

SOCIALIST APPEAL

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Nominate James P. Cannon for Mayor In New York Municipal Campaign

Trotsky Sees Jap Blow-up

ANSWERS TO QUESTIONS PUT BY MR. J. P. MCKNIGHT OF THE ASSOCIATED PRESS REGARDING THE FAR EASTERN SITUATION

By Leon Trotsky

1) An actual and serious victory of Japan over China would signify the forcing out of Great Britain from China, hermetically sealed doors for the United States and a direct threat to the Soviet Far East and, in the next stage, a threat to French Indo-China and to Holland's island's I do not believe, however, in the possibility of the execution of this plan. As I have written more than once in the past 10 years, the first great war will end in the greatest social catastrophe for Japan.

Blow-up Threatens Japan

2) The Empire of the Mikado contains within it all the social contradictions which, in its time, exploded the Czarist Empire: half-feudal agrarian relations; a monarchy by "divine right"; terrible poverty of the people; a tight internal market for industry; a monstrous growth of the military budget; a military caste which reflects in itself all the inner contradictions of the country, and so forth, and so forth.

3) The masses of Japanese soldiers reflect the deep dissatisfaction of the Japanese peasants and workers. In the beginning of the war, the chauvinists wave will, as always, seize the whole army but the reaction to it will not be long in waiting.

4) Great Britain could not, in the 20 century, win India; on the contrary, it is getting ready to lose her. Japan is not Great Britain. China is stronger than India. Japanese imperialism will break its head by its Chinese adventure.

Stalin Regime Doomed

5) Stalin is conducting a civil war against the people. In all spheres of public life—in economics, in the army, in literature, etc.—the discontent of the masses with the demoralized bureaucratic caste is manifested through

the more honest, gifted, critically thinking representatives. Stalin systematically exterminates them through the GPU. The bureaucracy has become the chief hindrance to the economic and cultural development of the land. The hydra of dissatisfaction will therefore grow more and more heads. The regime of Stalin is doomed. A good deal of recent correspondence from Moscow, censored or "uncensored", tries to prove that the bloody purge "strengthened" the position of Stalin. The authors of these reports either understand nothing, or they understand too much.

The external politics of Stalin are dictated not by the interests of the U.S.S.R. but by the concern or the self-preservation of the ruling caste. Stalin is retreating and will continue to retreat. War will tame the ruling bureaucratic caste. However, I do not doubt that the U.S.S.R. will emerge victorious from a war in the Far East.

Coyoacan, Sept. 20, 1937.

RODGERS EXPELLED

By unanimous decision, the Oakland (California) Branch of the Socialist Party expelled Ward Rodgers for going to the District Attorney and instituting criminal charges against Glen Trimble. At the same time the branch, also by unanimous decision, expelled Clarence Rust, attorney, for collaborating with Rodgers in calling in the cops.

Open Write-in Drive for Only Labor Candidate

On Sunday, October 3rd, Ernest R. McKinney, New York organizer of the Socialist Party (Left Wing) announced to the press that the Party had nominated James P. Cannon as its candidate for Mayor of New York. This action was the response of the revolutionary socialists in New York to the sell-out to the LaGuardia machine engineered by every other working class party in the City.

A campaign Committee headed by Alex Retzkin has been set up, and is already functioning on a city-wide basis. The campaign will be carried into every section of

Our Candidate



JAMES P. CANNON

Harry Milton on National Tour

Following the highly enthusiastic meeting held with Harry Milton in New York upon his return from Spain, it has been decided to sponsor a national tour to enable workers throughout the country to listen to any eye-witness tell his story.

Milton, a well known militant in New York labor movement, went to Spain in February 1937 as a member of the Debs Brigade. He fought on the Aragon Front and was wounded in battle. He was chairman of the Independent Labor Party contingent of the P.O.U.M. militia. He participated in the May Days' struggle in Barcelona.

(Full Itinerary: Page 7)

New York, with street meetings, mass meetings, rallies, and distribution of literature. A comprehensive platform has been adopted, and will be issued as a popular pamphlet.

Only Labor Candidate

The nomination of Cannon places in the field the only working class candidate who will figure in this extremely important election. One by one, during the past months, the reformist parties and groups have capitulated to LaGuardia. Through the American Labor Party, formed last year, during the Roosevelt campaign in order to keep labor votes lined up for Roosevelt, the labor bureaucrats led the way. The Lovestonites followed shortly after. They Browder and the Communist Party. Finally, ten days ago, the procession ended when Norman Thomas, apostle of "socialism in our time," announced the withdrawal of his name from the list of candidates.

Meanwhile, the real character of the LaGuardia People's Front has been made daily clear. LaGuardia himself has endorsed the entire Republican slate, including the red-baiter, George U. Harvey. The A. L. P., tied to LaGuardia's coat-tails, followed along after him, though still balking mildly at Harvey. Last week the Communist Party took its next logical steps, and withdrew its candidates for virtually every city-wide office. McGoldrick and Morris, the Landon-Republican candidates for City comptroller and President of the

(Continued on page 6)

New Crisis Hits People's Front Gov't in France

By Frank L. Demby

The rapidly approaching cantonal elections and the October 2 communique of the French cabinet serve once again to focus the eyes of the politically conscious on France. The long-smouldering crisis bids fair to break out into the open with far-reaching consequences for France and the entire world. P. J. Philip, Paris correspondent of the New York Times, describes the recent cabinet meeting as having "altered the whole course along which France has been traveling since the Popular Front Government came into power fifteen months ago."

Signs of the coming crisis and indications as to its nature have not been lacking. Already, during the last months of the Blum cabinet, it was not difficult to see that the major political parties in the Peoples Front were being subjected to different social pressures, which, together with the exigencies of diplomacy and political maneuvering, were tending to pull the Peoples Front apart—or, at least, sufficed to show that the honeymoon period was over.

The Radicals, conscious instrument of French finance imperialism, have steadily pulled in the

(Continued on page 6)

Ratification Meeting

Speakers:
JAMES P. CANNON
Socialist Candidate for Mayor
MAX SHACHTMAN
JAMES BURNHAM

IRVING PLAZA
Irving Place and 15th Street

FOR AN INDEPENDENT SOCIALIST MAYORALTY CAMPAIGN!
AGAINST THE LA GUARDIA-HILLMAN-BROWDER-THOMAS PEOPLE FRONT!

ROBERT MENAKER
Socialist Candidate for Assembly 14th A. D. Manhattan
MAURICE SPECTOR
HAL DRAPER

SUNDAY, October 13, 1937, 8 P. M.
Auspices: Socialist Party of New York
Left Wing

Clashes in Far East and Mediterranean Make New World War Danger Imminent

Stalinist Bureaucracy is Tied To Imperialist Apron-Strings

By Herman Stern

Like the bursting of an enormous swollen balloon, the next war, more devastating and horrible than has been witnessed in all human history, will explode from the present international crisis. "It is no longer a question of, will it come—but where and how soon." This estimate of recent developments in Europe and the Far East made by the New York Times, contains a remarkably clear summary of the current war danger.

The stage for a World War is being carefully set in the East. Japan's invasion of China, for decades a great sore spot on the frame of world capitalism will not be resolved around conference tables but in a military collision of Japanese with British and American Imperialism.

Those billions of dollars painfully extracted from the blood of the toiling masses and furnished the war industries were not invested for nought. Soon the long-stored guns and bullets will again be handed to millions of workers. To the old tune of "peace, freedom and democracy" we will once more be invited to surrender limbs and lives to fill higher the pockets of the class exploiters.

Capitalist War Inevitable

War is a natural, unavoidable and ever-present threat in bourgeois society. The struggle of the more powerful nations among themselves for colonial investment markets rages unceasingly.

In general this struggle proceeds "peacefully" thru tariff and currency manipulations, often reinforced by military means. When it becomes necessary seriously to engage a competitor, with an army and navy, the old struggle only assumes a new form. Nothing has changed. All classes retain their economic and political identity. "War is a continuation of politics by other means." The meaning of war is given in this simple explanation.

No ruling class burdened with the responsibility of mobilizing an entire population to protect its interests, enjoys or desires war. History testifies that war is an extremely risky undertaking. Capitalism tries desperately to avoid it. The Paris Commune, both Russian Revolutions and innumerable others were directly produced by wars. The historians for capitalism have kept the ruling class closely familiar with the possibilities of new proletarian revolutions arising from the coming war. This is probably the strongest single factor that has postponed war thus far. Nevertheless, against its will and despite this grave possibility, war is imposed upon capitalism and it has no alternative but to risk it.

The Two Camps

The world is at present divided into two camps of nations. There is Britain, France and the U. S. who were especially successful in 1914-18. On the other side, there is Germany, completely relieved of its colonies by Britain and France, and Italy and Japan who, like Germany, have comparative-ly nothing. For the "have-not" nations to prosper they must

either be allotted colonial concessions by British and France or take these concessions by use of the military. Japan demands an immediate share of colonies and advances into China. Italy took Ethiopia. Germany has spoken quite openly of its designs in Soviet territory. The colony-possessing powers refuse and can not afford to tolerate any further encroachments upon its property by the "have-nots". Thus, the inevitability of a new war.

It is an over-simplification to say that the war policy of Japan in China is directed by an irresponsible clique which fails to realize the full consequence of its actions. The movement of Japanese troops in China is not an adventure. It occurs, not merely while England and at its tail, France, are pre-occupied with protecting their interests in the Mediterranean, "door to the British Empire," but undoubtedly with the consent and direct support of Germany and Italy.

It is easily seen that the strategy of the Berlin-Nanking combination was to engage their common foe simultaneously, on two fronts. At the same time that Mussolini and Hitler, apparently unchallenged, tossed chestnuts for concessions in Spain and as the Stalin regime revealed vast internal difficulties, Japan delivered a swift thrust in China. This action, of a prepared Japanese army, navy and air force, impelled by Japan's urgent requirement of a broad colonial exploitation field, was inevitable. Japan executed her plan after long deliberations choosing what appeared to be the most propitious moment. Says William Philip Simms, foreign editor of the World-Telegram, "Japan is out to make China a Japanese dependency. Success will mean that the open door is to be closed, locked and barred against the U. S., Great Britain and the rest of the world."

