

# NEW MASS MURDER IMPENDING

## APEX RULING HITS UNIONS

Huge Judgment Against Philadelphia Hosiery Union Gives Bosses Dangerous Weapon Against Labor

### COURT USES SITDOWN RULING

A Federal Court in Philadelphia last week ordered a hosiery workers' union to pay \$711,932 to the Apex Hosiery Company as "damages" sustained during a sit-down strike in its plant in 1937.

Under the aggressive direction of U. S. District Court Judge W. H. Kirkpatrick, an obedient jury on April 3 found that the company had suffered damages of \$237,310 as a result of the strike. In entering the verdict against Branch 1 of the American Federation of Hosiery Workers (C.I.O.), Kirkpatrick trebled the damages.

That this monstrous decision would be quickly utilized by the bosses was soon indicated when two days later three strike-bound trucking companies filed a similar suit for \$990,000 against the Teamsters' International and its locals in four Connecticut cities.

#### Fansteel Decision Used

The Philadelphia decree combines the recent Supreme Court decision outlawing sit-down strikes with the punitive provisions of a much older, but equally judge-made law, the Sherman Anti-Trust Act—applied not against the trusts but against the unions.

Judge Kirkpatrick struck his blow with the assurance provided him by the Supreme Court decision, February 28, in the Fansteel case, outlawing the sit-down strike.

The Philadelphia strike was a comparatively minor one during the great wave of sit-down strikes in 1937. Inspired by these militant strikes, which made possible the building of the United Automobile Work-

See article "Courts Invent Means to Break Strikes When Employers Cannot," page 4.

ers, the United Rubber Workers and other unions, the Philadelphia hosiery workers occupied the Apex Hosiery Company factory, which had viciously resisted unionization for many years. Begun May 7, the strike ended June 23, 1937, with a union victory including, after subsequent negotiations, the closed shop.

#### Filled Much Later

Only some time after the wave of sit-down strikes died down and were finally disavowed by the C.I.O. official leadership, and the hosiery union failed to consolidate its forces in the Apex factory, did the company pluck up courage enough to file the suit against the hosiery union.

It was likewise after the sit-down strikes had been abandoned and apologized for by the John L. Lewis leadership, that the courts outlawed that basic weapon of American labor.

As in the Fansteel case, the union attorneys made no attempt to defend the hosiery sit-down. William Leader, president of the local, denied responsibility for the sit-down while the attorneys declared that the union does not advocate the sit-down nor "condone the violence." In both cases, therefore, the union's failure to defend the sit-down enabled the courts to assume in advance the illegality of that strike weapon.

The failure of C.I.O. attorneys to defend the sit-downs without which none of the new industrial unions could have been built does not, however, gloss over the cold-blooded fact that the outlawry of sit-downs is not the law of the land, was never legislated by Congress, but is simply another judge-made law in a long line of brazen laws invented by judges as weapons against the trade union movement.

## UNION LEADERS HELP KELLY GET CLOSE VICTORY

Chicago Mayoralty Poll Shows Trend from New Deal

By ALBERT GATES

(Special to the Socialist Appeal) CHICAGO.—In a record vote totalling 1,478,637 ballots, Mayor Kelly was re-elected over his Republican opponent, Dwight Green, by a small plurality of 183,000 votes. A great outpouring of independent votes and the support of Courtney votes gave the Republican candidate an amazing total of 637,107 ballots. So close was this vote that it appears clear that had a state election been held, the Republicans would have swept such an election and placed a Republican governor into office.

The enormous Republican vote is explainable in a general way as a reaction to the incumbent office holders. Despite the efforts of Chicago's labor organizations and the Communist Party to depict the struggle between the two candidates as a struggle between progress and reaction, the New Deal and old guard Hooverism, it is clear that no such sharp distinction was accepted by the mass of voters. Insofar as such a distinction was accepted, it was limited to the ranks of organized labor.

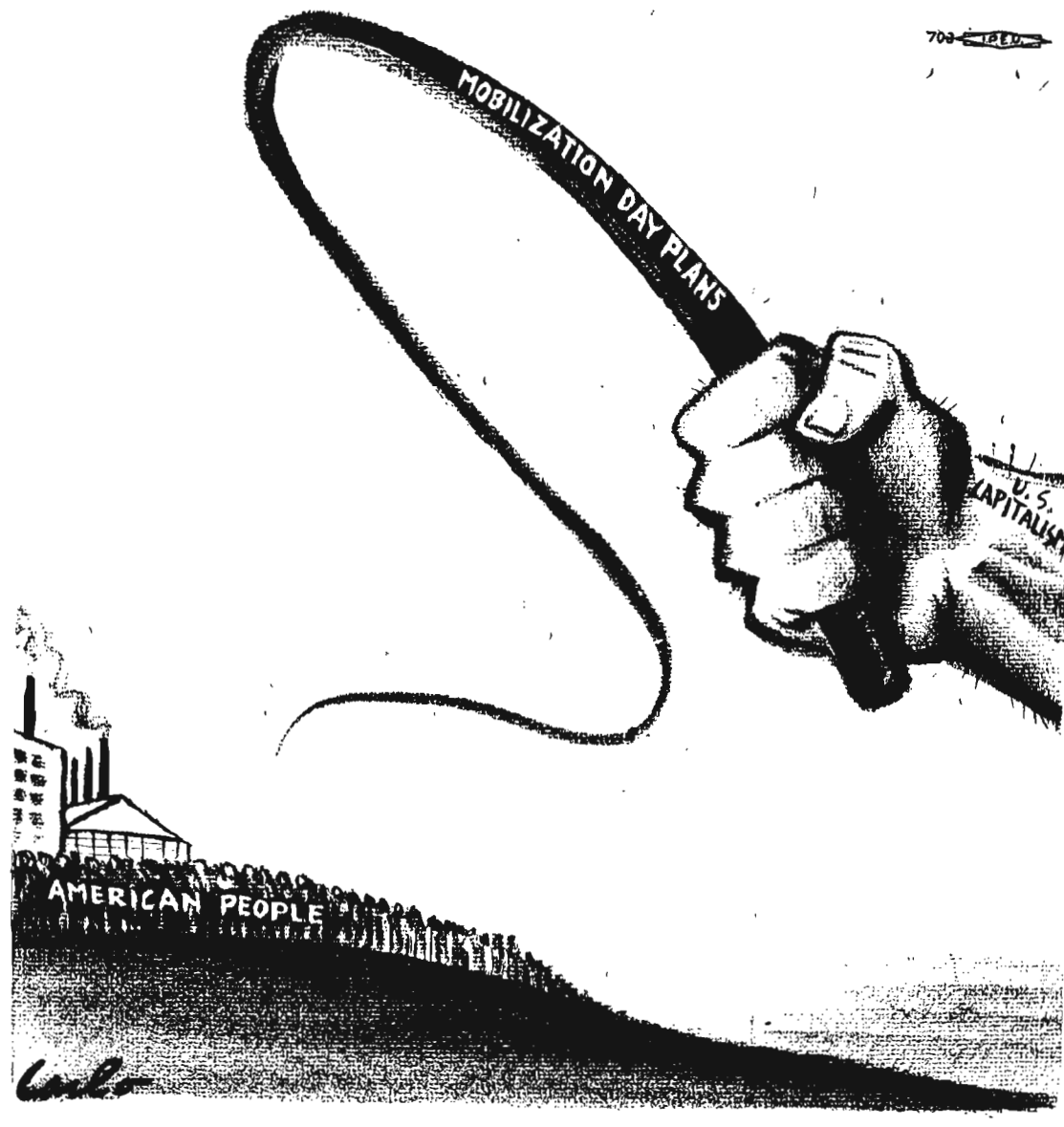
#### New Deal Losing Favor

There is no doubt that Roosevelt's popularity is waning. At least, this seems to be the case in Illinois, and to a considerable extent in Chicago. The New Deal is having a hard time convincing the people that it has actually brought about a permanent improvement in the condition of the broad masses.

It is true, that Green received his great vote primarily

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## Pre-View of the War Against Fascism



## YPSL IN AKRON UNDER PROBE; FIVE ARE JAILED

Youths Manhandled for Distributing Leaflets

(Special to the Socialist Appeal) AKRON, April 5—School officials, reactionary forces and police in Akron intensified their campaign against the Young People's Socialist League this week by ordering an investigation of its activities in the high schools following the arrest of five youths distributing Y.P.S.L. leaflets. Burr McCloskey, Sol Goldberg, John Schufle, William Russell and Don Carper were arrested Friday, March 31, while distributing leaflets in the street in front of Central High School.

They were held six hours on a charge of suspicion, and released on bonds of \$495 each. The charge was later changed to "trespassing in connection with a law which forbids the distribution of any literature on school property."

At the insistence of Principal J. Ray Stine, not very affectionately known to his students as "cue-ball" because of his arid pate, the police pro-

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## Pacific Coast Seamen Face Critical Fight

Government, Stalinists, Bosses United in Drive To Smash Militant Unions

By THOMAS

The Pacific Coast seamen are entering the most critical period in their post-war history. Arrayed against them are a combination of forces, both internal and external, which are aimed at the destruction of the integrity and fighting power of the most militant section of the American seamen's movement.

The maritime workers of the West Coast stabilized their organizations as a result of the great strike movement of 1934. Then, in a 99-day struggle in 1936-1937, the unions demonstrated their ability to withstand the onslaught of the shipowners, winning complete recognition of the union-controlled hiring hall—the very life-blood of any maritime union.

Government: Strikebreaker But then the government intervened. This was tacit recognition by the shipowners and their government stooges that the operators cannot by themselves "tame" the West Coast seamen.

The first governmental move was the attempt to foist the "fink-book" on the seamen. It

would have made it legally obligatory upon every seaman to carry a book recording his entire record of service, so that any master, at a glance, could tell whether he was dealing with a "trouble-maker." Seamen had had to carry such books during the bitter years of company-union slavery.

The first obstacle the seamen ran into in fighting against the fink-book was the treachery of the Stalinists. For in 1936 the Stalinists had launched their "Popular Front" policy. As applied to the maritime situation, that policy led the Stalinists to declare: "You can't fight against the fink book and then we'll all burn them on the stairs of the Capitol on May 1."

Seamen Insist on Fight The logic of this brilliant proposal was lost upon the West Coast seamen, who were unable to figure out how the Stalinists were to gather the seamen from the seven seas and assemble them at Washington on May 1 to burn the fink books. The West Coast seamen's unions decided that it would be much easier to re-

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## ATTACK ON ALBANIA BRINGS WAR CLOSER

## HUDSON TO RUN FOR MAYOR IN MPLS. ELECTION

Well-known Militant to Campaign on S.W.P. Platform

(Special to the Socialist Appeal) MINNEAPOLIS, April 1.—The Minneapolis branch of the Socialist Workers Party will run its own candidate for mayor, Carlos Hudson, in the municipal elections this summer.

