

Socialist Workers SAILORS VOTE Party Stands for---

A POLICY OF MILITANT WORKERS' STRUG-GLE AGAINST THE BOSSES

—not cringing in the anterooms of Roosevelt. LaGuardia, and all the lackeys of the bosses who say they are "pro-labor" but knife labor in the back every time the bosses need it.

A POLICY OF ACTIVE, AGGRESSIVE AC-TION AGAINST THE AMERICAN FASCISTS here today, April 20, voted for THROUGH WORKERS' DEFENSE GUARDS

-not empty pleas to the strike-breaking police and government authorities or futile tempts to hire sailors outside literary campaigns.

A POLICY OF FIGHTING THE WAR-MONGERS

-not betraying the interests of the American the Bureau of Inspection under working youth by supporting the bosses and him would cease running fink-halls, it looked like a success-Roosevelt in their preparations to hurl this ful end to the long fight of the country into a new slaughter-fest for markets mental hiring halls. and profits.

A POLICY OF INDEPENDENT WORKERS PO-LITICAL ACTION THROUGH A LABOR PARTY parties and tying the workers to the capitalist the band wagons.

A POLICY OF FIGHTING MILITANTLY FOR halls. EXPANDED RELIEF AND PUBLIC WORKS FOR said that Hopkins' subordi-THE UNEMPLOYED

-not supinely lying down in the face of the ply the Maritime Commission New Deal offensive against the meager benefits given like charity to the 15,000,000 unemployed.

A POLICY OF UNITING THE WORKERS The nine hundred who attended OF THIS COUNTRY AND OF THE WHOLE the resolution introduced and WORLD TO BRING ABOUT THE END OF THE held simultaneoulsy in Seattle BOSS SYSTEM AND THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A WORLD SOCIALIST COMMONWEALTH OF PEACE AND PLENTY FOR ALL.

STRIKE TO BAR

Hopkins' Pledge to S.U.P. Leader Broken By Government

(Special to the Socialist Appeal) SAN FRANCISCO-A gener al membership meeting of the Sailors Union of the Pacific a coast-wide tie-up if that is needed, to put an end to the U.S. Maritime Commission atthe union hiring halls.

When Harry Hopkins, Secre tary of Commerce, last week finally answered the demands put to him by the S.U.P., and gave his written pledge that the shipping commissioners of Sailors Union against govern-

But scarcely was Hopkins written pledge in the hands of the sailors when Admiral Land. Roosevelt - appointed head of the U.S. Maritime Commission—a body indepen-Maritime Commission

What is more, Admiral Land nates, the shipping commissioners, would continue to supwith lists of sailors.

As soon as Admirai Land's position became known, a general S.U.P. membership meeting was called, with all ships' crews and stand-by men ordered to drop work and attend. passed by the S.U.P. meeting with Harry Lundeberg, union secretary-treasurer, speaking. Picket lines will be thrown testify!

around the Maritime Commisin. If that doesn't stop them, day of the strike when they the entire coast will be tied up. made preparations to shut prise to the unionists.

Jobs Not Guns: ALL OUT TO COLUMBUS CIRCLE, MAY DAY, 2 P. M.

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Demonstrate on May Day To Protest Against Boss War

MAY DAY MANIFESTO OF S. W. P.

TO THE WORKERS OF THE UNITED STATES:

May Day, 1939, finds the American workers in a position where it is necessary for them seriously and resolutely to prepare for the mighty struggles that are to come.

Everywhere in the world, the people tremble under the dark shadow of the new world war. The war lords of every great power including the United States pour tens of billions of dollars into their military machines, and make ready to drive tens of millions of their subjects into horrible death on the battlefields.

In the United States, reaction has grown bolder month by month. The courts, backed by the police, are smashing at the rights of labor. Unemployment increases once again to staggering proportions. An onslaught is directed against the relief system, and hundreds of thousands of families are tossed aside into starvation and misery.

THE PERVERSION OF MAY DAY

Through a tradition of two generations, May Day has been dedicated to the international solidarity of labor and to the struggle of the labor movement for a better world.

In the present black reaction, the tradition of May Day is itself perverted and destroyed. In Germany, the unspeakable Nazi tyrant, having broken all of labor's own organizations, cynically uses May Day to drive the workers, between ranks of armed stoom troopers, into a parade in his honor. In the Soviet Union, the workers who in November 1917 gloriously marched to victory are now lashed within the straightjacket of the G.P.U., and are compelled to march through the streets on May Day to shout made-to-order slogans of praise and deification to the butcher of the Kremlin. In France, the treacherous leaders of the official labor movement have this year cancelled the May Day general strike through which the French workers have for decades shown their determination to be free.

In the United States, the largest May Day demonstrations, under the control of the Stalinists and the labor bureaucrats, are this year being used not to advance the rights and hopes of labor but to prostrate labor before the government which is smashing relief and to line up labor under the chauvinist slogans of the coming war.

LABOR MUST FIGHT

Let the workers determine to fight and they can easily halt the tide of reaction. The masters, fascist or "democratic": their lackeys, the Stalinists, the social-democrats, the labor bureaucrats, can all be swept away by a mighty surge of the working class.

Squarely upon the labor movement rests all hope for the future. Within labor's potential army are gathered the tens and hundreds of millions who do the work of the world. Labor's hands run the machines whereby mankind lives, drive the trains and trucks and airplanes, till the soil, draw the minerals from the rich earth.

The decision and the responsibility is labor's. If labor gathers together its own strength, heals its own internal divisions, casts off its treacherous misleaders, becomes conscious of its own mighty destiny, no power of reaction can stand against it.

—not trailing helplessly in the tow of the boss dent of the Commerce — announced that 140 Tulsa Oil Strikers the Maritime Commission would continue attempting to man its ships with men supported the biving Framed by Company

(Special to the Socialist Appeal) TULSA, Okla.—In a desperate effort to break the fourmonth strike of the Mid-Continent Petroleum workers, company officials framed charges through a county grand jury against 140 members of the Oil Workers Union (C.I.O.).

The grand jury which brought indictments of "conspiracy," "incitement to riot," 'seizure of private property, voted unanimously to accept etc., consisted mainly of officials of oil companies here.

The witnesses before the jury were confined to company stooges. Not a single striker or union official was called to The basis on which the union-

fought by the oil companies because they fear a wave of unionization in those oil fields. Use of tear gas, hiring of strike-breakers, and use of the National Guard has featured the anti-union drive.

down the plant after notifying

the company. If the men had

walked out without taking care

of the boilers and other equip-

ment, serious damage would

have resulted and charges of

Fear Unionization Wave

This strike has been bitterly

'sabotage'' hurled at them.

Unable to win by those methods, the company is trying a judicial frame-up. Since the company owns the city politision docks when the ships come ists were indicted was the first cal machine body and soul, the indictments were hardly a sur-

To be victorious in the great forthcoming struggles we must know what and how to fight.

AGAINST THE WAR

Roosevelt, Hitler, Chamberlain, Daladier, Mussolini, have completed their gigantic plot. They are now prepared to begin again the struggle for the re-division of the world, the battle to decide which of the powers shall have first choice in exploiting and oppressing the great masses of

THIS WAR IS NOT LABOR'S WAR. Labor's war, in EVERY country, is AGAINST the war-makers, against Roosevelt as well as Hitler, Chamberlain as well

Within every great power, THE MAIN ENEMY OF THE WORKERS IS IN THEIR OWN COUNTRY. Against that enemy must labor's blows be first directed, not against the brother-workers and farmers of other

NO SUPPORT, NOT A PENNY, NOT A MAN. TO THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT IN ITS WAR!

FOR A POPULAR REFERENDUM BEFORE DECLARATION OF OR ENTRY INTO ANY WAR! Why do Roosevelt and his fellow war-makers fear the voice of the people? Give the right to vote to all those over 18! Old enough to fight—old enough to vote!

NO SECRET DIPLOMACY! The people have a right to know what is being prepared for them. Why are the diplomatic negotiations conducted behind locked doors? What military commitments are being made behind the backs of the people? Let the truth be known!

ALL WAR FUNDS TO THE UNEMPLOYED! Billions of dollars are being poured into the war machine, to be used to murder workers for the sake of profits, while unemployed are thrown on to the streets. BREAD, NOT BATTLESHIPS!

DEMOCRATIC RIGHTS OF LABOR

During the past year, a rapidly growing attack, led by the courts and joined by all the agencies of government, has been launched against the rights of labor. The Supreme Court, the courts on the West Coast, in Pennsylvania and Illinois and New York, Congress and the administration are combining with the police and Hague and the "Associated Farmers" to curtail the right of assembly, obstruct union organization, eliminate the closed shop, illegalize the sit-down, limit or forbid the right to strike.

The war mobilization plans of the government include regulations which will prevent labor from exercising any civil rights whatever except the right to die and to work inhuman hours under slave conditions.

AGAINST THE ATTACK BY THE COURTS ON THE DEMOCRATIC RIGHTS OF LABOR!

FOR THE FREE AND UNHAMPERED RIGHTS TO ASSEMBLY, FREE SPEECH, UNION ORGAN-IZATION, PICKETING, CLOSED SHOP, SIT-DOWN!

JOBS AND A LIVING WAGE

After six years of the New Deal, the economic depression and crisis are in no way improved. At hast 13,000,-000 unemployed and their families are outside of private industry. Millions more are on part-time or getting starvation wages. The great bulk of the youth are turned out of school with no chances of ever getting jobs. At 40 or less a man is judged too "old" to work.

THIRTY DOLLARS — THIRTY HOURS! The great tradition of May Day, which started in this country, was built up in the victorious battle for the eight hour day. The time has come for the labor movement to protect itself by carrying through on a nation-wide scale the struggle for the six hour day, thirty hour week. FOR THE THIRTY HOUR MAXIMUM WEEK THROUGHOUT PRIVATE INDUSTRY AND PUBLIC WORKS!

According to the government's own figures, the present wage level is only about half that needed for adequate health. FOR A THIRTY DOLLAR MINIMUM WEEKLY WAGE FOR EVERY WORKER, EM-PLOYED OR UNEMPLOYED!

OPEN ALL IDLE FACTORIES AND OPERATE THEM UNDER WORKERS' CONTROL! While millions are out of work, and tens of millions need clothes and food and goods of all kinds, thousands of factories are closed or operating only a small fraction of the time. (Continued on Page 3)

CONSCRIPT BRITAIN'S **WORKERS**

"Appeasement" Deal Again Rumored In Europe

THIS WEEK CRITICAL

Conscription of the British vorking class for war was lecided upon in London this

Simultaneously the British began cautiously sounding out . the possibility of some kind of modified repetition of the Munich deal which will postone the outbreak of war sufficiently to enable them to complete their chain of European alliances.

Not Much Choice

In this and in this alone was there some chance of a postponement this week of the armed showdown that has been so agonizingly imminent for

This did not offer the peoples of the world much of a choice, for if the war is postponed, it cannot be for long.

supermenany seemed to hinge on Hitler's speech this Friday, actually the key to the next act in the tragedy lay in the extremely complicated diplomatic moves made by the opposing camps in the mad scramble for allies. One of these moves was the sudden return of the British ambassador to Berlin, an action which set the European rumor factories buzzing with reports of a fresh deal a la

Munich Practical Reasons

Any British move in such a direction would be motivated, however, by some very real and practical considerations. The attempt to form a bloc for immediate war through revamping alliances throughout Europe has hit a number of very sizeable snags.

1. The Russians have replied to the British proposal of a mutual guarantee with a plan for a rigid and sweeping military pact that would be directed not only at Germany but at Japan as well. It was also clear that the Eussians, fearing a fresh Chamberlain-Daladier double-cross, wanted to make sure that they would not be left holding the bag in any showdown.

This was a way of putting the British on the spot and at the same time enabling Moscow to keep its skirts clear for the continuing possibility of a minimum agreement with Hitler which would pit Germany and Italy against Britain and France with Russia sitting pretty on the sidelines in the first stages of the war. The British were obviously unenthusiastic and the parleys were lagging.

Balkan Barrier

2. The axis diplomats raised a new barrier in the path of the Anglo-French bloo by swinging Yugoslavia into their orbit. With the prospect of a southeastern and Balkan bloc composed of Hungary, Yugoslavia and Bulgaria, the Rome-Berlin axis placed Rumania and Greece in a cruel dilemma and could boast by and large of nullifying the effect of the British guaranties to those two countries. Turkey, on its part, was waiting to see what the Russians could do and meanwhile sat tight. The Rumani-(Continued on Page 7)

In the Irade Unions

By B. J. WIDICK =

War-time brings with it a swift and never-ending rise in prices that shoots the worker's a low wage tomorrow.

During the world war, for example, the worker's cost of living rose 70 per cent!

Since this actually meant a real wage cut of great proportions it is easy to understand ary of \$4,500. With such a salwhy there were 4,233 strikes in 1917 and 3,181 in 1918, with onethird of them being called to gain higher wages.

minor proportion.

The largest number of these New York, Pennsylvania, Ohio

Possibilities Neglected setting for a nation-wide union union marks time.

organization campaign that a really powerful body.

planned national campaign the 1916 to 2,726,478 in 1918 and the seething unrest that swept the working class of the world in post war days reflected itself, among other ways, by the growth of the A.F.L. to 3,260,

But the oil and steel industries were neglected to a great extent. Only 4,000 oil workers were enrolled in the A.F.L. while the Iron, Steel and Tin Workers union had an official membership of 19,700. Of course, the Machinists' union in somewhat the same field grew from 100,900 to 254,600 in this period.

Not until the development of the C.I.O. was the mass production industrial worker in the key industries given a chance to inin a union.

Properly utilized, the economic conditions during and after war-time could have been the lever to lift up the American union and working class movements to new heights of power, strength and progress. SAME PROBLEMS

tants will have to face these fere in any way. problems, despite all efforts of the government war boards to settle grievances, etc. through arbitration or rulings. The class struggle cannot be legislated out of existence.

The job of building and maintaining a good progressive union does not stop with declaration of war. It becomes more difficult, in some respects, but in others, such as in the mood of the workers after the first flush of patriotism is over, con ditions are not so difficult.

A study of the record of A.F. L. and C.I.O. top leaders (then in the A.F.L.) during the first world war shows that nothing can be expected from them in behalf of militant struggle for unionism in war-time. They all supported the imperialist slaughter.

The cowardice of these leaders was recently revealed again in the debate of the military appropriations bill where amendments to assure union rates of pay on government contracts were thrown into the waste basket.

John L. Lewis and the C.I.O. leaders and William Green and his A.F.L. clique were very silent after the manufacturers lobby, aided by the Army and Navy lobbies, killed the section of the bill that might have giv en labor a few rights.

Time magazine put the whole question nicely in speaking of labor during war-time: "Leaders of the C.I.O. and A.F.L. know much but wisely say little of the lot of labor in war."

The misery of the unemployed will be even greater, if that is conceivable, than it is now, and all that has been said

Minn. Enacts Vicious YIPSELS ARRESTED Party Wants Action, Union Busting Laws

Reactionary Legislature Aims at Outlawing Strikes and All Union Activity

(Special to the Socialist Appeal)
MINNEAPOLIS, April.—Minnesota's reactionary legislature adjourned at 4 A.M. April 19 after playfully covering the big clock in the chambers so that they could evade the twelve o'clock adjournment time and conclude what Governor Stasser called their "fine work" in passing legislation of a "progressive One fine example of this "progressive" legislation is the

Vance-Myre Bill which is going to "make for industrial peace" cost of living sky high and in the state. This bill is the makes his good union contract most reactionary piece of labor to interfere with the free and of today seem like an anchor to legislation, bar none, which uninterrupted use of public has ever been passed in any roads . . . or conveyance, or state in the union. Some of the wrongfully obstruct ingress to most important provisions are: or egress from any place of

> 1. Appointment of a labor business.' conciliator, by Stassen, for a period of four years, at a salary it is not hard to figure on district court. ciliator" will be.

2. Every union is required Over 80 per cent of the to give ten days notice, writstrikes were caused by purely ten, before negotiations with economic causes (i.e., wages, an employer, and before hours and working conditions) strikes. This gives the employwhile those called for union ers sufficient time to prepare recognition, etc., were a very to break the strike and undermine the union.

3. In industries "of public war-time strikes occurred in interest"-and this is a sweepthe leading industrial areas—ing clause—in which a dispute mony." occurs, Stassen can appoint a commission of three to inves-Here, indeed, was a perfect port, during which time the

4. It is an unfair labor praccould have built the A.F.L. into tice for any union to institute a strike if the calling of such Even without a carefully strike is in violation of a union agreement, and if the employ-A.F.L. grew from 2,072,702 in er is complying in good faith with the agreement. Presumably the conciliator will decide whether the employer is complying in good faith with the

5. It is unlawful for a union to strike in violation of the 'waiting'' period.

6. The sit-down strike is unlawful.

Picketing Limited

7. It is unlawful for a worker to join a picket line, unless the majority of the persons engaged in picketing are employees of said place. The bill of course doesn't place any such limitation on the bosses. If one boss is being struck, all other him, as is the custom.

8. It is unlawful for more than one person to picket each single entrance of any plant where no strike is in progress.

9. It is unlawful to interfere with a vehicle or a driver when neither is a party to a strike. Likewise, the facts of the bring in a thousand fink trucks jority at the convention. It was independent unemployed orstrike struggles in war-time to break a strike—and it's un- up to this majority to set the ganizations in the East. It was show that tomorrow union mili- lawful for the union to inter-

ANTI - WAR 'BILLS

(Special to the Socialist Appeal) SAN FRANCISCO, April 20.—Three members of the Young People's Socialist League (4th International), including Myra Tanner, a member of the Y.P.S.L. National Council, were arrested today for selling the Chailenge of Youth and distributing anti-war leaflets in front of San Francisco Junior College. Released on bail, the three await arraignment on charges of failing to move on when ordered. Inside the school building

students were being in formed that the best path to "peace and democracy" is through an elaborate armaments program. Outside police, who had been summoned to prevent the leaflet distribution, arrested the Yipsels who insisted upon their democratic right to present their point of view. An editorial which appeared in the school paper set forth its war position in these words: "Bigger and better jails should be built to accommodate the conscientious objectors" who don't want war. Hence the action taken against the Yipsel anti-war militants.

Olson Junks Stalinists

Ousts Stalinist Job-Holders in S.R.A.; Drive Against Unemployed Gains Momentum

By NORMAN MINI

(Special to the Socialist Appeal)
SACRAMENTO, April 19 -Today the liberal 'administrarelief rolls.

