstand! If the **Appeal** is not there ask for it and we'll see that it gets there every week.

Socialist Appeal
116 University Place Date .....
New York City

I enclose $..... for which please send me the Socialist Appeal. One year—($2.00); Six Months—($1.00).

I enclose $..... as my contribution toward building the Socialist Appeal.

Name .....
Address .....
City .....

USSR Entry Into IFTU Is Barred

Woll and Citrine Lead In Blocking Union Affiliation

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

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

Soviet Isolation Increased

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

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

A Pertinent Question

Those who could have fought, with some prospect of success, for admission of the Soviet unions to the I.F.T.U. were disarmed by Stalin himself. Matthew Woll, who certainly has no reputation as a revolutionary militant, doubtless had his own reasons for fighting the Soviet application. But none present answered him when he declared: "How can we fight dictatorship if we go arm-in-arm with Stalin?"

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

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

Fissure Opens In Chinese C. P. Ranks

Chang Kuo-tao, well-known revolutionist, has been expelled from the Chinese Communist Party of which together with Chen Tu-hsiu, leader of the Fourth Internationalists in China, he was one of the founders in 1921.
ginal founders in 1921-22.
reporting the expulsion, do not disclose the "offense" for which Chang has been expelled, but declared that he has issued a public declaration stating that he is in complete disagreement with the present policies of the Chinese Communist Party. He also has denounced Wang Ming, Stalin's principal Chinese agent, who since his arrival in Hankow from Moscow has been carrying on a violent campaign of provocation and calumny against the Chinese Fourth Internationalists.

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

Slanders Against Chen Tu-Hsiu Repudiated By Noted Chinese Scholars

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

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

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

Hit Stalinist Lying

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

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

End This Slander

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

The statement was signed by Huang Hsing-kung, Chow Fu-hai, Hua Nyi-lin, Tien Shih-ping, Liang Han-chow, Ko Yi-han, Chang Hsi-min, Tao Hsi-hsing, Lin King-pei.

Howling for Blood

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

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

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

Chinese Comrades Acknowledge Fund

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

Previously acknowledged	$168.58
Y.P.S.L. Lower East Side	.65
Y.P.S.L. East Bronx	1.00
S. Zola	1.00
Y.P.S.L. member	.50
Philadelphia Branch	2.00
TOTAL	$173.73

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

Dear Comrades:

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

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

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

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

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

Gov't Starts Harlan Mine Owners Trial

Long Record of Terror Brings Federal Prosecution

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

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

Charge Conspiracy

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

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

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

Trial Follows Exposure

The investigation by the Federal agents began after hearings on conditions in Harlan County by Senator Robert LaFollette's Committee on Civil Liberties thoroughly exposed the reign of terror that has extended over a period of years. Nation-wide attention has been focussed on the brutal suppression of elementary workers' rights in this backwoods mining territory time and again, but the present trial is the first move of the Federal government against the coal mine operators.

Until the Wagner Act was passed, it was no crime to conspire against labor organizations. No legal check was placed on any efforts of the employers to break unions and intimidate organizers. With the passage of the Wagner Act, labor unions achieved a "legal" status and theoretically are entitled to protection by the government.

The Harlan County case is the first instance of the Federal government backing the provisions of the Wagner Act with criminal proceedings. The defendants are being tried under an old statute of post-Civil War days, under which persons conspiring to deprive citizens of any rights guaranteed under the Constitution or laws of the United States are guilty of a felony.

Long Fight Seen

Preparing for a long fight, the coal operators have employed 19 defense lawyers, headed by a former Federal judge, Charles L. Dawson. The government is represented by Prosecutor Brien McMahon, assistant attorney-general in charge of the Criminal Division.

During the first week of the trial three panels of more than 170 talesmen were needed to fill the jurors' box with persons satisfactory to both sides. Those engaged in coal mining or working on the W.P.A., principal occupations of this region, were not accepted for jury service by the attorneys.

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

U. S. TO INCREASE MILITARY FORCES

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

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

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

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

Revvv-olution? No Thank You, Gerson Pleads

NEW YORK.—Simon W. Gerson, Stalinist crooner of "The Star Spangled Banner" and presently the holder of a $3,600-a-year city job as assistant to Borough President Stanley M. Isaacs of Manhattan, told last week of the abandonment by the Communist Party of the socialist objective and the party's adherence to the defense of the system of capitalist "democracy."