After filing with the city clerk yesterday, Comrade Hudson issued the following statement to the press:

What was announced as "the city convention of the Hennepin County Farmer-Labor Association" drew only 150 delegates last Sunday. The Communist Party faction at the head of the Hennepin County Association, finding itself without an army, is now forced to make a gesture in the direction of the trade unions; they propose a "Joint Farmer-Labor and trade union convention" for April 8. A gesture is all this will be. The Seestrom-Boerbach-Frank clique will take good care to insure its control of the April 8 convention.

These people have shown they can always pack conventions to distort the will of the majority. The anti-democratic nature of the convention arrangements, whereby a ward club of twenty members would have five delegates and a trade union of five thousand members, three delegates, guaranteed the April 8 caucus will be another repetition of all recent "Farmer-Labor conventions" locally.

Don't Represent Labor Candidates that are the choice of that convention will not represent the organized workers of Minneapolis—rather they will represent the warmongering, relief-slashing New Deal. Such candidates will certainly not be responsive to the needs and demands of the trade unions or of the unemployed.

The bureaucratic practices and anti-working-class policies of the Communist Party have repelled the bulk of the Minneapolis trade unions from the Farmer-Labor Association. The remaining factions of the Association—represented by Dewey Johnson, the Communist Party, and Hjalmar Petersen—are racing one another to kill off the Farmer-Labor movement by carrying it into the camp of Roosevelt, away

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Ghastly Game of Bluff and Counter-Bluff Is Leading Swiftly to New World Slaughter and Catastrophe

## UNITED STATES READY TO PLUNGE

### BULLETIN

Italian troops invaded Albania early Friday morning. Warships shelled all the major ports of the tiny Adriatic country. A fleet of 400 planes and an army of about 50,000 participated in the attack, which was fiercely resisted by the Albanians. Yugoslavia and Greece, in the direct path of the new onslaught waited to see what steps France and Britain would take. Mussolini's move was obviously the first of a series designed to secure an Italian hold on major strategic points in the Mediterranean.

The world's continuous war crisis drew perilously close this week to the showdown stage.

The great contending camps of imperialist bandits and gangsters—preparing to fight for markets, raw materials, colonial slave labor and super-profits—were desperately maneuvering to line up the maximum possible strength for the coming war.

Behind the ghastly game of bluff and counter-bluff, behind the black stare of news headlines and the shrill scream of radios in all the tongues of Babel, millions of people waited in fearful helplessness for disaster.

Across the world checkboard the following were the chief developments:

1. British diplomacy moved into a belated turn of policy—a policy of hastening the showdown instead of postponing it, on the theory that the Anglo-French diplomacy was doing its best to avert.

2. The Soviet Union continued to straddle its precarious perch on the diplomatic fence. The Stalin government took unusual pains to deny that it had promised to aid Poland and at the same time signed an agreement on the Siberian fisheries, temporarily allaying the chronic Soviet-Japanese war tension in the Far East. Whether the buyer be Hitler or the Anglo-French entente, Stalin was keeping his price well up and meanwhile burning no bridges.

3. Italian troops continued at the same time to move into Spain, giving rise to a fresh crop of reports of preparations for an attack on British-owned Gibraltar. Franco, ruthlessly crushing the victims left under his heel by the cowardly and traitorous leaders of Stalin's

4. Moscow Still Straddles 4. The Soviet Union continued to straddle its precarious perch on the diplomatic fence. The Stalin government took unusual pains to deny that it had promised to aid Poland and at the same time signed an agreement on the Siberian fisheries, temporarily allaying the chronic Soviet-Japanese war tension in the Far East. Whether the buyer be Hitler or the Anglo-French entente, Stalin was keeping his price well up and meanwhile burning no bridges.

5. In the Far East—the theater of war which will be of major concern to Yankee imperialism—Japan took another daring stride forward in its plans for imperial conquest by occupying the French-claimed Spratly Islands in the South China Sea—providing air bases, strategically located athwart the maritime route from Singapore to Hong Kong and within easy striking distance—600 miles—of U. S.-owned Manila.

6. In Washington the 22nd anniversary of this country's entry into the last holocaust "to save democracy" was greeted with a full dress ballyhoo for a war policy in the sessions of the Foreign Relations Committee of the Senate where Henry L. Stimson, Bernard Baruch and other representatives of Wall Street were paraded out to help put over the Roosevelt administration's plans for gearing the entire nation for war.

President Roosevelt publicly thanked the representatives of Big Business, meeting together with ranking army and navy chiefs in New York City, for their aid in preparing to mobilize industry for war. Assistant Secretary of War Johnson announced that the government had already stocked six months' supplies for an army of 400,000 and had paved the way to keep an even larger force stocked with war sinews. "Army Day" was celebrated amid open preparations for a new "April 6"—a new plunge into catastrophe.

## Action, Not Lobbying, Needed To Fight W.P.A. Cuts

For many weeks we have stated that mass W.P.A. cuts were scheduled to begin April 1, and that only nationwide, militant mass demonstrations of the unemployed would stop them.

During this same period, the Workers Alliance, the Stalinists, and Labor's Non-Partisan League said that the cuts could be stopped by: (1) relying on Roosevelt and the New Deal forces in Congress; (2) sending postcards to Washington; (3) lobbying in the Congressional committees.

Last Saturday there were some splendid local demonstrations, but they were on too small a scale and in too few localities.

On the whole, the unemployed followed the advice of the Workers Alliance and Labor's Non-Partisan League.

We now witness the first part of the result: the mass cuts have started; more than 200,000 workers have received their pink slips. This is just a beginning.

Before deciding how much money to appropriate, Congress waited until after April 1. When they saw that

there were only a few mass demonstrations, these scoundrels felt free to go ahead.

Roosevelt retired to Georgia. In the Senate, Barkley, leader of the New Deal forces, reached full agreement with the Republicans and "dissenting" Democrats on the \$100,000,000 figure which means at least six or seven hundred thousand more cut from the rolls between now and June 30.

This fully proves our contention that New Deal and Old Deal are one and the same in the drive against the unemployed, that they have only minor disagreements as to the method to follow.

If nation-wide demonstrations had taken place we can be certain that a much higher amount would have been voted for W.P.A.

The job is harder now. It is more difficult to get back on the rolls, once the pink slips have been sent, than to stay on them.

The job is harder, but the answer is the same. The cuts will continue and will increase if the unemployed keep relying on postcards, lobbying, and the good

will of the New Deal.

The cuts will stop, everyone will be put back on the rolls, and W.P.A. will be extended if, and only if, the unemployed from now on and immediately adopt the only method which makes any impression on these gentlemen in Washington: the fighting method of militant mass action, direct action on the projects, in the streets and at every W.P.A. headquarters.

The time for polite requests has ended. The demands of the unemployed have got to thunder into the ears of the Congressmen with a volume that will crash through any diplomatic deafness.

If the unemployed and their families are not going to starve, this is what they have to do.

FIGHTING MASS DEMONSTRATIONS IN EVERY LOCALITY!

W.P.A. JOBS FOR EVERY UNEMPLOYED WORKER AT TRADE UNION WAGES!

THIRTY-THIRTY: \$30 minimum wage, 30-hour maximum week.

ALL WAR FUNDS TO THE UNEMPLOYED!

# In the Trade Unions

By B. J. WIDICK

An idea of the problems before the progressive railroad workers in this country and some of the proposals advanced to solve them is contained in a little printed pamphlet which was put out by the Minneapolis Railroad Council in 1935. Although this is nearly four years old, the proposals have the freshness of new ideas and fit the bill in many respects.

"Why are the workers in the railroad industry kept divided into 21 separate labor organizations," the pamphlet asks. "How much does it cost the railroad men per year to maintain 21 organizations; 21 sets of officials; 21 journals; 21 conventions; 21 headquarters, and 21 sets of local lodge halls?" the pamphlet continues. Obviously this terrible and costly duplication still exists and needs to be remedied.

"Why does our present Brotherhood leadership have to censor our magazines and the Labor paper? And why do we have to maintain laws in our Brotherhood constitutions forbidding members to publish and circulate their own opinions?" We want to remind our readers that the railroad union leadership which still maintains this kind of a stranglehold over its members professes to believe in "democracy." In fact, it is perfectly willing to allow its members to die for "democracy" in another war.

### Ask 6-Hour Day

Among the general demands raised by the progressives who published this pamphlet were: (a) For a six hour day with out reduction in pay. It is interesting to note how this demand foreshadowed part of our transitional program.

(b) For two men on every locomotive for convenience and safety.

(c) Against the consolidation of terminals unless it benefits the workers.

(d) For an adequate retirement system. We can add that with the permanent technological and secular unemployment problem mentioned in a previous column this demand takes on special significance.

(e) A joint national agreement between all legitimate railroad unions and all railroad companies. Of course, progress along this line has been noted but inadvertently through the compromise proposals, for example, adopted last fall with President Roosevelt's intervention.

(f) That all union demands be made jointly and backed by all the crafts.

### Oppose Lobbying

(g) That all demands be taken to the railroad companies direct and not taken to legislative bodies or the Interstate Commerce Commission. It hardly needs belaboring that the whole tendency of the union officialdom has been the opposite with the tragic effect of tying the railroad workers to the government machine.

(h) That our present useless and expensive legislative boards and lobbies be abolished and that our Brotherhood leadership be requested to join with the rest of the labor movement for the building of a workers political party.

In explanation, it is pointed out that too many millions of the dues-payers' money has been dumped into this useless lobbying process, most of which has landed in the pockets of the lobbyist, commonly known as "legislative representatives."

The lobby simply cannot take the place of a good labor union, and it is time for us to quit the lobby and build the union by the united effort of the 21 crafts to amalgamate and organize the railroad workers, the pamphlet points out.

To which we can only add a hearty amen.

### Trotsky Letter To Modern Quarterly

Comrade Trotsky sent the following letter to the editors of the Modern Quarterly on March 6:

"Gentlemen: I disagree completely with the general tendency of your review and therefore ask that you remove my name from your list of contributors.

Sincerely yours, Leon Trotsky Coyocacan, D.F.

# Hudson Will Run In Mpls. Election

### Well-Known Militant Will Stand for Mayor on Ticket of the S.W.P.

(Continued from Page 1) from the camp of independent working-class political action.