In a curt announcement that Administrator Dewey Anderson off relief within a few days. He further declared that, in spite of the increased relief burden caused by W.P.A. layoffs, more thousands would soon be forced to "look elsewhere for aid" because of rigid enforcement of eligibility requirements.

This cynical and brutal blow to the unemployed did not come | maneuvers, completely tying unexpectedly. As previously reported in the Appeal, a crisis | Budget until Olson surrenhas been impending in the relief administration since Olson's entrance into office. For several months conservative members of the State Legislature have been carrying on a relentless campaign against

and officers for the Union, the

democratic "Socialists" in-

sisted on having only their own

members or stooges on the

They who had often and loud-

ly accused the Trotskyists of

being out to control the union,

demonstrated that they them-

selves are the "rule or ruin"

clique. And in order to put

"Trotskvist" program practi-

cally in full although it is

known that the Socialist Party

is not at all in agreement with,

powerful slogan to mean "no

relief funds for the war budg-

et" which, of course, is quite

acceptable to the war-mongers

of opening the doors of the U.S.

Double-Cross Militants

most completely by the dele-

and dominate the Union. And

opinions would be given equal

But the Socialist Party, in its

with the Social Democratic

Federation, had to double-cross

even its own active militants.

Rhoda Pearson, long known for

her devotion and sacrifice in

the unemployed movement,

was rudely thrown overboard

and forced to resign from the

Norman Thomas party which

had decided to string along

with Henry Rourke, a right-

winger who is known as a red-

baiter and a bureaucrat in the

did not get a place on Rourke's

militant for this right-wing

Unprincipled Tactics

dents which show up the un-

principled tactics of the new

'leadership'' of the U.P.W.U.

Neil Harrison, the well-known

anti-Trotskyist was used as the

S.P. stooge to lead the fight

against the Progressives. And

And there are other inci-

gang out to rule or ruin.

representation.

In other words, in order to

this over they accepted

the unemployed. Sensational charges were made that the Communist Party and the Workers Alliance were domition of Governor Olson plunged nating the relief set-up and a headlong into its first major sweeping investigation was deactivity-a drastic cut in the manded. After a brief resistance Olson yielded and removed from office William J. a new "economy" policy was Plunkert, Deputy Relief Adbeing introduced State Relief ministrator, against whom the main charges of "subversive stated that 34,000 would be cut activity" and "communism" had been directed.

Olson Surrenders

Unsatisfied by this concession the legislative majority then demanded a complete purge of the relief apparatus and a reduction in relief expenditures. A combination of Republicans and conservative Democrats cooperated in these up the passage of the State dered to their demands.

Along with this open activity in the Legislature the conservative forces were carrying on an equally important battle for complete control of the Democratic Party itself. Their bitter obstinacy in this fight is due mainly to the fact that they have been largely unsuccessful in obtaining political patronage under the Olson Administration which was elected mainly through a loose coalition of Labor's Non-Partisan League, followers of the Thirty-Thursday Pension Plan and the Communist Party. As the best organized and cleverest maneuvering force in this combination the Stalinists succeeded in capturing the juiciest patronage plum-the State Relief Administration.

Turn on Stalinists Thus the Communist party has become the target for extremely violent undercover attacks within the "Democratic Front.'' Moreover, because of their loud-mouthed shouting about "humanizing relief" during the election campaign the Stalinists became liabilities to Olson when his task changed from vote-catching to the more sober duty of balancing the budget and assuring a normal 'economy'' regime to the Cali-

fornia bosses. Olson's sudden move to purge the S.R.A. apparatus and to cut relief, then, is more than a simple, brutal attack upon the unemployed. It is an attempt not only to appease the demands of the reactionary State Legislature but to begin the complete elimination of the Communist party from influence within the Demo- ON S.W.P. SPEAKER come forward as a champion cratic party.

> Desert C. P. And although the "People's

prevent the convention from World" is making frenzied at- Friday meeting of the Browns tempts to cover up the fact, ville branch of the Socialist gates, they remained quiet and Hollywood or Carmel-fully and interruption to prevent the even voted for this program in order to elect their own slate delegates were under the imvancement.

revolutionary situation. Con-

fusion worse confounded! It will remain for the progressives to carry on the fight U.P.W.U. Sister Pearson, who to insert this slogan into the program of the U.P.W.U. and slate at the convention, was too to make every effort to really build and strengthen the union before the "Socialist" slate of incompetent and self-seeking Rourke stooges run the union into the ground.

Responsibility with Board Now it is clear to all that the question of proportional representation in a progressive unemployed organization is some thing for the "Socialists" to get excited about only when Harry Sheppard, who but re- they cannot jam through their cently resigned from the Union own slate of party members on the grounds that if he were and stooges. The delegates, to remain he would have to who were amazed at the bu-

8-page May Day APPEAL.

We want to address a word to those thousands of workers If you think that this paper has who are today seeing the Ap- something to say about your peal for perhaps the first time. We hope you will enjoy reading this issue and are sure you will find much material and information that will be of interest to you.

Most of all, we want to impress upon you that the Socialist Appeal is the fight paper of a militant workers' party—the Socialist Workers Party. This is the paper that is leading the per year. struggle against the war plans of the Roosevelt government, Appeal Army by subscribing that is fighting hardest for la- now!

SOCIALIST APPEAL - the to organize the workers for the voice of fighting labor in Amer- creation of their own, socialist ica-has been issued in the government. The Appeal is the largest number of copies we paper that has taken up where have ever printed! This splen- the former Communists quit did achievement has been due and became the agents of the to the work of our branches boss class and the war monand literature-agents and is gers. In a word, the Socialist based entirely upon extra or- Appeal is the voice of revoluders they have placed for the tionary socialism in America. We want to take this oppor-

tunity to urge our new readers to become regular subscribers. problems and those of the working class, then the only thing to do is to get it regularly! The subscription rate is \$1.00

for six months; \$2.00 per year. In the boroughs of Manhattan and the Bronx of New York City only the subscription rate is \$1.50 for six months; \$3.00 Join the growing ranks of the

NEW YORK LOCAL MAY DAY PLANS COMPLETED

for the May first celebration | war is declared." next Monday at Columbus Circle. Thousands of leaflets have been distributed as well as a call for: "A Referendum on general Party May Day Mani- War: Let the people of the festo. Plans are under way for United States vote on the propthe distribution of thousands of osition of War," "Bread not copies of the special May Day Bullets: All War Funds to the Edition of the Socialist Appeal. Unemployed." "Smash Hitler-

onstration will be the strugg'e States: Organize Workers' Deagainst war. "Roosevelt and fense Guards." "Fight Unem-Stimson, New Deal and Old ployment in the United States: Deal, the corrupt Stalinist For the Six Hour Day, the party, all have joined hands to Thirty Hour Week with no Redope up America's working duction in Pay. men and women in order to plunge them into a new world believes that there are thouwar, a new wholesale massa-sands of militant workers in cre of the masses of American | New York City, who finally unlabor,''

ganizing is a fraud and a sham. on May first. These workers like the last world war. We the Stalinist star-spangled celesay to the 60 families: Your bration with its patriotic flagagents and deputies in con- waging and kow-towing to gress right now are cutting Roosevelt. W.P.A. and throwing thousands of unemployed into the streets. Your agents in the courts are harassing and destroying the Max Shachtman, E. R. Mcunions and labor organizations. Kinney, Bill Morgan and Na-Your agents in the war depart- than Gould.

The New York organization | ment have already drawn up of the Socialist Workers Party the blue print for establishing has announced that all prepa- a dictatorship right here in the rations have been completed United States as soon as the

Fighting Slogans The Party May Day slogans

The main theme of the dem- ism and Fascism in the United

The Socialist Workers Party says a Party state- derstanding the wholesale manner in which the workers have The statement continues, been betrayed by the Stalinists We say that the war that will be ready to join in a mili-America's 60 families are or- tant, class struggle celebration It is an imperialist war just will not be willing to march in

> Join with the Socialist Workers Party at Columbus Circle May first at 2 P.M. Speakers:

(Special to the Socialist Appeal)

NEW YORK-At the regular everyone of the C. P. followers | Workers Party, members of -from Harry Bridges down to the C. P. appeared and atthe most confused "liberal" in tempted by constant heckling realizes that Governor Olson speakers from reaching an auhas deliberately kicked the dience of 250 workers with the in the four-week coal strike in-"progressive forces" squarely anti-war message of the 4th volving 320,000 miners became the trick worked because the in the face. This act will un International. In an effort to closer with the official appointdoubtedly be the signal for eliminate these professional ment of John R. Steelman, U.S. pression that all sections and many of the nondescript army disrupters comrade Harry Mil- Department of Conciliation, as of middle class social climbers ton, recently returned from his mediator between the United -labor bureaucrats, petty pol- long service to the workers of Mine Workers of America and iticians, small-time reformers Spain, approached the Stalin- the Appalachian mine operamad haste to make a bargain and second rate movie actors ists and asked them to wait tors. -who have clustered around for the question period if there the C. P. and the Harry was anything they wished to operators and miners early this Bridges machine to begin a say. As a reward for this plea week was expected to result in mass desertion to the corridors a group of Stalinists surround- a further deadlock. A Federal of the "conservative" Demo- ed comrade Milton, one of Mediation Board would then be cratic faction which will now them hitting him from behind, set up to prepare the actual offer greater possibilities of ad- broke his glasses and inflicted entry of Roosevelt in the situa serious injury to his eye.

The workers at the meeting learned a profound lesson in future meetings. We do not in- the C.I.O. and the A.F.L. tend that the American Stalinthe Soviet Union and Spain.

ANNOUNCEMENTS

GIRL WISHES ROOM in modern, quiet home or share apartment. Brooklyn pre-ferred. Write c/o Socialist Appeal.

BY F.D.R. NEAR IN COAL DISPUTE

WASHINGTON, D. C.—Intervention of President Roosevelt

A conference between the ation.

Bearing on Unity

Since the major point of the the practices of the "democ-present strike dispute is John racy" that the Stalinists ped- L. Lewis' demand for a closed ile in the labor movement. The shop to exclude the dual A.F.L. Brownsville comrades have ap- | Progressive Miners Union, the pealed for the assistance of the intervention of Roosevelt will newly organized Workers De- have considerable bearing on fense Guards for protection of the question of unity between Should Roosevelt's interven-

ists shall institute the system tion bring the exclusion of the of terror and intimidation for A.F.L. union in one form or anwhich they are so notorious in other, it would indicate what can be expected from the White House in connection with the unity problem.

Vanguard

tigate. This commission can take thirty days to file its report during which time the U.P.W.U. by Unprincipled Tactics The City convention of the | delegates, were anxious to co- | Idle Factories!" and we will Unemployed and Project Work- operate and were prepared to come back to it in another par-

there are some very important mined, and effective weapon in Trotskyists—but when it came lights on this important event. relief. It would be well for workers in unemployed organizations convention progressed because

12. Whenever any unlawful

These are the provisions, in

the main, of a bill which Gov-

ernor Stassen proudly pro-

claims as a measure to "in-

sure industrial peace." In a

radio address delivered on

April 20 he said that he was

sure that the "good people" of

Minnesota would not only com-

spirit of the law and that now

ply with the latter but also the

'we will have industrial har-

act is threatened, a suit to en-

join may be maintained in the

will be called upon to rebuild which grew up and gained many concessions for the workers only to be wrecked by the that the idle factories should to carve a career for themselves over the backs of the rank and file.

Thomas "socialists" and the etc., etc. progressives composed of independent workers who rallied around the militant program presented by the delegates who future of the labor movement, are members of the Socialist Workers Party.

Thomasite Majority The bill says the bosses can Thomas "socialists" had a mapace, so to speak, to take the a program which would build to the refugees. 10. It is unlawful for any tant union which would go organization. union organizer "to attempt to ahead and do the job abancompel anyone to join or re- dened by the Stalinists whose

ers Union of New York was do all in their power to make agraph. They accepted the proheld on April 15 and 16 and the U.P.W.U. a real, deter- gram-many of whom were -as well as interesting-side- the fight for jobs and higher to electing an executive board

The Progressives came into the convention with a real proeverywhere to see just how the gram. Motions and resolutions on all the main questions were increasing numbers of workers drawn up and presented by the Progressives. "All War Funds unemployed movement to the Unemployed!" was the leading slogan of this program which also voiced the opinion Stalinists and the fakers out be taken over by the unemployed and run by the workers on a co-operative basis, that unity between the A.F.L. and There were two main groups C.I.O. and the Railroad Brothbosses can pitch in and help in this convention—the Norman erhoods was important for the

tc., etc. for instance, the slogan of "All The Norman Thomas "so-played!" (The Could find "the Instance, the slogan of "All War Funds to the Unemialists" could find "the Instance, the slogan of "All War Funds to the Unemialists" could find "the Instance, the slogan of "All War Funds to the Unemialists" could find "the Instance, the slogan of "All War Funds to the Unemialists" could find "the Instance, the slogan of "All War Funds to the Unemialists" could find "the Instance, the slogan of "the Instance, the Instance, the slogan of "the Instance, the In cialists" could find little to ob ployed!" (The S. P. twists this ject to in this program. They had voted for it at a conferin Philadelphia where a new who vote billions for war and It happened that the Norman national organization was dischomas "socialists" had a maccussed by delegates from many lead in building a firm, mili- the U.P.W.U. into a fighting

Rule or Ruin

compel anyone to join or redened by the Stalinists whose frain from joining any lappolicy of rule or ruin had tive of the "Socialists," there ty disagrees with this militant bor organization against his wrecked the Workers Alliance. was practically no difference program which was voted al-The Progressives, represent- of opinion on program—except 11. It shall be unlawful . . . ing more than one third of the on the question of "Open the

REPUBLICANS WOULD DO THE SAME!

Senator Taft of Ohio considers himself in Democrats. the running as the Presidential candidate on in the coming Presidential election.

ment which has created quite a stir. It has to tell the truth. made a lot of columnists quite excited because it is almost unbelievable that a "responsible" politician, even though from the Republican party, should make such a true statement.

is "ballyhooing the foreign situation" in order mistakes of Roosevelt and at times they atto divert the attention of the masses from the tack him on the same ground but for different New Deal failure. Can anything be more true and opposite reasons.

Facts that Cannot be Denied

Has anyone the possibility of denying that the New Deal is a failure? Approximately 12 million unemployed cry out to high heaven

that it is a miserable failure. Can anyone deny that the war-mongering of the Roosevelt administration is taking the attention of the masses away from their troubles? That seems obvious. The only valid conclusion to be drawn is that Roosevelt's raising of the war-scare is at least fifty per-

The reason why some Republicans, at this the Republican ticket. Whatever he says, particular time, are capable of telling the therefore, is with an eye to being nominated truth-at least in part-is because they are by the Republicans as their standard bearer on the outside trying to get in. They defend the interests of the capitalist class but they In a speech before the Republican National also have factional interests. They want their Congressional Committee delivered at Wash- party to win as against the Democrats and ington last week the Senator made a state- these factional interests at times permit them

and telling the truth about each other.

Opposed to the Roosevelt administration are The Senator simply stated that Roosevelt lutionary. All of these groups point to the

> The Republicans, the Coughlinites and the reactionary Democrats may attack Roosevelt as a war-monger and point out certain things

the truth about one another.

It is the old story of two thieves falling out

many groups, reactionary, liberal and revo-

that he does as evidence of that fact in the same way that revolutionary socialists do. But that coincidence is purely accidental. The Republicans, the Coughlinites, the conservative Democrats and the New Dealers belong to the same camp, all defending the capitalist order. They may quarrel among themselves and because of group rivalries tell

cent due to his failure to solve domestic problems and his anxiety to divert attention from Using the Truth . . . For What?

In the Sacrifices of Eight Men May Day's Tradition Was Born

By CHRIS ANDREWS

the American Civil War ended, city of Chicago. the industrial and financial capitalists of the North were in comemigration, the most valuable re- typical of class relations sources of the nation were given to the capitalist class by the Conof outrageous and open graft.

ment that followed, with altercrises, was accompanied by militant and violent fights of the working masses, industrial and against exploitation. Due to their and towns. sporadic and unorganized character they were consistently defeated. Particularly bloody upheavals struck and several days later 80,followed the depression of 1873. 000 were out. Excited meetings A general strike broke out among and parades were held-speeches the railroad workers, resisting were made in "Bohemian. Polish. wage cuts. Several hundreds of German, and English." The anarrailwaymen were killed in con- chists were active; they had some flicts with the army troops—wide- 2,000 members in the city, and inspread rioting terrified the Amer- fluenced the majority of the ican bourgeoisie who had so recently watched with fear and hate tions a bold and courageous class the death struggles of the Paris character, frightening certain sec-Commune.

In general, the railwaymen were defeated. Nevertheless, the. working class continued its battle, stamping on the pages of American history the mark of the class struggle and the class character of our society.

EIGHT HOURS A MAJOR DEMAND

One of the workers' demands was the eight hour day. At the were killed, numerous others selshown that much of the evidence present time the greater part of this country's 40 to 50 million workers have not yet achieved workers to "Revenge! Working- inent police officials . .

working day was fourteen, fifteen test meeting called for the next them with torture if they refused hours and up, the first 8 hour night in Haymarket Square. Dur to swear to anything desired. . proposal was called "preposter ing the next day the police kept | Seven were sentenced to ous." Yet its very audacity, and attacking with great brutality all what it meant for them in terms gatherings of workers. of a fuller, richer life, rallied the workers around it. Agitation continued throughout the country; in the middle years of the cengroup of trade unions (that later of Labor) passed a resolution at 1, 1886 "eight hours shall constitute a legal day's labor." The 2 years intervening were to be the period of preparation for the clash; on that first May Day, the demand and continue until it was

and willing for the fight. As allice fired back indiscriminately they poured into organizations ter followed, as the unarmed citithat they vaguely felt represented | zens ran. the interests of labor. As the small tive organization, by the tens of ative leadership which considered tionary."

In July 1885 the Knights of Labor had 104,066 members. As the date of the May 1 strike drew near, the workers gathered their strength, and the membership and smash the strike. swelled to over 700,000. The workers were ready.

But the beaurocrats were not. Powderly, conservative head, attempted to stop the enrollment of August Spies, Michael Schwab new members and on March 13 Samuel Fielden, Albert R. Parhad issued secret orders to local sons, Adolph Fischer, George Enleaders to withdraw from active gel, Louis Lingg, and Oscar Neebe. participation in the strike. This All these men were anarchist and fact, discovered by the workers la- syndicalist leaders, writers, and ter, helped to kill the Knights of editors. No attempt was ever made Labor in the following years, and to prove that any one of these benefited the A.F.L which played men threw the bomb-it was brua more militant role.

