

OFF THE RECORD

By Dwight Macdonald

On the Other Side of the Railroad Tracks

The 1938 edition of the "Periodicals Directory" is a volume of 465 close-printed pages which lists and describes 10,200 publications...

The munitions industry apparently boasts not a single trade paper. As the respectable citizens of a community don't talk about the red light district across the railroad tracks...

Fig out of Thistle

According to the Good Book, thistle trees don't produce figs. But I challenge any reader of this column to guess what periodical printed the following editorial comment on Roosevelt's recent "War Message" to Congress:

"We must make up our minds, said the President, to save our religious and democratic institutions, for we know what might happen to us of the United States if the new philosophies of forces were to encompass the other continents and invade our own..."

from swinging its heavy battalions decisively into line between the liberal and reformist skirmishers. But if the Chronicle is to be taken as an index of Wall Street opinion, that moment has not yet arrived...

Afterthoughts on Monday Night

After the splendid demonstration put on by the Socialist Workers Party last Monday, it may seem ungrateful to offer criticism. But precisely because the affair was a success...

Generally speaking, I should say the SWP did not plan the affair carefully enough, did not use showmanship in putting over its message, and failed utterly to exploit the demonstration as a means of advertising to the general public...

Small matters, these? It was just their superiority in details like banners and showmanship that gave the Nazis a great advantage over their left-wing opponents. (Hitler is said to design his party's insignia and flags himself.)

Small matters, these? It was just their superiority in details like banners and showmanship that gave the Nazis a great advantage over their left-wing opponents.

An Open Letter

To Members of the Communist Party

(Continued from Page 1)

eyes: they give aid and comfort to the fascists—and fight the anti-fascist workers.

Your party tells you that the fascist danger lies only across the seas, in Berlin or Rome or Burgos.

No, comrades. The main fascist danger, the fascists who will whip and club and stab you, who will put you into concentration camps, smash your political and trade-union organizations...

To Fight Fascism

You Must Break With Stalinism

Do you think that the fascist gangs are going to break up and dissolve if we just keep quiet, shut our eyes and bury our heads in the sand? Don't let us fool ourselves.

The fascists can be stopped only by the direct resistance of the workers; only when the workers, under revolutionary leadership, smash them. There is no other way.

Where was your Party Monday night? What lead, what guidance did its lying, cowardly press give to the workers of New York? Where were your leaders?

It is easy enough for your leaders. What does it matter to them when the fascists conquer in the United States and institute the regime of the concentration camp? They have their funds and their passports.

But for you, comrades, it is not so easy. You have no funds, no passports. You must remain, under the whip, within the prison

camp. Where are your party comrades now in Germany, Austria, Czechoslovakia, Spain?

You must break with the party and program and leadership of defeat and treachery and lies!

We must fight the fascists, fight them not in the distant future or in distant lands, but here and now, in the streets of New York and throughout this country.

Join the Ranks of the Fourth International!

Can the fascists be defeated? Of course, of course they can. They are, at bottom, contemptible cowards. They gain strength only through our failures, only through our failure to launch on a broad scale the real fight...

Comrades: cast from your shoulders the party that ties you helpless in the La Guardia-Roosevelt straightjacket, that forbids you to join with us in the front of the militant struggle against the fascists and for socialism!

Let us together guarantee that the February 20 concentration of the fascists shall prove to be their last! Take your place in our fighting ranks, under the shining banner of the Fourth International, the banner of the defeat of world reaction and the triumph of international socialism!

Socialist Workers Party Local New York 116 University Place

LEFT JABS

Law and Order, N. Y. C., 1907-'33-'39

W.W. McLaughlin, ex-head of N.Y. City detectives who quit the post in 1907, just one jump ahead of a commission of inquiry, died leaving \$734,019. Called to explain why policemen were shifted around to suit Dutch Schultz while he was in office...

Maxim Litvinov "After Russia had entered the League, Litvinov played the role of a social lion in international circles in Geneva and Paris..."

Pope Pius, Poland and the Young Stalinists

Three items from N.Y. Times, Feb. 12, p.2 cols. 6, 7, and 8. In column 6 Father Coughlin praised the dead Pope for his work against radicalism, especially in "saving Poland from Bolshevism..."