Under these circumstances, the Socialist Workers Party is filing its candidate for mayor. It calls on all workers to vote for its candidate, Carlos Hudson.

With the collapse of the Farmer-Labor Association in Minneapolis and Minnesota, the workers and farmers are left organizationally where they were twenty years ago, when they first concluded that capitalist political parties offered them no future.

Minneapolis workers and friends of labor can indicate their desire to make a clean break with boss politics, and their intention to aid in the building of an independent, nation-wide labor party, by voting for Carlos Hudson.

**A Labor Program**  
All other majority candidates stand for the continuation of the cruel profit system that is condemning millions to starvation, that is breeding racism, and that even now is arming another horrible imperialist war upon the masses of the United States.

The Socialist Workers Party advocates:  
1. Opposition to any war conducted by a bosses' government. Opposition to the new "war for democracy," being prepared by Roosevelt-Landon. Such a war would first of all fasten a fascist dictatorship on the masses in the United States. All war funds go to the unemployed. Not a penny nor a man to the bosses' war. A popular referendum on any and all wars. Support only the world-wide war of the workers to free humanity from a dying profit system.

2. The maintenance and increase of direct relief in Minneapolis. Eliminate red tape and delays in relief and unemployment compensation payments.

3. No cuts on W.P.A. A job for every worker at a minimum of \$30 weekly for thirty hours of work, or at trade union wages when these are higher.

**Public Works**  
4. A twenty-billion dollar federal public works and housing program. A state housing act. A municipal housing authority controlled by the union movement.

5. Municipal support to the setting up of consumers' co-operatives. Cut out the excess profits of the middlemen. Give the farmers a decent price for what they produce.

6. Free school books for grade, high school and university students. Free street car and bus transportation for students. No wage cuts for school employees. Free hot lunches for undernourished children. More funds for education. Real academic freedom for teachers and students. No tuition for university students.

7. No use of police against strikers. Extend the movement to build union defense guards against fascists and vigilantes.

8. Cheaper public utility rates with no decrease in wages for workers engaged in such industries. For two-man

street cars. For a five-cent street car fare.

**Open the Factories!**  
9. For a new city hospital. Extend free medical, dental and optical care to all needy persons.

10. Open the city's idle factories and operate them under trade union control.

11. Lower local taxes on homes. Make the state and federal governments bear the full expense of relief.

12. For a living pension for the aged. No liens on homes of those who receive old-age assistance.

13. Give all unemployed youth W.P.A. jobs at union wages. Convert N.Y.A. into Youth W.P.A. projects.

**Will Wage Real Campaign**  
The Minneapolis branch has set up a campaign committee which is laying plans for an energetic campaign on behalf of the party's candidate for mayor. A Minnesota APPEAL is being planned, as well as a series of radio addresses.

**Membership Gains**  
The most important task of the Plenum was to evaluate the work of the past four months and plan the work for the coming period. Nathan Gould, National Secretary, made this report. The accomplishments and failures of the League were discussed in the light of the National Convention decisions to overhaul the organizational structure of the League to correspond with the fighting nature of our movement. The education and training of the membership for the Socialist Revolution and the task of winning the youth by the presentation of the Transitional Program in a colorful and dramatic manner formed the major part of the discussion.

Comrade Gould's report showed that since the National Convention (November, 1938) the League has gained 136 new members and organized new units in Fresno, California; New Brunswick, N. J.; and Lynn, Mass. He pointed out that throughout the country our organization has participated, together with the Party, in numerous anti-fascist activities and is now well on the way to becoming a real youth organization whose name, program and activities are known to thousands of youth.

**Semi-Monthly Challenge**  
The organizational check-up tour of Irving Bern, Organizational Secretary, verified the report of the National Secretary and showed that the League has made more progress during the last four months than in any previous period.

The most important decision of the Plenum was to begin publication of the **Challenge of Youth** as a twice-monthly on June 1. The reports of Ernest Erber, Editor, and Ruth Wilner, Business Manager, definitely showed the need for a semi-monthly paper and out-

lined the financial possibilities involved. It was reported that the **Challenge of Youth** had increased its paid circulation from 2,000 to 5,000 copies and was still going up with the April issue. During the next period it will be the task of the League to increase the list of subscribers to insure the issuance of the twice-monthly paper.

A lengthy discussion on the war preparations of the American government and the anti-war tasks of the League, was held. It was pointed out that the main task of the League was to expose the war preparations of the Roosevelt imperialist government and to rally the youth of the United States to the realization that "the main enemy is at home!"

**Unemployed Work**  
A very important discussion was held on work among un-

# Program Adopted at World Congress Is Published by S.W.P.

The program and resolutions of the Founding Conference of the Fourth International, which met last summer in Switzerland, are now available in their full text in a volume which has just been published by the Socialist Workers Party.

Included in this 127-page, well-printed little volume is an introduction written by Max Shachtman which traces the development of the movement for the Fourth International from the time when the slogan for its creation was first raised by the International Communist League in 1933, to the time it was actually organized at a conference attended by delegates of parties in every section of the globe.

No worker can understand the problems of socialist action under the conditions of capitalism in its death agony without acquainting himself with these decisions. For every member and sympathizer of the Fourth International it is an indispensable guide-book in the winning of the masses to revolutionary socialism.

Copies sell at 25c each, and may be ordered through the National Office, 116 University Place, New York City. In bundles of five or more, copies may be bought for 18c each.

**Executive Board Suspended Because Majority Opposes Wrecking Crew Policies**

(Special to the Socialist Appeal)  
NEW YORK, April 6—Unable to maintain complete control of Local 30, the insurance agents local here, Lewis Merrill, Stalinist head of the United Office and Professional Workers Union, suspended all seven members of the Local's Executive Board last Monday.

The Executive Board had a majority elected on the basis of their fight for maintenance and extension of democratic procedure in the union. As members of the board, they opposed the exceedingly high per capita extracted from the union members by the international office, and also the high-handed manner in which Merrill foisted paid organizers on them from outside of the insurance agents ranks.

Merrill's high handed action, reminiscent of the bureaucratic high jinks of Homer Martin against which the Stalinists howled hypocritically, came as the culmination of a long fight in which the Local resisted his attempts to dictate to it. The

immediate issue was the dismissal of Merrill's appointee, Organizer Shepherd, from the Local's payroll by the Executive Board.

To protect his henchman, Merrill railroaded through a repeal of the dismissal by the Joint Regional Council, an outfit strongly padded with his factional followers. When the Executive Board then appealed to Allan Haywood, regional director of the C.I.O., Merrill replied with the suspension which is intended to provoke a new election in which Merrill hopes to secure a Stalinist majority. It is not yet clear what stand Haywood is taking, although he has been named by Merrill to head a committee to take charge of all of Local 30's affairs.

**Progressives Prepare**  
Progressives in the union are preparing to fight against the suspensions at a membership meeting called for April 11. They point out that Merrill's action is completely unconstitutional. The By-Laws of the U.O.P.W.U. require that written charges shall be brought before the International Executive Board before any action of suspending a Local body can be taken. No such charges have been presented.

While eight members of the board have instituted legal action on this basis, the progressives intend to concentrate their main fire at the membership on the following basis:

1. Refusal to recognize Merrill's suspensions.
2. Disaffiliation from the U.O.P.W.U.
3. Request from the C.I.O. for an industrial charter covering all insurance companies.
4. Local autonomy—all officers and organizers to be elected by the Local membership.
5. Trade union democracy—against machine rule by political appointees.

A strong fight looms against this latest outrage of the Stalinist wrecking crew. Apparently the Merrills are not satisfied with driving more than 500 members of Local 16 over to the A.F. of L. They are intent to carry out their usual line all the way through. Rule or ruin is their policy. It is up to the membership of Local 30 to judge them accordingly.

**AKRON YPSL UNDER PROBE; FIVE JAILED**

(Continued from Page 1)  
The Y.P.S.L. issued a counter-statement declaring that the police, Stine and the Chamber of Commerce should be investigated, and that they were investigating them. It further welcomed any inquiry into its activities by the workers of Akron.

Its militant activity in connection with the campaign to increase N.Y.A. benefits to youth has already brought many young workers into contact with it. Until the arrests and wide publicity, these youths had not heard of the Y.P.S.L.

At the time of their arrest, the five boys were distributing leaflets calling for increased N.Y.A. appropriations, conversion of the armaments budget into a public works fund for the unemployed and decent jobs for all who need them.

**Youths Manhandled**  
Previously, Stine had torn the leaflets from one youth, and sent some young hoodlums to beat him up. On Friday, H. S. Vincent, assistant superintendent of schools, ran out of the building, his arms flailing, and threatened them with violence.

He then called the police, who manhandled the youths, and clamped an iron claw upon the wrist of one. He then proceeded to torture him as an object lesson to the 500 students whom the Ypsel had been addressing.

The trespassing charge is a flagrant frame-up, because the five boys were not on school property but in the street at the time of their arrest. The investigation is obviously part of the larger reactionary campaign against all working class organizations.

**Appeal for Support**  
The Y.P.S.L. has issued an appeal for Akron labor for funds for the defense of the five. It has pledged to fight the case to the end.

The probe is merely the latest in a series of provocations against Ypsels and S.W.P. members. Through the activities of Stine, who is trying to make a name for himself as a crusader against the "Reds," Comrade Sol Goldberg was refused permission to do cadet-teaching in the public schools and was forced to withdraw from the Teachers' College at Akron University. Others have been fired from their jobs as a result of his stool-pigeons.

After a short introduction by James Rosenthal, chairman of the Workers' Benefit Association, Bernie Simmer, business agent of the warehouse union, Local No. 20297, took the chair for the meeting. The speakers, including William Gydeson representing the Teamsters Joint Council and Lawrence Pfeffer of the Building Trades Council, attacked the 15 percent cut already made last month on the already inadequate relief budgets in St. Paul. A further cut of 20 percent is threatened if the W.P.A. rolls are reduced, throwing this additional group on the local relief rolls.

Resolutions were passed condemning the national war appropriations and calling for the turning over of all war funds to the unemployed; demanding the passage of a housing act now before the Minnesota legislature; thanking the local trade union movement for its aid in fighting these cuts and calling for the continuance of co-operation between the unions and the Workers' Benefit Association as the organization of the W.P.A. and relief workers.

**SAUNDERS FOUND GUILTY BY JUDGE**

(Special to the Socialist Appeal)  
NEW YORK—The case of Peter Saunders, Negro worker arrested on February 20 at the Anti-Nazi Demonstration called by the Socialist Workers Party, finally came to trial here today after having been adjourned six times since the arrest.