STRIKES SPREAD

OVER NATION York the headquarters of the them. First International. Class confound themselves faced with the

anarchists and syndicalists, par-When the four bloody years of ticularly in the rising industrial

Strkes and labor actions here were unusually violent. The Chiplete control of the United States. | cago police were notorious for During the absence of the South- | their brutality, and against them ern Senators and Representatives it had been necessary for the from the Halls of Congress during workers to organize workingthe Civil War and the period of mens' defense guards, to protect Reconstruction, the Northern their meetings, and particularly bourgeoisie passed all the legisla- their "democratic right" to vote at tion necessary to make "legal" the polls for working class canditheir dominance, and a feverish dates. A Socialist who was elected rush of development and exploita- as Alderman was illegally kept tion followed. As the West was from his office by the Democratic thrown open to settlement and City Council; the incident was

When that first May Day dawned, approximately 350,000 workers gress they controlled, amid scenes | flung themselves into the strike action, and of these, 150,000 won The rapid industrial develop their demand immediately. The remainder continued on strikenating "prosperity" and severe industrial activity was tied up throughout the nation, in New York, Philadelphia, Chicago, Louisville, St. Louis, Milwaukee, Balagricultural, to defend themselves timore and many smaller cities

In Chicago 45,000 won their de mand at once-40,000 others strikers, giving the demonstrations of the businessmen into the THE SENTENCED early concessions

MEETING PROTESTS POLICE ATTACK

On May 3, scabs and strikers "Communards" after the men and gels. broke into fist fighting at the Mc women of the Paris Commune, Cormick Reaper plant, where there was a three months old walkout and the police used the opportunity to attack the workers martyrs were dead, had this to came into the labor movement, with their guns. Four strikers say of the trial. "It is further verely wounded.

A fiery pamphlet calling the rication; that some of the prommen, to Arms!!!" was distributed | ized | ignorant men by throwing Back in the 1830's when the throughout the city; and a pro them into prison and threatening

At the meeting August Spies and other leaders of the strikers addressed the gathering. There Grand Eight Hour Leagues existed was no disorder; oncoming rain world. cut short the proceedings and the tury; finally on Oct. 7, 1884, a Mayor of Chicago, who had attended the meeting, went home became the American Federation shortly before it was to close, stopping in at the nearby police Chicago declaring that after May precinct to report that there was no danger of violence. A few minutes after he left the station, a police lieutenant led a detachment of 180 police to smash the rest of the meeting. As they came workers were to strike for their to the crowd to attack it, ordering it to disperse, a bomb was thrown, 73 policemen were in-The working class was ready jured; 7 ultimately died. The poways in time of social upheaval, and a scene of terror and slaugh-

No one knows to this day who A.F.L. was not available to most threw the bomb—there is a large of them, they joined the Knights body of evidence pointing to a of Labor, an amorphous, conserva- police provocateur who fled Chicago. The truth will not be known thousands, terrifying the conserv- until the workers themselves open the closed archives of the capitalthe eight hour demand "revolu- ist class. But to any worker who has ever been in a strike, the recital of the simple facts of the the workers. Then, years later, it case shows clearly a typical police tried to cover over the crime by maneuver to provoke violence in releasing the three survivors order to frame the strike leaders

> THESE FELLOWS ARE GOING TO HANG"

The capitalist courts indicted tally clear from the beginning that they were on trial for their political beliefs.

The police had all except Par-During these years political sons whom they could not find. working class radicalism had not On the day of the opening of the been unknown in the United trial, as the proceedings began, he States and Karl Marx had written marched into the courtroom to sit for Horace Greeley's N. Y. Trib- in the dock with his comrades, and une. In 1872 Marx had made New to go to a glorious death with

The trial is a classic example schous emigrants fleeing from the for the workers of what capitalise brutal oppression in Furone. "justice" is. The Judge displayed continuous partiality and hatred same capitalist exploitation in the against the defendants; he ap-United States and did not shrink pointed a special agent to select a from the challenge but renewed special panel of jurors, so stacked the fight. Most active were the that when the defence had used (Continued from Page 1)

The owners complain that they cannot operate "profitably." Very well! If they can't run them, let someone else who can. Open them up, with the aid of government funds, and operate them under the control of the workers!

W.P.A. JOBS AT TRADE UNION WAGES FOR ALL UNEMPLOYED! With 13,000,000 out of work, the government replies by slashing the already pitifully small WPA rolls. Let the labor movement answer with the demand for jobs for all! Every man has the right to a job at decent wages. If private industry won't provide them, then we must force the government to do so.

A TWENTY BILLION DOLLAR PUBLIC WORKS PROGRAM! There is plenty of money when it comes to armaments or bailing out bankrupt corporations. There is plenty more in the coffers of the sixty families. Let it be used for a gigantic program of public works, featuring low-rent housing for workers, for the third of the nation which now lives under conditions not fit for human beings.

THIRTY DOLLAR WEEKLY OLD AGE AND DISABILITY PENSIONS! The aged, who have given the best of their lives to the profit-makers, the injured and sick, have a right to something better than diseased meat and discarded bread crusts. Jobs for all who can work and pensions for those who cannot!

THE STRUGGLE AGAINST FASCISM

The last six months have seen the rapid rise of prefascist and fascist movements within the United States. The fascists who would throw us into concentration camps, smash the organizations of labor, fasten on this country the totalitarian rule of the rubber hose, do not live in Berlin or Rome or Tokyo but right here at home. Here TORIOUS WORLD SOCIALIST REVOLUTION!

up all their privileges of refusing

jurors who were hostile, the jury

as finally composed had on it a

relative of one of the police casu-

agent stated "I am managing this

case, and know what I am about

their lives. The word "Bolshevik'

and denounced them as foreigners

given at the trial was a pure fab-

hanged; Neebe to 15 years. The

farewell speeches of these work

were addressed beyond the court-

out these ideas that are gaining

f vou think you can crush them

proudly and defiantly pay the cost

All the prisoners showed the

contempt for the class which held

The sentences of 2 were com-

nuted to life imprisonment

Twenty-one year old Lingg took

his own life. Spies, Engel, Par-

sons, and Fischer went to the

The strike was broken. But the

workers remembered and still re-

member the men of Haymarket.

The boss class strangled its vic-

tims in spite of the protests of

when Governor Altgeld's investi-

gation proved that the trial was a

frame-up. But nothing has been

Every May Day the martyrs are

remembered in the hearts of the

workers throughout the globe, in

all nations, in all tongues. And

that day approaches of which Au-

gust Spies foretold in his last

words, spoken after the hangman's

black hood had covered his face.

"There will be a time when our

silence will be more powerful than

the voices you strangle today."

Workers, speed that day!

For a Workers' World!

JOHN P. BRUCKER

Allentown, Penna.

forgotten.

scaffold shouting defiance.

by sending us to the gallows.

ly price! Call your hangman!"

them in its power.

Governor Altgeld of Illinois in

later investigation when the

hanged as certain as death. . .

SPEAK TO THE WORLD

It was proved that the Judge's

alities.

is the enemy, and we must fight the enemy here.

Already we have found out in this country-in New York, Los Angeles, and a dozen lesser cities—what the workers of Germany and Italy too late discovered: that only the workers by their own direct action will fight the fascists. The government and the police will not fight them; on the contrary, the police protect the fascists and fight against the anti-fascist workers who wish to protest the meetings and actions of the fascists.

BUILD WORKERS DEFENSE GUARDS! Organized anti-fascist defense guards, built by the workers themselves, are the only weapon which can defend the workers and their unions and parties from the vigilante and fascist

INTERNATIONAL SOLIDARITY OF LABOR

May Day is the occasion when every serious worker should remember his indissoluble ties with his fellowworkers in every other nation, and should pledge himself to struggle side by side with the workers everywhere against the common enemy; against imperialism and the whole vile system of exploitation and tyranny throughout

Together, the workers of the entire world will resolve that they will not permit human civilization to be destroyed in the new gangster war. They will transform that war for blood and profit into a war of the oppressed of all nations against their oppressors. Out of the present darkness, international labor will build a new, classless society of peace, security, and freedom.

That new world is within our grasp! If we have the courage and the will, we shall gain it!

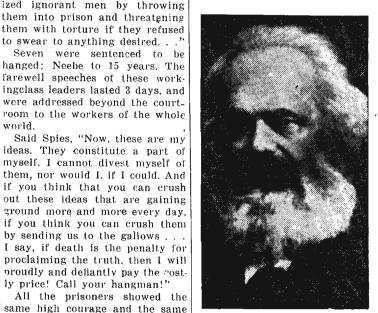
FOR THE TRIUMPH OF LABOR IN THE VIC-

Every Worker Must Master the Marx and Engels

These fellows are going to be The working class may well, ment, of English economic be proud of the fact that it thought and the labor movebrought into its ranks two such | ment, and the traditions of the great geniuses, thinkers and French Revolutions at their The capitalist press howled for fighters as the founders of the disposal, Marx and Engels scientific socialist movement, gave the working class its first did not exist. They called them Karl Marx and Frederick En- really scientific analysis of the

> intellects who, though German and tactics by means of which by birth were internationalists labor, the only remaining conto the marrow of their bones, they found it based upon either a utopian foundation or a handto-mouth existence.

With the treasures of Ger- | self. man philosophy, the develop-



KARL MARX

LEON DICKMAN

ALBERT GATES

PAUL HERRICK

MICHAEL KABNO

M. MICHAELS

ROSE FABEN

B. L.

capitalist system of society. When these two magnificent and put forth the principles sistently progressive class. will smash the fetters of capitalist class rule and, by establishing the classless socialist society, free humankind it-Their work, produced any-

where from sixty to ninety years ago, has a freshness and significance which has enabled it to remain the foundation of the international revolutionary movement down to the present day. Their analyses of contemporary society, jeered at by some, attacked violently by class, the theories of Marxism others, submitted to "reviby still others, have been confirmed over and over again in all their essentials. In of the class struggle. It is the Marxism, the proletariat has an invincible and unassailable doctrine.

World reaction has rightly seen in Marxism its arch-enemy. That often-buried theory of the working class continues to irk and terrify the ruling classes. Fascism is sworn to destroy it root and branch

and with it the proletarian its triumph.

Greetings to the SOCIALIST APPEAL on May Day!

On to the DAILY APPEAL!

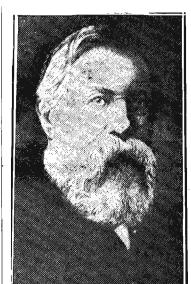
P. Q.

V. A.

J. R.

LYDIA BEIDEL

REVA CRAINE



FREDERICK ENGELS

cannot be exterminated—either by argument, ukase or terror ism. It is the natural product sharpest weapon of the revolujonary labor movement.

Master Marxism! Study it thoroughly, and apply its methods and principles in the daily struggle against the employers and reaction! That is the duty of the labor movement. If it fulfills it, it will have at its column passed, and I yelled 'Get command an instrument, tem-But so long as the capitalist pered by the genius of Marx marchers laughed and jeered at system of exploitation remains, and Engels, which will assure

SOCIALISTS MARCH INTO SQUARE In the meantime, the square was being filled with workers who were awaiting the rally. At 12:30 a small contingent of 200 led by Ruthenberg marched into the square. They were the only section of the parade that was able to hold their ranks together despite the attack of the soldiers and

ber of war veterans in uniform ity had ever seen. By 10 o'clock in the morning. diers had learned why they went housands of Socialists and trade to war, and they demonstrated mionists had already mobilized at their local headquarters. They

Leading the parade was C. E

As the parade got under way

GREET ATTACK

on each route as the paraders en | up the parade, made raids on Sotered the downtown section. Ev. | cialist Party headquarters in variers of confetti from the windows of the business offices. Everything pointed to a well planned attack. One crippled war veteran who

Immediately the reactionary Legionaires went into action They rushed the line of march with clubs in their hands and started beating down workers. They were joined by the police who were just as vigilant at slugging the workers. Hundreds of Socialists were felled by the blows. Soldiers in army tanks raced up subscribed to the Victory Loan and down the street, clearing it of people and breaking up the par- tacks. ade. Only the courage of the Socialist workingmen, who though

would be the object of future at-SUPPRESSION OF

CIVIL LIBERTIES

Loan bonds read:

Within a few days the city council was taking up the guestion of further suppressing the Socialists. One member proposed to make it a felony for anyone to speak on social or industrial topics in the streets of Cleveland. Another proposal was made to declare the wearing of a Socialist Party button or any button with the arm and torch insignia of the S.P. a misdemeanor. WORKERS LEARN

in Cleveland. They learned the

meaning of "democracy" as the

More than 50,000 workers participated in this historic May Day

ABOUT DEMOCRACY

bankers defined it. They learned, on that day, what a number of them had already known before; that the word "patriotism" was merely a catch word used by business men to take away the

workers were able to save. May Day 1919 must forever stand as the example of the "democracy" for which the capitalist "pay-triots" want American workingmen to fight.

few dollars and cents that the

GREETINGS FROM

of the Socialist Workers Party and Friends of the Appeal

May Day, 1919-A Lesson In Workings Of Boss Democracy unarmed, fought back fearlessly

Ruthenberg marched his group

through the square, and mounted

the speakers' platform. He was

danked on both sides by a num-

who carried red flags. These sol-

their hatred for the capitalist sys-

As soon as Ruthenberg and the

adical soldiers mounted the plat-

orm they were attacked by the

reactionary hoodlums. The Ameri-

can Legionaires and the police

started to wade into the crowd

and beat their clubs over the

heads of workingmen. Mounted

police rode their horses through

the crowds and managed to dis-

perse the meeting. Hundreds

Two workers were found dead.

They were Joseph Ivany and Sam

Pearlman who were shot and kill-

ed by policemen as they tried to

defend themselves from hoodlum

attacks. Ruthenberg and 133 other

Socialist workers were arrested by

"Almost every other man ar-

aigned," the Cleveland Press re-

orted, "appeared with a bandaged

head or body bound up. This was

the result of blows from police

maces or of clubs in the hands of

loyalist crowds." The soldiers

were the "loyalist crowds" re-

That night the American Leg-

ion, not satisfied with breaking

ous parts of the city. The raid on

the central headquarters was the

most vicious. Every window, ev-

ery stick of furniture, was smash-

ed. More than a half a ton of

books was destroyed and thrown

press was wrecked. Two hundred

Socialists were injured defending.

At the trials of those arrested,

and soldiers were exonerated and

ers were sentenced to 30 days in

jail. The others were given sen-

tences almost as harsh. But it was

liscovered that most of the pris-

oners were foreign born. The fed-

eral government was asked to de-

The bankers had gained their

objective. The necessary hysteria

for a successful Victory Loan was

being worked up quite success-

fully. The next day the following

call for the purchase of Victory

"It means a hair trigger sprint

from now on. A victory button is

meant that a worker who did not

wear a button indicating that he

your only protection now." This

hailed as heroes. Fifty-five work-

their headquarters.

HAILS POLICE

CAPITALIST COURT

ferred to by the Press.

were seriously injured.

WOUNDED MEN

IN COURT

POLICE CLUBS

BEAT WORKERS

By STANLEY LAUREN

The morning of May Day 1919 to defend their comrades, saved saw the population of Cleveland the streets of Cleveland from being further bathed in blood. unusually tense. The war had ended only a few months before. Soldiers from the trenches had just come home. The government's huge drive for a "Victory Loan" had been going on for some time, and Cleveland had only raised \$31,000,000 of the \$81,500,000 quota set for the city with only eight more days left to complete the fund raising job. Socialist antiwar agitation had made the workers wiser and the bankers were having a difficult time squeezing the needed cash out of labor's pockets. And on top of all this the Socialist May Day parade was expected to be the largest the

formed their ranks and proceeded o parade towards the Public Square in downtown Clevelanc where a monster mass meeting was to start at noon. RUTHENBERG

LEADS PARADE

Ruthenberg, at that time the Socialist candidate for Mayor of Cleveland, editor of the Ohio Socialist, and destined to become one of the first leaders of the Communist Party of the United States. Ruthenberg had just fin ished serving a year in jail for his anti-war activity.

hoodlums of the American Leg ion, under the direction of local business men, began to attack marchers who carried red flags The reactionaries used crippled war victims to lead the attack or the Socialists, with the object o winning public sentiment to their side. These crippled victims who fought for "democracy" did not realize that they gave up their limbs to raise a new batch of mil lionaires who were thousands of miles away from the trenches. BUSINESS OFFICES

Trouble started simultaneously

was seated in a wheel chair in front of the Olmstead Hotel in into the streets. The Ohio Socialist downtown Cleveland started one of the most bloody incidents of the day. He was James Stevens who was being used all over the city by the bankers to raise money for the Victory Loan. Stevens described his own provocation very held the following day, the police

well. He said: "The first thing I saw was the red flags. I wheeled my chair into the street as the head of the those red flags'. Some of the me. But my comrades in uniforn came running when I yelled 'Get port these "Bolsheviks." em boys'.' LEGIONAIRES

BEGIN ATTACK

from a Group of

Astoria Sympathizers

Revolutionary Greetings

from the Gum Mines

AKRON BRANCH

of the S.W.P.

May Day Greetings

TESS SAVIN

ARNE SWABECK

EDWARD WARD

MAX WEINRIB

CLAIRE ROBINSON

SAM RICHTER

N. S.

THE NORTH JERSEY DISTRICT

252 MARKET STREET, NEWARK, N. J.

A Workers' Defense Guard Is the Only Answer to the Fascists

To Workers' Rights

Workers Must Rely on Their Own Strength, Not on Boss Politicians, to Preserve Their Most Elementary Rights

democracy must begin at home.

American people that another war in binding the Boss. is necessary "to make the world safe for democracy."

participated in the economic or- ONLY ONE WAY ganization of the great war."