Japan vs. England

Japan's desire in China are well known in England. To show that she is not asleep and in anticipation of such emergencies England has appropriated no less than 7,500,000,000 dollars for war preparations. The traditional British policy of balancing the scales in Europe has been speedily abandoned. More than talk was needed. The concentration of close to 100 battleships in the Mediterranean indicates that Britain is preparing for the very worst. An approximate figure of one Billion dollars of investments in China does not tell the whole story of its stakes in the Far East. The maintenance of its colonial prestige, which in the last years has steadily dwindled, is of first importance.

The British "balance of power" policy facilitated the re-arming of Germany to be used as a force against threatening France and Russia. In 1931, Japan supported by the balance process against the U. S. in China, annexed Manchuria. Italy, aided in its

re-armaments by Great Britain, invaded Ethiopia. The League of Nations stood idly by.

What confronts Britain to-day is a solid bloc of Germany, Japan and Italy. London is attempting to break this bloc at its weakest point—Italy. The exact closeness of war is in large measure dependent upon the preparedness of Britain and its ability to conciliate Mussolini. With Japan, however, a settlement of basic differences is precluded.

Persistent reports of a new French foreign policy away from the Soviet Union and closer to Britain are considerably strengthened by the French agreement with Britain to give the Soviet Navy a back seat in the Black Sea for piracy duty. France goes where England leads. Nothing can erase the traitorous record of the French communists who in practicing diplomacy with capitalism became its most reliable deputy against the workers.

The "War on Piracy"

The war against "piracy" is the latest British product to veil its intentions in the Mediterranean. From the Daily Worker comes the following transmission of a statement by the Italian government. "The Italian Government is convinced that Great Britain believes in Franco's success too." "The British attitude perhaps should be held responsible for the boldness with which the Italian Navy, camouflaged as Spanish Nationalists, has undertaken the blockade and patrol of Spanish shores." If Britain aids Franco, as she does, and if Italy is the "pirate", as is not denied, unless we accept the explanation that Italy wishes war with Britain, why should we believe that Mussolini indiscriminately fires upon British ships as well as others? The anti-piracy campaign does not explain the tension in the Mediterranean and Britain's hasty dispatch of battleships there. The truth is that Britain fears Italy's game and only explains in the term "piracy" the possibility of Italy's going further than Spain into British territory. It is significant that of all the reported British damages by Franco none of her ships was sunk or badly damaged.

The participation of the Soviet Union in all shams perpetrated by England to deceive the world draws her deeper into the orbit of imperialist British politics. Having lost all trace of its independent position, Stalinist diplomacy and language can hardly be distinguished from bourgeois. In its attempts to convince U. S. British and French Imperialism that it is dependable, Stalinism, in this Soviet Union into the role of street cleaner for Gr. Britain. The Red Army and Navy once the pride of the International working class and protector of the October Revolution was last month commissioned by Stalin to initiate the offensive against Italy for Britain.

It is permissible and necessary that the Soviet Union safeguard its ships going to Spain, even to the point of fighting the attacker. But for this encounter, support of the international labor movement is indispensable.

Such a course of aid to the international struggle for socialism was always considered as adventurist by Stalinism. The argument given was that the participation of the Soviet Union in the affairs of working class struggles outside of its boundaries would involve the Soviet

Akron A. F. of L. Charter Lifted

By Blake Lear

AKRON, Ohio.—The charter of the Akron central labor union was lifted early last week by action of H. A. Bradley, agent of William Green.

It was immediately handed over to the small group of unions composing the building trades council, labor racketeers of long standing.

A wave of protest surged through A. F. of L. ranks here immediately, the federation of teachers being first to take official action, with a unanimous protest at the high-handed action. The union has written its International demanding that the whole matter be brought on the floor of the Denver convention, and it has protested to the Executive Council of the A. F. of L. itself.

Further action will be taken tonight, as fifty or more A. F. of L. locals meet to map out the campaign of strategy against the anti-working action of the A. F. of L. leadership.

Union in a war. One need only recall the vile names that were heaped upon the revolutionists when prior to Hitler's advent, they considered the advisability of Soviet intervention in Germany to guarantee the victory of the German revolution.

The Pro-Fascist Pretense

The Daily Worker, perhaps a bit disillusioned with the non-intervention committee, declared before the convocation of the Piracy Commission, "just now the British Tories are busy making the coming Geneva parley against piracy a pro-fascist pretense similar to what they did with the non-intervention committee."

But by the time the "pro-fascist pretense" met, with the Soviet Union seated warmly in the center, the line underwent a complete change. Litvinov delivered a tirade against piracy. The Soviet and C. I. press devoted columns and columns to prove to Great Britain and France that piracy was a challenge to their decent, self-respecting merchants and that severe "peace" measures are demanded. Further — the Soviet Union volunteers to take the first step on its own. If Britain refuses to understand how best to protect its imperialist rights—the Red Army will begin this dangerous work for it. The Red Army organ Red Star, declared that if the conference

of Mediterranean powers fails to stop the pirates "the Soviet government will find the necessary means for calling the sea pirates to their responsibilities and forcing them to fulfill legal demands". A headline in the World-Telegram said "Force advised by Red Army if talk fails". Does the Red Star state that the Soviet Union contemplates action against the pirates because the pirates threaten the Spanish workers? Oh no! This might mean that Britain and France would refuse to use the U.S.S.R. any longer. Instead it repeats that "the high seas must be made safe for merchant shipping." Gullible people may feel that this constitutes the defense of the Soviet Union.

Five of the nine officers of the Executive Board of the Central Labor Union, including Wilmer Tate, militant president; Art Klatt, secretary, and member of the truck drivers; and Chalmers Stewart, chairman of the board of trustees, and president of the federation of teachers, were expelled when the central labor union was "reorganized."

In a blistering condemnation issued by them they exposed the rank dictatorship of the Bradley crew, listed example after example of his violation of trade union democracy, and promised a determined fight against the group which has now succeeded in causing a three-way split in Akron labor ranks.

Dullea Gets 1511 Votes for Mayor

Despite a hastily organized campaign and confronting the active sabotage of the Claritytes, the Socialist Party of Cleveland, led by the Left Wing, emerged from the primaries of last week with the support of 1,511 workers solidly behind it. During the last campaign conducted by a united party and spending far more time and money, Robert Dullea, left wing candidate, received only 500 votes more.

The Cleveland comrades have demonstrated that the ears of the working class are decidedly receptive to the program and efforts of revolutionary socialism.

It is significant that Carl Winters, belated candidate of the Communist Party, received 2,237 votes, only 700 more than Comrade Dullea. This is the first time since the Old Guard split that the CP has not trebled the votes of the Socialists. In ten city out of thirty-three in the city Comrade Dullea received more votes than Winters. In the important automobile workers districts, the 26th and 32nd wards, the vote for revolutionary socialism exceeded that of the Stalinists.

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Trotskyists Hounded and Imprisoned By Fascist Terror in Austria, Germany

While the Stalinists Slander Them as "Agents of the Gestapo", the Real Gestapo Makes the Fourth Internationalists Its Chief Victims.

That the slogan "Smash the Trotskyists Agents of the Gestapo" is mere camouflage for a world-wide line of counter-revolutionary activity on the part of the Stalinists, is sufficiently clear to the advanced workers in every country who have been following the policy of the parties of the Communist International from day to day. But even the most simple-minded worker can see through the whole treacherous deception of the Stalinists once he becomes acquainted with this fact: that the revolutionary followers of the Fourth International are the constant prey of the bloody butchers of this self-

same Gestapo (Fascist Secret Police) whose agents they are supposed to be.

Within recent months a whole wave of Gestapo, Nazi and Fascist persecutions has hit the Trotskyist workers in Duesseldorf, in Danzig, in Vienna. The trials in Danzig and in Duesseldorf have been given ample publicity in the press in the past. Now word comes from Hamburg and from Vienna of new trials and new convictions against Trotskyists by Hitler's Gestapo and the Schuschnig Fascists in the Austrian government.

Trotskyist Trial In Hamburg

In Hamburg, the Nazi secret police seized a number of leading fighters of the Fourth International only a few weeks ago. Within a few days of their arrest, the comrades were tried before a Special Tribunal. Needless to say, the comrades courageously upheld their revolutionary views in the face of their Fascist accusers. Each admitted his desire to see the overthrow of the Hitler dictatorship; each one expressed his firm conviction that it would be achieved under the leadership of the Fourth International. The Special Tribunal inflicted upon them especially heavy sentences.

Comrade Hannes Bremer was sentenced to six years of forced labor.

Comrade Herbert G. was sentenced to five years of hard labor.

Comrade Walter B. to two and a half years' imprisonment. Comrade Hans Tapet, to three and a half years' forced labor and comrade Frieda Holbe to two years imprisonment. A number of other arrested comrades have not yet been brought to trial, but the prosecution has demanded "special measures" against them in its indictment—an indication that the Nazi bandits have particularly terrifying brutalities in store for them.

This is how the Trotskyist "agents of the Fascists", "agents of the Gestapo", etc. are being treated by Fascism in Germany.

Four Trotskyist Trials in Austria in One Year

In the Austrian capital, Vienna, no less than four different trials of arrested Trotskyists have been held in the course of the past year.

In November, 1936, comrade Anton Hochrainer, an eighteen year old worker, was arrested for distributing the illegal organ of the Fourth International in Austria, *Der Bolschewik*. He was convicted to five years' imprisonment at hard labor.

In July, 1937, Hochrainer was tried once more in the Court of Appeals. The previous sentence was upheld.

Late in the same month comrade Fritz Niescher, arrested and jailed ever since October, 1936, was brought to trial for complicity in the publication of

the *Bolschewik*. Under cross-examination, Niescher admitted his membership in the Trotskyist organization and declared: "The Trotskyists are a socialist, or if you prefer, a communist group, which has remained true to the teaching of Marx and Lenin." He was sentenced to one and half years' imprisonment at hard labor, beside the one year sentence he was serving after being sentenced in a police court at the time of his arrest.

On August 13 last, the fourth of the trials was held. The sessions lasted a whole day. Among those on trial, were the following:

Comrade Ludwig Auinger, 31 years old, a metal polisher. Charged with circulating twenty-two different items of Trotskyist literature. Sentenced to two years at hard labor.

Comrade Georg Scheuer, 21 years old, unemployed. Charged with participating in the publication of the *Bolschewik*. Sentenced to one and a half years at hard labor.

Comrade Karl Fisher, 18 years old, commercial employee. Charged with participating in the publication of the *Bolschewik*. Sentenced to fourteen months at hard labor.