The decision, which took eight minutes to read, was handed down by Magistrate Rothenberg in Tombs Court. Rothenberg found Saunders guilty of the "disorderly conduct" charge and fined him \$15. On the question of "crusade to animals" the Magistrate declared that there was absolutely no evidence, and dismissed the charge.

Saunders had been held under higher bail than any of the others arrested at the same time and on the same charge and had been subjected to the "third degree" in the police station after his arrest. The Magistrate sent a copy of Saunders' testimony on the hearing given him by the police to Police Commissioner Valentine and promised to look into the matter further.

Saunders was defended by the American Fund for Political Prisoners and part of his fine was furnished by the organization.

# CP Perils Union of Insurance Agents

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Merrill's high handed action, reminiscent of the bureaucratic high jinks of Homer Martin against which the Stalinists howled hypocritically, came as the culmination of a long fight in which the Local resisted his attempts to dictate to it. The

immediate issue was the dismissal of Merrill's appointee, Organizer Shepherd, from the Local's payroll by the Executive Board.

To protect his henchman, Merrill railroaded through a repeal of the dismissal by the Joint Regional Council, an outfit strongly padded with his factional followers. When the Executive Board then appealed to Allan Haywood, regional director of the C.I.O., Merrill replied with the suspension which is intended to provoke a new election in which Merrill hopes to secure a Stalinist majority. It is not yet clear what stand Haywood is taking, although he has been named by Merrill to head a committee to take charge of all of Local 30's affairs.

**Progressives Prepare**  
Progressives in the union are preparing to fight against the suspensions at a membership meeting called for April 11. They point out that Merrill's action is completely unconstitutional. The By-Laws of the U.O.P.W.U. require that written charges shall be brought before the International Executive Board before any action of suspending a Local body can be taken. No such charges have been presented.

While eight members of the board have instituted legal action on this basis, the progressives intend to concentrate their main fire at the membership on the following basis:

1. Refusal to recognize Merrill's suspensions.
2. Disaffiliation from the U.O.P.W.U.
3. Request from the C.I.O. for an industrial charter covering all insurance companies.
4. Local autonomy—all officers and organizers to be elected by the Local membership.
5. Trade union democracy—against machine rule by political appointees.

A strong fight looms against this latest outrage of the Stalinist wrecking crew. Apparently the Merrills are not satisfied with driving more than 500 members of Local 16 over to the A.F. of L. They are intent to carry out their usual line all the way through. Rule or ruin is their policy. It is up to the membership of Local 30 to judge them accordingly.

**AKRON YPSL UNDER PROBE; FIVE JAILED**

(Continued from Page 1)  
The Y.P.S.L. issued a counter-statement declaring that the police, Stine and the Chamber of Commerce should be investigated, and that they were investigating them. It further welcomed any inquiry into its activities by the workers of Akron.

Its militant activity in connection with the campaign to increase N.Y.A. benefits to youth has already brought many young workers into contact with it. Until the arrests and wide publicity, these youths had not heard of the Y.P.S.L.

At the time of their arrest, the five boys were distributing leaflets calling for increased N.Y.A. appropriations, conversion of the armaments budget into a public works fund for the unemployed and decent jobs for all who need them.

**Youths Manhandled**  
Previously, Stine had torn the leaflets from one youth, and sent some young hoodlums to beat him up. On Friday, H. S. Vincent, assistant superintendent of schools, ran out of the building, his arms flailing, and threatened them with violence.

He then called the police, who manhandled the youths, and clamped an iron claw upon the wrist of one. He then proceeded to torture him as an object lesson to the 500 students whom the Ypsel had been addressing.

The trespassing charge is a flagrant frame-up, because the five boys were not on school property but in the street at the time of their arrest. The investigation is obviously part of the larger reactionary campaign against all working class organizations.

**Appeal for Support**  
The Y.P.S.L. has issued an appeal for Akron labor for funds for the defense of the five. It has pledged to fight the case to the end.

The probe is merely the latest in a series of provocations against Ypsels and S.W.P. members. Through the activities of Stine, who is trying to make a name for himself as a crusader against the "Reds," Comrade Sol Goldberg was refused permission to do cadet-teaching in the public schools and was forced to withdraw from the Teachers' College at Akron University. Others have been fired from their jobs as a result of his stool-pigeons.

After a short introduction by James Rosenthal, chairman of the Workers' Benefit Association, Bernie Simmer, business agent of the warehouse union, Local No. 20297, took the chair for the meeting. The speakers, including William Gydeson representing the Teamsters Joint Council and Lawrence Pfeffer of the Building Trades Council, attacked the 15 percent cut already made last month on the already inadequate relief budgets in St. Paul. A further cut of 20 percent is threatened if the W.P.A. rolls are reduced, throwing this additional group on the local relief rolls.

Resolutions were passed condemning the national war appropriations and calling for the turning over of all war funds to the unemployed; demanding the passage of a housing act now before the Minnesota legislature; thanking the local trade union movement for its aid in fighting these cuts and calling for the continuance of co-operation between the unions and the Workers' Benefit Association as the organization of the W.P.A. and relief workers.

**THE MARXIST SCHOOL**

Monday, April 10 at 7:15 P.M.:  
SAM GORDON—The Trade Unions and the Transitional Program of the 4th International  
Monday, April 10 at 8:50 P.M.:  
JAMES BURNHAM—Third Party Movements—Middle Class Politics  
Tuesday, April 11 at 7 P.M.:  
JOHN G. WRIGHT—Theory of Permanent Revolution  
All classes held at  
IRVING PLAZA, Irving Place and 15th Street, N. Y. C.  
Admission: 25 cents per lecture

**Ends April 15th Spring Sale—20 per cent Off! THOUSANDS OF TITLES**

	List	Now
History of the Russian Revolution—by Leon Trotsky	\$2.98	\$2.39
The Tragedy of the Chinese Revolution—by H. Isaacs	6.00	4.50
Revolution Betrayed—by Leon Trotsky	2.50	.69
My Life—by Leon Trotsky	5.00	2.80
The Third International After Lenin	2.50	.75
The Stalin School of Falsification	2.50	1.00
Russia, Twenty Years After—by Victor Serge	2.50	.90

Visit the Labor Book Shop now—  
28 EAST 12th STREET, N. Y. C.  
Add 3c per book for postage



**NOTICE:** We regret the one day delay in the last issue of the Socialist Appeal. It was unavoidable, due to the necessity of changing printers.

We assure our readers and agents that henceforth the Appeal will continue to appear on its regularly scheduled days.

**BRANCHES AT WORK:**  
"We are conducting two street sales every week starting this week and I hope to dispose of the bundle order in this way. Also, we are running an affair to clear up the Appeal bill on April 22 or April 23."—C. J. Hartman, agent of Philadelphia.

"We sold and distributed our bundle of 200 Appeals last Saturday at the W.P.A. demonstration sponsored by the C.I.O. Since most of the auto delegates were at the demonstration, we reached them at the best possible time. The paper was just right for that affair, as well as the article on auto."—Art Preis, Cleveland Party organizer.

**MAY DAY ISSUE:**  
As previously announced, the May-Day issue of the Appeal will be a special, feature 8-pager containing a host of interesting features related to May Day.

So far only two branches (Allentown and Boston) have placed their extra May Day orders. There is only a few weeks left. All orders must be in no later than Saturday, April 22. Send it in right now.

Several new bundle orders and agents came in this week:

- (1) From Johannesburg, So. Africa, a group of Trotskyists are taking a bundle of 24 per issue.
- (2) J.T.S. of Wiseton, Sask., Canada, begins with a new bundle of 4 per issue.
- (3) And George Whiteside of Whitewater, Kansas is taking a bundle of 4 also.

Don't forget about the May Day 8-page APPEAL!

**SOCIETY NOTES**

**Stockholders Bask on Promenade Decks**  
It is estimated that 5,700 persons will desert the Easter parades of their respective home towns for the promenade decks of eleven lines that are scheduled to leave this week on cruises to Bermuda, Nassau, Kingston, Havana, and West Indies ports.

The Swedish American liner Kungsholm will lead the procession with 500 passengers. On the following day seven liners will depart carrying most of the holiday crowd, starting with the French liner De Grasse on a cruise to the West Indies.

**Vacationing At San Quentin**  
San Quentin shops and jute mills hummed with normal activity today while forty-two ringleaders in the prison's latest menu-mutiny remained in solitary confinement.

The ringleaders, described as youthful inmates, were meted the additional punishment of having to stand at rigid attention on an 18-inch spot in front of their cells for an unbroken hour each day. They were rationed a diet of bread and water, with one full meal every other day.

The second hunger strike within two months, which kept 1,600 of the 5,300 inmates in the world's largest prison away from the mess hall, ended yesterday.

**MINN. JOBLESS PROTEST RELIEF AND WPA CUTS**

(Special to the Socialist Appeal)  
ST. PAUL, Minn.—Speakers from organized labor joined with representatives of the unemployed to protest the W.P.A. cuts and lowered relief standards at a mass meeting of 500 W.P.A. and relief workers held by the Workers' Benefit Association March 3 in the auditorium of the State Office Building.

The probe is merely the latest in a series of provocations against Ypsels and S.W.P. members. Through the activities of Stine, who is trying to make a name for himself as a crusader against the "Reds," Comrade Sol Goldberg was refused permission to do cadet-teaching in the public schools and was forced to withdraw from the Teachers' College at Akron University. Others have been fired from their jobs as a result of his stool-pigeons.

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By Dwight Macdonald

# SPARKS IN THE NEWS

In discussing Guerin's book in this column two weeks ago, I made some remarks on an article in Harper's by Gunther Reimann, "Doing Business in Germany." This article seemed to me to be trying to prove the well-worn thesis of bourgeois journalism: the business man as well as the workers gets it in the neck under Hitler. Mr. Reimann, however, writes in and protests that I "misunderstood and misinterpreted" his article. "In general, you indicate that I do not think fascism is a class phenomenon," he writes. "I want to state that I regard fascism as the deepest stage of capitalist decay and a class phenomenon, and that I did not say anything contrary to this opinion in that article. The decay of capitalism produces new features which have to be studied and one of these features is the destruction of the sanctity of private property and private property rights by fascism."

I am glad Mr. Reimann is not deceived as to the nature of fascism, and I agree that its violation of private property rights is something worth much attention. But I must still maintain that an article devoted only to this point and printed in a magazine like Harper's gives the reader who is not familiar with Mr. Reimann's political stand in general (as I was not) the impression that he is trying to demonstrate the anti-capitalist nature of fascism. Especially when its concluding sentence is: "To Germany's business men, harassed by the Party, dogged by State Commissars at every move, insecure, worried about present and future, the Nazi 'economists' can only toss the slogan 'Live Dangerously!'"