FASCIST GROUPS TAKING ROOT

The fight for democracy requires above all an exposure of rights to the people of New Jerthe imperialist war-makers. But sey. A careful, patient organizing it also demands a struggle against campaign by the C.I.O. unions other ultra - reactionary forces backed up by an organized workwhich in some cases for their own ers' guard capable of protecting demagogic and reactionary rea- meetings and resisting Hague's sons are at the moment in oppo- police and mobsters. sition to Roosevelt and Wall

root in many sections of the country. Some, like the German-American Bund, are direct branches of their fight against the workers, Nazism. But the majority, at against all democratic and prothough they borrow ideas, inspira. gressive ideas, under the guise of tion, and even money from Euro- a struggle against "Judeo-Bolpean sources, are home-bred and shevism." While the Jewish masshome-led products. Such Fascist es are becoming increasingly sengroupings as Roy Zachary's Silver | sitive to this danger, they are still Shirts, the Crusaders, and others for the most part ignorant of the fed by Father Coughlin's propa- best means of combatting it. The ganda, spring straight out of anti-Nazi demonstrations held in American soil, nourished by the Los Angeles, in New York at Madmisery of the unemployed, the dis- ison Square Garden, in Philadelcontent of the middle-classes of phia have shown them the way. city and country, the plight of the The magnificent response of the farmers and a widespread disillu. Workers of all faiths and political sion with the New Deal and the views to the call of the Socialist old order of affairs. It is from Workers Party demonstrates that these sources that the danger of more and more are beginning to a broad national fascist movement | understand that only direct action is to be feared.

RACE HATRED AND LABOR OPPOSITION

The main creed of these movements is anti-Semitism and oppo sition to organized labor, especially the C.I.O. Their aim is to smash the trade unions and curb their activities and thus keep the workers in servitude. They propose to take away the gains made by the workers in the past few years and to rob them of their rights of organization, free speech, and assembly. They are assisted in this work by the vigilante groups of the Associated Farmers and Manufacturer's Associations, by the various Citizen's Committees set up by Chambers of Commerce in the industrial areas of the Middle West, and by the hired scabs and gunmen of the great corporations

How are the workers to protect themselves against the fascist gangsters? Experience has shown only one way. That is to form Union Defense Guards, whose task it shall be to defend labor unions meetings, and activities as well as the persons of trade-unionists from attack. Akron rubber work ers, Minneapolis teamsters, and progressive trade-unionists elsewhere have already seen the necessity for such organizations, and acted accordingly. These guards ought not to be hastily improvised in the teeth of danger but prepared in advance to perform their duties when need arises. GUARDS ARE

PERMANENT PICKETS

Such Union Defense Guards will be in reality nermanent pickets. Every trade-unionist knows that the bosses and their scabs would have an easy time breaking strikes if pickets were not at hand to prevent them. These fascist groups are nothing less than permanent organizations of scabs in the service of the most reactionary bosses. The workers ourht to be ready to repulse them wherever they raise their heads. HAGUE THRIVES

ON PUBLICITY The workers can rely only upon their strength and organized forces in this struggle. Is not the case of Hague convincing demonstration of this truth? Despite several years of struggle, the Hudson County Hitler still reigns in Jersey. Various methods were employed by the C.I.O. to undermine and overthrow him, to expose his despotism by national publicity. But Hague thrived on this propa ganda, turned it to his own a lyantage, became a hero of Big Business. Liberal congressmen made

verbal threats and then turned

In the present war situation ev- tail and ran. Ostentatious parades ery worker ought to keep two and meetings were not only broksimple propositions in mind. | en up by Hague's police and hired First, the main enemies of democ-imposters but Hague beat the C.I.O. racy are not over the ocean but at this game by staging far larger within these 48 states. Second, the and more impressive popular fight against dictatorship and for demonstrations. The injunctions granted by the courts for and Roosevelt and his fellow jingo-lagginst Hague have resulted only ists are striving to convince the in blockading the struggle but not

Through Farley, President Roosevelt solicited Hague's sup-Listen to Herbert Hoover speak port in the 1938 elections. The ing at Chicago on February 2 of promised investigation of his Dethis year. "A great war today . . . | partment of Justice has come to means democracy must tempo- nothing. Can one offend the Vice rarily surrender to dictatorship. Chairman of the Democratic Nano matter what one may call it. tional Committee with a presi-. . . It means that our country dential campaign in the offing? must be mobilized into practically Such is the balance sheet of the a fascist state. . . . I speak of this campaigns against Hague which not from hearsay, but as one who have now died down to a whisper,

> TO OUST HAGUE There was, and there remains, only one way to dislodge this local

Anti-Semitism is the second item in the fascist stock-in-trade. Fascist tendencies are taking | Fortune Magazine's recent survey indicates that anti-Semitism is growing. The fascists are waging of this character can stop Fascism from spreading.

> $^{2}OLICE$ AND COURTSPROTECT FASCISTS

These events have also shown that "liberal" politicians, the police, and the courts will, in the name of "law and order." concentrate upon defending the fascists while denriving the foes of fascism of their democratic rights Did not LaGuardia's cons break up the counter-demonstrations round Madison Square Garden. ride down hundreds of anti-fasists, injure and arrest a dozen? And the judges completed the job by fining or jailing the militants Fascism thrives more than anyhing else upon the impotence and

nertia of its opponents. The pieequisite for the rise and victory of Fascism is to make the work ers believe that by relying, not pon their own organized forces out upon some external power ipon the state, upon the police ipon benevolent officials, upon lemocratic traditions, etc., that ascism can be defeated. This serrice is being performed today by Popular Front of Democrats, liberals, labor leaders, Social Democrats, and Stalinists. Italy Germany, Austria, Spain, and to day France, teach that along this road lies not the defeat of Fascism but the defeat of the work-

ing masses. THE ROAD

TO VICTORY The road to victory over fas cism proceeds through direct and militant struggle against the forces of reaction. The fascist groups here are still weak. The abor movement, the progressive forces are strong. The time to rush fascism and anti-Semitism is now. The place: here in our own country. The means: Union Defense Guards and anti-fascist legons which will shield labor from the inevitable onslaughts of the storm-troopers.

MAY DAY GREETINGS

from the

NEWARK Y.P.S.L.

In Memoriam of

Comrade Bernard Selesner

It Alone Will Fight COUGHLIN DUPES FOLLOWERS Minneapolis Guard The Fascist Threat WHEN HESAYSHE'S PRO-LABOR Has Kept That City

By GRACE SAUNDERS

In the discussion period at a recent Socialist Workers Party forum, a young worker took the floor to pose a few questions which he hoped, apparently, would embarrass the speaker. When asked if he were a fascist—a just query in view of his general conduct during the meeting-he indignantly asserted: "No, I am not a fascist. I hate the very word fascism." He was a follower of Father Coughlin, he explained, he believed in democracy and in social justice. He also vigorously denied that his idol. Father Coughlin. favored fascism or Hitler, or American involvment in a European war.

There is no reason to believe he was not completely sincere. Nor is there any reason to believe he is alone in thinking that Father Coughlin opposes fascism and is, in fact, the stalwart champion of democracy, for the worker, the unemployed, the youth, the farmer, the small businessman Many Coughlinites, frequently some who display crass fascist tendencies, do not themselves understand the true import of

Yet they are being purposely and systematically duped. The first step in creating fascism is to divide the working class to smash its most militant members and organizations first. With these out of the way, it is a comparatively easy matter later, at the appropriate time, to smash all workers' organizaions, all democracy, all freedom.

Democratic Talk Is Pure Demagogy

Father Coughlin of course doesn't give a hang about democracy. His use of democratic phraseology is the purest demagogy in an adroit effort to foist upon this country a system of government essentially identical with that now existing in Germany. Tell this to a Coughlinite, and he will denounce you in the most insulting words in his vocabulary. He will call you a communist, a Jew, or both.

But it is instructive to note what Father Coughlin himself says on this subject. Apparently, in his championing of democracy, he makes a lot of exceptions. In his Sunday radio of March 26 (re-printed in his weekly magazine "Social Justice" of April 3) he said: "If the imperial conquests by Great Britain and France and the diabolical persecutions of Soviet Russia are the outstanding examples of European democracy, then it is my opinion that the sooner that type of hypocrisy perishes from the face of the earth, the better for all mankind."

So, then, he doesn't think so much of French and British democracy. Perhaps, though, he is wholeheartedly in favor of the American brand of democracy. Well, hardly wholeheartedly. In the same radio address he waxed vitriolic against those in the United States who for the past six years have boycotted the Third Reich "in the name of democracy." The Third Reich for the past six years? But that is Nazi Germany which, his followers tell us, Father Coughlin does not admire and does not seek to emulate. Curious, isn't itor is it-that he seems so much more concerned about the boycotting of the Nazis than about the exercise of democratic

For "Blood Business" On His Own Terms

But it is a slander, we are told, to assail Father Coughlin because of his attitude toward the war being cooked up in Europe. He says he is opposed to the United States becoming involved in that war. He says he is opposed to American workers sacrificing their lives in that war.

Again, let us examine Father Coughlin's statements. Is he opposed to Americans sacrificing their lives in an imperialist war in Europe, or is he merely opposed to the United States aiding Great Britain and France-against Italy and Germany? We let Father Coughlin speak for himself. Fulminating against the "cash and carry" neutrality legislation proposed by Senator Key Pittman (which would obviously be to the detriment of the Rome-Berlin axis), he says this measure aims "definitely at putting America in the blood business not on the side of justice, but on the side of the biggest bank roll: not on the side of justified reform, but on the side of the status quo, thereby perpetuating injustice.' (Signed article in the April 3 issue of Social Justice.)

He is not, he says plainly, against America going into "blood business." If America were to enter the war to bring about "justified reforms"—that is, the seizure of more territory by Mussolini and Hitler—the radio priest would give such "blood business" his blessing. According to him, that would be acting "on the side of justice." But if America aids France and England in preventing the Fascist-Nazi grab-that is, if America is "on the side of the status quo"such action is indefensible, is "perpetuating injustice," and must be damned. "Injustice" to whom? Obviously to Adolf Hitler and Benito Mussolini. Curious? Or is it?

Program Like that of Hitler

But, the Coughlinite will still insist, Father Coughlin is really the friend of the worker, the farmer, the small businessman, etc., etc. You have only to look at the mast head of the magazine "Social Justice" to see for yourself. Point 10 in the 16 principles printed there calls for "Labor's Right to Organize." Similarly, point 9 calls for "The Cost of Production Plus a Fair Profit for the Farmer." And poin s 13 and 14 demand a "Broadened Base of Taxation on the Basis of Ownership and Capacity to Pay," and "Simplification of Government and Lower Taxes."

Surely this is quite clear. This is not a fascist program, say the Coughlinite. True, there is little similarity between this program and the program of fascism-in-power. But it is decidedly reminiscent of the programs of both Hitler and Mussolini before fascism and nazism had seized the reins of

On labor's right to organize, workers in Italy were told Mussolini: "Labor has nothing to fear from the fascist power. . . . Its just rights will be loyally guaranteed." Musso lini stated: "Nobody can dream of driving the working

Greetings from a Group of Cutters of Local 10, I.L.G.W.U.

St. Louis, 1886: The First May Day!

St. Louis, April, 1917: Revolutionary Socialism

Against Imperialist War! MAY DAY GREETINGS

LOCAL ST. LOUIS, City and County Branches

Greetings from a group of Philadelphia comrades

masses back to less favorable working and living conditions than those of today.

In Germany, a Nazi spokesman assured: "We believe absolutely necessary the organization of workers into unions within the dominant capitalist system. . . . " A Nazi propaganda pamphlet asserted: "It is a shameful lie to say that the National Socialists, when they have taken power, . . . will deprive the workers of their supreme weapon: the right to

Workers' rights were going to be fully protected. That is what the Nazis and the Fascists said before they came to power. That is what Father Coughlin is saying today. But after they came to power, it was, as everyone knows, quite

Grandiose Promises to Farmers

Similarly, with regard to the farmers. Prior to the seizure of power, both the fascists and the Nazis were talking of giving the "land directly to the peasants to be cultivated by them jointly," and even of the need of an agrarian revolution. Compared to this, what Father Coughlin offers to the farmers of this country is mild indeed. Yet after the establishment of the dictatorship?

The fascists and Nazis were likewise glib in their promises to small businessmen. These were to be protected against competition, to be assured stability and security.

And so on and so forth. Before taking power, the fascists, like Father Coughlin now, made grandiose promises to all who, ground down under the chaotic system of capitalist democracy, were seeking a way out. They were-and areeasy victims of fascist demagogy.

What they didn't understand in Germany and in Italy, and what the duped followers of Coughlin fail to understand here, is that not a single one of these promises will be kept, and that there was not, and is not, any intention of keeping them. While on the one hand, the fascists and the Nazis-anin this country, Father Coughlin - promise everything to every man, on the other hand, they carefully foster a policy calculated not to bring about the reforms of which they prate, but to strangle all opposition and install the hideous regime

We Won't Allow Him to Get Away with It!

Father Coughlin knows that his first and foremost task is to divide the working class and exterminate its most militant elements. For this dirty work, he uses those who believe he is the champion of democracy, that he hates communists because they are wicked and godless, but that he also disapproves of fascism. Once he has used his followers to get rid of their most class-conscious fellow-workers, he will be able to use his armed guards (he hopes) to settle the score with any who protest that his promises are not being fulfilled. The pattern is clear. It has been used before. It worked

in Italy. It worked also in Germany. Why not in the United

If Father Coughlin is permitted to get away with turning worker against worker, smashing all militancy and all opposition to his movement, fascism will make headway in this country, just as it has elsewhere.

But, and this is a big "but," there is no reason why Father Coughlin should be permitted to get away with it. To his cry of "he's a red-smash his organization," the Coughlinite worker, and all other workers must reply, "Yes, but he is a worker, too, and his organization is a workers' organization. We do not scab in a strike, and we refuse to do the bosses' dirty work here."

It is high time the Coughlinite followers ask their leader, and themselves some of these very pertinent questions. For our part, the Socialist Workers Party will do everything in its power to organize the workers for the most vigorous and threatens to deprive them.

THESE ARE OUR ENEMIES!



Clear of Nazi Thugs

Strongly-Organized Force of Union Workers Has Kept the Would-Be Storm Troopers With Their Backs Against the Wall

Bu A Defense Guard fight fascism? Minneapolis. Minneapolis says so. The Minneapolis Union Defense Guard says so.

that American workers have not 544UDG—is dead serious about grasped the fundamental meaning his membership in his Union of fascism on the basis of what Guard. From time to time, test fascism has done to the workers mobilizations have proven this. than the craven-hearted and de- one hour's notice, the Guard met moralized "liberals" have the for a trial mobilization on a vastood the lessons of Germany, of Only three people knew whether means given an honest and cour- clothes poured into the vacant lot

that would smash their strikes and their unions, raid their unior halls, kill their leaders, crush their political parties, and force them into a monstrous slavery. About one year ago the Silve:

Shirts held a series of public neetings in Minneapolis. It happened that in this city it was the Silver Shirts. In another city it might be the German-American Bund, the Black Legion, the White Legion, or some other aspiring fascist group. The Fascist Plan

Roy Zachary, the Silver Shirt organizer, was pretty crude about his intentions. He worked his au dience up with the usual anti-Semitic bunk, and then got down to work, Right away he proposed ganized bosses of this state, who have been following out that policy since 1934.

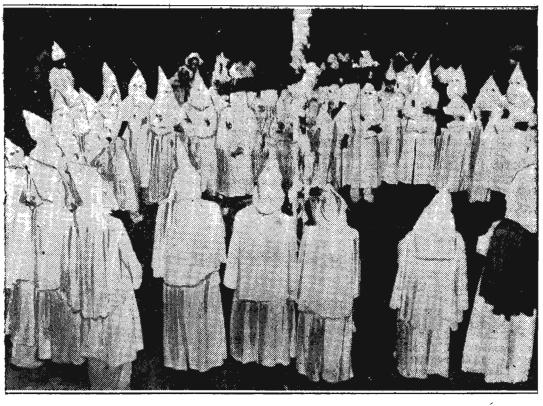
ated Industries was even cruder, to Fight Them," by V. R. Dunne. He attended a Silver Shirt meet-

The Unions Plan Too

see who can take who. The Minneapolis Union Defense Guard was launahed as a result of he fascist meetings and threats This organization, the first and atrongest of its kind in the cour ry has been built through th painstaking and persistent wor of trade union militants. Today tands as a permanent traine force. The growth of reaction onl timulates the growth of the Un on Guard as a bulwark of unio trength against assault.

Two Hundred Squads Under the strong and experi nced leadership of a Guard Con nander and two Guard Lieuter nts- all men of military trainin -the Guard during the past yea nas completed its basic organiza ion of 200 active Guard Captain ach Captain leading a squad of our men, making a unit of five rive is a handy unit to transport by auto. Provision is made fo doubling each unit in the period of emergency that are sure to

The Guard Captains are hand



picked men, the most loyal and (Special to the Socialist Appeal)
MINNEAPOLIS—Who says the
sourceful, fearless, intelligent. The American workers are ready to Captains have carefully picked their squads.

Test Mobilizations

Every man who so proudly It is a lie and a reactionary lie wears the little gold badge-

of Europe. Far, far more clearly | Last November, for example, on workers in this country under cant lot in the center of the city. Austria, and of Spain and France. the occasion was a real crisis. And given the chance-which Three hundred men in fighting ageous leadership-the American and formed ranks under direction workers are willing, yes, eager, to of their Captains. It was only aftorganize for a struggle to the er short talks by the Guard leaddeath against the fascist monster ers. followed by the announcement that it was just a test mobilization to be celebrated afterward at a local theatre, that the grimness turned to merriment.

Another bright memory in the history of the Union Guard is a big dance held the Saturday before Christmas. Trade unionists attended by the hundreds, Proceeds of the affair were placed in the Guard fund.

Drilling and Study

The Minneapolis Union Defense Guard has just recently completed a six-weeks' course of drill work, with Guard meetings three nights weekly. When hard-working men demonstrate their understanding by such activity, only cowards or 'ools can say that a Hitler will necessarily come to power in a raid on Local 544's hall. He America. "The only thing a fascist picked out General Drivers Local understands is a cracked head." 544 as the first victim because he says the Minneapolis Guard. It is knew the score. If the General ready to the last man to increase Drivers Union can be cracked the understanding of any fascist then the rest is easy pickings. gang so foolhardy as to move Zachary learned this from the or against the union movement here.

On the last night of the sixweeks' drill course, the regular meetiny was turned into a Guarl If Zachary was crude, the pres- party. Guardsmen heard an analident of the Minneapolis Associ- sis of "Union Enemies and Llow Based on Unions

The Minneapolis Guard at the present time is composed chiefly Minneapolis workers are not of workers in the driving crafts dumb. They got the point immedi- with the main base in Local 544. ately. If the fight to protect their Workers from other unions have union had now reached the point joined, however, and are preparwhere the bosses were ready to ing themselves to form active subsidize the fascist rats, then Guard Units in their own organilet's get ready for the fight and zations. Guard leaders anticipate i steady growth of the organiza-

A special feature of the Minneapolis Guard is its Intellisence Department Guard memers and their allies circulate throughout the Twin Cities and surrounding regions, and keep a sharp eye cocked for fascist 'iterature, anti-Somi'ic activities, fink propagate, and the like. This information is weigh-

and filed at a central point. One can almost hear the horriied liberal, or some labor skile, xclaiming: "But all this is terthle. There is no surer way to rovoke fascism, etc., etc., No Fascists Mect

But there hasn't been a single ilver Shirt or Bund meetin; in finneapolis during the past six nonths, despite a tenseness in the lass struggle locally that wuld rave made such meetings ineviable had the Union Defense luard not existed.