The C.P. spokesman was testifying before the Joint Legislative Committee on Law Administration and Enforcement headed by Senator John J. McNaboe, arch-reactionary and red-baiter, in the course of an inquiry into an alteration made in the court record of a rent case in which Gerson had been the defendant.

Gerson and Socialism

The Communist Party, said Gerson, "does not believe socialism here is a practical problem today." The party was therefore "working now for the defense of democratic rights."

The Communist Party, he said further, "feels that it is the inheritor of some of the finest doctrines of American democracy."

Replying to Senator Livingston, Gerson said: "I emphatically state that I am opposed to any group or circle or clique of conspirators who would seek to undermine the American government as it is. But I do not surrender my right to change the Constitution."

"By democratic means?" Senator McNaboe put in.

"Yes," Gerson replied.

"Then you are renouncing your Communist philosophy?" McNaboe shot back.

"What I am denouncing is a current misconception of what communism is," said Gerson. Had not Stalin several years previously told Roy Howard of the Scripps-Howard press that the belief that the Soviet Government was devoted to world revolution was all the result of a "misunderstanding"—a "comic misunderstanding." So why not Gerson?

This has-been revolutionist went on to tell the red-baiting senator that in addition to the doctrines of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin the Communists follow the teachings of Jefferson, Thomas Paine, Lincoln and Washington.

Who Owns Jefferson?

But "we Jeffersonians don't want communism," McNaboe retorted.

"I'm not sure all Jeffersonians want Jefferson," said Gerson.

"We do," said McNaboe.

"So do we," said Gerson.

There was a time when C.P. members defended revolutionary doctrine against all comers, including red-baiting senators like McNaboe. Those days are gone. Today the party spokesmen crawl on their bellies before the representatives of capital, lick their boots, explain how "respectable" they have become. They are yellower than the "socialist" leaders of the Second International, who also used to explain to their bourgeois masters how, for them, socialism was just a distant dream and how devoted they were to bourgeois democracy—i.e., to capitalism.

Roosevelt Is Forced To Take Notice Of Hague

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

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

Apparently the administration officials do not read the newspapers and therefore do not know what is known to every informed person in the country: that the constitutional rights of free speech and free assembly have for years been a dead letter in Jersey City for any Hague critic and that "swift and severe repression," as Lee Pressman, C.I.O. counsel phrases it, has met all attempts of workers to exercise the rights granted them by the National Labor Relations Act.

Roosevelt's Hand Forced

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

Under pressure from the right and alarmed by the thunder on the left, the Roosevelt administration abruptly issued announcement of the investigation in an effort to checkmate its conservative critics and satisfy its liberal and labor allies. It remains to be seen whether anything will come out of this investigation limited to "the legal aspect" of the affair. In any case, publication of its findings will probably be postponed until after the 1938 elections.

More Anti-Hague Moves

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

Hague's opponents took various actions against him this week. The N. Y. Post obtained a temporary injunction in the federal court restraining Hague's officials from preventing its sale in Jersey City. Norman Thomas filed a damage suit for $20,000 against Jersey City police for deporting him.

Arthur Garfield Hays, American Civil Liberties Union attorney, who had been driven out of Jersey City a year ago, made an impromptu outdoor address without permit, for which the police refused to jail him. "Fighting" Jerry O'Connell announced that he would deliver his long-deferred speech against Hague next Friday under the auspices of the C.I.O.

End In Sight

Many signs indicate that the days of Hague's rule are numbered. The foundations of his little kingdom are visibly cracking. His intransigent reactionary stand has not only raised a legion of enemies against him but has made him a liability even to his close political associates in the Democratic Party.

A concerted organized and determined mass offensive by militant labor in New Jersey would soon send him toppling from his throne. The C.I.O. should take the lead in this struggle!

Seven Militants Face Frame-up In Barcelona

(Continued from page 1)

affair is not clear and it was believed here that he might well be a G.P.U. provocateur who will appear at the trial to "certify" the "guilt" of the accused.

These militants have been ordered to face trial before the Court for Espionage and High Treason and are now in the "Model Prison" at Barcelona.

The indictment charges them with planning to assassinate leading figures of the Republic, carrying on "propaganda contrary to the interests of the Republic," and of "maintaining direct relations with foreign elements."

They are also charged with murdering Capt. Leon Narvitch, a militia officer, on February 10, in Barcelona. Grandizo Munis was charged with doing the actual killing, while Fernandez and the mysterious "Max" helped him.