I am glad to be able to clear up Mr. Reimann's position on fascism. I only wish he had made it equally clear in the pages of Harper's.

## France and the Refugees

The best news account I have read on one of the most shocking and scandalous horror stories of all time, is the recent story in Time on France's treatment of the 450,000 Spanish refugees who fled over the Catalan border a month ago. After pointing out that the United States has offered to take in just 352 of the 450,000 and the Soviet Union has opened its gates to "only a few big Loyalist leaders"—the story gets down to the meat—and very maggoty meat it is, too. I think the details are worth quoting:

"Stuck with the refugees, French authorities adopted methods calculated to help 'persuade' them that they would be better off almost anywhere else. Typical rations were one loaf of bread for six men, a sack of rice for 400 men. Sanitation has been non-existent. Open latrines have been dug in the camp sand and all modesty about nature's functions has long ago disappeared.

"The largest camps are situated on a treeless sandy beach just north of the Spanish border near Argeles-sur-Mer and St. Cyprien. They are enclosed by barbed wire, guarded every 20 feet by a Senegalese soldier. Inside the wire the camps are like some fantastically huge hobo jungle. Only a few refugees have roofs over their heads; the great majority dig holes in the sand and cover themselves with

dirty sheets, blankets or coats. Many sleep in the open, rain or shine. Icy sea winds blow the sands continually. Most of the refugees have developed conjunctivitis. Fuel in the large camps is scarce. Cooking is done exclusively in tin cans. At one camp men and women at first stood in line all day waiting to get a little water from a small faucet. At another the only water available—and it is brackish—is obtained from pumps driven into the sand. All the water is bad and it is estimated that 60% of the refugees—or 250,000—have dysentery.

The refugees have been classified as 220,000 militiamen, 40,000 able-bodied civilian men, 10,000 wounded, 180,000 women and children. Hospital facilities are limited and primitive. Many men with weeks-old wounds covered by filthy dressings are still unattended. . . . The refugees have become a danger to the general health of adjacent communities. . . . Marseilles gangsters, always in need of women for the white-slave traffic which supplies Africa and South American countries with prostitutes, were reported circulating in the camps looking for new personnel."

Time adds (1) "Although amply warned of the huge human tide approaching, the French Government made few advance arrangements to receive the refugees." (2) "The chances are that France in the end will not be out one sou. The daily \$185,000 bill can be met for a long time by expropriating the treasures the Loyalists deposited and shipped to France months ago."

## R.S.V.P.

But let it not be thought the refugees huddled in their holes on the beaches of St. Cyprien are altogether friendless. The North American Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy still exists, and the other day I received tangible proof of this: a large formal invitation, in the most elegant type faces, requesting the pleasure of my company at a dinner at the Hotel Commodore "to welcome Vincent Sheehan, who has just returned from Spain."

A battery of "Distinguished Foreign Correspondents and Writers," including Dorothy Parker, would lead a discussion on "THE SPANISH CONFLICT AND ITS INTERNATIONAL SIGNIFICANCE." The roster of Patrons and Patronesses took four impressive columns. Let the refugees take heart! They have some very high-class friends—so powerful and respectable, indeed, that it seems hardly possible, with such support, that the Spanish Republic is now at its last gasp. But let the refugees not be downcast so long as their cause is the cause of Mr. Franklin P. Adams and Miss Ilka Chase and Mr. Malcolm Cowley and Mrs. Muriel Draper and the Hon. and Mrs. Stanley M. Isaacs and Mr. Rockwell Kent and Miss Freda Kirchwey and Mr. and Mrs. Henry Goddard Leach and Dr. Max Lerner and Bishop Francis J. McConnell and Dr. Thomas Mann and Mr. Frederick March and Col. William Jay Schieffelin and Miss Sylvia Sidney and Mr. George Soule and Mr. Franchot Tone and Mr. Oswald Garrison Villard. "R.S.V.P." read the invitation but I didn't.

# Wall St. Cracks Whip At 'Democracy' Meet

## Yankee Imperialism Rides High As Lickspittles Work Zealously for Roosevelt Policy

(Special to the Socialist Appeal) BUENOS AIRES, Mar. 28.—With the most distinguished "left wing" prima-donnas of Latin-America attending,—including the Chief of the Nazi Party of Chile, Gonzalez von Marees!—a reunion pompously styled "Congress of American Democracies" was held recently in the city of Montevideo.

What was the purpose of this much-publicized gathering? Apparently to fight for the preservation of "democracy" in the Western Hemisphere. In fact, however, it was to proclaim the unconditional surrender of Latin America to Yankee imperialism, the "good" imperialism which is going to defend our countries from Nazi imperialism, that "bad" imperialism which threatens us and seeks to devour us—according to these spokesmen of Wall Street.

There is nothing to marvel at, then, that gathered together under these auspices, the Congress of Montevideo should have resulted in a fiesta of high-sounding phrases, of praises to the "democracy" of our countries, of cheers for the New Deal, of cries of admiration for great President Roosevelt—of shameless prostration before Wall Street.

A Packed Affair Not one word was uttered against these liberal and "left-wing" lies and almost all the resolutions were passed by acclamation by the crowd of delegates, intoxicated with "democracy" and "good neighborliness."

Little did it matter to them that the masses of workers looked at this Congress with evident indifference and suspicion; little did it matter that the Uruguayan President Baldomir, answered the telegrams of support that came to him from the United States (proclaiming him the Protector of liberty of speech) and demonstrated what kind of "democracy" exists in Latin America, by placing the Congress under the gag of laws that limited and made fictitious all liberty of speech; little did it matter that while the delegates were burning incense to President Roosevelt, the working masses of Latin America continued groaning under the yoke of the Yankee exploiters and that Puerto Rico continued shedding its blood in the search for independence.

"Confederation" . . . for Dictators The vile Stalinist betrayers, "socialists," Apristas and "revolutionaries" accomplished their mission with zeal and in closing the Congress voted by a great majority the creation of the "Confederation of American Democracies" under the shelter of Roosevelt and with the connivance of all the great "democrats" of Latin America, the bloody dictators: Getulio Vargas, Benavides, Batista, Fabrez, etc.

It is true that the Apristas made their "reservations" concerning Yankee imperialism, but not only did they fail to raise their voices against that imperialism and against the "Confederation," but they also paid tribute to Roosevelt and his "Good Neighbor" policy, as did the Mexican delegates, members of the Party of President Cardenas.

The resolutions of the Congress were shameless collaborations with the Wall Street bankers, encouraging their loans, urging the tightening of commercial relations with the United States and loyal consideration for its investments, all of which made one wonder what it all had to do with the defense of "democracy." The Congress of Montevideo, according to its sponsors, aspired to outline the Lima Congress, as an expression of support to the United States. And in reality it outdid it as an expression of shamelessness, submission, and blind servility.

Class Unrecognized Psychologically at least, states the survey in one of its most significant sections, the average American considers himself a member of the middle class. He feels this despite the ever-widening gap between the working class and the capitalist class, the razor-

# Hunger, Fear, Misery-- That Is All Capitalism Has to Offer Us

A strikingly vivid disclosure of the fear and insecurity which haunt the different sections of the working class in America has been made public by the American Institute of Public Opinion, of which Dr. George Gallup is director.

President Roosevelt's power rests almost entirely on the fear, insecurity, and destitution which face all the lower income groups of America, according to the nation-wide survey just completed by the Institute. It is the menace of inadequate relief, of starvation which gives Roosevelt his influence over the voters despite the unpopularity of many measures sponsored by him.

The masses are stalemated in Roosevelt's blind alley and have not yet found another road to escape from the insecurity of the capitalist system.

Class Unrecognized Psychologically at least, states the survey in one of its most significant sections, the average American considers himself a member of the middle class. He feels this despite the ever-widening gap between the working class and the capitalist class, the razor-

edge closeness of the average American to the slow starvation of relief or charity, and the hopelessness of ever finding security under capitalism. No matter how great his poverty, psychologically the average American working man fails to recognize his membership in the class to which he belongs economically.

This psychological condition, we add, is a direct reflection of the lack of a large revolutionary party in the United States and a direct proof of the need to spread more widely the transitional program of the Socialist Workers Party in order to bridge the gap between the working man's mental outlook and his economic condition.

From a carefully selected cross-section of persons in all parts of the United States—excluding entirely farmers and persons actually on relief—the Institute determined that 35 per cent of those who do the work in America would be compelled to apply for relief within six months' time or sooner if they lost their present jobs. This group added to the 17 per cent now on relief constitutes more than half of what Dr. Gallup classifies as the "working population" of the United States.

Insecurity Main Factor It is this nation-wide insecurity of the workers which provides the impetus behind the movement for old-age pensions, for loans to home owners, for relief appropriations, and for large public works.

The Institute states that it is this insecurity which will act as the decisive factor on the policies of candidates, platforms, and parties in the coming 1940 election.

The survey shows that out of every five persons interviewed, one would have to apply for relief within a month's time or even sooner if he should lose his job tomorrow. If all such persons lost their jobs, points out the Institute, it would mean doubling the nation's present relief load by May.

Another large group, according to the survey, could hold out for a period between one month and six months if they were to lose their jobs immediately.

These two groups plus those now on relief constitute 52 per cent of the working population in the United States.

The greatest relative insecurity exists among skilled and unskilled laborers. One third of those questioned stated that they would have to apply for relief within one month.

But the insecurity line, shows the survey, is perilously close for many who belong to the white-collar class—clerks, office workers, etc.

Class Listings The political gap between the "haves" and the "have-nots" has been steadily widening, states the Gallup poll, yet 9 out of 10 considered themselves upon questioning as belonging

to the middle class. Only one American in 16 thinks of himself as a member of the "lower" class (the Gallup poll should have read "working" class) while only another one in sixteen describes himself as belonging to the upper class.

The Way Out If it were written in fire it could not be plainer than the facts disclosed by this Gallup poll that American capitalism is staggering at the edge of its grave, that it can offer nothing but hunger, fear, desolation, misery, shameful death upon a foreign battlefield over some stockholder's income. American capitalism is shot with decay from top to bottom. It rests upon nothing but the misconception of the working man that he is a member of a class that has become almost non-existent.

The construction of socialism offers the only escape from fear, poverty, and insecurity. When the workers of America realize this fact, when they have completed the transition from believing they can make good as wolves in the fight for profits to the understanding that only collective action for socialism can win security, then they will swear loyalty to their own class, the great and powerful working class, and Roosevelt and the whole regime he represents will vanish like a horrible dream.