This isn't saying the fascists won't try to hold meetings here. The legislative attacks against the anion movement, such as Stassen's anti-labor bill, will embolden the bosses and their agents. The next drop in the business index will bring the fascists.

When that time comes, Minneapolis will be ready. The workers of every city must prepare now so that they can say the same thing. Trade unionists everywhere who are interested in further details and aid in setting up Guard units have been invited to correspond with Guard Commander, % General Drivers Union local 544, 237 Plymouth Avenue South, Minneapolis, Minnesota.

> GREETINGS to the APPEAL

A group of Food Workers in LOCAL 453

"Long Live the Fourth International!"

FIGHT FOR WORKERS' LIBERATION, NOT FOR BOSS PROFITS

Nothing is more ghastly than the cold-blooded preparations being made throughout the world to plunge millions of people into the horrors of a new international war.

Nothing is more vile than the cynicism with which the ruling classes are planning the deliberate duping of the cannon-fodder by covering up their ignoble and sordid aims with noble and idealistic catchwords.

The masters of every imperialist country count on two things for the effective carrying out of their war plans: First, the forgetfulness of the masses, the hope that they will not recall how they were tricked into the last world slaughter by the slogans of "the war to end all wars" and the "war to make the world safe for democracy."

Second, the huge propaganda machinery which they operate—the press, the radio, the movies, the pulpit, the schools-and by means of which they din into the ears of the people, day in and day out, the lies calculated to convince the unthinking that they are to be blown to bits in a "just

Since the coming war involves no small thing-the limbs, life or liberty of the masses!—it would be well for everyone to reflect on the real significance of the war in which he will be called upon to fight and die.

Who Does the Fighting? (And the Dvina!)

The question of who does the fighting and the dying can be and in actuality is settled only on a class basis.

Despite the alleged popularity of imperialist war nowadays, both fascist and "democratic" countries immediately resort to conscription. The fact that they do not rely upon volunteers to make up their fighting forces is itself enough to show how little confidence they have in the attractiveness

Now, according to the conscription laws, everybody of a certain age and fitness is subject to serve in the war-rich man as well as poor. But how does it work out in practice? Except for a comparative few, workers are generally conscripted for active service. The government argues that they can usually be replaced in industry by younger people, by older folk, by women. With the industrial and financial magnates of the country, however, the case is different. They are "indispensable." These parasites cannot be replaced, it is said, in the commanding positions of factories and banks. If they are put into uniform, they are kept safely at home, and become "dollar-a-year" men.

That is why, in all modern wars, it is the workers and farmers who see active service and are killed off by the millions while, with few unimportant exceptions, the capitalist class emerges from the war not only sound in limb but

The last World War, like the next one, is a bosses' war with working class cannon-fodder.

What Are You Going to Fight For?

How is it that in spite of all the solemn oaths sworn by the ruling class and its governments, wars nevertheless continue to break out periodically? Pledges, pacts, treaties, promises. Leagues of Nations-none of these prevent war from recurring with increasing frequency.

Why? Is it just because the capitalist rulers are evilminded, because they like war for its own sake? No, that is not the basic reason.

The basic reason must be sought in capitalism itself. It BREEDS war as its inevitable and natural product. To live, capitalism must expand. It must find ever new sources of raw materials, markets for its products, fields for financial investment, for if it stands still, it dies.

But the world is, after all, limited in space and population and resources. Moreover, it is already divided up among half a dozen great imperial powers. Each and all of them must expand. There can be no question of one of them voluntarily handing over its colonies, its investment possibilities, its markets to a rival power. Quite the contrary. Each of them seeks-must seek-to gain control over more than it already has. Otherwise, the sources of its profits would dry up, and without profit capitalism has no meaning.

For certain periods of time this incessant conflict is "resolved" peacefully, that is, without actual resort to arms. In these periods, each imperialist power jockeys for a better position. It exercizes diplomatic pressure, trade pressure, financial pressure to better its economic position.

But after a time, all of them run up against a brick wall. It becomes impossible for any one of them to make another move forward by "peaceful" means. There is nothing left for them to do but decide by armed struggle who is going to be master of the world or of its largest portion.

Then war breaks out!

The last World War was fought to decide whether England or Germany would be the principal economic power in the world. Millions died in order that England. France and the United States should dominate the world among them. Countries like Germany were reduced to the position of poor relations, second-class citizens in the imperialist family.

The coming World War is to be fought to decide whether Germany (and her all.es) are to get back the loot stolen from her by England (and her allies), which Germany, in turn, like all the imperialist powers, stole from hundreds of m 1lions of coionial and semi-colonial slaves throughout the

A new generation of millions must therefore die in order to determine which gang of exploiters—German or English, French or Italian, American or Japanese-is to gain most from coining profits out of the bland and sweat of the toilers

In 1919, after he had dragged the United States into the World War, President Wilson asked, in a St. Louis speech, if there was even a child who did not understand that the war was a commercial war. Twenty years later, let us hope, there will not be a child, much less an adult, who does not understand that the coming war is to be essentially the same as the war of 1914-1918.

Yes, But What About the Danger of Fascism?

This will be a sacred war, a just war, a war to defend our hearths, our democracy from the assaults of fascism, which every decent human being detests and should be ready

Of course, of course! There never was a war for profit that wasn't dressed up to look like a war for a lofty ideal. Does anyone think that Daladier could get a single French worker to fight in a war whose openly-announced object was to keep Czechoslovakia as a vassal of French capital instead

Could Chamberlain get a single British worker to fight in a war whose openly-announced object was to protect the profits of English bankers from the envious assaults of German bankers?

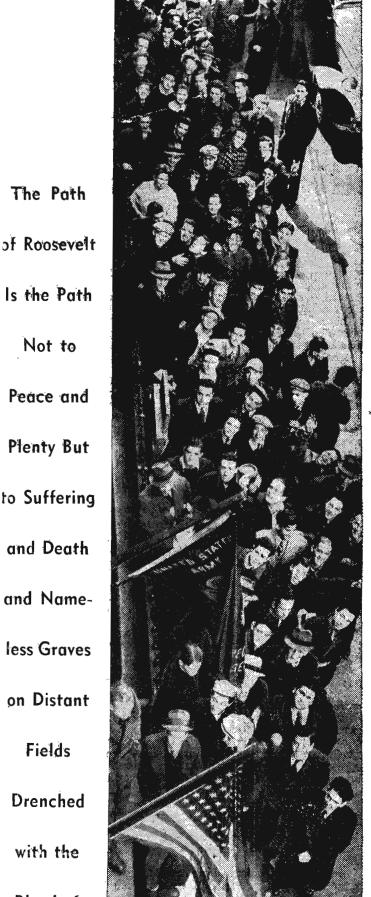
Could Roosevelt get a single American worker to fight in a war whose openly-announced object was to protect the profits of Standard Oil in China from encroachments by Japanese capitalism?

The only way to make the war even partly attractive is to deny any "base, commercial" motives and to insist that 'our" aims in the war are of the purest: Defend the fatherland, protect our womanhood, defend democracy, save civilization, preserve our children, end war . . . and smash

But that's exactly how the masses were tricked into the last war. Take the German social democrats, who supported the Kaiser in his war against Russia. What were their arguments? Did they declare their love for the Kaiser, for monarchism, for Prussianism? Generally speaking, no. All they were doing, by their war support, was to defend German civilization, German progress, the German labor movement

from the menace of Czarist barbarism! Here was their argument: Germany is not perfect, by any means. But at least here the labor movement is legal

We Summon American Youth to Struggle for a New Life, Not to Find Foul Death in Fighting the Bosses' Battles



The Path

Not to

Fields

Drenched

with the

Blood of

Our Fellow-

Workers

of All

Countries.

ized under capitalism has of a few decades ago. doomed to permanent unemployment in the United States. liberate themselves from de-

isting between garbage cans,

every opportunity, refused evwill live the only kind of life the life of crime.

United States as a result is a cess as a salesman. population of youth. The age under twenty-five.

Economic Crimes

crimes for which American for something worthwhile. boys and girls have been imprisoned are either directly completely changed. All sci- ward capitalism and unfailingeconomic crimes, according to entific surveys of American ly joins the struggle to smash the most authoritative crimi- youth today agree without ex- capitalism and replace it with nologists, or directly due to ception that (1) industry has a socialist society which will thority has placed himself on jority of youth no matter how remaining 7% of crimes could ambitious they are or how loy- ernment representing the interbe ultimately shown to be due al they might be to a prospecto economic reasons. In plain tive boss. (2) American boys fears youth, and more and language this means that the and girls are pessimistic about more attempts to throttle and sacrifice of which youth is camajority of inmates of Ameri- the future, they feel aimless, stifle American youth. One of pable—these are the very qualcan prisons are inmates because they have been denied gloomy, out of place, not wantall hope of obtaining a job. Many surveys of youth in America—their beliefs, their moods, their thoughts of the learned scientists who are ex- to marry.

No Jobs for Youth

These 3,0,0,000 youths are one graduating from a high a way out. barred from their rightful school or a college, if he were place in society. They cannot endowed with just ordinary continue school; they cannot pluck, intelligence, and ambi-titled to his share of air to em turns over to a small usependence upon their fathers find a place in industry. He his share of water to drink be- must come from the ranks of and mothers; they cannot could become an engineer, a cause he becomes thirsty, so Thousands of them are skilled tradesman such as a good to satisfy his hunger and forced into vagabondage, ex- plumber, carpenter, steel by that token a job. worker, brick mason, mechabegging and panhandling - nic, or if these avenues were live, most backward types of is the future decaying capitalshuttling back and forth on temporarily blocked he could human society such as that in ism offers youth. And for those freight trains endlessly be-always find a job as an ordi-which the aborigines of Austween the large centers of the nary laborer or a semiskilled tralia live would consider it becountry, hopeless, miserable, worker. If he succeeded in yond question that every one Thousands of them turn to a school he could become a tech-titled to his share of the tribal life of crime, feeling that if nician, a professor, or a re- food and tribal huts in return they have been shut out from search worker. If he had a lit- for performing his share of the ery chance to like human it was not extremely difficult society which denies this most beings, scorned and harried, to borrow five hundred or a elemental of human rights dedenied a trade, denied an edu- thousand dollars - he could spite the willingness of the incation, denied jobs, then they start up a little store, a ser-dividual to work is capitalist vice station or garage, at least apparently left open to them | a hot dog stand. If he was long on brass and a glutton for pun-The prison population of the ishment, he could make a suc-

of the average inmate in the great hopes for the future, youth who has not figured out average American prison is plenty of optimism; there real- what is wrong feels gloomy, ly seemed no limit to opportunity in America if one genu-Even more significant is the inely wanted to work and had That is why every youth who fact that at least 93% of the enough ambition to set his goal has at last discovered that it

without a basic philosophy, ed, frustrated. Entitled to Food

call "sex delinquencies" of camp or in the army-exactly their chances under youth-falling in love without a the way Hitler and Mussolini capitalism in the United job that would make it possible treat youth under their dicta- ple will find the place they are States have been made by steep increase in what they

The long lines of youth seeking admission to the C.C.C. are heading straight for militarization, for the army,

for the filthy battlefields of a new boss war, and for the

silent graves that are the only haven that capitalism

offers the youth of this generation, as it did for the last

000 American boys and girls, some extremely interesting level of what they call the States army generals to miliaccording to the most corser- and significant facts about the "criminal,"—the boy or girl tarize the C.C.C. camps is invative estimates, whom indus- condition of American youth who refuses to hang himself creasing steadily. Of course, try as controlled and disorgan today as compared with that or die by starvation because all these agents of the capital-Almost up until 1929, any- perate avenue that looks like derstand perfectly that the

tion could more or less easily breathe because he needs it, doctor, an office worker, a is he entitled to his share of

Even the lowest, most primspending enough years in born into the tribe was entle capital—and in those days tribal work. The only kind of society. Society at Fault

antagonism on the part of youth against capitalism in Youth in those days had America. That is why every depressed, hopeless and worries about his own normality. is society and not he who is at Now the entire situation is fault feels the deepest hate to nant place with unlimited opeconomic reasons. And one au- no jobs to offer the great ma- give him the place that is his. That is the reason too why record as convinced that the willing they are to work or how the Roosevelt regime as a govests of the capitalist profiteers Roosevelt's right hand men has advised very deliberately that every youth in the United the Socialist Workers Party States should be forced to and the Young People's Social-Moralists are alarmed at the serve a term either in a labor ist League—the vanguard of

Army Pressure perts at gathering statistics. Criminologists are alarmed For the same reason the

industry won't give him a job ist class are looking forward and who turns to the first des- to the coming war. They unbulk of the soldiers whom they There is no youth who does need to preserve the capitalist not feel that just as he is en- system and the profits this sysless minority of stockholders

> The bayone's of the army, a violent horrible death on a foreign battlefield, labor camps encircled by barbed wire-this who escape this miserable fate, capitalism now entering the period of its death agony, offers only hopelessness, misery, frustration, starvation in the midst of a country choked with the good things that could make life pleasant for every

Revolutionists Welcome

Youth's place is among the ranks of the revolutionaries who are struggling to destroy the capitalist system and re-That is why there is a deep place it with socialism, among the ranks of those fighting to build a society in which all the machines, all the natural resources, all the means of production are owned by those who wofk and where industry is run to produce goods for the benefit of every single person who is born. In a system like this, youth would have a domiportunities and a future as bright as the present one is dark.

In the ranks of the revolutionaries in the Socialist Workers Party and in the Young Feople's Socialist League, youth will find a welcome. All the boundless courage, loyalty and intelligence, all the selfities needed to destroy capitalism and usher in socialism. In the socialist revolution in the United States-the young peo-

> REVOLUTIONARYGREETINGS

ALLENTOWN BRANCH

Pennsylvania

A Group of Comrades

WPA TEACHERS UNION LOCAL 453

American Federation of Teachers

the workers themselves. They have not and cannot have

tion and the liberation of humanity. Their enemy? HE IS RIGHT HERE! His name is capitalism. His forces are the capitalist class and its servants, in office and out. Smash capitalism-and you smash fascism, you smash war, you smash exploitation, oppression, misery,

imperialistic motives. Their only aim can be their own libera-

In that war-and it is the only just war-let every worker enlist. Let him choose a leadership of his own, one that is trustworthy, one that is truly devoted to his interests and is ready to fight aggressively and consisently for them.

The class war for freedom-against the imperialist war

Under that sign, the working class can and will triumph,

Long Live Workers' India— Free from British Rule!

A Group of Indian Workers in America

Forward to a Socialist America TEACHERS' BRANCH of Local NEW YORK

and powerful; so is the social-democratic party; so are the cooperatives, etc. In Russia, however, both the unions and the socialist movement are outlawed, and their leaders cruelly persecuted, imprisoned, murdered. There is no freedom of the press, of assembly, of speech, no right to organize. In a word—no democracy at all! We are, therefore, not only defending German labor, and a good deal of democracy, but

The French and English and Austrian and Italian and American social-patriots argued, substantially, the same

What happened in actuality? Two things: First: during the war, even the few democratic rights permitted labor by the Kaiser were abolished in Germany. Second: when the Russian masses did overthrow the Czar, the German "freedom-bringing" bayonets were the first to be used in an effort to stab the revolution through the heart so that Czarism might be restored.

Similarly now. In the Sacred War against Fascism, labor in the "democratic" countries will be deprived of the right to strike, of the right to organize. Where its press is allowed to circulate, it will be heavily censored. Where its meetings are allowed, its speakers will be gagged. Where its organizations are unsuppressed, they will be fettered and paralyzed. As in the United States during the last war, striking workers will be deported from one state to another and put in concentration camps; its leaders will be jailed or lynched; its press prohibited.

Fascism smashes the standard of living of the workers; it compels them to work long, wearying hours at low wages. But France, which is preparing a "democratic war against

fascism," has already forced the workers off the 40-hour week, raised it to 45 hours and in war industries-and what isn't a war industry?—the work-week is already 60 hours. Tomorrow, the sky will be the limit.

Fighting 'fascism' under capitalist leadership-which means merely fighting an imperialist rival—is a fraud, behind which stands the living reality of totalitarian dictatorship and serfdom for the workers in the "democracies."

Fighting "fascism" for the "independence of small nations" is another fraud, behind which stands the living reality of the small and large nations, like India, Ireland, the Phillipines, Syria, Tunis and others, which were long ago deprived of their independence by the "democratic" imperial-

Yet There IS a Just War to Fight

Fascism must nevertheless be fought, together with all forms of exploitation and oppression. And it is the workers who must do the fighting. That is absolutely correct and necessary.

But such a war cannot be fought under the leadership and control of a class which exploits the noblest sentiments of humankind for the basest imperialist purposes, which uses the slogan of "anti-fascism" merely to protect its self and power. What confidence can an intelligent worker place in the real rulers of the country—the Morgans, Rockefellers, Sloans, Fords, Girdlers, Weirs and similars-as warriors in the "struggle for democracy" and the "freedom of oppressed peoples"? Not an ounce-unless he has less sense than the child to whom Woodrow Wilson referred in 1919.

Such a war can be fought only under the leadership of

by defeating the Czar in battle, we will bring freedom to the Russian masses at the end of our bayonets.

JOIN THE SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY IN THE FIGHT FOR FREEDOM!

Death Agony of Capitalism-A Transition

Program Leading to Socialist Victory

true interests.

tional points out.

of the poverty-stricken.

A Workers Program

The Pathway to Plenty

By BILL MORGAN

The most important task fac ing the workers of America today is the task of solving the life and death questions of food, rent clothing, fuel and medical care And on top of these vital prop lems is the coming war in which millions of men, women and child ren will be dragged to death and disease for the profits of the bi bosses and the bankers who have huge investments to protect.

These are the questions which can not be solved by any dictato or self-appointed group of well wishers who are willing to give the workers' lives to protect their investments and their private property. These are questions which can be decided in the interests of the workers only by the workers themselves.

The Socialist Workers Party, whose aim is to establish socialism and abolish capitalism, invites workers on this historic May Day to examine the program and activity of the Trotskyists in the light of these questions.