Narvitch was in all probability killed by the Stalinists themselves and in the best Kirov manner, the G.P.U. is now trying to pin his murder on the Bolshevik - Leninists. Narvitch first came into prominence in the P.O.U.M. brigades. There he became, and reportedly declared himself openly to be, a sympathizer of the Fourth International, attacking the policies and methods of the Communist Party. He then met the fate that so many other militants have met, a stab or a bullet in the back in an empty street. Now his corpse, chosen from among thousands, is dragged out to be used as evidence of murder by revolutionary militants!

Honest workers and intellectuals everywhere, the P.O.I. declared in its united front appeal, will join to battle this travesty of justice and demand either immediate liberation or an open trial for the accused militants.

Use Tear Gas On Duluth Pickets

DULUTH, Minn.—Tear gas bombs last Monday dispersed picket lines about the plant of the **Duluth News-Herald**, closed six weeks by a strike called by the Lake Superior Newspaper Guild. Police led strike-breakers into the plant.

Lieutenant Jack Englert, head of the Police Traffic Bureau, read the riot law to the crowd of 500 workers and ordered the pickets to permit the entry of the strike-breakers. When the crowd refused to move the police fired tear gas bombs directly into their ranks.

When the fumes from the bombs forced the pickets to flee, the police pursued them with clubs. Over 40 persons, men and women, were injured in the melee.

In St. Paul, Governor Elmer Benson ordered National Guard troops held in readiness for strike duty and assigned Adjt. Gen. E. A. Walsh to Duluth to survey the situation.

Carl Johnson, president of the Lake Superior Newspaper Guild, wired the governor after the bombing, pleading with him "to return peace to this community before lives are taken."

Union officials stated that mass picketing of the **News-Herald** plant would continue despite the police terror.

Orrs Tell of Spain At Louisville Meet

LOUISVILLE, Ky.—One hundred and twenty-five persons gathered here in the Tyler Hotel ballroom May 17 to hear addresses by Charles and Lois Orr, residents of this city, who returned only recently from Spain, where last year they participated in the May events in Barcelona.

To a keenly-interested audience, including not a few Stalinists, Charles Orr unfolded the story of the Spanish workers' seizure of industry in the early days of their resistance to Franco and how the "proletarian" parties lead by the Stalinists sold out their struggle to the Spanish bourgeoisie.

Lois Orr, drawing theoretical conclusions from the Spanish events, said the great lesson of Spain was the bankruptcy of the Second and Third Internationals and the need for building a new revolutionary international.

The meeting was held under the auspices of the Friends of Workers' Spain, a local united front organization drawn from Socialist Workers Party, Socialist Party and trade union elements. Much literature was distributed and the Stalinists present expressed a desire to hear more about the revolutionary viewpoint expressed by the speakers.

Inside the N. Y. Painters' Union

4. Who Are The Wreckers?

This is the fourth of a series of articles on the real situation in the Painters' Union of New York. —Ed.

One can say without exaggeration that nearly every progressive, every honest union official, in District Council No. 9 is today unalterably opposed to the Stalinist Weinstock administration. When one remembers that all these people were in the vanguard of the fight against corrupt administrations in the past, that almost every one of them at one time or another lent his confidence and his trust to the Weinstock crowd, this fact becomes all the more impressive.

No honest, progressive, devoted union member finds it possible to work with the Stalinists in the painters union today.

Why? The answer may be summed up briefly from the point of view of the average painter in the union:

Conditions in Industry

1. **Conditions** in the industry, instead of improving under Weinstock's domination, **are worse than ever before.** Kick - back flourishes to such an extent that the official wage of $10.50 per day has become a bitter joke for the painter making an actual wage of $7-$8. Speed-up—the use of the spray-gun, dipping, etc. —is more wide-spread than at any other time. Unemployment engulfs ninety per cent of the union membership the greater part of the year—an entirely unprecedented condition.

2. **Job discrimination** by the bosses has been multiplied for the rank and file of the union by the job discrimination practiced under the 25 per cent rule by the Stalinist administration. Only close sympathizers and slavishly obedient followers of the Weinstock machine can ever hope to get a "25 per cent slip."