## New Courses Open In Y.P.S.L. School

The Karl Liebknecht School of the Young People's Socialist League, now at its half way point, plans to expand its program of activities.

A new course will be added next week to the two courses now running. It will consist of three lectures, on the Russian Revolution of 1917, the German Revolution of 1918-23, and the Chinese Revolution of 1925-27. Comrade Felix Morrow, associate editor of the Socialist Appeal will lead this course.

Ernest Erber, National Educational Director of the Y.P.S.L., is giving the course in the Elements of Marxism. Comrade M. S. Miller, Financial Director of the N. Y. Division, is leading the lectures on Organizational Problems.

Because of the demand of members of the Y.P.S.L. and friends of the League for a change of date, the Liebknecht School will hold sessions on Saturday, beginning with April 15. The following is the time schedule for the school:

- 1 P.M.-2 P.M.—Elements of Marxism.
- 1 P.M.-2 P.M.—Organizational Problems.
- 2 P.M.-3 P.M.—The Three Revolutions.

The classes are being held at 51 East 7th St. (basement), New York City, the headquarters of the Sedov Unit of the Y.P.S.L.

## MEN AND WOMEN OF LABOR

# OUT OF THE PAST

By EMANUEL GARRETT

## URIAH S. STEPHENS

(Aug. 3, 1821-Feb. 13, 1882)

Had it not been for the Panic of 1837, it is quite possible that Uriah S. Stephens would have completed his training for the ministry. As it was, he became a tailor instead; and, through being a tailor, a worker, he became a leader of American trade unionism, the founder of the Knights of Labor.

Like a good many trade unionists of his day, Stephens concerned himself with the general problems of working class welfare in addition to those of simple trade union interest. The trade union to Stephens was to be a lever for the execution of ideas which aimed at the revision of the social system along semi-socialistic lines. In fact, it has been claimed that Stephens was partly influenced by Marx, though there is no evidence to support the claim, either in facts or the specific nature of his ideas.

Dissatisfied with narrow craft organization, Stephens aimed at a brotherhood of all wage earners that would include all sexes, all creeds and all colors. This latter was of especial importance. Abolitionist sentiment was strong among the northern workers, but few unions were willing to accept Negroes as members—as is the case with many trade unions to this day.

## Secrecy a Cardinal Principle

Building on the basis of the Garment Cutters' Association of Philadelphia which he had helped organize in 1862, Stephens moved towards the construction of a labor organization modeled according to his aims. In 1869, the Noble Order of the Knights of Labor was formally founded.

Composed of only a few unions at its beginning, limited to the east, the Knights gradually extended over the continent, to the point where, the most powerful labor organization of its day, it numbered 3/4 million members in 1886.

Secret ritual governed the activities of the organization at its inception. Names were never referred to publicly. Stephens for example signed his articles with five stars, and was so known in the organization. (The Knights were not the only labor organization which went in for secrecy during the 70's. Workers turned to secrecy as a reaction to the drive of the bosses against all unions, marked by lockouts, disruption of unions and various kinds of discrimination against union men.)

When the first national assembly of the Knights met in 1878, Stephens was still sufficiently powerful in the organization to write the principle of secrecy into the preamble.

"Open and public association having failed after a struggle of centuries to advance or

protect the interest of labor," read the preamble, "We have lawfully constituted this assembly," and "in using this power of organized effort and cooperation, we but imitate the example of capital heretofore set in numberless instances." However, "We mean no conflict with legitimate enterprise, no antagonism to necessary capital." Those evils of the social order which were beyond correction by ordinary trade union effort were to be corrected by education and legislation, from which a cooperative commonwealth would eventually emerge.

## Anti-Secrecy Faction Wins

Though Stephens had carried the day on secrecy at the first national assembly, the reaction against it mounted constantly. First, the Catholics—who made up a powerful section of the organized workers in the United States opposed secrecy as being in conflict with their religion. Second, the defeat of the railroad strikes of 1877 and the crushing of the Molly Maguires after the great mine strike actions of the middle 70's turned the tide sharply against secrecy. A good many unionists feared they would be accused of criminal activities if they continued their secret organization.

In 1879, Stephens resigned as Grand Master Workman. He was succeeded to the leadership of the Knights by Terrence Powderly who as leader of the Catholic faction had been challenging Stephens' leadership. The oath and secrecy were expunged from the principles of the Knights. A new preamble was written. This new preamble pointed to the necessity of checking wealth, which, unchecked, would lead to the pauperization of the working class.

Under Powderly, the Knights reached its zenith of influence. But at the very time that it reached its peak in membership numbers, it was already on the downgrade. Lack of militancy in the conduct of strikes, its failure to lead strikes when necessary, cut into the influence of the Knights. Workers turning to militant action, joined other and newer bodies. Then, with the organization of the American Federation of Labor, the Knights had to contend with a young and vigorous rival, and on a national scale.

Stephens completed his life almost entirely separated from the trade union movement. A pioneer in organizing American labor, the initiator of new methods of organization, he was nevertheless not the kind to catch the imagination as Powderly did after him. He didn't flash across the country with the brilliance of his oratory or his writing. But in the creation of the Knights of Labor and the introduction of a new phase in labor organization, he did leave behind him an important record—written across a large page of American labor history.

# WEST COAST SEAMEN FACE THREAT

(Continued from Page 1) fuse to accept the fink book in the first place.

The fink book was defeated by their determined resistance, although the defection of the Communist Party - controlled East Coast seamen resulted in a partial defeat for the seamen, when the government put through the system of making a "certificate of identification"—not a continuous discharge record, but including fingerprinting, etc.—the only alternative to carrying a fink book.

Even this momentary retreat by the government did not last. It soon returned to the attack, early in 1937, when it set up the United States Maritime Commission for the ostensible purpose of rehabilitating the American merchant marine.

In the calculations of the admirals, the American merchant marine is considered an important adjunct of the Navy. In a recent radio address, Admiral Land, chairman of the Maritime Commission, declared that "the backlog of the Merchant Marine Act under which our commission functions is that the merchant marine is an auxiliary of the Navy."

And in accord with this conception, the Maritime Commission announced its labor policy, the central point of which is: "No discrimination shall be made because of membership or non-membership in any organization" on ships controlled by the commission. The usual formula of all open-shop reactionaries!

In order to carry out this policy the commission opened its own hiring halls—fink halls the sailors call them—on the East Coast, to supply personnel for ships operated by the commission.

## Lessons of Last War

The outbreak of the last war found the American merchant marine in a deplorable state. The number of ships were inadequate to meet the requirements of the war machine and those in service were for the most part obsolete.

An emergency building program was initiated under the direction of the Emergency Fleet Corporation to meet the need for additional tonnage. Sea-service bureaus were established to facilitate government control of personnel and a training ship program was launched to train seamen to man the vessels. Thousands of raw youth were trained in these schools. The emergency character of this program resulted in a tremendous waste of men and materials and handicapped the war machine.

The then leaders of the seamen's unions collaborated with the government in promoting the war. It was their proud boast that not one work stoppage or strike interfered with the conduct of the war. They were rewarded for this faithfulness to the American capitalist class by having their unions smashed in 1921 by the very machine they had helped to build, namely the sea-service bureaus, training ships, etc. of the Emergency Fleet Corporation.

Profiting by their experience in the last war, the American capitalist class under the guidance of Roosevelt is determined to be fully prepared for the coming war. The Emergency Fleet Corporation, sea-service bureaus, training ships, etc., are now being duplicated in advance of the actual outbreak of armed conflict. An extensive building program is

underway. The sea-service bureaus of 1917—hiring halls—have been established anew together with training ships, and a labor policy is being advanced which is designed to reduce the seamen to the status of servile automatons under Navy discipline and to destroy the militant organizations which the seamen have built by heroic struggle.

At first the Maritime Commission pursued a cautious policy. A few fink-halls were opened on the east coast. The east coast seamen were divided. They did not have the militant tradition of struggle which characterized the growth and development of the Pacific Coast seamen. The Stalinists were in the leadership of the largest union, the National Maritime Union, and by this time (1938-'39) the People's Front had broadened out into the Democratic Front. There were now no more ardent supporters of Roosevelt and all of his works than the firm of Browder and Co. And one of Roosevelt's prize creations was the United States Maritime Commission.

Stalinists Aid Government While giving lip-service to the fight against the Commission's fink-halls, the Stalinists proceeded to "fight" the fink-halls—by ordering the membership of the N.M.U. to "pack the fink-halls!" Thus the admirals were assured of a plentiful supply of personnel to man their ships. So diligent were the lackeys of the Kremlin in the application of their policy, that when West Coast seamen in New York and Baltimore threw a picket line around the Commission halls, the Stalinists ordered their men through the line, contend-

ing that it "was all a plot." In addition to "fighting" the fink-hall by helping it to function, the Stalinist stalwarts in the leadership of the N.M.U. endorsed the training-ship program, much to the gratification of the admiral in charge who complimented them on their "statesmanship."

But Seamen Fight In the meantime, however, the seamen on the Pacific Coast carried on an unremitting struggle against the Commission's open-shop drive and gave notice that any attempt to establish non-union hiring halls on the West Coast would result in a tie-up of the entire coast.

Since their success on the East Coast was achieved with such ease, the admirals grew bolder. Early in March of this year, the Commission announced that vessels owned and operated by the Maritime Commission would sail out of the port of Seattle on the Seattle-Orient run, and that the "usual" labor policy of the Maritime Commission would prevail. Which meant that the admirals were preparing to invade the West Coast.

The reaction of the West Coast seamen was immediate. The Sailors Union of the Pacific membership meeting at headquarters (San Francisco) adopted a unanimous resolution calling for a secret referendum strike vote in the event the Maritime Commission opened up fink halls on the west coast.

In the face of this militant response of the Sailors, the Stalinists in control of the once powerful Pacific Coast "Maritime Federation"—which now includes neither the sailors nor the firemen—were seized with

panic. They had the impudence to address a communication to the S.U.P. stating that "only those picket lines approved by the Maritime Federation of the Pacific on this government hiring hall issue will be recognized."

In effect, the ultimatum meant that only those picket lines approved by the Communist Party would be recognized. The Sailors Union gave the Browder wrecking crew the answer they deserved and in a thorough exposure of the role of the Stalinists as unofficial hangmen for the Roosevelt administration, told them to go plumb to hell!