Workers Must Judge The workers themselves must judge which party, which program, can best carry on the fight for jobs, for peace and for a decent life for all. The workers must examine the parties and pro-

ners of the two demonstrations. ablished a reputation as a miliant and bold fighter in the in erests of the working class. To very important event the S.W.P. has reacted in a serious and responsible fashion. No other part, ook the lead in the fight against war at a time when the "fascist ggressors" and the "peace-loving emocrati." nations were prepar ng at Munich to plunge all hunanity into an international plood-bath of destruction for a relivision of the world's resources and markets.

It remained for the Socialist Workers Party to issue, "three imes a week, its newspaper, the Socialist Appeal with a clear and. sharp analysis of the situation and with clear and militant op position to all boss war. The Communist Party was howling for war-for support of bigger battle ships and more poison gas and it was demanding that American workers be dragged into a slaughter for "democracy."

The poor old party of Normar Thomas was asleep at the switch with all the nice liberals and fakers in the Keep America Out grams of the Communist Party of War Committee when every and the Socialist Workers Party. Intelligent worker knows that

Greetings to Socialist Appeal

CLEVELAND SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY

and YOUNG PEOPLES SOCIALIST LEAGUE

5716 Euclid Avenue, Cleveland

Revolutionary May Day Greetings from the

DOWNTOWN BRANCH of Local NEW YORK

"Forward to a Daily Appeal"

MAY DAY GREETINGS

from

LOCAL NEW YORK CITY COMMITTEE

May Day Greetings

Quakertown Branch

Forward to a Daily Appeal! WASHINGTON, D. C.

BRANCH

May Day Greetings State, County and Municipal Workers of America —A Group of Members Forward to International Socialism!

SOUTH BEND BRANCH

For a Workers and Farmers Government!

Louisville, Ky., Branch

May Day Greetings from READING BRANCH

And on May Day the differences | America cannot be isolated from | history of the city, will stand out clearly and do the entire world when world war isively in the slogans and ban- is on the order of the day. It was out its line of patriotism and be- tives of everything rotten in capi- world that it alone calls for the won if the workers prepare to only the Socialist Workers Party trayal, urged the workers to re- talism. The Roosevelts and the revolutionary overthrow of capi- wage a fearless fight. The six The Socialist Workers Party, which, alive to events and quick main at home and not pirket the LaGuardias give a "liberal" col- talism and the establishing of a hour day is a burning demand and parely a year old, has already es to act, took the responsibility of fascists. The Communist Party of oring to the national and city Socialist America. The S.W.P. and would provide work for thousand

trickery of the capitalists. Anti-Bund Ralty Bund in collaboration with other ascist organizations in New York, dared to insult the workers of the labor movement and all the Trotskyists were there to diminority groups in New York. rect the picket line and lead in Vens of thousands of workers ral- the fight. ied under the Trotskyist banner and picketed the Garden against

New York City. 25c)

come off the press.

Switzerland" on September 3, 1938.

When the German American Hitler"! The Norman Thomasos off relief and W.P.A. The Roose- union wages, and decent homes start to the problem of raising the also remained at home, weeping. Party which called the workers for the poor unemployed and the The S.W.P. says clearly and sharp tories by the unemployed, operat by holding a large meeting in to fight for their labor unions and persecuted minorities, are the rep- by that no united front with the ed by workers' control, would Madison Square Garden on Feb. for their lives against the fas-20 of this year, the S.W.P. was cists now, before the fascists grow gain on the job in the interests in numbers and strength. Only

For Revolutionary Struggle The other parties spend their the will of the largest assembly of time and efforts in extolling the they must be exposed for what

(THE FOUNDING CONGRESS of the FOURTH INTER-

NATIONAL-WORLD PARTY OF THE SOCIALIST REVO-

LUTION-PROGRAM AND RESOLUTIONS. Published by

the SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY of the United States,

Section of the Fourth International, 116 University Place,

by agents of Stalin's undercover hatchet organization, the

G.P.U., warned the delegates then assembling for the con-

ference which was to found the Fourth International that

their enemies would stop at nothing to prevent the conference

from being held. The utmost precautions were therefore

taken and the conference convened secretly "somewhere in

statutes of the Fourth International which was formed there,

are now available in a booklet of 127 pages which has just

The resolutions of that conference together with the

The Death Agony of Capitalism

Besides resolutions which explain and clarify problems

concerning different national sections adhering to the Fourth

International, it contains resolutions on the rapidly approach-

ing Imperialist War, on the conflict Japan is waging on

China, on what is happening in the Soviet Union, a resolution

on the World Role of American Imperialism, and a resolution

on the Death Agony of Capitalism and the Tasks of the Fourth

International with particular application to the United States.

trade unionist and progressive interested in the labor move-

ment. They are written and printed with an eye to ease in

reading and the explanations utilize concrete examples and

references to actual happenings and men in the political and

trade union fields in order to make every point crystal clear.

revolution inside the United States which would overthrow

the present system of profit gouging and replace it with a

system where the productive forces would be organized for

the benefit of the people as a whole, the section on the Death

After first describing the decay of capitalism as a world-

wide system, its present headlong plunge into world war and

fascism, the most barbarous form of capitalism, the resolu-

tion blocks out in general the steps which must be taken in

order to smash forever this system of hunger, misery, and

lution, is the gap between the maturity of the revolutionary

conditions and the immaturity of the workers and their most

progressive sections (the colossal capacity of the productive

system to produce as contrasted with the failure of the work-

ers to grasp the idea that a small handful of stockholders

should be ousted from their blockade of this productive

For generations the capitalists and their agents have

drilled misleading conceptions into the heads of the workers, such as the belief that a worker can rise out of the class of

workers into the class of capitalists, the belief that it is to

the workers' own good to let the capitalists take all the profit

out of the goods produced by the workers, the belief that it

is "justice" to let a capitalist own the factories, mines,

machines, railroads, etc. All these ideas, of course, are

completely wrong and of benefit to no one but a handful of

stockholders, who take advantage of these false beliefs to

tive system to such a high degree that it can produce un-

limited, almost incredible amounts of goods of every kind

of mankind, so long as it is controlled by a handful of stock-

holders can lead only to increasing misery, increasing unem-

ployment, lack of opportunity for the individual, more vicious regimentation, and the most horrible wars and fascism. This

seems paradoxical but anyone who has ever hunted for a job since 1929 knows that it is a truth not very difficult to

Starvation In the Midst of Plenty

The paradox of starvation in the midst of plenty is the

Only by cleaning out the stockholders who are blocking

most violent and glaring feature of capitalism in its period

production and organizing industry under the exclusive con-

At the same time capitalism has developed the produc-

But this same giant capacity to produce for the benefit

keep the worker slaving away docilely for them.

Main Pillars of Capitalism

of old age, decline, and death agony.

and description.

The most difficult problem to overcome, states the reso-

How to Smash the System

Agony of Capitalism is particularly illuminating.

To anyone who has wondered how to organize a workers

These resolutions are of utmost importance to every

The kidnapping and murder of Rudolf Klement in Paris

as and the Roosevelts who today. The Socialist Workers Party on | mediate demands which must be | can a labor party be made a weap-The Communist Party, carrying are the outstanding representations May Day proclaims to the fought for now and which can be on for the workers' interests. coming forward and exposing the Stalin and Browder called the governments which cut relief, es- nounces openly that only by the of workers in every industry. The workers who picketed the fascist tablish sales taxes, spend billions revolutionary struggle of the five-day week with a minimum o meeting the "blood brothers of for war and who throw millions workers can jobs for all at trade \$30 per week will furnish a good

velts and the LaGuardias, no and complete medical care be pro-It was the Socialist Workers matter how sorry they claim to be vided for the workers of America. The taking over of the idle fac resentatives of political machines bosses or their stooges will ever controlled by industrialists and win anything for the workers, provided or else the workers then bankers. They do the dirty work Our party alone accepts the reof holding down the workers in lentless class struggle which the name of "liberalism" for the makes no compromises with capiowners of all the private property talist governments, including and the banks. They are the "left covering" of the capitalists. And

Our party knows and recognizes

trol of the workers, can this situation be solved. The ability

of the toilers to do this is beyond question. A small group

of stockholders, physically shot from riotous living and men-

tally incompetent, cannot stand up against the united power

of the millions of workers and poor farmers. The stock-

holders continue in power only because the toilers are divided

reasons for this carefully, pointing out that the toilers have

not taken over industry long ago to run it for the benefit of

the people as a whole because their leaders, the Stalinists,

the Social Democrats, the trade union bureaucrats are more

concerned about the interests of the stockholders than the

interests of the workers. As a result, these "leaders," more

properly called "fakirs," either through ignorance them-

selves or deliberate design keep the workers blinded to their

But this situation grows every day more and more intolerable and the workers and poor farmers are continually

Under the descriptive title, "program of transitional de-

turning and twisting, hunting for the pathway that will cut

from their destitution to the plenty that surrounds them. It

is this pathway which the resolution of the Fourth Interna-

mands," that is, demands which stem from the present

beliefs of the workers and their present economic condition

but which in application lead inevitably to their seeing the

need for a revolutionary solution, the resolution proposes a

series of slogans that will have tremendous appeal to millions

and Farmers government to replace the present capitalist

government. For more than a century and a half the capital-

ists have been tricking the workers and farmers into choos-

ing between two capitalist parties which have never had any

essential difference from each other so far as the poor are

concerned. No matter which party was placed in power it

unfailingly has upheld the interests of the capitalists and

legislated and governed against the interests of the workers

and farmers. It is high time that the workers and farmers

The first step proposed in this direction is the building

Such a party should have as its program the following

A demand for a wage scale for all labor that would rise

A demand for a work week that would take care of in-

A demand for a guaranteed minimum wage that would

Uncompromising struggle against the coming capitalist

The organization of workers' guards to defend workers'

Workers' control of industry and the opening of all idle

Every one of these slogans is completely sensible and easily realizable if the workers begin demanding them and

war and the demand that all war funds should be turned over

immediately for the relief of the unemployed through a giant

organizations against scabs, thugs, armed company guards,

factories to be run for the benefit of the workers without

organizing in militant fashion to obtain them. But the capi-

talist class cannot grant these demands without signing their

own death warrant. That is why they open up the road to

The complete program can by no means be presented in

a short review, nor all the steps that will lead to the launch-

ing of the socialist revolution in the United States. For the

more complete details given in the resolutions passed at the

founding conference of the Fourth International it is neces-

sary to read the pamphlet itself. It can be obtained from all

branches of the Socialist Workers Party or by sending 25c

in coin or stamps to the headquarters of the Socialist Workers

Party at 116 University Place, New York City.

of a mass political party that will represent the interests of

major points and struggle militantly to put them into actual

creasing unemployment by shortening the number of work

hours per week (without a weekly reduction in pay) in order

provide everyone with a decent standard of living.

put their own representatives into power.

with every rise in the cost of living.

to give jobs to all the unemployed.

Oppose Capitalist War

program of useful public works.

fascists, and other anti-labor elements

having to pay a profit to stockholders.

Read the Complete Program

Chief among these proposals is the demand for a Workers

The resolution of the Fourth International explains the

and caught in the web of a traditional misleadership.

standard of living in America make it clear that work must be selves are ready to take over in dustry as a whole. The human in terests of workers in their jobs comes before the property interests of the bosses. The Socialist Workers Party

knows full well that only by a long and hard fight will the work ers of America win economic and party to support real labor polifrom the existing labor parties. They must fight for real demands and real representation. The Comnunist Party and the Social-Demcrats make deals with the Repubican politicians and they urge vorkers to support boss candilates. We say that only through enuine independent labor action

Powerful Ideas

Our party is small in numbers out our ideas are powerful and will spread. The party of Lenin was small but its ideas were correct and its members were tough. hardened Bolsheviks. The Socialist Workers Party holds high the banner of Lenin and Trotsky. It will grow in numbers and influ-

our program and our action and judge for themselves. Shall it be he party of war-mongering and bootlicking, like the Communist Party, or shall it be the party of class struggle and revolutionary socialism-the Socialist Workers Party? There is little time to decide. The war is not far away. Every day thousands of workers political independence. Our party are thrown off W.P.A. and relief. urges workers to form a Labor | Every day the reaction against labor grows stronger. The Socialist ies and real labor candidates. Workers Party invites all honest and militant workers to join in a Workers Party invites all honest akers and professional politicians struggle for real security, for real peace, for Socialism!

All War Funds to the Unemployed!

For the Six Hour Day—the Five Day Week-\$30 Weekly Minimum Pau!

Against Imperialist War! Open the Idle Factories! Build Workers' Defense Guards!

"Forward to Workers' Power with the Fourth International!"

BROWNSVILLE BRANCH of Local NEW YORK

"For a Powerful Fourth International In Michigan's Auto Centers!"

DETROIT and FLINT BRANCHES, S. W. P.

Revolutionary Greetings

LYNN, MASSACHUSETTS, BRANCH

ANTOINETTE KONIKOW UNIT, Y.P.S.L:

May Day Greetings LOWER EAST SIDE BRANCH New York Local

For a Workers' and Farmers' Government In the United States ST. PAUL BRANCH

> Forward to a Daily Appeal! NEEDLE TRADES BRANCH of Local New York

Needle Trades Branch meets Thursdays at 6:30 125 West 33rd Street, Workers Cultural Center Open Educational Meetings Every Other Week

May Day Greetings

NEW HAVEN BRANCH

From the Front-Line Trenches Against Harvey Fascism

ASTORIA BRANCH

of Local New York

We again request that no

Revolutionary Greetings

UPPER WEST SIDE BR.

of New York

May Day Greetings Professional Restaurant from

ROCHESTER BRANCH

May Day Greetings from

3423 Woodward, Detroit

Good Food at Reasonable Prices

GREETINGS from Sympathizers in READING, Pa.

A. Adams

J. Adams D. Boarder

V. Boarder

M. Boarder

V. Trate

BUILD A WORKERS AND FARMERS GOVERNMENT IN THE UNITED STATES

MINNEAPOLIS BRANCH OF THE S.W.P.

Revolutionary Greetings

To the SOCIALIST APPEAL on May Day! BRONX BRANCH of LOCAL NEW YORK

LONG LIVE THE SOCIALIST REVOLUTION! "FORWARD TO A DAILY APPEAL!"

BOSTON BRANCH OF THE S.W.P.

Forward to the Workers Revolution!

NOTICE

more special combination subscriptions to the AP-PEAL and NEW INTERNA-TIONAL be sent in. Our special offer expired over one month ago and we

definitely will not accept

from Philadelphia **Branch**

socialist revolution.

By Paul G. Stevens =

Brazilian Communists Move To-

wards 4th Internationalist Position Some months ago, the Appeal reported on a split which had taken place between the San Paolo state organization and the Communist Party of Brazil. Arising over differences on national policy, the San Paolo opposition, contacted by Fourth Internationalists, extended the split to the Communist International on the international questions. Meantime, the Regional Committee of the organization, in its bulletin, posed the question of affiliation to the Fourth International. A lively

One of the former leaders of the C.P., whose authority was particularly great several years ago, has written a letter to the San Paolo Committee, declaring himself in favor of affiliation to the 4th. This fact is especially significant because the comrade in question had no previous relations with the dissident movement.

discussion has been taking place on this

In another state, Parana, in the Southern section of the country, the dissident movement in the C. P. which had, due to the imprisonment of almost all its leaders, lost all contact with the San Paolo opposition, has now spontaneously developed to the Trotskyist position. Early this year, one of the leaders of the group was released from jail. This comrade, an old communist militant, reorganized the group which unanimously decided to join the Fourth International. Their resolution was adopted without their knowing that the San Paolo organization had publicly broken with the Communist International. There had never been a Trotskyist movement in the State of Parana before. Their first contact with the Fourth International was made by a delegate whom they sent to Rio de Janeiro for that purpose.

A preliminary conference, in which the dissident groups of San Paolo and Parana, as well as the Leninist Workers Party (Brazilian Section of the 4th International) participated, was recently held. The resolutions and decisions of the conference have not yet reached us. But, from the information we have at hand, it is clear that a strong Brazilian section of the Fourth International is in the mak-

Ta-Tu-Thau Barred from Elections to Colonial Council

No sooner freed from prison, where he contracted a serious illness, our comrade Ta-Tu-Thau immediately joined the campaign of the Indo-Chinese section for elections to the Colonial Council. Together with comrade Tranvan-Tach, he headed the electoral list decided upon by the party. Although the Colonial Council is in itself a meaningless institution in so far as the rights of the native population are concerned, the electoral platform and the

ballot can be utilized to gauge the sentiment

But it seems that the French governor of Indo-China and his bosses in Paris are afraid the Stalinists fight so constant- talist class. of even such a limited utilization of the suffrage. So the governor has simply disqualified other and thereby only emphathem from standing as candidates. Of course, size the disunity in the ranks there is no legal ground, since both Ta-Tu- of the working class? Thau and Tran-van-Tach have been elected twice before as municipal councillors of Saigon and have successfully fought previous attempts to disbar them. But, apparently, the of labor unity in the struggle fear of a mounting vote of protest around against the class enemy. An these two famous rebel names is enough to answer can be made which is cause the French colonial administration to make light of its own laws.

Both in Indo-China and in France, the move is being fought by our comrades and allied ment, can be of two kinds. If organizations. In Paris, a protest movement the workers are united on a is developing, headed by the Bureau for De-

Swing to "Moderate" Right

'moderate' right. The home-baked Fascists. the "Rex" movement of M. Degrelle, were practically wiped out as a factor in parliament. The Belgian Labor Party lost 54,000 votes and 6 seats; the Stalinists held on to their 9 seats, but lost 18,000 votes as compared with 1936. The Catholics and Liberals, who constitute the "moderate" right, gained to-gether some 200,000 votes and 20 seats and

Our comrades of the Revolutionary Socialist Party also suffered a setback in comparison with their achievements in the municipal elections, even though they did manage to hold 5,000 votes in the Borinage and 2,000 in the Charleroi sections, the two proletarian strongholds of the party.

Generally, the elections appeared to reflect the all-pervading fear of war among the electorate. The defeat of Degrelle naturally indicates how completely unpopular Fascism has become. Fearing war, the masses apparently have not distinguished between the "national defense" policies of the reformists, the Stalinists and the old-line "liberals," except to see some advantage in the traditional attachment of the latter to such a policy.