Comrade Johann Schoeffman, 42 years old, engineer. Charged with responsibility for the publication of the *Bolschewik* and other literature of the Trotskyists. Sentenced to twelve months. Two others, Grand and Meyer, were acquitted because of insufficient evidence.

Prosecutor Beigl expressed his dissatisfaction with the verdict in each case and announced that he would seek their indictment for "high treason", a charge which implies a minimum penalty of five years imprisonment.

Take Militant Stand

Under cross-examination, the comrades took the opportunity to distinguish themselves from the followers of the Second and Third International, declaring that the latter two organizations had betrayed the trust of the working class and made clear that for this reason they considered their task of the moment to be the building of a new party, a party of the Fourth International based upon world revolution and the teachings of Marx, Lenin and Trotsky.

Replying to the prosecutor's charge of high treason, comrade Auinger said: "Everyone who participates in illegal activity knows that the purpose of his activity is the eventual downfall of the present government.

If that is high treason, then everyone who participates in illegal activity is guilty of high treason. If that is so, why don't you throw the Nazis (the Nazis are illegal in Austria—Ed.) into jail as well as the Reds? However, it never occurred to me that the mere distribution of printed matter constitutes high treason."

In the course of his cross-examination on the witness stand, comrade Scheuer told of his long years in the socialist movement,

of his work for the Communist Party from 1931 to 1933 and of the reasons why he decided to join the Trotskyists. Among other things, comrade Scheuer said in his defense:

"For World Revolution"

"The Trotskyists are the only ones who today stand on the platform of world revolution. Our task is the rehabilitation of Marxism-Leninism, the building of a new party of the working class. But that does not mean that we call for an uprising every day. We are not putschists, but Marxists. Unfortunately, the Austrian proletariat is in such a condition to-day due to the collapse of the Second and Third Internationals, that we must concentrate all our efforts on the building of a new, Marxist workers party." After continuing along these lines, comrade Scheuer concluded:

"The Trotskyists today fight for freedom of opinion, of organization and of press. This fight naturally has to be carried on illegally as well as legally. This implies agitation, propaganda, petitions as well as such means as the Viennese textile workers recently used: the weapon of strike action."

Finally, the comrades protested against the duplication of sentences for political prisoners. Communist, socialist as well as Trotskyist workers have been subjected to the outrage of duplication. The Trotskyists were the first, however, to raise a protest in the form of a demonstration in open court. This initiative on their part had its effect. A few days later, Chancellor Schuschnig declared that police court sentences against political delinquents were illegal.

Trial Gets Publicity

The Viennese press gave wide publicity to all the trials. Front page stories with three-column headlines were devoted to the last of the trials in particular. The speeches of the accused were quoted in lengthy excerpts, their protests emphasized in sub-heads. Public opinion was stirred up by the trials more than at any time in the last few years.

From their cells in Schuschnig's prisons and fortresses, the Viennese Trotskyists have issued a call for solidarity to revolutionary and classe conscious workers in the entire world. They speak not only in their own behalf, but on behalf of the imprisoned comrades in Nazi Germany as well. Protesting against Fascist terror, they also call upon workers everywhere to put a stop to the Stalinist terror, crying out bitterly against the lynching of Anders Nin by the G.P.U. gunmen.

Those whom the corrupt bureaucracy of the Stalinists slander as "agents of the Gestapo" are standing up bravely and courageously in the fight against the Nazi terror, in the fight against Fascist oppression. It is the duty of revolutionary workers everywhere to come to their

Stalinist Union Wrecking Is Discrediting CIO Movement Among Minnesota Unionists

By Carlos Hudson

MINNEAPOLIS.—A month has passed since the Stalinists split the three Machinist Locals in Minneapolis, taking a segment over to the CIO. Important developments have come up since then.

1. The Executive Board of the Machinists' International, led by Wharton came to Minneapolis investigated and under pressure of progressive unionists told the AFL machinists: "You have built an industrial union. You can keep your industrial union. We won't interfere." No accurate figures are available as to the AFL-CIO forces with the exception of Local 1037 in Hopkins; of the 700 members about 455 are with the AFL.

2. John Brophy spoke here at a CIO mass meeting arranged by the Stalinists and endorsed the C.P. move to split and raid the Machinist Local. Before he left town, he explained to progressives that the situation would have to work itself out, and that he was too occupied with the current West Coast imbroglio to go into the matter.

Stalinists Discredit CIO

3. The Minnesota State Federation of Labor held its 55th annual convention in Hibbing, with about 800 attending delegates, by far the largest meeting ever held. Reactionaries were firmly in the saddle. A progressive caucus held about 250 votes, the Stalinist forces about 90. The AFL has formed 133 new locals in the state during the past year. The CIO took a terrific beating at the convention, something that could not have occurred three months ago. This is chiefly explained by the type of self-appointed Stalinist mis-leaders who have been masquerading under the CIO cloak in the state. Their tactics in Hibbing were as though calculated to arouse a lynch spirit against the CIO. On an important test vote, that of permitting Congressman Bernard CIO organizer in the Northern part of the state, to address the convention, the motion was crushingly defeated.

The unity resolution called upon the CIO to accept Green's offer to attend the AFL convention in Denver and remain there until a program of harmony and unity is reached. Dobbs of Truck Drivers' Local 544, with the backing of the progressive caucus, put through an amendment that the AFL convention, when considering unity, should recognize the need for industrial unionism, and the amended motion passed.

Some months ago, Governor Elmer Benson jumped on the CIO bandwagon with both feet. Just in time, he has realized his error—that the overwhelming majority of Minnesota unionists, the backbone of the FLP, are overwhelmingly AFL, and have a bitter contempt for what they have seen of a Stalinized CIO in this state. Benson arrived in Hibbing and made a very skillful speech to worm his way back to the good graces of the AFL. It can be anticipated that he will become more and more cool to the CIO.

aid, to support them in their struggle and to fling the calumny of the Stalinist bureaucrats against them back into the brazen faces of these detestable traitors.

Machinists Resist Raids

4. To return to the Minneapolis machinist situation. The Stalinist CIO forces, who are unable to give one honest reason for splitting the three established Machinists locals, having no merit or logic on their side, have resorted to gangster tactics. In groups of 20 and 30, they are going around the garages and shops, beating up isolated AFL machinists. Some have been severely injured. In one case, a Stalinist gang was unable to catch its victims. But nothing can stop these heroes. They drove out to the victim's house and shot his dog. It is not entirely clear how this benefited the CIO—but perhaps the dog had taken a firm stand against the People's Front. By their splitting tactics, the Stalinists are placing the machinists in an increasingly helpless position before the bosses. Under the cloak of the CIO, the Stalinists have already tried to raid other established Minneapolis unions, among them the General Drivers, the Woodenware Workers, the Flour & Cereal Mill Workers, the County & Municipal Employees, etc.

Every worker in America ought to know the rotten crimes of the Stalinists against the most militant and best organized union movement anywhere in the country. These irresponsible, unprincipled, power-hungry wreckers are dragging the banner of industrial unionism in the mud in Minneapolis. They are raiding unions, not in the interests of the men in the industries, not in the interests of the labor movement, but in the interests of their own selfish clique. They shout about unity, carry unity resolutions in every pocket, only the better to provoke splits and to weaken the working class.

Unionists Aroused

The Minneapolis labor movement is now thoroughly aroused and prepared for action against the Communist blatherskites. The Central Labor Union met Monday evening, Sept. 27, and voted to endorse the AFL machinists. The Minneapolis Teamsters Joint Council sponsored a large mass-meeting in the Minneapolis Armory on Oct. 1, at which speakers relentlessly exposed the Stalinist splitting tactics, carried on under the spurious slogan of unity, and voiced a determination to stop the union raiding. The Minneapolis working class that has emerged victoriously from so many historic struggles that has beaten back the cops, the forces of the Citizens Alliance, the national guardsmen, that has proceeded to organize itself in industry after industry, is not going to be dragged back and permit the Open Shop to be restored. It has rallied and declared: No one is going to wreck our movement. And it is planning the necessary steps to make this slogan effective.

The Stalinist Hungarian daily paper, *Uj Elore*, published in Cleveland for thirty-five years, is to be suspended permanently to make way for a Peoples Front paper "not controlled by any party groups", it was announced by Joseph Feher, managing editor of the new paper, the *Hungarian Daily World*, to be published in New York.

WHO IS GIROLAMO VALENTI?

The Financial Wizard of the Socialist Right Wing

At almost every membership meeting of Local New York, S.P., prior to the expulsion of the left wing, Girolamo Valenti took the floor as spokesman for the right wing to demand ousting of the revolutionary socialists because they introduced into the party, according to Valenti, the "communist germ".

Some ten years ago Valenti participated in the launching of the Avanti Publishing Co., which was to issue the "anti-fascist" daily paper, Il Nuovo Mondo. Supposedly, it was under the control of the Socialist Party but in fact it was in the hands of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers official, Augusto Bellanca, whose brother, Frank, became its first editor. Issued at the height of the Italian anti-fascist movement in this country, the paper was used to advance the position of the Bellanca family in the AGWA and the ILGWU and constituted the most shameless exploitation of the anti-fascist sentiment of the Italian workers in this country. The fact that the communists were at that time being "liquidated" by Hillman in the Amalgamated and by Schlesinger in the ILGWU, determined the crudely vicious red-baiting campaign conducted against the Communist Party by Il Nuovo Mondo.

Valenti the Fixer

The financial mismanagement of the paper was scandalous. Although it received large sums of money, including \$10,000 from the Garland Fund, it was penniless at the end of its second year. Even the \$9,000 taken from the fund collected to erect a monument to the great martyr Matteotti, did not help. Thereupon, Valenti appeared as the editor, manager and fixer of the paper, and the confidante of Bellanca. Through Valenti, a new corporation was organized, shares were sold in the name of the fight against Fascism and more money was collected. Accountings were scarce, but as a result of the Valenti-Bellanca manipulations, the Italian Socialist Federation was left high and dry, with plenty of debts, in a state of disorganization and—with no paper.

Here a new "side" speculation was undertaken, with the then Muste group called into the combination for the purpose of getting out a "labor paper". When the money contributed by it was gone, the Muste group was not very politely ousted.

Valenti's Partners

Again no money? Very well, then a new combination. Thinking of re-furbishing a tarnished reputation, the former minister of Giolitti, Arturo Labriola, was called here. He returned shortly thereafter and entered the camp of Mussolini, as a fascist retainer.