A Fight to Finish The West Coast seamen are fully alive to the threat of the open-shop, union-smashing program of the Maritime Commission and will fight to the end to maintain the integrity of their organizations. The Stalinists who so recently hoisted the white flag of surrender over Madrid after stabbing the Spanish workers in the back with the treacherous dagger of People's Frontism will not succeed in placing the hangman's noose of Democratic Frontism around the necks of the West Coast seamen. The majority of the seamen are aware of who their enemies are both without and within and are thus doubly armed for a fight to the finish.

LIVE! FIGHT! CONQUER! and have a swell time with the General Fund SATURDAY, NITE, APRIL 8 at the East Bx. Yipsel Headquarters 1339 Wilkins Ave., Bronx

## SOCIALIST APPEAL

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FIGHT WITH THE SOCIALIST  
WORKERS PARTY FOR:

1. A job and a decent wage for every worker.
2. Open the idle factories—operate them under workers' control.
3. A Twenty-Billion dollar Federal public works and housing program.
4. Thirty-thirty! \$30-weekly minimum wage—30-hour weekly maximum for all workers on all jobs.
5. Thirty dollar weekly old-age and disability pension.
6. Expropriate the Sixty Families.
7. All war funds to the unemployed.
8. A people's referendum on any and all wars.
9. No secret diplomacy.
10. An independent Labor Party.
11. Workers Defense Guards against vigilantes and Fascist attacks

## Behind Closed Doors

The agreement between the New Deal and the Old Deal, which accepted the \$100,000,000 W.P.A. figure voted by the House and thereby guaranteed mass cuts from W.P.A., was made in the Sub-Committee of the Senate Appropriations Committee during sessions held on Wednesday, April 5.

At these sessions, Colonel F. C. Harrington, head of W.P.A., testified for several hours.

The sub-committee voted that the entire record of the sessions, including all of Harrington's testimony, should be kept secret.

What went on behind the closed doors of the sub-committee? These skulking cowards, deciding on a measure that means starvation for millions of persons, do not dare let the people know the terms of their conspiracies.

We demand that the full record be made public!

Let the people know, and judge the plot against the unemployed!

## Answer With Pickets

In the first week of May, for the crime of being unemployed in a system that has no jobs, blue and orange food cards will be forced on all those now struggling to keep alive on relief in Rochester, New York, and Allentown, Pennsylvania, and by June this experiment on the unemployed guinea pig will be extended to six cities of about 300,000 population.

The only attempt yet made to justify the imposition of this orange and blue food card system by these miserable bureaucrats in charge of the relief system, is that the 12,000,000 unemployed Americans are not mentally competent to buy food for themselves when they are given cash instead of a food card.

To this slander we have only one answer—militant picket lines and demonstrations before the headquarters of the relief bureaucrats.

The unemployed do not need to wait until a bayonet is shoved through their entrails while "intelligently" fighting for capitalist profits to understand that the money which is theirs is now being diverted by Roosevelt into the war machine and that this is the real reason for imposing the orange and blue food cards on the unemployed.

## End Capitalist Control!

The power of labor lies exclusively in its own organizations, its own methods of struggle, its own militancy, its disregard for all limitations imposed by the capitalists.

This great basic truth of the labor movement is clearly confirmed by examining the history of legislative and court struggles between the working class and the capitalist class.

The Sherman Anti-Trust Act was forced through Congress by a militant forward surge of mass revolt against the industrial monopolies. The capitalist courts promptly set about to twist and to "define," to "interpret" the Act. Naturally they did so in the interests of the capitalist class. They converted the Act into a powerful weapon against labor.

Then labor forced the Clayton Act through a

hostile Congress, specifically exempting trade unions from the provisions of the Sherman Act. When the militancy of the labor movement died down and the capitalist judicial machinery no longer feared that labor would strike back, the Clayton Act promptly went through a series of "definitions" and "interpretations" by judges who finished by converting the Clayton Act into another powerful weapon against labor.

Now we learn that the legislation being prepared by the LaFollette Civil Liberties Commission, which specifically condemns the employers' use of violence, terror, and bloodshed against the workers—will be turned into a new weapon against the workers!

A group of Senators have already announced that they will attempt to utilize this legislation—not against the employers—but against the unions, to restrict them, to place greater "responsibility" upon them instead of allowing the "regulation to fall upon the employers."

When labor was militant, began demanding its just rights, and raised its mighty fist in reply to the violence of the employers, then investigations of the employers were held by Congressional committees, the truth about machine guns, tear gas, professional thugs and spies in industry exposed, and the capitalist courts were as silent over the legality of sit-down strikes as hangmen when a prison is torn down by an angry populace.

Now that the judicial and legislative arms of the capitalist class think that labor has gone back to sleep, they are again busily engaged in tying new nooses for labor.

The Supreme Court decision against sit-down strikes, the Apex case awarding the employers a monstrous sum for alleged damages by the union, the conversion of the LaFollette legislation into an employer weapon—all these open attacks against labor come because labor's militancy has subsided.

The laboring man has only one way of protecting his right to live as a human being and that is through the militant action of his own class.

The workers with the aid of the poor farmers must put into power their own government. That is the only way to smash forever the capitalist courts, the capitalist legislative bodies, and capitalist control of the lives of the workers.

## Youth Has a Future

The frontiers of enterprise for American youth have reached their final development under capitalism and youth no longer has a future in capitalist America.

This in essence is the conclusion one may draw from the words of Dr. Caroline B. Zachry of the Progressive Education Association, who spoke at a luncheon meeting of the National Board of the Young Women's Christian Association on April 5 in New York City and made public the findings of her five-year study of American boys and girls.

American youth is apathetic, with a defeatist, hopeless feeling about their future, she stated. There is no place for youth in industry, in the professions, or in other areas. A grave situation has thus arisen; the boys and girls, afraid that they cannot be absorbed by society in a constructive capacity, are just shuffling along, without any sort of philosophy, without any hope for the future.

How very easy, she concluded, it would be for a Hitler or any one else who came along with a program involving youth to get hold of this group!

What Dr. Zachry says about American youth is absolutely true. And it does not take five years' study to discover it. Any college, any high school, any grammar school graduate can bear witness to the unutterable hopelessness of the future under capitalism, the unbearable dreariness of endlessly hunting for a place that does not exist.

All the expanding frontiers that capitalism once offered to youth with imagination, daring, and intelligence have finished expanding. Capitalism no longer needs youth, no longer wants youth for productive purposes. The boys and girls of America have become a major source of danger to the American profit machine. American capitalism under a Roosevelt democracy or under an American Hitler has nothing but death on a shameful battlefield to offer its youth.

The new frontiers which are opening up for youth are the frontiers of socialism. Socialism offers a new way of looking at the world, a new way of fighting for honor, for glory, for truth.

American youth, there is a place for your abilities! There is a future for you—in the great emancipating struggle for a new world!

In the revolutionary movement the greatest tasks ever to face the young people in history need all your intelligence, all your devotion, all your idealism, all your strength, all your courage and daring and self-sacrifice. Here there is a place for you. Here there is a future.

Shining banners stand at the head of the coming American revolution. Join its forces in hastening the victorious day! Join the revolutionary American workers in smashing capitalism and building a new society that does have a future!

Courts Invent Means To Break  
Strikes When Employers Cannot

The Apex Decision Is Only the Most Recent Instance  
In a Long Series of Measures Taken by the Judicial  
Arm of Capitalism to Handcuff Organized Labor Action

By FELIX MORROW

The decision of U. S. District Judge W. H. Kirkpatrick, imposing nearly three-quarters of a million dollars as punitive damages against the Philadelphia hosiery workers, and the recent U. S. Supreme Court decision in the Panfili case outlawing sit-down strikes, are undoubtedly the opening guns of a new battle of the judges against the labor movement.

But if this battle gives every sign of being a particularly murderous onslaught of the berobed gentry against the workers, the war itself has scarcely abated at any time since the railroad strikes of 1877 scared the wits out of the bosses and sent them scurrying behind the judicial skirts for protection.

Flagrant, indeed, has been the history of judicial strike-breaking. So flagrant, that even the eminently respectable and conservative authors, John R. Commons and associates, in that standard work, "History of Labor in the United States," describe it in these terms:

"When employers discovered that they could not place complete reliance upon the executive officers of the democratically controlled state, they turned to the courts for protection. The latter responded by developing a code of trade union law, which, having for its cornerstone a resurrected doctrine of malicious conspiracy as applied to labor combinations and, for its weapon, the injunction, proceeded to outlaw the boycott, to materially circumscribe the right to strike, and even to turn against labor the Federal statutes which had been originally directed against railway and industrial monopoly." (History of Labor, 1926 ed., Vol. II, p. 530.)

Damning as is this calmly-worded indictment of the judiciary, the most sketchy outline of the actual events will show that it is an under-statement.

THE FIRST PHASE:  
POLICE COURTS

When the workers first began to revolt against the slavery of the open shop in the 1870's and 1880's, the courts speedily came to the aid of the bosses. The first extensive use in labor disputes of such criminal charges as "inciting to riot," "obstructing the streets," "intimidation" and "trespass," dates from this period. "Convictions were frequent and penalties often severe." The use of criminal frame-ups reached a climax in the murder convictions and executions of the Haymarket martyrs in 1886.

But such ordinary criminal charges were not sufficient to hold back the growing labor movement. The willing judges proceeded to invent more complex and more effective weapons. For, of course, the bosses were not seeking to prevent violence, but to prevent strikes, picketing, and boycott. Since the right to organize and strike was already recognized, the judges had the problem of conceding the legality of trade-unionism while outlawing the actual substance of unionism.

## WORKERS' FORUM

MAKING IT  
TOUGH FOR FINKS

Editor:

Back in the days when Tom Mooney was an organizer for the Moulders Union, he employed a swell idea for tracking down strike-breakers. Mooney would sit on a motorcycle outside a struck plant and wait until the scabs had quit work for the day. After watching them pile into a truck, he would follow it to the house which the bosses had provided. Mooney would then organize a picket line and have it parade in front of the boarding house until the landlady got sore enough to order the finks to get the hell out.

Well, here in St. Louis the unions have been using a similar tactic against workers who refuse to sign up. For the past few weeks, the United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers and the Cosmopolitan and Chemical Local affiliated with the United Mine Workers, district 50, have been picketing the homes of delinquent and non-union workers. The Leathers and Luggage Workers Union, affiliated with the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, sent out a notice that beginning March 6 it would picket the homes of non-union workers of the Herbert and Meisel Trunk Company, with which the union has a contract.

This angle in union organization has proved itself a big success. H. V. R. St. Louis, Mo.

They did so by a series of in-to curb monopolies under the genious inventions.