The general desire among the working class to get whatever they can of a "realizable" protection in parliament before the war breaks out no doubt caused a good many who voted for the P.S.R. in the communal elections to vote for the Labor Party in the national elections. The P.S.R., in a post-election statement recognizes the results as symptomatic of a reactionary period and directs the attention of the Borinage and Charleroi workers to the impending struggle of the miners against the governmental attack on their con-

On the Line . . . with Bill Morgan

Out near Flushing, Long Island, there used to be a swamp which regularly supplied New York with great quantities of mosquitoes. This swamp remained for years a breeder of disease. After some time the city fathers transformed it into a dumping ground for the refuse and garbage collected in the nice shiny trucks which cost the city a pretty penny and sent at least three politicians to the hoosegow when the contracts were investigated.

Each morning the thousands of workers who rode on the elevated train from Flushing looked out the train windows and observed that the swamp was slowly being filled with garbage. Great heaps of garbage burned with a stench and huge clouds of grimy black smoke hung like shrouds over the smouldering fires. Something had to be done about it. . .

A Great Idea Is Born

Then came the idea. The idea of converting the swamp into a money making venture which would bring prosperity back to the largest city in America—the largest city in the world. New York was to be the scene of a great World's Fair, and Grover Whalen. former chief of police, was to be the organizer -the salesman who would make the Fair a

Immediately plans were drawn up and publicity was distributed throughout the world. It was to be the largest, the most gigantic, the most colossal, the most stupendous Fair ever held anywhere. And it certainly is that. It is called "The World of Tomorrow" and it certainly is that. . . .

The only catch to the whole scheme is the unfortunate fact that visitors to the World of Tomorrow will have to pass through the World of Today. And the World of Today which spreads out around New York City is a far cry from the World of Tomorrow. In fact the difference is so decidedly marked that the officials of the Fair have built new highways and new routes so that visitors will see as little as possible of the World of Today. However, the observing visitor, if he looks beyond the fake scenic effects and the fancy indirect lighting, will get a view of how six million workers live and breathe in this. the largest city in the world.

Only half an hour on either side of the World of Tomorrow the visitor can observe some of the worst slums in the entire world. He can visit South Jamaica where tens of thousands of Negroes live in wooden shacks

where the fear of fire is second only to the constant pain of hunger and its accompanying diseases. Where more than half the population is either on home relief or ought to be. . . . Where workers who need clothing have to picket and strike and fight against one of the most reactionary and corrupt county governments in America. Where semi-fascist gangs are used by the city officials to threaten and brow-beat any attempt to expose the graft and corruption of the government and the relief administration. Where thousands of small home owners, in debt to the Home Owners

frame houses for year after year. There are or were more small home owners in Queens County than in any other section of the country. They are, for the most part, workers-trade union members, who

Loan Corporation, are being evicted after

having made payments on small wooden

fense of Colonial Peoples.

Belgian Elections Mark

The general elections held in Belgium on April 2 marked a distinct turn to the so-called now form the government coalition.

thought they could beat the landlords by buying a small home on time payments. But they learned. . . . And the visitors to the World of Tomorrow can hardly miss seeing an eviction unless they stick close to the new, sheltered highways and the indirect lighting.

An Education in Harlem

And if the vistor drives across the new Tri- witnesses to be heard to date Boro Bridge, he will complete his education was introduced by the governif he drives around in Harlem-where more | ment at last Friday's session, than two-hundred thousand Negroes live in one Imre Klein, also known disease-ridden fire traps which bring mighty under a penname as Kenneth high rents to the city's landlords. Harlem- | Huston, Klein, it was brought where the hospitals and public schools are out, was the editor and publishthe worst in the city (and that is saying some- er of the now defunct magathing . . .). Harlem, where one out of every zine "Literary America" with four persons are on the relief rolls and where which Adolph Arnold Rubens wages are as low in proportion as rents are identified himself as an assishigh. Harlem-where, after a serious out-tant-editor. break of fighting and rioting came as the result of poverty and discrimination against the had approached him and offer-Negro, Mayor F. H. LaGuardia refused to ed to contribute financially to make public a report on conditions drawn up the magazine if he were made by a special committee, for fear of further an editor. On payment of vari disturbances. . . .

Then let the visitor, in order to get a com- | Klein agreed. Contracts were plete and thorough picture of the World of drawn up by Blatt, while Rub-Today which surrounds the World of Tomor- ens, in order to maintain the row, drive downtown through Hell's Kitchen myth that he was a writer, acto the Lower West Side and then to the East | quired the title of assistant ed Side and back up again to the Tri-Boro itor. Klein further testified that Bridge. Nothing is fake here. Everything is Rubens' salary, \$50 a week, real and grim. Poverty is the theme and was payed by Rubens to himdisease and hunger and unemployment are self. Rubens would forward the the side-shows. Millions of workers and their money to Klein who would then families enact this, the greatest pageant in history, every day free of charge to the

See the breadlines! See the picket lines! the key to Rubens' "sudden ap- Boerger testified that a person See the fire-traps and the hock-shops! See the children playing base ball on small crowd- office. Indeed, how is it that was frequently dispatched to the G.P.U. origin of the ring. ed streets where taxi cabs and trucks drive this publisher was able to be through center field all during the game! See mothers and babies in the sunlight on the curbstones where garbage and flies wait pa- walked blithely in from the inist tie-up of the defendants tiently for the overworked collectors! See the biggest and most exciting drama of the age! See both the World of Tomorrow and the World of Today for the price of one!!!

Prosperity . . . Not for Workers

And remember that the millions and millions of dollars poured into the World's Fair will bring business and will perhaps return the prosperity which collapsed in 1929 (10 long years ago) to the largest city in the world. Remember that the millions and millions of dollars spent on the World of Tomorrow will be used to provide entertainment and education for the visitors.

Remember that despite the fact that the Fair tried in every way possible to avoid employing union labor, tried to safeguard the visitors from the unpleasant sights of unemployment and cold-water tenement flats, poured millions of dollars into exhibition buildings-all streamlined and air-conditioned —the Fair and its owners are only trying to restore prosperity.

And if the workers of New York cannot afford to see the wonders of the next world now on display in the former swamp, they can rest assured that they can see them when was frequently seen in the

In the World of Labor Labor Unity Is Possible Only On A HOLLYWOOD Program of Class Struggle Action

ly and violently against each

This question is often heard on the lips of workers who honestly and properly feel the need just as honest and proper.

Unity, which is always highly desirable in the labor movecorrect line of policy and action, the unity will be progressive and bring fruitful results. If the unity is achieved along a false line of action, it can only be disastrous from every standpoint.

All the political organizations of labor call for unity. The question that everyone must answer for himself is: Unity for what purpose?

The two main immediate labor from capitalist attack.

bility of reconciling them.

sees in ''Trotskyism'' its prin- capital.'' cipal enemy. For the Socialist Workers Party alone stands for for a militant class struggle of urges the speediest possible de- selves take care of all 'labor aspirations.

By NAT LEVINE

(Special to the Socialist Appeal)
NEW YORK — Although the

prosecution at the passport conspiracy trial in Federal

tinues either to neglect or sup-

press the Stalinist affiliations

which can be adduced the un-

mistakable hand of the G.P.U.

One of the most important

Klein testified that Rubens

ous sums, totalling \$550 in all,

forward it back to Rubens.

Klein's History

But the history of Klein is

pearance" at the magazine's

such dispatch by a man who

vealed a connection with Stal-

In 1933 Klein made application

munist Party. Ever since then

with the Stalinist American

League Against War and Fas-

When last heard of, Klein, a

thin, sallow, greasy-looking in-

dividual, was in Minneapolis.

The appearance of Klein in

Minneapolis in March 1938 co-

incided with the terrific Stalin-

Local 544, the purpose of which

was to try to hang the murder

of Pat Corcoran on the leader-

ship of the General Drivers

Provides False Front

While in Minneapolis, Klein

monthly

tion's

'Fight

Union.

he has intermittently worked Mankoff.

in the entire affair.

Evidence at Passport

Trial Points to G.P.U.

Be Vital, Still Missing

The S.W.P. bases all its ac- all it can to whip up a pro-war a military alliance with Mostivities and principles on the spirit in the labor movement. cow so that the Stalin machine

fundamental and immediate interests of labor, both in this unions are subordinated to this country and in the rest of the policy. That is the reason why

the Foreign Office of the Soviet or may be opposed to plunging Stalinist bureaucracy in the mous "war for democracy." Kremlin. The latter's struggle for self-preservation is conducted at the expense of the Soviet and world masses. The defense of that bureaucracy, not only as recruiting sergeant which is the essential function of the Communist party leadership, therefore also conflicts with the interests of the working class. Why?

The Kremlin bureaucracy's international policy today is based on the attempt to line up "Memocratic" front of such imperialist powers as the aims of the working class in United States, England and this country are, as they must France for the coming war be, the struggle against the with Germany and Japan. The war danger and for the protec- price it is willing to pay for tion of the living standards of such a front is the subjection of the working class to the cap-On both fronts, the Socialist italist class. "If you support Workers Party stands on one us," is the substance of the side and the Communist Party | bureaucracy's appeal to Washon the other. And because each ington, London and Paris, "we of the two organizations takes will see to it, as we did in tion in the defense of its own its policies with the utmost Spain, that private property economic and political interseriousness, there is no possi- will be protected and the labor ests. movement kept in a state of The Communist Party rightly submission to 'progressive' policy causes them to say to government.

from the Minneapolis scene.

agent on American soil, Klein,

Stalinist Connection

completely indisputable.

Poyntz Still Missing

the G.P.U.

it tries to obtain a strangle-hold

The Stalinist campaign for 'unity' means, in reality, unifying the labor movement behind the war machine. It acts -but also as part of the maand fetter the working class. To assure the American rul-

ing class that it has nothing to fear from an alliance with Moscow, the Stalinists outdo everybody in "respectability." That is why Herbert Benjamin, Stalinist agent in the Workers Alliance, which was once a militant defender of the interests of the unemployed, will now declare that the United States is "not a capitalist country. That is why the Stalinists frown on strikes or on any other form of militant labor ac-In effect, the whole Stalinist

the capitalist class: "Don't

"fascist aggressors," but does ask from you is that you make All its activities in the trade | may continue to rule the Soviet

The Communist Party was at one time a revolutionary work-The Communist Party, in on every labor organization ing class movement, with this and all other countries, is, and to squeeze out of it every grand traditions and a glorious however, a mere auxiliary of working class militant who is record. Its subservience to the Stalin gang has brought it to Union, or more exactly, of the the country into another infa- an unprecedented level of degeneration. It is the principal obstacle in the ranks of the labor movement to the progress of the working class.

Its intense hatred of the socalled "Trotskyists" is due enfor American imperialism—all tirely to its fear of our ideas in the interests of the Kremlin and our activities. It understands only too clearly that we chine needed to regiment, gag leave no stone unturned in our work of explaining patiently to situation in which they find themselves. It knows that we are relentless in our exposure of the sordid aims which animate it and its policies. It knows that we will not retreat from our principles, in spite of all the slanders it hurls at us, in spite of all the blows it rains down upon our heads throughout the world.

does stand for the unity of the labor movement, for a real working class unity - which means a united front of labor against its enemies, the capitalist class and the capitalist

Therefore, for example, the worry about us. You have an the labor movement of this Stalinist party in the United ardent defender, in us. We will country on the forward road a consistent policy of revolu- States is in the very forefront see to it that you have no trou- and bring it to the realization acute as it is today. Consetionary labor internationalism, of the war-mongers. It not only ble from labor. We will our- of all its great and legitimate

A Judge Regrets

With the Rabble

His Leniency

As any casual reader of this column may have already discovered, our relations with the Hollywood brethran are anything but cordial. The point of the matter is that we refuse to be civil towards people who, after thirty years of picture making, still operate on the the theory that its forty-five million patrons are nothing but pack of boobs.

But in defense of these millions of movie fans, we charge that Hollywood, obviously without knowing it, a long time ago perfected the three dimensional film. To describe it one would say that it was thick, flat and transparent.

For example, there is "The Story of Alexander Graham Bell," featuring those twin tennis idols, Don Ameche and Tyrone Power. Once having seen it, one leaves the theatre with the conviction that in the hands the masses the truth about the of Hollywood, the Telephone does more to distribute wind than it does to annihilate distance.

When Hollywood takes to the headlines for its material, one would think that the West Coast savants had finally got around to dealing with contemporary social issues in a serious way. But after getting a good look at "Confessions of a Nazi Spy," The Socialist Workers Party one can say of it that its purpose is no more profound than to give the nation a hot case of the heebie-jeebies and work it into uniform for a holy crusade against Berlin.

There was, however, a brief day when Hollywood attempted Such a unity alone can set important things. That day goes back to a time when social and political stress was not as quently, Hollywood could well afford to turn its Klieg lights on some of the evils of capitallist rapacity. No more stirring an anti-war film was ever made than "All Quiet on the Western Front," produced in the early Thirties when war was something to contemplate in retrospect. Lynching got its measure of criticism in the memorable "Fury" and boss terrorism against labor unions was courageously attacked in the equally memorable "Black Fury." But that day is now

The recent announcement by Will Hays of a patriotic cycle ends a dwindling independence and marks the formal founding of a "Washington-Hollywood Axis." The "Drang Nach Annapolis'' has already begun and Old Glory is getting a daily facial and manicure.

Nat Levine

When Mrs. Betty Biancardo, of Cleveland May Celebration

CLEVELAND - "Tsar to Lenin," the famous movie of the Russian Revolution, will be the feature of the May Day celebration held jointly by the S.W.P. and Y.P.S.L. of Cleve-

Following the showing of this inspiring picture, Art Preis "By the way, when you will speak on the subject "Will struck the relief guard with a War Bring Fascism or a Sothe defense was to cover up rusticate among the rural chair did it affect your condicialist Revolution to America?" A Y.P.S.L. speaker will ad-Christopher P. Coleman, law- dress a special appeal to the yer hired by the Department of | youth: "In which army will

by a young Slovenian trio. The celebration will be held at the Slovenian Workingmen's Home, 15335 Waterloo Road on May 1 at 8:00 P.M. The public is invited: subscription 25c.

GREAT BRITAIN DRAFTS YOUTH

ans, acutely conscious of their position, were desperately trying to play both ends to the middle and there was the spectacle of the Rumanian government welcoming a British gation of its own to Berlin.

are willing to make are actually so minor, compared to the German and Italian demands, that the attempt has far more chances of failure than success.

may be assured of getting its copies. Orders and funds sity Place, New York, N. Y.

SOCIETY MOTES Juliet Stuart Poyntz, Whose Testimony Would Even a Duchess Must Do Something About War known also as Krivitsky, a Stalinist of considerable repu-Disturbed by the threat of NEW YORK CITY, April 20.

tation both in New York and war abroad, the Duchess of -Grudgingly and after questhe middle west. Klein was Talleyrand, the former Anna tioning her in open court about also seen with the brother of Gould, who inherited \$80,000,- her condition, Magistrate Over-Court of Ossip Garber; Edward Art Shields, the latter a writer 000 from her father, the late ton Harris today placed an exfor the Daily Worker. After railroad magnate and financier, pectant mother on probation the launching by drivers Local Jay Gould, will leave her Paris 544 of a \$500,000 libel suit home which is famous the rying out his threat to send her of the three men and the vari- against the Daily Worker and world over as the "pink mar- to jail. ous fguitive defendants, among the Minnesota Stalinist organ- ble palace."

them the Moscow imprisoned Robinson-Rubens couple, there Robinson-Rubens couple, there frame-up of labor militants in a 600-acre, \$500,000 estate at hind bars as he first intended.

When Mrs Retty Riangardo

The Minnesota Stannist organization for the latter's intended on a 600-acre, \$500,000 estate at hind bars as he first intended.

When Mrs Retty Riangardo

Agy sufficient evidence from connection with the murder of Tarrytown. Workmen are busi-Corcoran, Klein disappeared by remodeling it to suit the fas-29, came before him charged with disorderly conduct in a

tidious taste of the Duchess. The Duchess is now in her Home Relief station because The thoroughgoing Stalinist background of Klein furnishes 60's. In 1895 she married Count she insisted on maintaining her the answer to his "sudden" re- Boni de Castellane. Divorcing rights too vigorously to please lations with Rubens. When it him in 1906 she married his relief officials, the Magistrate became necessary to provide cousin, the Duke de Talleyrand said: Rubens with a fake front for who died at the age of 78 in his secret activities as a Soviet 1937.

After forty years of swirling then operating the Galleon parties in the gay upper cir-Press, was swiftly requisition- cles of sparkling Paris society, ed by the G.P.U. That Klein it is doubtful that the Countess testified as a witness hostile to will long remain content to his own previous relations with scenes of her Hudson estate.

Although like all the Goulds she is noted for the bizarre ef-Also on the witness stand at | fects she obtains in her dress, Boerger, and her mother, Mrs. and Park Avenues.

Emma Boerger, testified that in each of the five residences has been demonstrated that the MAY NEW INT'L at which the couple lived, a most important government secret room was kept by "Arwitness is missing. That witnold" into which no one was permitted to enter. This secret ness is Juliet Stuart Poyntz. room, it is now clear, served This woman, kidnapped aboard as the real office from which a Soviet ship in the early part Rubens conducted his G.P.U. of 1938, were she to appear on activities in this country. Mrs. the stand, would provide the known to her only as "Bob" most conclusive evidence of Chicago and other midwest That she was kidnapped at a "bought" so easily and with cities from the Rubens home. time when the Rubens case Further evidence of the Stalwas a sensational item in the was furnished by Dorothy Terworld press is in itself shatter-Investigation of Klein has re- ris, a one time friend of Ed- ing evidence of the G.P.U.'s fright at being exposed. For ward Blatt. The witness testiinism that goes back to 1931. fied that during her five year Poyntz herself, a G.P.U. operacquaintance with Blatt she ative in the ring, was growing for membership in the Com- met most of the people in his restless and discontented. circle, among them a David Afraid that she might "talk," Mankoff, it is now revealed, long after the Rubens case is another Stalinist Party mem- | broke. Her own lawyer, who a | sive and Defensive''; another cism and been a close pal of ber, known to many militants year ago described the charge article on the economics of cot-Joe Pass, well known Stalinist in the labor and socialist move- of a G.P.U. snatch as "fantasand editor of that organiza- ment as a C.P. hatchet man. tic," now agrees that Poyntz

magazine, His last activity was in associ- was taken to Moscow against ation with the Stalinist spon- her will. sored Abraham Lincoln Brigade as a recruiter of American the present trial is the unvolunteers for service in Spain. breakable silence maintained Left to Right. The association of Blatt with by "America's Most Interestple," it has turned out, were about the entire affair. Its ex-Blatt's best friends, all of pert on foreign espionage, Low-Stalinist background is now of the Nazi Spy trial embraced prosecutor Dunigan as "Comcompany of Red Kramer, nesses appear on the stand, itecuting G.P.U. agents.

ist slander campaign against that he was duped by "certain reporting Spy Cases, hasn't as rent political and other literapeople." These "certain peo- much as printed a comma ture.

whom are Stalmists. His own ell Wakefield, who at the time orders so that every branch rade Les," has had nothing to should be addressed to The No matter how many wit-say about Les who is now pros- New International, 116 Univer-

"Oh, you're the woman who's pregnant?' He then disdainfully directed | iand.

that a chair be brought and asked:

for six months instead of car-

Later he expressed regret

tion?"