Coming Publications Izzy Antor, state secretary of the Communist Party is arranging for early publication of his complete correspondence with the late Pope under the title "Correspondence: Izzy to Pius—Pius to Izzy..."

Solomon's Mines If the U.S. Judiciary haven't found the wisdom of Solomon, some of them at least appear to have discovered his fabulous mines. Judge Manton, it is now revealed banked a million bucks while mulling out equal justice to both rich and poor.

Forgery not Widespread Faced with proof of forging of names of policy holders to ballots in the company's biennial elections, officials of the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company said the practice was not widespread. And what's a little bit of forgery in the business world.

Lost—1,000,000,000 Hours of Work A survey by the W.P.A. reports that 1,000,000,000 work hours have been saved by the introduction of farm machinery but "something more than this amount of new work has been created in the consequent expansion of automotive, rubber and petroleum industries..."

Protest Delegation Stalled by Mayor

(Continued from Page 1)

to city officials by George Noack, secretary of the American Fund for Political Prisoners and Refugees was:

"On Monday evening, February 20, many thousands of anti-fascist workers gathered in the vicinity of Madison Square Garden to protest against the provocative Nazi meeting. Numbers of these anti-fascists who were doing nothing but exercising their constitutional right of picketing the meeting in a peaceful fashion, were ridden down and trampled upon by mounted police, and brutally beaten by uniformed and plainclothes policemen."

"The American Fund for Political Prisoners and Refugees energetically protests against these unwarranted attacks against the anti-fascists by the police, who devoted their entire energies to protecting the fascists. We ask that the mayor and other responsible city authorities immediately institute an investigation into these actions. The American Fund, which has offered its services to several of the demonstrators who were beaten and arrested during the demonstration, is prepared to submit affidavits fully substantiating its charges against the police."

MEN AND WOMEN OF LABOR

Out of the Past

By Emanuel Garrett

JOHANN MOST

(Feb. 5, 1846—March 17, 1906)

Into the somewhat placid labor movement of the American 80's came Johann Most—the fiery "propagandist of the deed." Great struggles were pending, the eight-hour movement was just then getting into full swing, individuals like Parsons and Spies were already spreading the doctrines of militant labor action.

Jailed in Every Country

When Most arrived in 1882 he had behind him years of activity in the socialist movements of Europe, and a reputation so great that a huge mass meeting was organized in New York City to welcome him.

He also had behind him, this ex-journeyman bookbinder who startled bourgeois German sensibilities by his bitter proclamations, years of jail sentences. These were to be continued in the United States. For though Most agitated for his "propaganda of the deed" primarily in speeches and tracts that were rarely matched in specific deeds, he was regularly imprisoned for the violence of his words.

In Vienna he had been sentenced to five years imprisonment, and released after twelve months on condition that he leave Austria. Back in his native Germany, he engaged in socialist editorial work, and was elected to the Reichstag. But not for long. Bismarck exiled him under the anti-socialist laws. In London, to which he went, he was twice sentenced to jail for articles that appeared in the famous anarchist journal he founded, the Freiheit.

Gives Labor Slant to Anarchism

Before he came to this country, the German Social Democratic Party had expelled him for his trenchant denunciations of parliamentary action. Arrived in the United States he almost immediately quarreled with the various anarchist groups then existing—most of them bred in the Thoreau tradition of peaceful retirement from active life. Most brought to American anarchism a labor slant, and with it separated the old school, which enjoyed a certain respectable popularity in the United States for generations, from the new school which sought, however unclearly, to wrest power from the bosses through class struggle. It was thus largely through the influence of Most that the anarchist movement

played a dominant role in the labor battles of the 80's.

Having separated himself from the main body of American anarchists in bitter controversy, Most sought out and united in October, 1883, in the organization of the International Working People's Association (the "Black International") with Parsons and Spies. The platform of the "Black International" pointed to the inefficiency of ballots as a means of conquering power; it called for the "destruction of the existing class rule by all means, that is by energetic, relentless, revolutionary and international action."