Meanwhile, Frank Bellanca, having resigned as editor and gone into business with his brother, was having banquets with the fascists and the Italian Consul and Ambassador. Bellanca used his reputation as editor to organize in New England an "industrial corporation" for the building of airplanes, in which the innocent participants shortly lost some \$200,000.

Valenti proceeded to re-launch the paper—with a new combination. A new corporation was formed with the Tammany lawyer, Bongiorno, and the Tammany politician, Modica. The paper was sold to this new corporation. As heads of the Sons of Italy, Modica and Bongiorno were presented to the anti-fascist workers as "liberals", "anti-fascists". Valenti remained silently in the combination while Modica, at the head of the Sons of Italy, had it send telegrams of devotion to King Emmanuel and to Mussolini. When Dino Grandi, the Fascist leader, came to this country, Bongiorno and Modica showed their colors plainly and sought to use Il Nuovo Mondo to exalt Grandi and the fascist newspaper boss here, Generoso Pope. This was the only thing Valenti couldn't sell his readers and he then began to shout: "Down with Modica and Bongiorno, traitors and fascists!"

The two Tammany men imperturbably continued the publication of the paper, issuing it during Grandi's stay as the "only good anti-fascist" periodical. Thereupon, Valenti organized another combination, to publish a "new and real" anti-fascist paper—the present Stampa Libera.

Money Tight Again

As usual with Valenti, money again became tight: subsidies from Antonini of the ILGWU and others of the Amalgamated covered the deficit. In return, the paper would give column upon column of blurbs for Antonini, what he said, what he did, what he planned to do. When he withdrew his financial aid, the paper suddenly discovered that he should be sharply attacked for this, that and the other thing, which caused Antonini to say, far and wide in the labor movement, that Valenti was nothing but a common blackmailer.

Stalinists Become Partners

Two years ago, the first page of Stampa Libera announced that the official organ of the Communist Party, Unità Operaia, would cease weekly publication and throw all its support to Stampa Libera, which would become the official organ of the People's Front. Two or three Stalinists were put into the editorial and circulation departments. Valenti had succeeded in establishing "organic unity" on the Italian field. The fact that this was in violation of the SP line, mattered not at all to him. What was important to this adventurer was the fact that with his paper in the red again, he hoped that the deal with the Stalinists would net him \$10,000 with which to pay debts and wages.

The Stampa's views became the Stalinists' views. It agitated loudly for the People's Front. Following Dimitroff, it promoted the theory that peace and reconciliation must be effected between the "honest fascists" and the "anti-fascists". Is that the SP policy? The Stampa's united front policy demands unity between the anti-fascists, the Italian consul, Generoso Pope and the Mother Superior of the Catholic Carmelites in the building of

Our Duty in Spain Is Aid To 4th Internationalists

The Spanish events once again underline the central lesson of our epoch. This lesson can be put in either positive or negative form, and is equally true in both: without a revolutionary party the proletariat cannot take power, the socialist revolution cannot succeed; with a revolutionary party, victory is assured. Now, in the decline of capitalism on a world scale, all of the material conditions making possible the success of the revolution are present. A dozen times since the War, in Germany, Hungary, China, Austria, Spain, history has placed the conquest of power within the grasp of the working class. But, tragically, there has not been present a leadership, a party, capable of living up to history's requirements.

Nowhere is this clearer than in Spain during the time since the outbreak of the Civil War. In the weeks immediately following the Fascist coup, and again in the Barcelona events, power was but a step away; and yet there was no force capable of taking that final and decisive step.

It is this fatal lack and this terrible need which gives the Bolshevik-Leninist (Fourth Internationalist) group of Spain so mighty an importance, an importance out of any proportion to its present numbers. The Bolshevik-Leninists in Spain emerged as a separate organization only in the early Spring of this year. Since then their activities have steadily continued and expanded. They were in the forefront on the workers' side of the Barcelona barricades. They alone, in those days, presented a program answering to the revolutionary needs of the workers' action. Though driven into illegality by the repressive measure of the People's Front government, they were prepared for the deepening of the reaction, and they functioned actively and persistently in spite of the terror of Negrin and the G. P. U. They are aggressively carrying out common activities with the left wing

anarchists of the Friends of Durruti, and with the left wings and groups of the POUM.

Above all, the Bolshevik-Leninists understand the fundamental requirements of the Spanish crisis, and express that understanding in a clear, comprehensive and unassailable program. As the key task, focussing all the rest, they pose the question of the new party, without which all the rest is vain. Unceasingly they call upon the left wings of the POUM and the socialists, upon the militants of the anarchists and the trade union federations, for a fusion of forces on the basis of the revolutionary program, the indispensable condition of victory.

Their task is our task. We must not forget for a moment that the defense and advance of the Spanish Revolution, the building of the new party in Spanish are inseparably linked to the American revolution, the building of the revolutionary party in this country. Our solidarity with the Spanish Bolshevik-Leninists is expressed first of all in our adherence to the same program, to the program of the Fourth International. But our solidarity must also include active propaganda in their behalf, and concrete and specific aid for them, in particular financial aid. Under the conditions of the illegality and persecution, the technical tasks of the Bolshevik-Leninists are incomparably difficult. Every dollar, every quarter of aid can be translated into revolutionary results.

Means have been and will be found to make certain that such aid reaches its proper destination. It is for us to give it, and to utilize to this end every public meeting and lecture on Spain, as well as special collections in the branches and locals. Funds, marked for the Spanish Bolshevik-Leninists, should be forwarded to James P. Cannon, at 116 University Place, New York. Let us demonstrate that internationalism is for us something more than a verbal slogan.

an Italian hospital (article of June 7, 1937). Is that the SP policy? It doesn't matter. The editor's column (June 30, 1937) justifies the mass executions conducted against revolutionists by the reactionary bureaucracy of the Soviet Union. Is that the SP policy? No, it is the CP's and that's what matters to Valenti, the financial wizard of the right wing. Valenti speaks in Newark, as a leader of the SP, and hails the suppression of the POUM in Spain, only deploring the failure to suppress them long ago.

Takes Up La Guardia

Now Valenti is having some difficulty with the Stalinists. The latter, having used the Stampa for all it was worth, are now contemplating the publication of their own paper. Valenti immediately turns to his old love and becomes an ardent La Guardia supporter. The closed membership meeting of the SP at which the question of the ALP and La Guardia was discussed, is reported in full (and falsely!) by Valenti in Stampa Libera (July 30), with these headlines: "Towards a Sincere Cooperation Between the SP of New York and the ALP in the coming Municipal Election. The Socialists Favor the Re-election of La Guardia. Outline a Mutual Support for the Candidates to the Municipal Council." He reports especially the speech he delivered "in the name of the Italian socialists" in favor of La Guardia.

Why does he take internal party matters before the public—and present them falsely and factionally—before a decision has been reached? Because his bosses, the real owners of Stampa Libera, Sala and Bellanca, are close friends and sponsors of La Guardia and the ALP. The pipers call the tune and Valenti does his jig.

Here you have a brief sketch of the recent career of this unprincipled demagogue. It is no accident that he should be one of

the main prosecutors of the revolutionary left wing. It is no accident that the opportunists and bureaucrats of the right wing should have this personage, whose name is odium among the advanced Italian workers, as a prominent spokesman. The Valentis characterize the leadership and the politics of La Guardia-socialism!

Our Astoria comrades will tender a grand social effort for the benefit of the Socialist Appeal. Dancing, refreshments and kibitzing will be part of the evening at Frances Wallachs' home, 5023—61st Street, Woodside, L. I. Present yourself on Saturday, Oct. 16th, with the price of 15 cents. The Flushing Line from either Times Square or Grand Central to Woodside Station will bring you there

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LaGuardia Favored by Wall Street to Preserve Its Financial Interests

By James Casey

That Fiorello H. La Guardia is the possessor of an ugly anti-labor record has been clearly shown by facts and figures in previous issues of the Socialist Appeal. It has been definitely established, also, that the Republican-People's Frontists candidate for Mayor has the support of many of the most powerful reactionaries in Wall Street.

Jeremiah T. Mahoney, the Democratic nominee, is also an old foe of the working class and a spokesman for Big Business. But in the concentration of forces fighting the American toilers, hour by hour every day in the year, the advantage is easily on the side of LaGuardia over his Tammany rival. For this political development, there are ample and undeniable reasons.

With the exception of two or three brief periods Wall Street, for more than three generations, had been thoroughly satisfied with rule over New York City by its Democratic political wing. Tammany made its systematic raids on the city's treasury with impunity and had even been acclaimed for "its interest in the public welfare." One of its outspoken friends of past years was none other than LaGuardia himself, as the records reveal.

Tammany's Decay

However, Tammany Hall, grown more and more brigandish with the years and less proficient as a servant of the vested interests, had by 1930 begun to show signs of political decay. The distribution of graft became so loose and so disorderly as to arouse the displeasure of business leaders and capitalist "civic" groups throughout the city.

Big Business may, and does, condone thievery, bribery and other crimes in public office. Nonetheless, Big Business insists that such acts be committed "behind the scenes" and so subtly that the public may never know of their perpetration. This "convention" Big Business demands of its political servants. The growing failure of Tammany officials to meet this requirement convinced Wall Street Tories that the city's Democratic party had outlived its usefulness for them—at least for the time being.

Then, too, the Tammany spoils system, run amok, had begun to choke the city's credit and brought down upon the Wigwam chiefs the wrath of the Chase National and the City National Banks, the nation's two largest banking institutions.

The first, a Rockefeller bank, and the second, a Morgan concern, were, and still are, the city's largest creditors. The boards of these banks issued an ultimatum during the Walker administration for an immediate and drastic cut in spending and general distribution of funds.

Racketeers Cut Profits

Finally, Tammany district leaders and office-holders had become hopelessly entangled with the nation's biggest racketeers (natural products of the capitalist system) and the demands of the latter began to cut in sharply the profits of members of the Chambers of Commerce, boards of trade, merchants' associations and manufacturers' groups.

The racketeers, fearless of any

genuine action by Tammany's police and prosecutors, grew bolder in their insistence on business concerns for "protection" pay. This protection pay was largely, of course, for the breaking of strikes, hiring out of strikebreakers, interfering in the affairs of trade unions and the clubbing of men and women on the picket line.