Welfare to prosecute relief you enlist!" A program of both the Friday and Monday at present she is in deep cases which the Department musical entertainment and revsessions of the trial were the mourning for her sister. But cannot dismiss without the aid olutionary songs will be given two sisters and the mother of that hasn't stopped her from of a judge, interrupted to say Ruth Marie Rubens. Her two wining and dining in the fash- that "justice" would best be sisters, Constance and Gladys ionable restaurants of Fifth served by placing Mrs. Biancardo on probation.

FEATURES PIVERT-TROTSKY LETTERS Correspondence between Le-

on Trotsky and two of the most prominent leaders of the P.S.O.P. (Workers and Peasants Socialist Party) of France, is the principal feature of the May issue of the New International, which is to appear on the newsstands next week.

The correspondence deals with the problems of the French revolutionary movement, in particular the question of the relations between the P.S.O.P. and the Fourth International

Other articles include the concluding section of the late the G.P.U. kidnapped her not Gregory Zinoviev's highly topical study of "Wars-Aggreston farming in the United States, by Jerry Pytlak; Alpha writes on the famous "Stalin Method of Work"; Dwight An interesting sidelight to Macdonald continues with his department "Reading from

In addition, there are sever-Mankoff is quite striking in ing Newspaper." The Daily al other features, including that it exposes Blatt's bluff Worker, which specializes in book reviews of important cur-

> The Manager urges the immediate sending in of advance

(Continued from Page 1)

trade delegation at Bucharest while dispatching a trade dele-War Moves Continue In this situation it is easy to see that the British might perceive some wisdom in giving a fresh try to an "appeasement" policy in the form of some concessions to the axis. At the same time the concessions they

That is why war preparations continue without let-up and that is why Britain is driving ahead to mobilize the British workers through conscription and the French, passing rigid laws directed at press freedom and otherwise regimenting labor, are getting ready to fight.

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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
- 3. A Twenty-Billion dollar Federal public works
- 4. Thirty-thirty! \$30-weekly minimum wage-30-hour weekly maximum for all workers on
- 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 vigilante

Roosevelt's Trap

On April 19, the Young Democratic Clubs of America ("youth section" of the Democratic Party) held dinners in many cities of the country. Roosevelt sent a message to these dinners which was widely interpreted as another in his long series of summons to make the Democratic Party "liberal" and "progressive", and to "purge it of reactionaries".

"Roosevelt Says Liberals Are Sole Hope for Party, Tells Others to Get Out", was the headline which the New York Times put over the

"This country of ours is democratic with a small 'd'," said the President's message. "It is never, and never will be, democratic with a big 'd' except when the two words mean the same thing." "Whenever the party was democratic, it won. Whenever it offered the country an ersatz Republicanism, the people spurned the imitation and sent our party to stand in a corner. . ."

The idea that the Democratic Party is fundamentally different from the Republican Party is as dangerous and pernicious a myth as has ever been foisted on the American people.

The demagogues who try, for their own purposes, to keep this myth alive—from Roosevelt himself to John L. Lewis to Earl Browderare liars and scoundrels.

From root to branch, the Democratic Party is a capitalist party, a boss party: that is, a party, just like the Republican Party, devoted whole-heartedly to maintaining capitalist tyranny and exploitation.

The chief base of the Democratic Party rests on the disfranchisement and oppression of the ten million Southern Negroes.

The Democratic party organization in the North is administered by bosses as corrupt as any in modern political history: Hague of New Jersey, Hines of New York, Kelly and Nash of Illinois, Crump of Tennessee, Pendergast of Missouri are only typical samples.

Just as the Republican Party, the Democratic Party is financed and basically controlled by a small clique of bankers and corporation executives selected by the Sixty Families.

At the present moment, the Democratic Party, in charge of the government of the nation, is engaged in a monstrous plot to drag the people into the most terrible war of history and is smashing relief standards to pieces.

Senator Barkley, floor leader of the Party. took the lead in cutting down relief funds. Appropriately enough, Barkley was chairman of the largest of the Young Democratic dinners to which Roosevelt's message was sent.

The Democratic Party neither wants to be nor can be "reformed". Every leopard in the world will lose its spots long before the Democratic Party changes its through-and-through reactionary politics.

The workers of the United States will get somewhere on the political arena only when they learn this lesson.

Workers cannot accomplish anything in politics by trying to "make use" of boss parties. It always turns out that the boss parties make use of the workers.

The only kind of party that can do any good for the workers is a party which the workers themselves build, which the workers own and control, which has workers' policies and workers candidates.

Any other proposal for labor politics, no matter who puts it forward, is only a lie and a trap.

None of Your Business

The main body of the United States fleet is now on its way to the Pacific. Suddenly, ten days ago, the orders were given. No explanation of any kind. When reporters questioned Naval officers and officials of the Navy Department, they were answered, it is said, with: "Sealed orders-none of your damn business."

War or peace — it is none of the people's damn business. It is none of our business whether or not we are to die by the millions. Our business is just to jump in the required direction when the sealed orders come. When or how or for whom or for what we are jumping—that, of course, is none of our business in Roosevelt's democratic war for democracy.

The movement of the fleet is one more proof of the de facto military alliance between Great Britain and the United States, the "wink of the eye" alliance which Arthur Krock referred to more than a year ago. No formal documents, you understand; one ally merely acts appropriately when the other gives the agreed-on wink of the eve.

The U. S. fleet in the Pacific frees the British strategic and diplomatic hand for concentration on Europe.

Who, authorized this alliance? Who decided that millions of the American people must be ready to die to aid in keeping British rule intact over Britain's five hundred millions of colonial slaves? Is it enough that the Sixty Families are agreed that this is the best method for extending their own territories and profits?

The questions are no doubt impertinent. You see, it is none of our damn business.

Twelve Dictators

With the final appointment of twelve men who will rule over England without the slightest pretense at democracy when a "national emergency" arises, the British government has placed one of the finishing touches on the military dictatorship into which it will convert itself when the war breaks.

Seven of the twelve men are members of England's notorious, labor-hating nobility, hardened, ultra-reactionary lords, who traditionally have lived by terror, violence, and murder, nobles and landlords who have bled Ireland for centuries, put whole continents to sword and flame, and hanged the progressives at home.

The system of dividing England into twelve districts and placing an absolute dictator over each one to rule with open undisguised terror like (Hitler or Mussolini is a scheme of Chamberlain and his cohorts to replace the whole present system of elective government.

Not a single voter has been allowed to question it, much less cast his opinion on it in a ballot box. Now were the voters allowed to choose the dictators to fill the posts. The entire "democratic precess" in England was kicked contemptuously into the ash can-Chamberlain and his cohorts did not even bother to hold a shot gun election after Hitler's fashion. After all, they are accustomed to the naked rule of steel and dynamite in the colonies and it is a simple matter to transfer the system to the home

At the same time, the Daily Mail announced that beginning June 7 the government will exercise control of all news broadcasts made by the British Broadcasting Service. This is government censorship of the radio—for the good of the people of course-exactly the system denounced by "lovers of the Western form of democratic government" in such countries as Italy and Germany, where the radio broadcasts nothing at all but dictator-written bulletins and dictator-selected music.

As if this were not in itself a complete enough imposition of naked dictatorship over the English people, Sir George Broadbridge, Conservative member of Parliament, has announced that he will ask Home Secretary Sir Samuel Hoare to appoint immediately a "press controller,"stream-lined word for CENSOR, who will dictate what the newspapers and magazines of England may and may not print.

The right of elective government, supposedly the pillar of capitalist democracy, has vanished in England like a shadow under a strong light. and with it has gone freedom of the press, freedom of the air, and all the other rights that are supposed to distinguish "Western democracy."

Just what kind of democracy is the coming war supposed to save against what kind of dictators?

The Champions of Democracy



By FELIX MORROW

produced a new alibi for Stalof the Soviet Union to the Jewfascist countries

Browder's latest explanation is best understood in the light of what has preceded it.

Our party organized a paign to open the doors of was known to be opposed to. scarcely call for opening America's doors to the refugees he said. without illumining the embarassing fact that Stalin was re- swer: fusing to open the doors of the Soviet Union to the refugees.

This line of the Stalinists did not go unquestioned by their own members and sympathiz-Daily Worker and the Jewish Freiheit. After weeks of de- now claimed that the doors mands for an explanation. The Daily Worker on November 28. 1938 finally provided one, ensue of Refugees," by V. J.

tion was his statement that:

The nub of Jerome's explana "One must also realize that there are thousands of Jewish refugees who, though fleeing from fascist terror, are in their class status and outlook, bourgeois or pettybourgeois and, consequently, may not wish or may not be able to adjust themselves to a Socialist economy and culture. And, of course, everybody realizes that, particularly in the present period, with the second imperialist world war already raging, the greatest vigilance must be observed against the penetration of carefully planted spies and other fascist agents.

C.P. "ANSWER" RAISES NEW QUESTIONS

When Jerome's article appeared, far from silencing the new series of questions. If, affor from Socialism.

ler, but also by the ensuing doors to them.

events: the doors of the Soviet Earl Browder, generalissimo | Union remained closed to the | claim that Stalin lets in more of the Communist Party, has Czecho-slovak anti-fascists — refugees than do Chamberlain, including fleeing Communists! Daladier and Roosevelt, Brow in's refusal to open the doors - and to the hundreds of thous- der has to use as a measure ands of proletarian Spanish ish and other refugees from fighters whose pleas, from the of the present fascist chain of concentration camps of France are unheeded by the Stalinist vaguely defined without a date bureaucracy.

BROWDER PRODUCES

The hostile reception of Jer-America to the refugees. That ome's alibi by the sympathizcampaign found no echo in the ers of the Communist Party fi-Communist Party. First of all nally impelled Fuehrer Browas supporters of der himself to wrestle with the Roosevelt, the Stalinists would | question, in the New Masses of not raise a demand which he April 4. "There are a great many questions on why the So-Secondly, because they could | viet Union doesn't open its borders to the Jewish refugees,'

And here is Browder's an

"The answer is that more Jewish refugees are going into the Soviet Union than into all other countries combined." Previous justifications closed having failed, Browder

were open all the time! Browder's attempt to answer one challenge—that of Dr. S. titled "The U.S.S.R. and the Is- Margoshes, editor of the Jewish Day — now appear in the

New Masses of April 25: "All my observations and information support the claim that, considering exclusively the period since the beginning of the present fascist chain of aggressions and the rise of the current refugee problem, there are more refugees enjoying asylum in the Soviet Union than in France, Britain and the United States combined-and that this applies to Jewish as to all other categories. There

HOW BROWDER LIES FOR HIS BOSS

The dishonesty of Browder's 'answer'' is easily demonstrat-

are no official figures for any

country that I have been able

1. The basic issue is: why doesn't the Stalinist government of the Soviet Union open wide the doors to the refugees? questioners, it aroused a whole Browder perverts the issue, instead, into an argument about ter twenty years, a so - called | whether the Soviet Union or the Socialist State cannot assimi- capitalist countries have adlate a few hundred thousand mitted more refugees. Even non-proletarian elements—and assuming that the Soviet Union we are talking about penniless admitted more refugees than Jews fleeing from fascism!— did the capitalist countries that would mean that half of and this would not have been humanity has nothing to hope difficult considering the archreactionary policy of the capi-That this alibi for Stalin was talist countries against admis- ceal or mitigate the plain fact: completely false was evidenced sion of refugees - that would the refugees from fascist ternot only by the fact that the still not explain away the plain ror, whether Jews or Czechodoors of the Soviet Union were fact that millions of refugees not opened to the proletarian seek refuge and the Stalinist Loyalists, are barred by Stalin Jews seeking to flee from Hit- government refuses to open its from entering the "Socialist

2. Even to make plausible the "the period since the beginning deliberately aggressions" but apparently meaning since Hitler's assumption of power in 1933. Browder does this so that in any further discussion he could point to immigration to the Soviet Union from Germany in 1933 and the public of fer of refuge to the Austrian Schutzbund in 1934—whereas if Browder were to speak of the years since 1935, he would not be able to point to a single public proof of immigration into

3. In Browder's statement that "There are no official figures for any country that have been able to find" is concealed the fact that the Stalinist regime has no figures to offer to bolster Browder's as sertions-for the good and sufers. Letters poured into the keeping the doors of Russia ficient reason that false figures could easily be challenged while the true figures would reveal that Stalin's prison doors open neither inward nor out-

4: Obviously realizing that is flat assertions carry no conviction, Browder retreats to new alibi: "If the Jewish community leaders of the world want more refugees to go into the Soviet Union, it would be well for them to raise the question with the powers at the Evian conference, to see that the Soviet Union is invited to that conference, which regulates the immigration, and provide for their entrance into the Soviet Union in an organized fashion." (New Masses April 4).

This alibi is no better than his others. Why, in the name of socialism, does the Soviet government require an invitation to the Evian conference before it can open the doors of Russia to the refugees The Evian conference is an absolute fraud, a piece of mumbo-jumbo organized by the capitalist powers, not to facilitate immigration but to duck the problem. It has done nothing for the refugees, because it is designed to do nothing. Browder makes Soviet admission of refugees hinge on arrangements with the Evian conference he is putting off their admission forever.

Squirm as they may, the hirelings of Stalin cannot conslovak Communists or Spanish Fatherland."

By James Burnham Government

Several months ago President Roosevelt announced a little surprise for the youth of the country. Entirely at the government's expense, indeed with cash allowances from the government during part of the process, 20,000 boys from the high schools and colleges were to be trained as airplane pilots.

For a day or two, the plan got big headlines in the general press. There was, however, surprisingly little comment on so startling an enterprise. One or two of the columnists and scattered editorial writers thought the whole idea fantastic and absurd. Where, they asked, would the planes come from that these 20,000 boys were supposed to learn how to fly? And where were the flying schools and training fields that could handle them?

Since that first, rather mild flurry, nothing much has been heard of the President's plan. It has slipped pretty well from public sight. Nevertheless, it is going steadily forward. Already thousands of students have been directly or indirectly enrolled. For the most part, up to now, they are being sent through already established flying schools, with government subsidies paying for

I want to explain what lies back of this plan. You will not find this explanation in any of the publicity which has been released in connection with it. You will not, in fact, so far as I am aware, find this explanation anywhere in print.

The Replacement Ratio for Personnel and Materiel

Everyone knows that all of the great powers have on hand large numbers of military aircraft and of trained personnel to handle them-pilots, bombers, radio operators, observers, etc. Speculation as to the exact comparative size of the various fleets is frequently allowed to occupy the public mind; it was very prominent, for example, during the Munich crisis, and was generally supposed to have been a decisive factor in compelling Chamberlain to adopt his appeasement tactic.

Nevertheless, in the colder and more deliberate calculations of the general staffs of the powers, the total figure of planes now on hand and personnel now on active duty in the air forces is allotted only secondary importance. Far more decisive, to their minds, is the rate at which any given nation can produce planes and trained men for the fighting service.

A moment's reflection will show why this is the case. A large force of planes can, at the outset of the war, strike two or three heavy lightning blows against the enemy nation. The notion, popular a few years ago, that such lightning thrusts can win a modern war in a few weeks has been abandoned, and was at no time held by the most responsible military strategists. The new war, like the last one, will be a mass war, and of indefinitely long duration.

In the air, consequently, the long-run advantage. will be held not by the nations which have most planes and pilots in active service at the outset, but by those which can produce planes and trained men fastest, in order to acquire during the course of the war itself a differential superiority, over the enemy, and especially to be able to replace the planes and men that are shot down. 5,000 planes, adequately manned, today will mean little or nothing unless there can be at least the same number, properly manned, after a year and two and three years.

Each of the general staffs has, therefore, worked out in advance the expected figure at which planes and men will have to be replaced after the war starts. This figure, which is sometimes referred to as "the replacement ratio for personnel and materiel," thus expresses the prediction of the general staffs as to the rate at which planes and men will be destroyed. The figure is obviously just about the same for both planes and men: and for the men it means the rate at which they will be killed, since there is a negligible number of wounded in the air service.

What Your Odds Are

All of the European general staffs have arrived at the same figure for the replacement ratio. This figure is 50% per month.

At first glance, perhaps, this figure looks calm and mild and business-like. Let me explain what it means in terms of the odds on the life of a member of the air corps.

It means that any given member of the air corps has a 50-50 chance to live one month. It means that he has one chance in 4,096 to live one year. In other words, the odds are 4,095 to 1

that he will not live a year. It means that he has a chance of less than 1 in 16,000,000 to live two years. The odds are greater than 16,000,000 to 1 that he will be killed before

two years are finished. The Blessings of God's Country

50% is the figure for the European general staffs. God's country, naturally, looks out better for the welfare of her children.

I am happy to report to the youth of America that, basing itself on more strongly built planes and longer and more intensively trained pilots, the U.S. general staff has arrived at a figure of only 33 1/3% per month. So don't be discouraged. This means that you have 1 chance in 3 of last-

ing a month. Pity the poor foreigner! And the odds are only approximately 1,250 to 1 that you will be killed within one year. And they are just slightly more than 1,500,000 to 1 that you will die within two years.

Surely that chance is worth taking when the President himself has promised that the war is to be fought for the very highest ideals.

Two elk heads and two black beaver skins will be presented King George VI by P. Ashley Cooper, governor of Hudson's Bay Company, when the King arrives in Winnipeg May 24th. It is the rent stipulated in the royal charter granted the company by King Charles II in 1670, to be paid to his majesty, his heirs and successors, whenever they visit the domain of the company. Only once before was the historic rent paid-then to the Duke of Windsor, who, as Prince of Wales, visited Winnipeg in 1927. So you think rent such as this is stupid and unnecessary, in view of the fact that the King never turned his hand to productive work? Well, why don't you look up your own landlord?

A news item reports that some of the dinosaurs of the prehistoric world walked on all four feet, while others walked upright. We call the present breed of two-legged dinosaurs bosses, and they are headed for just as certain an extinction as happened to the four-legged kind.