A Brilliant Orator

Most toured the country. The brilliance of his attack on capitalist rule, his wit, his biting sarcasm gave many a fat-growing money-bag sleepless nights. "Extirpate the miserable brood!" cried Most, "Extirpate the wretches!" Workers, many of them come to the United States as exiles from Bismarck's tyranny, applauded. Bosses, frightened by the venom and vigor of his words, demanded he be jailed.

And so he was for "inciting to violence"—just before the Haymarket demonstration. Hardly was he released from Blackwell's Island when he was returned there for a pamphlet on the "scientific art of revolutionary warfare." Later, after the assassination of McKinley, he was sentenced to a third term on Blackwell's Island. He claimed that the greatest indignity done him in jail had been the shaving of his beard.

Rejects Individual Terror

Towards the end of his life, though he continued to be hounded for his "violence," Most rejected individual acts of terrorism, except where they would awaken the masses to revolutionary action. So that when Alexander Berkman shot Frick, the steel baron, Most criticized the act as ineffective in advancing the cause of anarchism. With this change in viewpoint, the mainstream of the American anarchist movement, represented by the new figures of Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman which he had up to then nurtured and which had looked upon him as its ideological leader, broke from him.

Persecuted every year of his life, from his childhood spent under the lash of beatings, through his adulthood spent under the whip of capitalist repression, Most died in 1906. Few, if any, of his works are now read, few victories remain as monuments to his pioneer work. Yet, Most with his speeches and burning tracts helped educate the American proletariat into militancy of action, to stir it into a realization that it alone could fight its own cause.

MORE SIDELIGHTS ON THE ANTI-NAZI DEMONSTRATION

Among the thousands who answered the S.W.P.'s call to the anti-Fascist counter-demonstration last Monday night were many members and sympathizers of the Communist and Socialist parties and of the Lovestoneite Independent Labor League. Here are a few of the many incidents reported to the Appeal of the reaction among these demonstrators whose own organizations remained silent and inactive in the face of the gross Fascist provocation:

"Much to my surprise I saw a C.P. member on our picket line. He was trading blows with La Guardia's police on 8th Ave. along with our comrades and doing a right fine job of defending himself. Later on, during our parade on Broadway I saw him again. This time he was selling the Socialist Appeal. His Liberty Bell attracted the attention of many other Y.C.Lers and C.Pers and they were listening to his sales-talk."

"The next day we met on the project where we had been discussing the program of the S.W.P. for weeks. I asked him where his Liberty Bell was. I threw it in a sewer on 48th Street... and if you people ever need me again to fight the fascists, just let me know—I'll be there. I never thought the Communist Party would actually desert the workers at a time when the Fascists were planning a real attack in New York."

"It took me more than 20 years to learn," said an old worker at our newsstand this morning. "To think that in 20 years the Social Democrats would learn nothing from the defeats in Europe... I saw the leaflet in the 'Daily News' and I said to myself, 'Yes, the Trotskyites are the only ones who are wise to the Fascists. I will go along with them to this picket line and to hell with the old bureaucrats in the Rand School. And I did go along. See this lump on my face? Well, I got in a couple of beautiful socks myself. (This worker, a machinist, is over 60 years of age and he has decided that he is not too old to take his place on the line with the youth of the Fourth International.)"

"Where were you—and where was the I.L.L. (Independent Labor League)?" said an excited girl in the union hall. "You say the Trotskyites are only a small handful of sectarians yet they were the only ones who dared take the lead in this fight which the 'Workers Age' talks so much about. Don't come around here with that kind of baloney. Go on back to Local 22 and help make deals with the Stalinists... don't peddle your phoney talk to me any more—I left the I.L.L. last night, my former friend, and I will be with the Trotskyites fighting—not talking."

"When I saw a couple of Club Malraux (a Young Communist League club) members on the picket line I asked them why the Y.C.L. did not come out and demonstrate against the Fascists. They

"I Am Joining the S.W.P."

By RUTH RAFFER

I am joining the Socialist Workers Party. Where was Norman Thomas on Monday night when the Fascists made their first stand in New York? Why wasn't he out on the streets making as courageous an attack upon New York fascism as he made on Newark fascism? Can the local brand of Nazism possibly be a more democratic type?

Where was Angelo Herndon, who used to symbolize the rights of the workers of all races to organize against their common enemies? Can it be that the fear (now that he is a Twentieth Century American) of embarrassing his new bourgeois friends proves rightlier than any former fear of chain-gangs?