In the inevitable conflict, bankers, manufacturers and merchants found, to their chagrin, that Tammany was too closely linked to the racketeers to be of much further value for administrative purposes. Thus, the Committee of One Thousand, made up of leading business men, was formed and 150 lawyers were retained to handle the cases of merchant "victims" of the racketeers.

At the same time, a request was made to Franklin D. Roosevelt, then governor, for an investigation of the city administration. Former Judge Seabury, who broke with the Tammany robber gang in 1916, after they had rebuffed his quest for the gubernatorial nomination, was appointed to investigate the doings of his avowed enemies.

44 Million to Underworld

Among the points brought out in the investigation was that the gross volume of retail sales in New York City for the year 1930 totaled \$4,402,876,069 and that the "tribute" paid out to racketeers involved at least one per cent of that amount. In other words, underworld gangsters hired to club workers and commit other depredations, had received more than \$44,000,000 for their work in one year.

Reports in the office of W.C.T. Crain, then district attorney of New York County, showed that manufacturers had paid out millions to racketeers for "protection." Later, this significant data had "disappeared" from the files of the District Attorney's office. To this day, it has not been recovered.

All in all, the Seabury investigation had adequately served the end intended by its Wall Street sponsors. Tammany had been discredited and repudiated by the investigators. The voters were stirred to bitterness against Tammany. The groundwork was laid for coalition of forces to eject the Walker administration and replace it with one that would serve more efficiently the bankers, manufacturers, merchants and other sections of Big Business.

Subsequently a hunt was started for a "suitable" mayoralty candidate. Considered for the nomination were such reactionaries as Nicholas Murray Butler, president of Columbia; General John F. O'Ryan, militarist and wealthy business man; Martin Conboy, millionaire attorney; George Z. Medalie, then U. S. Attorney, and LaGuardia, the Little Flower.

On July 30, 1933, a number of leaders announced their agreement on General O'Ryan. This selection, however, did not meet with the approval of the more astute political leaders. They contended that this choice would

not appear "genuine enough" for a "New Deal", since the general was identified with Wall Street interests. Fusion was facing its first crisis. At this point, none other than Roosevelt came to its aid.

Roosevelt Imposes LaGuardia

On August 3rd a conference was called of all Fusion leaders. Adolph A. Berle, Jr., then a member of Roosevelt's "brain trust" was sent from Washington to address the Fusionists. The meeting ended with the nomination of LaGuardia.

In the final analysis, therefore, the selection of LaGuardia had centered principally around the question of the division of profits and general plunder of the city's toiling masses. The projected Fusion administration was designed to assure Wall Street a smoother financial control over the city's resources, through consolidation or elimination of various bureaus and departments, a curb on "illegal" racketeering and a narrowing down in the distribution of graft and tribute, as a result thereof.

The rest is now open history. LaGuardia was elected, his ascendancy to the mayoralty a natural outcome of a situation developed by the inner contradictions of capitalism.

Four years have passed. LaGuardia has been true to his Wall Street makers. He has aided in the prosecution of "illegal" racketeering. He has permitted the clubbing of workers on the picket line by company thugs and "progressive" police of his administration. He has warned trade unions against the calling of "unnecessary" strikes, with himself sitting as judge to decide "the necessity" for impending or prevailing strikes.

He has appeared at Italian Fascist mass meetings and is today receiving support in his election campaign of Italian Fascist groups throughout the city.

LaGuardia has served well the Chase National and National City Banks and other Big Business interests in the city. The Republican-Stalinist candidate, a super-demagogue, has given sufficient proof to Wall Street reactionaries that he can always be counted on as their man.



"I consider", Browder said, "that there are ample reasons for this investigation, and I know that there are subversive influences working to overthrow the American form of government. The Communist Party is not under such a heading, and does not conduct any teaching or activity which is subversive to American government." — Daily Worker, Oct. 2, 1937.

Fear for Life of Widow of Reiss, Murdered by G. P. U.

We reprint below a wireless dispatch from Mexico City to the New York Times, which contains an important statement made by Leon Trotsky on the assassination of the revolutionist, Herman Eberhardt, by the G.P.U. agents in Switzerland a couple of weeks ago.

"I am hopeful that focusing attention on this case will disavow the GPU from murdering Mrs. Reiss," Trotsky said. "However, if they assassinate her it will be as useless as her husband's murder, now in safe hands and will eventually be published."

"Reiss was an agent of the GPU operating in Britain, Switzerland and Holland. When he was ordered to prepare charges involving himself, Sedoff (Trotsky's son) and others, he broke with the GPU and the Comintern, returned his decoration of order of the Red Banner and simultaneously wrote old friends abroad urging them to leave the service."

Then, Trotsky declared, a woman "resident agent in Rome whom Reiss had enlisted years ago was ordered to go to Lausanne and lure him to a restaurant on the outskirts for supper. When they left, a car came up, and Reiss was knocked out, dragged into the car and later thrown out on the road with ten bullets in his body...."

"I am very concerned about the fate of Mrs. Reiss, whose address is unrevealed for obvious reason," the statement concluded.

400 Yipsels Demonstrate Against N. Y. Nazis

Four hundred anti-Fascist demonstrators, organized by the Socialist Party (left wing) and Young Peoples Socialist League, woke up Broadway last Sunday evening with shouted slogans and songs in a counter-demonstration directed against a mass meeting of American Nazis held in Madison Square Garden under the protection of LaGuardia's "finest." While the Fascists inside the Garden thanked Hitler for his four years of barbarism and blood-purges, the revolutionary socialists on the outside tangled with the police in their attempt to reach the Garden entrance and wound up the parade with the unusual spectacle of a revolutionary mass meeting in the middle of Times Square.

Met by a combined police cordon of 200 mounted and foot police, the demonstrators took to Broadway, where they drew scores into their ranks with their slogans: "Down with Nazi Terror", "Down with Fascism—Up with Socialism!", "Hitler, Hands Off Spain!" and "Long Live the Fourth International!" At least 5000 people witnessed the event.

The mass meeting in the heart of Times Square was addressed by E. R. McKinney, New York Organizer of the Socialist Party (left wing), and by Hal Draper and Manny Garrett, YPSL leaders, who explained the issue involved in the counter-demonstration and pointed out that the Nazi rally was being tolerated and protected by a mayor who pretended to labor sympathies.

They called for support of James P. Cannon, the only independent working class candidate, for mayor in the coming elections.

One young socialist, I. Rader, was assaulted and injured by a Nazi who attempted to tear up copies of the Socialist Appeal he was selling. The police, who were eagle-eyed in chasing young socialists away from subway entrances as they distributed leaflets, were looking the other way at the time.

Among the people who witnessed the demonstration were many young Stalinists, some of whom hissed "Trotskyites!" and some of whom asked "Where is the Communist Party?" Neither the Communist Party nor the Young Communist League were any closer than 13th Street. Their only sign of life was a leaflet being distributed by a stooge cultural organization which denounced the Nazis for "profaning the 'Star-Spangled Banner' by linking it with the swastika. Two years ago, the Young Communist League had joined with the YPSL in organizing a similar anti-Nazi demonstration at the Garden, but they were nowhere in evidence on Sunday. They were probably unwilling to embarrass LaGuardia whom they are supporting for Mayor. It was pointed out at the mass meeting that the Stalinists, who accuse the Trotskyists of being "agents of Hitler", did not fight the Nazis in deed, whereas the Trotskyist "agents of Hitler" were the only ones to be found in the militant demonstration against Fascism.

Here We Are!

off to a good start. Some more letters like the following with the same kind of enclosures will solve many problems, financial and organizational that have been facing us:

"Dear Comrades:
"Enclosed please find eleven (\$11) dollars to help you along with the publication of our revolutionary organ.

Kindly take out enough for two bundle orders and to cover the twenty five cents due on our last order. The rest is another installment on our sustaining fund.

"...The comrades in St. Paul are cooperating in the maintenance of an Appeal sustaining fund. However, we are small in numbers. I believe you can count on between ten and fifteen dollars a month for sure, and I hope

much more. That isn't much but we have a tough time....

"Comradely yours,
"Jules Geller"

"St. Paul, Minn."
If every local duplicated what St. Paul is doing it would not be long before that Daily Socialist Appeal that we are all looking forward to would become an actuality.

At the moment, however, help us keep the weekly coming regularly. More subs, more contributions, are absolutely essential for the maintenance and success of the Appeal.

If you haven't done anything about the subscription blanks that have been appearing in each issue of the Appeal, do something about this one. There's space for contributions, too!

French People's Front in New Crisis

Labor Systematically Robbed Of Gains Made in Struggles

(Continued from page 1)

direction of a Bonapartist regime — at first, due chiefly to the requirements of foreign policy (alliance with England, strangling of the Spanish Revolution, rapprochement with Germany), but soon the internal situation (especially financial) forced the Senate (dominated by the Radicals) to kick over the traces and to replace the Blum cabinet by the Chautemps cabinet. In between, the SP has been trying to make the class-collaborationist policy of the People's Front palatable to the workers and to maintain harmony within its own ranks.

In any case, if one doubts the depth of the dissension within the Peoples Front, or, perhaps even the existence of a crisis, the smoke that has not ceased to obscure the political skies since the coming to power of Chautemps leaves little doubt as to the existence of the crisis, and, to a lesser extent, of its nature.

Socialists Continue Old Line

The National Congress of the SP at Marseilles (July 10-14) openly revealed the crisis. Coming on top of a postponement which facilitated the CAP (Permanent Administrative Committee) in making the decision to support the Chautemps cabinet, after having cracked down on the youth by dissolving the Seine Federation and its paper, *La Jeune Garde* and expelling the youth leaders, after having illegalized Pivert's "Revolutionary Left", there was bound to be fireworks and the Blum-Faure bureaucracy had to exert all its bureaucratic pressure to maintain its majority. But little did anyone think that the "Socialist" government bureaucracy would be so hard-pressed to maintain its majority, nor that there would be such violent incidents as the fist-fights and other turbulent scenes that many times threatened actually to stop the proceedings.

The most interesting aspect of the Congress was undoubtedly the existence of the three tendencies—Blum-Faure, Zyromski-Bracke and Pivert. To be sure, there was no opposition to the Peoples Front in principle—all such opposition having already been expelled or thoroughly squelched. The differences of opinions, therefore, all took place within the framework of class-collaboration, and are, at most, the differences between reformism and centrism. The actions of the first Peoples Front Government, "under Socialist leadership," were overwhelmingly approved by 4,549 to 26.