3. **Taxes and extravagance.** Taxation of the membership is heavier than under previous administrations while the benefits derived from such levies before are entirely non-existent now. The only visible result of the heavy contributions made by the union painters to the present District Council treasury is a flock of Stalinist parasites — a staff of office appointees five to ten times as big as any office staff under former administrations—hanging on the backs of the members.

Deals With Bosses

4. **Class collaboration.** Deals with the bosses in every day practice as well as in the calling of fake "strikes" (to aid the bosses in bringing pressure on their clients) are as thick as under any previous leadership. The only difference is that this working in cahoots with the employers is carried on with greater ease under the cover of "Communist" coloration.

5. **Incompetence.** Not a single problem of the trade has been solved by the Stalinist administration. Kick-back, speed-up, lack of protection on the job, unemployment—all this is "solved" by the Weinstock machine by simply throwing up their hands and crying: "Blame it on capitalism and the crisis!" or "The bosses are stronger than we are." Even from the point of view of the bosses, the Weinstock administration is regarded as incompetent: for, none of the widely-hailed "organization drives" has in the slightest affected the open shops and cut down to any degree the competition from the non-union shops. Quite the contrary: the non-union shops are becoming an even greater menace to union conditions.

Union Rights in Danger

6. **Danger to Democracy.** To top off an already bad enough situation, the union painter's most elementary rights as a member of the Brotherhood are endangered. The Stalinist flunkies, equipped with the "25 per cent slip," intimidate him from expressing his opinions on the union floor and from casting his vote as he sees fit. When he demands a secret ballot, they shout him down as a Fascist, a stool-pigeon, etc., etc. The union member who, in spite of all this, nevertheless dares to oppose the administration, stands in danger of physical assault led by the appointed "organizers" whom Weinstock plants in each local. More than that, the Stalinist machine is reinstituting an old practice of the racketeers—vote stealing—with the aid of all the strong-arm men and old-time fakers who jumped on their band-wagon when they came into control and whom they have welcomed with open arms.

From every point of view the average, thinking worker in the painters' union sees only a threat to his livelihood, to his union standards, to the very existence of his union in the continued misrule of the Thirteenth Street "leadership" in District Council No. 9. The only things that still puzzle him are: How can "Communists" work in cahoots with the bosses? How can "Communists" be against a militant fight? How can "Communists" join with all the discredited hoodlums to suppress democracy, which they have always shouted for in the past and which their party shouts for at the present time louder than ever?

Not Red, Yellow

But even such questions are beginning to be less and less of a puzzle to the union painter. He is beginning to realize—the mass meetings of the Progressives show that very clearly—that these "Communists" **are no longer red, but as yellow** as any union fakers ever were.

To understand why this is so, the union painter must become acquainted with the picture of the present-day "Communist" party as a whole.

The Stalinized "Communist" party has no more in common with communism, socialism or working class progress in general than the Daughters of the American Revolution have with the American Revolution of 1776. In Russia, the "Communist party was long ago captured by a group of job-holders, labor-skates, pie-cards and bureaucrats around Joseph Stalin. Like every gang of job-holders, this group is interested in hanging on to its jobs before anything else. The isolation of Russia, the fact that the heroic Soviet masses were bled white in the civil wars, the fact that the Soviet citizen began to long for peace and quiet, the fact that the aid to the workers' state there from other European working classes was cut off by bloody suppression in the period after 1918—all these historic causes gave the Stalin gang of job-holders an opportunity to entrench themselves and gradually to throw off all revolutionary principles in return for deals with the capitalist governments.

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

Seeking Alliances

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

With the Russian state machinery in its power and with unlimited financial resources at its disposal, the Stalin gang has corrupted the Communist parties in all countries so as to make them willing tools for its aims. Those who remained true to their principles in the parties of the Communist International and refused to be bribed and dictated to, were expelled from the Stalinist organizations. Those who remained are nothing more than agents of Stalin's job-trust in Russia. Under slogans for a "People's Front" or a "Democratic Front," they are ready to sell out the workers of their country to the bosses in exchange for an alliance of the capitalist government with the Stalin regime.

(To be concluded next week)

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The Pennsylvania Primaries

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

L. N. P. L.'s present strategy makes immediate electoral posts its dominating aim, on the ground that this brings the quickest practical result for labor. Experience teaches otherwise. There is a qualitative as well as a quantitative factor in politics. Quite apart from longer-time aims, even in terms of concrete practical results, labor gains most from its *independent* organization and action as a class.