Where were the Leaders of Jewish Thought? What can they have been thinking to have dragged their followers into the traditional Jewish state of passive non-resistance? Perhaps these Nazis will shrivel at the thought of being beneath the contempt of the civilized Jew?

Where, just incidentally, was the Little Flower who springs from two oppressed peoples? He

Farrell Demands Mayor Explain Protecting Nazis

La Guardia's Entire Conduct Reminiscent Of Democrats in Italy, Germany

James T. Farrell, noted novelist, who was present as an observer at the Madison Square Garden counter-demonstration, has sent to the press and to several prominent individuals in New York, the following letter of protest against police brutality which he sent to Mayor LaGuardia and other city officials:

"To Mayor LaGuardia: "Why was an anti-Fascist demonstration broken up in front of the Rivoli Theatre at Forty Ninth and Broadway between ten-thirty and eleven o'clock last night while the Fascist meeting of the German-American Bund at Madison Square Garden was protected by cordons of policemen, not to mention an army of uniformed storm-troopers who did police duty inside of the meeting?"

"In front of the Rivoli Theatre, after the anti-Fascist demonstrators had been dispersed, I saw policemen slugging two helpless demonstrators who were at their mercy. Witnesses of this were herded off by the police officers with all the necessary efficiency. One of these men was lying helpless on the sidewalk, crying out that his leg was injured, an expression of pain on his face. The

replied that the Y.C.L. leaders told them not to associate with the Trotskyite-Fascists. "But why," I asked, "is it all right for your leaders to break up Trotskyite meetings and not meetings of the Bund?" There was no answer. They marched along and with the Trotskyites went into action against the Fascists. Now they understand why the Y.C.L. leaders tell them not to associate with Trotskyites. They know now what the Trotskyites stand for—and how!"

LA GUARDIA COPS BEAT UP NEGRO IN POLICE STATION

Driven By Mounted Police At Nazi Meeting

Brutally beaten by La Guardia's police, who were protecting the meeting of fascists at Madison Square Garden last Monday evening, Peter Saunders, a Negro worker, was still under doctor's care suffering from contusions and possible internal injuries.

"I am not a member of the Socialist Workers Party," he told a staff reporter of the Socialist Appeal. "I was just returning home along 53rd Street after visiting some friends on the evening of the meeting."

"The police turned me back before I reached a subway entrance and I went to 50th Street."

"Black Son-of-a-Bitch"

"There were quite a few police there, and one of them mounted on a horse rode up on the sidewalk and said, 'Get back.' 'I'm going home,' I told him. 'Get back you black son-of-a-bitch,' he said. Then he stuck his spurs in the horse's flanks, making it lunge at me."

"I reached up my arms to protect myself from the horse and pulled on the bridle."

"The cop yelled to the other cops standing around, 'Grab that black son-of-a-bitch.'"

"Two police held me while the mounted policeman climbed off his horse. When he reached me, he doubled up his gloved fist and struck me in the mouth."

"On the way down to the police station he kept repeating: 'Just wait until we get you to the station.'"

"At the station house he wanted to make an assault charge. He started the frame-up going by telling the desk sergeant that I had jerked his horse and took a punch at him."

Beaten At Station

"Why don't you bring a charge of cruelty to animals against him?" asked the desk sergeant. "That would be a better charge."

"After booking me and filing charges of 'cruelty to animals' and 'assaulting an officer,' they dragged me into a back room and sat me in a chair. Then the policeman who had brought me down took off his coat and said, 'You god damn black Communist. I am an American and fought under the American flag.'"

"He started beating me while I was in the chair. When I stood up from the pain of it, he kicked me in the stomach. 'If this is the way Americans do,' I said, 'I'm ashamed I'm an American.'"

Bail of \$100 was furnished by the American Fund for Political Prisoners and Refugees. Hearing was set for February 23.

streets of New York last evening going to be investigated? Or do the taxpayers of this city support the police department in order that these men can herd the public like sheep, attack anti-Fascist pickets, tear their banners from them, and slug them?"

"Why was this, Mr. Mayor? Who is responsible?"

Sincerely yours, James T. Farrell