The major debate, front page news throughout the country, was over the Blum-Faure motion to continue participation in the Chautemps cabinet. It was carried after a tumultuous session by 3,484 mandates against 1,866. The differences became clear, however, only on the debate over general policy, which included perspectives for the future of the party. Blum-Faure again carried the day for their outright reformist policy, receiving 2,949 mandates. Zyromski-Bracke received 1,545 mandates for their positions, which was to support Chautemps but to prepare immediately for the replacement of

Chautemps by another Blum cabinet. In the words of Zyromski: "The Chautemps government is not in the image of the People's Front, but is a poor substitute (ersatz) for a People's Front Government." Pivert indignantly denied that he was a "Trotskyite" and proposed a "fighting government"—i.e., the formation of another Blum government immediately, for which he received 894 mandates. The victory of the right-wing bureaucracy was sealed with the election of the new CAP, on which there are 18 supporters of Blum-Faure, 9 of Zyromski-Bracke and 6 of Pivert.

The Stalinists, having toyed with the slogan of "Thorez to power" (Thorez being the General Secretary of the CP and its outstanding leader at present) on July 14th, were the next to cause the political pulse to rise when, on July 29th, *L'Humanite* (official organ of the CP) ran a front-page editorial for the immediate consummation of organic unity. "The workers want the united party. It was a mistake to have split in 1920." All this of course, with one eye cocked on the cantonal elections; for, under the French system of runoff elections and the People's Front agreements organic unity would mean that the unified party (which the Stalinists would be sure to dominate as they have in Catalonia in the case of the PSUC) would gain at the expense of the Radicals.

Radicals Divided

The Radicals, themselves, were meanwhile being torn in two. The so-called left wing, dominated by Daladier-Herriot and using the notorious Chautemps, of Stavisky scandal fame, as their mouthpiece, were confident that they could continue to use the alliance with the CP and SP to their own advantage. Fortified by increasing support from the big bourgeoisie (including *Le Temps*) they have so far kept the upper hand as against the so-called right wing, led by Caillaux, Bonnet and Delbos, who want to break with the CP and form a center government with Flandin, Laval and Co., more or less on the model of the old "cartel" governments.

The People's Front has entered its stage of permanent crisis. The government must more and more function openly for what it is—the conscious instrument by which the bourgeoisie maintains its oppression of the masses. That is the real significance of the communique of Oct. 2. What else can it mean when "the government recalls to all citizens the necessity for public order and social discipline," when it makes an appeal to the workers "to renounce definitely... all occupation of factories," when it is "resolved to put an end to the agitations and activities of certain foreigners on the soil of the republic"? All the parties of the People's Front are afraid of one thing above all—that the workers will become fed up with the continued treachery of the People's Front and will take matters into their own hands again, as they did in the glorious days of June 1936. That is why all the various proposals, contradictory and self-contradictory as they are, must yield before the imperative necessity for the French bourgeoisie to complete the establishment of

l'union sacrée, the national unity which will permit them to enter the coming war without any internal dissension at home.

The cantonal elections are important only insofar as they will elect the people who will then elect the members of the Senate. Undoubtedly, they will witness a "victory" for the People's Front, especially for the Stalinists, now the strongest single party in France. Apropos of the Senate, it is necessary to recall that part of the new program of the SP, published after the Marseille Congress, was for the reform of the Senate. When I asked Maurice Paz, member of the CAP and authoritative spokesman for Blum, "How can you expect the Radicals to carry out your new program, when the first program hasn't been carried out," he replied: "If the Radicals don't accept our new program, we must then finish the first program." Somewhat perplexed by this "logic," I took my question to Jean Longuet, grandson of Karl Marx and an important cog in the reformist bureaucracy. This worthy stated quite baldly: "We have entered into an alliance with the Radicals. This entails certain responsibilities on our part, which we must be prepared to carry out." Such is the leadership that the French workers have today!

Sharp Struggles Ahead

What a picture France presents today! The crisis is evident. Mass revolutionary leadership does not yet exist. The fascist movement is divided within itself and not yet prepared to take power. The bourgeoisie continually lower the standard of living of the workers by depreciating the franc, and, incidentally weaken the position of the government as the elections approach. Hundreds of workers and peasants are being massacred in the French colonies, in Indo-China, in Algeria, in Morocco. Bonapartism rears its ugly head. Bourgeois democracy has outlived its historical usefulness. The counter-revolution is being prepared behind the backs of the People's Front.

The results of the elections can only intensify the crisis. If the workers enter the path of direct class struggle action in the near future, the bourgeoisie may be forced to rely upon a Blum-Thorez government to strangle the revolutionary initiative of the masses. Otherwise, if war does not intervene, the government may witness a steady drift to the right. In any case, complicated as the French political scene is, we do not hesitate to predict that Chautemps will fall in the not-too-distant future and that the French workers will be face to face with a ferocious reaction, wielded by the Stalinists, militarists or fascists, or any combination of the three. No, the course has not been altered by the French cabinet! It is simply that the French bourgeoisie are preparing for tomorrow. Will the workers be ready?

UNSER WORT

The attention of comrades familiar with the German language is called to "Unser Wort", the official paper of the German Section of the 4th International.

Comrades wishing to subscribe to the paper, or to receive bundle orders should use the following address for communications:

Jean Meichler, B. P. 14
248 Rue des Pyrenees
Paris (20e), France

Nominate James P. Cannon for Mayor in New York Campaign

(Continued from page 1)

City Council, are now also the candidates of the Stalinists.

A series of "disgraceful deals" has removed the "independent" candidates for judgeships from the "labor" slates, and has replaced them with Republican, and in some cases, Democratic machine politicians.

Class Issues Dominant

Cannon's nomination will give the militant workers of New York an opportunity to express their determination to break with capitalist politics in all of its forms. The platform on which Cannon will run stresses the fundamental class character of the issue confronting the workers of New York, and the absolute necessity of solving them in the only possible way: by the independent class struggle of the workers for socialism. The platform goes on further to explain the nature of the People's Front which has been formed in support of LaGuardia, how it differs in no respect from the support given Roosevelt, and how the LaGuardia movement is used as a means for strangling independent struggle on the part of the workers.

The effects of the LaGuardia People's Front are already being felt in the New York labor movement. Not only the old-line trade union bureaucrats, but also the Lovestoneites, Stalinists and right-wing Socialists in the trade unions, are spending all of their time clamping down on militancy

in the current strike situation. A militant struggle might reveal that the "friend of labor" sends his police force too aggressively against the strikers. This has been noticeable, for example, during the recent painters' strike, in the Automat strike, and in the desperate efforts now being made to prevent the calling of a transport workers' strike on the B. M. T. subway.

At the same time, no protest is being made against the drastic cuts now being carried out by LaGuardia in next year's city budget, cuts which will be felt by every worker, since they involve wage increases, provision for adequate medical service, and many types of social services.

Write-In Campaign

It will be impossible to place Cannon's name on the ballot, at this late date. Thomas, in keeping with the small-time maneuvering he has been attempting in the campaign, waited until the last day permissible under the law to withdraw his name. This left no time for the circulation of a nominating petition. It will therefore be necessary to organize to "write-in" Cannon's name on election day. In spite of the handicap this may prove in terms of number of votes, it will in no way be allowed to interfere with or slow down the campaign itself—a campaign that will put the full program and policies of revolutionary socialism before wider sections of the New York workers than at any time during the past decade.

"New International" On Way

The New International magazine, known throughout the world in labor and revolutionary circles as an outstanding organ of revolutionary Marxism, will begin publication again, the first issue of the revived publication to be out sometime this month, on the occasion of the 20th anniversary of the Soviet Republic.

Regarded generally as the most significant theoretical organ of the revolutionary movement, its sponsors are confident that the magazine will top even its former high standards. The publication will contain timely Marxian analysis of the American scene in the field of politics and labor; pertinent reviews and surveys of the international political situation, as exemplified by the conditions and events in Japan, China, Soviet Russia, Italy, Spain and, in fact, throughout the world. The best writers and thinkers in the revolutionary movement will contribute thoroughly informative, complete, and authoritative reviews on the burning issues of the day and period.

In no other publication in the English language will be found the material and penetrating articles which *The New International* will regularly carry in its columns. Foremost among its contributors will be L. D. Trotsky;

Documents and classics of Marxism, hitherto unpublished in English, or not at all and in many instances suppressed, from the works of Marx, Engels, Lenin, Trotsky, Luxemburg, Liebknecht, Riazanov, Mehring, Plekhanov and numerous other theoreticians of the labor and revolutionary

movement, will appear regularly in *The New International*. A section of the magazine will concern itself with Marxist criticism of arts and letters. Well-known literary men will contribute to this department. The various tendencies in the revolutionary movement in the United States and international will receive thorough expositions in its columns. The role and significance of the rising movement for the Fourth International will receive special attention, and connected therewith the true history of Bolshevism, the reasons for the rise and fall of the Communist International, will be made clear adequately.

The contents of the first issue of *The New International* magazine will be announced in the forthcoming issue of the *Socialist Appeal*. The magazine, say its sponsors, *The New International Publishing Co.*, will be issued monthly in 32 pages, the same size as the former publication. The magazine will retail at 20 cents per single copy. The subscription rate is \$2.00 per year and bundle rates are 14 cents in bundles of five and up. *The National Action Committee* of the Appeal Association has given its whole-hearted endorsement to the re-issuance of *The New International* and calls upon all members and supporters of the left wing everywhere to support the publication through subscription bundle orders and donations. Requests for information, orders and money for the magazine should be addressed to:
THE NEW INTERNATIONAL
116 University Place, 3rd floor
New York, N. Y.

Rubber Workers Convene in Akron

Conservatives in Control, But Democratic Constitution Voted

By Jack Wilson

AKRON, Ohio.—The second annual convention of the United Rubber Workers of America recently held here reflected the general development of the CIO movement in the past year.

Tremendous organizational gains furnished the background for the convention. Membership had trebled in the past twelve months. Many important contracts and concessions had been won. Over 250 delegates with 400 votes were present compared to slightly over 100 at the 1936 convention.

Yet at the very moment the convention was celebrating the victories of the 1937 organizing drive, Goodyear Local voted to allow 1,700 lay-offs, and 2,500 Goodrich unionists were walking the streets, victims of production reductions.

Contrasted to the previous convention with its spirit of militancy, progressiveness, and its tone of class struggle, this convention was a somewhat routine affair.