THE INJUNCTION  
AND ITS ALIBI

Labor injunctions first were used extensively in the 1890's. To justify their issuance, the judges had to develop a whole body of judge-made law. Three "principles" thus developed were especially important:

1. "Preventing irreparable injury to property." How justifying issuing injunctions for this purpose where, obviously, the boss' property was in no danger? By expanding the concept of property!

A strike did not endanger the boss' physical property? But, said the learned judges, the boss had other property involved: his expectancy of retaining the service of old employees and of obtaining new ones, said the judges, may be called a property right! Since the strike interfered with that, it was illegal, hence an injunction was issued.

A boycott doesn't endanger the employer's physical property? But it undermines the profitable relations which the employer has with his customers—i.e., the boycott is effective!—and these relations, decided the judges, were property rights!

This brazen expansion of the concept of property was first fully formulated in New Jersey in the Barr case in 1893 and has served the bosses ever since.

2. "Unlawful conspiracy." Even the new concept of property was not enough alone to justify injunctions, for it was well established in law that no redress can be had for losses due to the exercise by others (the unions) of that which they had a lawful right to do. If strikes and picketing were legal, the bosses had to suffer the consequences. To circumvent this simple truth, the judges proceeded to define either the object of the strike, or some of the means employed, as unlawful. For this purpose they dug up the old common law against conspiracies and proceeded by arbitrary definition to define either means or ends of strikes as unlawful conspiracies.

In many cases judges were crude enough to say that all interference with the business of employers constitutes conspiracy. More subtly, they declared that interference is prima facie unlawful but may be justified—i.e., if the union's demands were acceptable to the judge, then the strike was lawful, if not it was unlawful!

HOW THEY USE  
THE SHERMAN ACT

3. To these two obviously judge-made weapons was soon added the one which has just been used in the case against the Philadelphia hosiery union. The Sherman Anti-Trust Act of 1890 was a law against industrial monopolies, adopted primarily as the result of agrarian discontent. To "apply" it to unions was and is the most arbitrary judge-made "law." The Sherman Act ostensibly sought

Federal power to control interstate commerce; convictions were to be secured by finding monopolies to be "restraining commerce."

But during the great Pullman strike and boycott led by Eugene V. Debs in 1893, judges proceeded to issue injunctions by citing the unions as restraining commerce and therefore violating the Sherman Act! Thereafter this judicial "interpretation" became a basic anti-labor weapon.

In 1908 in the Danbury Hatters case, the judges first applied the punitive damage provisions of the Sherman Act to unions and union members, the life savings of several hundred members being attached to satisfy the staggering triple damages awarded by applying the anti-trust law. This is the precedent for the present case against the Philadelphia hosiery union.

THE "MAGNA CHARTA  
OF LABOR"

As the result of a national wave of labor revolt, Congress in 1914 passed the Clayton Act, expressly exempting unions from the anti-trust laws. Gompers hailed it as the "Magna Charta of Labor." But it made little change in the injunction racket, for the judges whittled it away by interpretation: the final proof of this was the Injunctions which Attorney General Daugherty obtained in 1922 against the railway shopmen's strike—the most sweeping injunction ever issued up to that time, absolutely outlawing the strike.

Every attempt of the trade unions to free themselves from the murderous onslaught of the judges, by securing new legislation, has been thwarted by brazen judicial "interpretation" of the "intent" of Congress or the legislatures. The legislators, of course, connive with the judges, providing loopholes in the writing of the laws. Actually there is a division of labor here: the legislators yield to labor's demand on occasion, with the assurance that the judges will go on as before on the basis of the ingenuity they have employed always in siding with capital against labor.

While, as every trade unionist knows from his own experience, it is tactically advisable in strike struggles to retain as much as possible the formalities of legality, the basic fact remains: the judges, tools of the bosses, define what is legal. Hence, to stake everything on legality means to give up the fight against the bosses. That is why labor must struggle on the basis of the conviction that the rights of the working class are higher than any judge-made law.

To Honor Tresca  
On His Fortieth  
Year As Militant

(Special to the Socialist Appeal)

NEW YORK—Friends of Carlo Tresca are celebrating his 60th birthday and the anniversary of his 40th year of service to the labor movement with him at a testimonial dinner and dance to be held on Friday, April 14 at Irving Plaza.

Everyone in the labor movement knows of his tireless struggle for civil liberties, and in the cause of trade unionism. Those who took part with him in the Lawrence, Paterson, and Mesaba Range strikes can never forget this fighter for the working class.

Always on the side of the oppressed, he threw himself wholeheartedly into the work in behalf of victims of capitalist persecution and the struggle for civil liberties. Hundreds of militants, framed-up by the capitalist courts remember that it was Carlo Tresca that was among the first to rally to their defense. Outstanding was his work in the Sacco-Vanzetti, Sacramento, and Greco-Carillo cases.

Among the sponsors of the dinner are John Dewey, Roger Baldwin, Albert Goldman, John Dos Passos, John F. Finerty, Arturo Giovannitti, James Rorty, Adolph Heid, George Novak, Benjamin Stolberg, Norman Thomas, Oswald Garrison Villard and Louis Waldman.

Reservations to wine, dine, and dance with Carlo Tresca may be made by mail through Vincent Alvano, banquet treasurer, at Room 414, 96 Fifth Avenue, New York City, at two dollars per person.

DIEGO MONTANEZ,  
New York

IN THIS  
CORNER

By Max Shachtman

An interesting dispute arose during my recent debate with Mr. Joseph Shaplen, of the Social Democratic Federation, on the subject: "Has Bolshevism Failed?" It related to the trial of the two leaders of the Russian Social Revolutionary party who were convicted of counter-revolutionary activities by the Soviet court in Moscow, 1922.

In what I considered a hopeless effort to prove that the Stalinist regime differs in no essential from the Soviet regime of Lenin's time, Mr. Shaplen declared that the recent Moscow frame-ups against the so-called Trotskyists had their origin in "identical" frame-ups organized by Lenin and Trotsky in 1922 against the Social Revolutionary party leaders—Abraham Gotz, Eugene Timofeyev, Eugenia Ratner, Gendelman, Donskoy, Nikolai Ivanov and half a dozen others.

My reply was that the two trials had nothing in common. The S.R. leaders not only expressed freely and vigorously their irreconcilable opposition to the Soviet regime, and not only admitted—even boasted of—their armed struggle to overthrow it, and their intention to resume it whenever they considered it possible and expedient, but also admitted that they had worked together with the Allied imperialists.

The latter part of my reply was especially challenged by Shaplen, who imprudently stamped it a part of what he called the "Trotskyist school of falsification." He insisted on his challenge, even after I had called attention to my documentary reference, with which he was acquainted—if one may be permitted to draw such a conclusion after seeing a marked copy of the document in his hands during the debate.

Because it has an importance far beyond that of proving a casual debater's point, I shall quote the document here. It is not written by the Stalinists; it is not written by the Bolsheviks. It is an official publication of the Social Revolutionary party itself. The English edition is called "The Twelve Who Are to Die," and was published by the "Delegation of the Party of Socialist-Revolutionists" in Berlin, 1922.

## Kautsky and Vandervelde Testify

Let us hear first from Karl Kautsky, who wrote an introduction to the brochure:

"The Social-Democracy was never averse to the use of violence in resistance against violent persecution. It simply made the advisability of the use of such violence conditional upon considerations of purpose and the possibility of success. If the Social-Democracy found itself in disagreement with the Socialist-Revolutionists in this regard, it was not from considerations of principle but of tactics." (p. 9.)

No comment.

Now let us hear from the late Emile Vandervelde, the Belgian social-democratic attorney for the defendants in the trial:

"The Socialist-Revolutionists [say the Bolsheviks] waged an armed struggle against the Soviet Government. The Socialist-Revolutionists admit this as an undeniable historic fact." (p. 62.)

No comment.

Let us hear further from defendant Abraham Gotz's statement during the trial itself:

"After the October coup d'etat [the Bolshevik revolution], we considered it our bounden duty to wage armed resistance against the usurpers of power, who signed the Brest-Litovsk peace and were ready to accept other compromises leading to the enslavement of the Russian people, who had just thrown off the fetters of Czarist rule." (p. 65.)

Again no comment.

## S. R.'s Plead Guilty As Charged

But what about S.R. collaboration with the foreign imperialists in the attempt to overthrow the Soviet regime by force? Let us listen to defendant Timofeyev's court statement:

"They [the Kerensky government and the S.R.'s] regarded Russia's continued participation in the [imperialist] war as essential, and in basing their program upon socialist ideas of peace they hoped to wrest at the future peace conference conditions of peace acceptable to Russia. The Brest-Litovsk treaty, concluded in 1918, made continued cooperation with the Allies for salvation of our country from German imperialism, supported by the Soviet government, doubly essential. Our relations with the Allies continued up to the German revolution." (p. 66.) That is, up to November, 1918—at least!

And finally, from the official declaration in the brochure by the Foreign Delegation of the S.R. party:

"In the summer of 1918, the conflict of the Government against the people assumed the form of civil war. The S.R. party was on the side of the people [Ahem!]. On the Volga and in the Urals, it organized peasants' and workmen's regiments, which fought against the Bolsheviks on the so-called Front of the Constituent Assembly. They were helped by the Czech-Slovak legions, formed from war prisoners, which Trotsky had tried to disarm on the demand of imperial Germany." (p. 114.)

Whatever Mr. Shaplen may assert 20 years later, it nevertheless remains true that the Social Revolutionists themselves did not even try to make a secret of the fact—denied by nobody at that time; denied today only by those who count on popular amnesia—that (1) they had taken up arms in the hope of overturning the Soviet regime. (2) they had worked as tools of Allied imperialism (Lloyd George, Poincare, Wilson and Co.) and its Czech legions, and (3) one of their aims was to drive exhausted, peace-thirsting Russia back into the imperialist war.

## Workers' State Must Defend Itself

Under the circumstances, the S.R. party had as much right to Soviet legality and toleration as would a gang of British Tories who sought to open up headquarters in Boston and appeal for recruits and arms during the American Revolution.

A workers' state, governed by one or more parties, has no right to suppress other working class organizations for their political views. It has an elementary right and duty to act with the utmost vigor and rigor against any group, no matter what it calls itself, which takes up arms against it. Doubly so if the group in question works hand in glove, as did the S.R.s, with domestic or foreign capitalism.

Apart from incidental and secondary errors—which, of course, our good social democrats never commit—that was the course followed by the Bolsheviks in the period of Lenin and Trotsky. The record proves it conclusively. And no amount of stuttering or blustering can obliterate that record.