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

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

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

The Relief Crisis

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

A "Peace" Banquet

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

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

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

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

The Spanish "United Front"

Felix Morrow Writes a Marxist Study of the Events in Spain

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

By ERNEST ERBER

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

The revolutionary movement of the English-speaking world will find in this book an invaluable weapon in the fight for the program of the Fourth International. Utilizing the concrete experience of Spain it drives home the lessons of the difference between class collaboration and class struggle as no abstract thesis could succeed in doing.

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

In his effort to achieve conciseness, the author has not fallen into the error of making unsubstantiated assertions. The book abounds with quotations from a variety of sources which bolster the argumentation. In fact, the wealth of the material presented should make the work a valuable source book on the important governmental decrees and the political declarations of the various parties.

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

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

The author does not, however, limit himself to criticism. The policy of the opportunists is constantly contrasted to the revolutionary strategy advocated by the Fourth Internationalists. Their strategy on the struggle for power, the economy, the national and colonial question, the international situation, and the military struggle composes a program for the Spanish revolution.

New Facts Presented

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

In writing an analytical history, one is inevitably confronted with the shortcomings of a chronological treatment of the events, since it does not permit exhaustive treatment of the special problems that come to the fore. Comrade Morrow solves the problem very ably by combining a chronological treatment of the events with special chapters devoted to specific questions. The chapters devoted to the military questions raised by the war give a new insight into the fundamental link between the politics and the military policy of the Loyalist government.

The Summary

The author sums up the last six months of the struggle with the following terse sentence:

"The jailing of workers and peasants and the opening of the front lines by 'republican' officers to the fascists: that is the story of Loyalist Spain from November, 1937, to May, 1938."

The reader, under the immediate impressions of the ugly accumulation of betrayals and treacheries, cannot but feel that this sentence could sum up the whole experience of the Spanish masses under the banner of the People's Front. But the reader is not left with a feeling of despair, despite the sordidness of the story, for transcending all else is the unforgettable heroism of the workers and peasants of Spain, deceived again and again since they took to the road of revolution in 1931, but grimly determined to conquer or perish in the attempt. For as Comrade Morrow points out: "Pessimism and skepticism are luxuries for the few. The masses have no other choice except to fight for their lives and the future of their children."

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

War Menace Looming In Czech Crisis

(Continued from page 1)

that the war danger is past. The antagonism between Italian and French imperialism, heightened by the movement of Italian troops in Libya near the border of French Tunisia, remains a fruitful source of armed conflict. Likewise Hitler's ambition, in no wise dampened by the Anglo-French demarches of last week-end, to carve up Czechoslovakia for the greater power and glory of the Third Reich, remains a live spark in the neighborhood of the European powder barrel.

Europe is a series of armed camps poised on the precipice of war. The piling up of "incidents" and the continuous nervous tension of the rival states are testimony to the unbearable contradictions born of the system of capitalism in decay. The only solution to the problem is the razing of the state boundaries and the creation of a Soviet United States of Europe. This—the socialist revolution—and not a line-up of the "democracies" against the fascist states for a new imperialist slaughter is the road to peace for the tortured peoples of the Old Continent.

For Workers' Defense!

(Continued from page 1)

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

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

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

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

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

Once More-

On Housing

An Editorial

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

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

One For Every 100 Needed

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

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

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

Roosevelt pours countless millions into bankrupt railroads through the Reconstruction Finance Corporation. He insures bank loans and builders' profits. But he doesn't do the first thing necessary to answer the burning housing question: BUILD HOUSES!

There Is Money Enough!

A minimum of FIVE BILLION DOLLARS is needed to launch a genuine government-subsidized *building* program, on a three point basis: sound construction, union labor, low cost, low rent. The five billion dollars are not as hard to get as may be thought. They are in the hands of the "Economic Royalists", of the "Sixty Families," and their associated multi-millionaires. They are there for the taking.

The New Dealers *talk* a lot about the "Economic Royalists" and their social abuse of their stupendous wealth. What about *doing something?* What about a serious capital tax that would reduce private control of "socially-abused wealth" and help launch a substantial building program?

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

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

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

How the Plutocrats Live

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

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

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

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

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

Rich Must Be Made to Pay

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

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

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

N. Y. Mass Meeting

under the Auspices of the

SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY

Analysis of the Communist Party National Convention and the Stalinist Constitution For the United States

BEETHOVEN HALL
210 East 10th Street

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