Conservatives Dominant

Caucus meetings held before the convention indicated that the majority of delegates would be in complete agreement with whatever program the present leadership offered and that those who disagreed would be unwilling to struggle unless floor leadership could be offered. The defeat of the left wing candidates for delegates precluded that possibility.

It was no surprise, therefore, when not a voice was raised against a resolution outlawing all forms of sit-downs, although over 50 delegates with a voting strength of nearly 150 were firmly convinced that it is a powerful and necessary weapon. "I didn't want to stick my neck out," was the alibi of one progressive who had fought brilliantly at the previous convention for endorsement of the sit-down strike.

Direct pressure of the CIO and officers of the URWA kept Akron delegates from bringing up the case of B. J. Widick, former research director of the union. He had been removed by the executive board without any charges being placed against him and without any hearing.

Early in the convention Widick rejected a CIO suggestion that he make a deal for reinstatement which would, in effect, vindicate the executive board. He refused because that would again place him at the mercy of the board.

Delegates frankly declared they were afraid to buck the CIO or the leadership on that issue, although they recognized its political significance. When a caucus finally agreed to fight for the issue, the convention was about over and the matter couldn't be brought up.

Confusion on War-Fascism

Confusion on political matters was evident throughout the convention and was illustrated in particular by the action taken on the questions of war and fascism.

As one rubber worker said, "This convention adopted a Trotskyist resolution against fascism during one session and then turned around to pass a Stalinist resolution for war."

After the excellent resolution against fascism was adopted, it

seemed that one calling for opposition to all imperialist wars, etc., which presented a revolutionary position would be passed. Instead a muddled resolution calling on Roosevelt to invoke the Kellogg pact against Japan was adopted.

Labor's Non-Partisan League received unanimous endorsement, as resolutions calling for independent working class political action were tossed aside by the resolutions committee.

However, in one extremely important phase of its work did the convention carry on the progressive tradition of the 1936 convention. A very democratic constitution (compared to all other CIO unions) was adopted. Ample provision for protection of the rank and file and the left wing against attacks by the leadership was made.

Constitution Democratic

In the past year, reactionaries have used their position on local executive boards to bring progressives up on charges before them and thus have handicapped them tremendously. Now that power has been taken away from the executive boards and placed in the hands of the rank and file. Severe penalties for unsubstantiated charges are provided. One leading Goodyear progressive was ruined for two months by the false charges brought against him. The convention, incidentally, upheld him.

In terms of trade union perspectives, the convention adopted the correct slogan for the next period of its organizational campaign. "Organize Gadsden and the South!" "Eliminate the Sweatshops."

Per capita tax to the International was raised to forty cents so that this work could be carried out effectively. Previous tax was thirty-seven cents. Dues remain \$1 a month, however.

Since Gadsden, Alabama, has been the scene of terrorism, beatings, flagrant discrimination against union men, and of every other form of oppression, it symbolizes the open-shop reactionary South at its worst. More than one delegate at the convention had been driven out of Gadsden.

Goodyear has a key plant there. Other rubber companies are following it to the South in an effort to escape union labor. A victory there would be a real gain for the entire labor movement. The rubber workers, after two years of failure, will try again to organize it.

Election of officers and executive board members provided the only high light of the convention.

Some Progressives Win

The three-year campaign of the left wing and progressive forces against John House, reactionary president of Goodyear Local, finally bore fruit and he was defeated in his three attempts to be re-elected to the executive board. The margins were very decisive.

In the ballot between N. H. Eagle, Ohio district organizer, and considered one of the leading progressives, and L. S. Buckmaster, Firestone Local president and admitted strongest conservative candidate for the board, Eagle won by 230 to 190. Buckmaster later defeated House to return to the executive board.

NOTES FROM SPAIN

Collectivization Attacked

The Catalan Generalidad has set September 15th as the deadline for proving the legality of collectivized factories and lands. Since much of the collectivization was carried through in emergency fashion during the first two months of the civil war in an effort to speed the war against the fascists, it is expected that the government will seize upon "legal flaws" to return many properties to their capitalist owners.

The Gaceta of August 14 publishes a decree of the Ministry of the Interior which lapses all arms-permits. Now no arms are legally held by the workers or their unions. All previous arms-decrees had provided for the unions keeping the arms which are used to guard all factories and union buildings.

The CNT press publishes almost daily warnings advising the workers to guard against provocations.

Stalinist Insults Workers-Martyrs

A furor has been created throughout Spain by a speech of Comorera, Stalinist Catalan leader, on August 9, in which he contemptuously referred to the heroic first months of the civil war, when Aragon was conquered by the Catalan militias (mostly CNT) as: "The war began with some tribes that stormed the trains saying that they were going to take Zaragoza. Now we have a great army." "Tribus" (tribes) is an insulting term. The CNT press bitterly contrasts the successes of the "tribes" with the present stalemate.

The Stalinist-controlled Claridad (Madrid) has refused to remove from its masthead the title of "organ of the UGT" and the National Executive of the UGT has (August 12) repeated its repudiation of the sheet.

Anarchist Youth Refuse to Slander Trotskyists

The Peninsular Committee of the Libertarian (anarchist) Youth on August 10 issued a lengthy manifesto explaining why it re-

fused to constitute a "youth alliance" with the Stalinists. The breaking point was reached when the Stalinists proposed that Point 5 of the pact include following: "The youth.... considers it necessary to stamp the Trotskyists as agents of fascism, enemies of the unity of the people and of the antifascist youth, and organizers of the espionage center recently discovered by the police, and declares that they be punished in such a manner that they should not be able to raise their heads." The Libertarian Youth refused to sign its name to this slander and broke off negotiations.

Courts Re-Organized

With the FAI (anarchists) excluded by decree from membership in the Popular Tribunals and more and more functions of the tribunals arrogated to Special Tribunals appointed by the Ministries of Justice and Defense, Minister Irujo has embarked on further steps to change the composition of the Tribunals.

Roca, CNT member, ex-sub-secretary of Justice, now tells how, when the Popular Tribunals were formed (with a presiding judge and about fifteen members of workers and anti-fascist organizations constituting each) in September, 1936, a meeting of judges and magistrates was called by the Ministry of Justice, to secure volunteers to go to the provinces to set up the Tribunals to try the fascists. Not one would volunteer—they knew the fascists would have to be convicted. Most of the tribunals then formed were presided over by left-wing attorneys. Minister Irujo is now dissolving them, appointing the once-reluctant judges, who now eagerly accept the posts since the Popular Tribunals no longer ferret out fascists.

Apparently some supporters of the government are beginning to fear its isolation from the masses, for Alvarez Del Vayo, who ostentatiously appeared at a Communist Party plenum shortly after the dismissal of Caballero, is now calling for the return of the C.N.T. to the government.

Milton Tour Dates

Wed. Oct. 13, New Haven—Thurs. Oct. 14, Hartford—Fri. Oct. 15, Lynn—Sat. Oct. 16, Sun. Oct. 17, Boston—Mon. Oct. 18, Albany—Tues. Oct. 19, Syracuse—Wed. Oct. 20, Ithaca—Thurs. Oct. 21, Rochester—Fri. Oct. 22, Sat. Oct. 23, Sun. Oct. 24, Toronto—Mon. Oct. 25, Youngstown—Tues. Oct. 26, Akron—Wed. Oct. 27, Thurs. Oct. 28, Fri. Oct. 29, Cleveland—Sat. Oct. 30, Toledo. Sun. Oct. 31, Detroit—Mon. Nov. 1, Chicago—Tues. Nov. 2, Chicago—Wed. Nov. 3, Minneapolis—Thurs. Nov. 4, Fri. Nov. 5, Sat. Nov. 6, Sun. Nov. 7, St. Paul—

All other executive board members and the present officers were re-elected. S. H. Dalrymple was unopposed for presidency. Thomas F. Burns defeated House for vice-presidency. Frank Grillo was re-elected treasurer.

L. L. Callahan, Goodrich Local president, and militant leader of many Akron strikes in the past year, won the sixth position on the board opened by House's defeat.

Mon. Nov. 8, Omaha—Tues. Nov. 9, En route—Wed. Nov. 10, Denver—Thurs. Nov. 11, Denver—Fri. Nov. 12, Sat. Nov. 13, Salt Lake City.

Sunday, Nov. 14, San Francisco—Mon. Nov. 15, Tues. Nov. 16, Wed. Nov. 17, Thurs. Nov. 18, Oakland—Fri. Nov. 19, Sat. Nov. 20, Sun. Nov. 21, Mon. Nov. 22, Los Angeles—Tues. Nov. 23, Fri. Nov. 24, en route—Thurs. Nov. 25, Kansas City.

Fri. Nov. 26, Sat. Nov. 27, Sun. Nov. 28, Mon. Nov. 29, Chicago Convention—Tues. Nov. 30, St. Louis—Wed. Dec. 1, Indianapolis—Thurs. Dec. 2, Louisville—Fri. Dec. 3, Sat. Dec. 4, Columbus—Sun. Dec. 5, Reading—Mon. Dec. 6, Quakertown—Tues. Dec. 7, Allentown—Wed. Dec. 8, Washington—Thurs. Dec. 9, Baltimore.

A Gala studio party sponsored by the Village Branch and intending to startle the entire city will occur this Saturday—Oct. 9th—at the home of Dr. Luttinger, 5 Washington Sq., North. A good time assured.

School Offers Five Courses

MARXIST SCHOOL

116 University Place, New York FALL COURSES OPENING OCTOBER 18th (The registration fee for each course is seventy five cents (four sessions).)

I. Elementary Marxism

John G. Wright Monday, 7:30 P.M.—8:30 P.M. An introductory course especially valuable for newcomers to the socialist movement.

1. Introduction to Marxian Economics.
2. Contradictions of Capitalism.
3. Classes and the Class Struggle.
4. The Road to Power.

II. China and The Far East

Robert Graves Monday, 8:45 P.M.—10:15 P.M.

This lecture supplies the necessary background and material for an understanding of the present policy of the Roosevelt government in the Far East crisis.

1. The Reawakening of the Far East.
2. The Chinese Revolution—1925-1927.
3. Imperialist Interests in the Far East.
4. The Present Sino-Japanese Conflict.

III. Political Currents in American Labor Movement

Maurice Spector Tuesday, 7:00 P.M.—8:30 P.M.

A critique of the politics of the A. F. of L., C. I. O., Communist Party, Thomas/Socialist Party and the Lovestone group with particular reference to third party and farmer-labor party movements.

1. "Reward Your Friends, Punish Your Enemies".
2. Rooseveltian Laborism.
3. Left Proponents of Farmer-Laborism.
4. The Revolutionary Party and Farmer-Laborism.

IV. Socialism and War

Max Shachtman Tuesday, 8:45 P.M.—10:15 P.M.

An historical survey of the theory and practice of social democracy, Stalinism and Marxism in regard to war with an eye to the specific problems of the day, democracy, fascism, collective security, defense of the Soviet Union when it is allied with an imperialist power.

1. The Epoch of Militant Resolutions or the traditions of the pre-war Social Democracy.
2. The Epoch of Social Betrayal and Proletarian Resurgence or "War-Socialism" and the founding of the Communist International.
3. The Epoch of Stalin or the social patriotism of the Third International.
4. Critique of Pseudo-Marxist Theories on War or an examination of the Bauer-Zyromsky theses, the Lovestone-ites, etc.

V. The American Trade Union Movement

James P. Cannon Friday, 7:00 P.M.—8:30 P.M.

Lectures on the significance of the conflict between the A. F. of L. and the C. I. O., problems of organization of the basic industries and the role of revolutionists in the trade unions today.

1. Industrial versus Craft Unionism.
2. Basis for the A. F. of L.—C. I. O. Split.
3. Problems in the C. I. O. Unions.
4. The Tasks of Marxists in the Trade Unions.

Opposition Fights Fur Union Bureaucracy

With the expiration of the present agreement at the end of this year, the furriers will face a serious situation. The future of the Furriers Union and the nature of the new agreement is to a large extent dependent upon the attitude and policy of the Stalinist administration. To retain and improve the working conditions in the Fur Industry the furriers must abandon the present opportunist and class-collaborationist line of the Communist Party.

The Fur Manufacturing Association with whom the furriers will deal is the sole boss-organization in the trade. The Association has become powerful and threatening not without the assistance of the union bureaucracy. The method of the Stalinists in dealing with the Association was even more harmful to the union than that of the right wing leaders who preceded them. Three years of Stalinist control of the United Furriers Union is marked by regular concessions of a most disastrous kind to the bosses. So serious have been these concessions that the Furriers Union may have to reenforce their table conversations with the Association by declaring a General Strike.

Elementary Demands Ignored

During the period when the present agreement was negotiated the furriers demonstrated the highest militancy and morale. Nevertheless the communist representatives of the union failed to insist upon many elementary demands for which the furriers have strived to gain many years. They willingly agreed to requests made of them by the Association but did not fight for the just and burning needs of the workers.

The bosses, on their side were well satisfied with the agreement. A most criminal concession was made to the bosses when the union agreed verbally to help smashed the small association and independent shops, forcing them to join the Big Association. At the time of the signing of the agreement two years ago, two Fur Associations existed in the industry. The first was the Fur Manufacturing Association which embraced the large coat houses. The second was the Trimming Association. Aside from these there were several independent shops. A struggle of the two associations raged for many years.

When the Stalinists, coming to the aid of the large association, forced the smaller one to dissolve, all of its members entered the larger body for protection. The system used to bring the trimmers and independent shops into the association was as follows:

The settlement made by the union with the Fur Manufacturing Assn. was the only recognized collective pact in the trade. An agreement was not signed with the Trimmers Assn. Instead the furriers signed with individual trimming shops only. This enabled the union to exercise direct control over each trimming and independent shop. But not for long!

According to the terms of the Fur Manufacturing Assn. contract, any dispute that arises is settled by an "impartial chairman". This Chairman is invariably to be found acting for the bosses. Further—a business agent of the union is forbidden to visit any shop to investigate complaints without being accompan-

ied by an Association representative. Strikes are ruled illegal.

Heavy Price Paid

These outrageous conditions did not apply to the trimming and independent shops. The rights of the workers there were better preserved. But as the pressure of the union against these shops increased they rushed into the Association. The most active furriers were then carefully removed from their jobs. The most active furriers were then carefully removed from their jobs. This disgraceful state of affairs, made possible by the Stalinist-boss "victory agreement", was the price paid by the workers.

It would seem that enough damage had already been done. But there is no limit for the Stalinists. It is clearly stipulated in the agreement that there shall be no overtime, no contracting, no floor boy is to do productive work and only one employer is permitted to work in a shop. It was imperative that workers committees were organized and empowered to enforce these regulations. The administration instead commissioned this work to the Impartial Chairman. As a result active workers were dismissed, speed-up flourishes, overtime is widespread and floor boys do the work of the regular furriers, slowly replacing them. The disgust of the furriers with all this was not slow in appearing.

The first expression of protest against the administration was shown in the last elections and also in the voting on the 1937 tax.

Democracy Flouted

As is the custom, the furriers hold their election of officers every year. The administration, which is dominated by the Communists, conducts 100% bureaucratic elections. Even the most reactionary unions can learn from them. At the local meetings, the Stalinists impose election objection committees of their own choosing. Before the election objection committee, meets they already announce when the delegates should appear. Thus, the whole election is carried through in one week's time. The opposition is not even allowed to come near the objection committee. Nor is the opposition allowed any watchers at the polls. And this is what they call "100% democracy"! As a result of this system, the administration was caught red-handed stealing votes from the opposition in the last elections. Regardless of the fact that the opposition did not have sufficient time and forces to conduct an effective campaign, and though the elections were exclusively under the control of the Stalinists, the opposition nevertheless polled 2,000 out of the 6,000 votes cast.

That this is a heavy blow at the administration, is known to every furrier. The administration also suffered a defeat when one of their nominees for business agent was defeated by an independent candidate. The defeated Stalinist later proved to be a racketeer, extorting money from workers, and as such he had to be expelled both from the Communist Party and from the union only after repeated rank and file demands and in order that the C. P. might save face.

The second defeat of the Stalinist administration was suffered at the last local meetings, where the furriers were supposed to

Browder: 'One of my best friends....'

ONE OF MY
BEST FRIENDS
IS A JEW!



vote on the 1937 tax. At the meetings of the Board of Directors and of the Joint Council, a tax of \$25 was decided upon. Knowing that the figure was a high one, it was decided to appear before the rank and file without a specific recommendation on the sum, but only for a "substantial tax". But in the fur market, it was already known that the \$25 had been decided on by the administration, and the furriers came to their meetings for the purpose of voting down the recommendation.

Heavy Tax Voted Down

The Stalinists and their administration have always boasted claimed that the majority of the furriers stand with them, and that everything they do or say is with the approval of the ranks. To prove that the fur workers are with the administration, a letter was sent out to the membership, in which they were warned that unless they appeared at the local meetings, they would each be fined \$1. Such a warning would hardly be necessary if the prestige of the leadership was what they claimed it was. They had to send out such letter because the local meetings, which are held every three or four months, instead of the monthly meetings provided for by the union constitution, are not attended by the members.

The administration believed that if the thousands of furriers would show up at the meetings, it would be able to push through any proposal. How surprised they were when the furriers voted down the \$25 tax! Not even Gold, who, relying on his past popularity, was brought down to swinging the vote, succeeded in accomplishing his aim. Here it should be explained that the furriers did not vote down the tax because they do not believe in a strong union, or because they failed to realize the seriousness of the situation, but because they regarded the \$25 tax as too high a sum under present conditions in the trade. Secondly, the furriers argued, what has happened to the money collected in the

past two taxes? Since the unification, the furriers have experienced their third tax. Also, the furriers contended, the administration did not have the right to spend the money collected in previous taxes for the special strike fund, which was used for other purposes. They therefore voted for a one day's pay tax, roughly equivalent to \$10. According to the financial report, there is only \$119,000 on hand. The rest of the money was spent to pay the back wages of the former Joint Council officials, for lawyers, and for other purposes of which the furriers know nothing.

As to democracy, our union is not behind-hand. Those acquainted with the "democratic" practices of the Communist Party, especially after the events in the Soviet Union, can understand the kind of "democracy" we have in the Fur Workers Union. The official organs published by the union are the exclusive monopoly of the Stalinists, who systematically exclude any writings by those having different opinions. More than that, the official organs are used to slander any and all opponents and critics. As on the

political field, so in the trade unions, the Stalinists cannot brook the slightest criticism. It is true, they do not yet put oppositionists to the wall, as they have been doing in the Stalinist paradise.

Opposition Group Continues

Yet, the opposition is continuing its activity. The opposition does not yet number hundreds, to be sure; the reason being that many furriers, no matter how strongly they oppose the administration, fear to come out in open conflict against it. Although composed entirely of rank and file workers, and without any prominent leading personalities, the opposition has made sufficient progress to compel the bureaucracy to begin discriminating against critical spokesmen at the local meetings, by refusing them the floor.

As to how the opposition conducts its activity, its relationship to the Stalinists and other elements in the union, and the question of its job in the coming period,—these will be dealt with in coming issues of the Appeal.

New Headquarters in Chicago

The left wing of the Socialist Party of Chicago and Cook County announces the opening of headquarters in Room 504, 189 North Clark Street (telephone: Deaborn 7562), together with the Chicago District Young Peoples Socialist League office. A bookshop with radical and revolutionary publications from all over the world is maintained in conjunction with the office. Workers are invited to drop in, read and discuss.

The following calendar of events for the next period is herewith announced:

Sunday, October 10, 3 P. M. Corinthian Hall, a Capitol Building, 159 N. State: Erber, Gould, Glotzer speak on "Youth and the Workers Face New War". Admission 15c.

Sunday, October 10, 8 P. M. Cafe Idrott, membership meeting, party and YPSL members only.

Saturday, October 16, 8 P. M. Housewarming and coming-out Party, Cafe Idrott, 3206 N. Wilton Ave. Admission, 25c in advance; 35c at door.

Sunday, October 17, 3 P. M. Cafe Idrott, 3206 N. Wilton, Glotzer speaks on the Sino-Japanese War. Admission 15c.

Saturday, October 30, 8 P. M. Cafe Idrott, Halloween Dance and Carnival. Admission 35c.

Sunday, November 7, 8 P. M. Celebration of 20th Anniversary of the Russian Revolution. Cafe Idrott. Admission 50c.

Wednesday, November 24, 8 P. M. Welcome Dance for Delegates to National Left-wing Convention. Cafe Idrott.