By Dwight OFF Macdonald RECORD

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, most of them trade papers. There is a section headed "Grocery Trades," with 29 publications listed, another headed "Vending Machines," with 4, and so on. But there is no section headed either "Munitions" or "Armaments" or "War Supplies," and the only trace of the subject in the lengthy index is: "Rifles-See GAMES AND SPORTS: Hunting:

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, so the business fraternity observes a taboo of silence on that great industry which has become the very heart of modern capitalism: Death, Inc. The furriers have trade journals, and so have those who make paper cups and harmonicas and perfumes and ice cream, but the merchants of death, whose vast enterprises are keeping the great capitalist economies of the world going along even as limpingly as they are today, these gentlemen do not discuss their trade in public. Their business lies 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.' Although the aggressor States were not named, it was sufficiently obvious that Mr. Roosevelt had in mind Germany, Italy, and Japan. He failed to indicate, however, that whatever these countries formerly could boast of freedom and tolerance was destroyed from within, and not from without. Nor was any reference made to the complete improbability of an attack by any or all of those aggressor governments upon the United States, or to the even more remote contingency of success in any foreign attack so long as the liberties left us by our own government are worth fighting for and preserving." This voice of sanity in a mad world was raised by The Commercial & Financial Chonicle. The moral scarcely needs underlining: (1) businessmen talk among themselves realistically and not in the tones they use for wide public consumption; (2) unlike the liberal intelligentsia, finance capital has a serious stake in capitalism and so thinks twice before risking its vast properties in the maelstrom of a world war. Which doesn't prevent it, of course, when the moment has arrived at which it judges war is "necessary," 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. In this, at least, the editors of the Nation are in advance of their age.

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, because the SWP showed, in militant action, its superiority over the other parties of the Left, I think certain serious shortcomings should be pointed out. I must begin by stating that from eight o'clock on, I was inside the Garden-I hope it's not necessary to add I was there on business, not pleasure. But I have checked my criticisms with those who saw the whole business, and I think they are justified.

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 the SWP and its press. By the time I arrived on the scene-about 7:00-there was not a banner or a placard to be seen except for one small cardboard sign a girl was holding aloft in her hands, without benefit of a stick. I was told the police had seized and destroyed all such signs at the beginning of the demonstration. But this should have been foreseen, and reserve supplies should have been provided, smuggled in under coats or cached in some place outside the battle zone. Without signs or banners, the public saw merely what I saw: a confused, anonymous mass of demonstrators. Far more serious was the failure to distribute SWP literature. I saw not a single copy of the APPEAL or the NEW INTERNA-TIONAL offered for sale, and I am told there was no effort made at any time to sell literature. I was told, indeed, that during the speeches by Max Shachtman, James Burnham and others, there was at least one enterprising vendor circulating among the crowd offering for sale-the Daily Worker! Among the tens of thousands of outsiders who in the course of the evening either took part in the demonstration or watched it sympathetically, there must have been thousands who would have paid three cents for an APPEAL. For that matter, my own pamphlet, "Fascism and the American Scene," should have sold well in such a crowd. But no one-including myselfthought of exploiting the occasion.

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.) Today, when the Enemy has reduced mass propaganda to an exact science, a revolutionary party must pay attention to the details as well as the broad outlines, to the technique as well as to the content of its appeal to the masses.

MEN AND WOMEN OF LABOR

the

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 flery "propagandist of the deed." Great struggles were pending, the eight-hour movement was just then getting into full swing, individuals like Parsons and Sples were already spreading the doctrines of militant labor action. Haymarket Square was soon to be the center of the first great anti-labor frame-up in the United States.

lailed 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 antisocialist 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 played a dominant role in the labor battles of

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 Reople's Association (the "Black International") with Parsons and Spies. The platform of the "Black International" pointed to the inefficacy 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 influence of Most that the anarchist movement that it alone could fight its own cause.

An Open Letter

Members of the Communist Party

(Continued from Page 1)

eyes: they give aid and comfort to the fascists-and fight the antifascist 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, drive you into slavery, are right here at home. They are gathering their forces in the vigilante hordes of the West Coast, in the Silver Shirts, in Hague's legions. They were meeting in Madison Square Garden on the 20th.

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 are growing stronger month by month. They are much bolder, much more insolent since Munich, since the terrible defeat in Spain. And they will soon begin more open attacks against the workers and their organizations.

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. They do not have to feel the lash on their own backs.

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, Czechosolvakia, 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. We must fight them every step of the way. We must resolve that never again will the fascists of New York be allowed to repeat their provocation of last Monday night, that next time their meeting shall not take place. We must shatter and smash them.

Join the Ranks

of the Fourth International!

of the fascists shall prove to be their last!

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; the militant workingclass fight against them. The workers are ready and willing: they have shown that in New York as throughout the world. But the workers are in the end powerless unless we show them the road, the road of revolutionary class struggle.

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

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

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 | chain-gangs?

self. Later on, during our parade the civilized Jew? 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.L.ers and C.P.ers and they were listening to his sales-

"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 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

"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 . . . will go along with them to this the Fascist meeting of the Ger- Broadway? picket line and to hell with the man-American Bund at Madison got in a couple of beautiful socks troopers who did police duty in- Fascists, Why? myself. (This worker, a machin- side of the meeting? ist, is over 60 years of age and he

in this fight which the 'Workers

onstrate against the Fascists. They | how!

By RUTH RAFFER just didn't know what to say or

ers Party.

Where was Norman Thomas on Monday night when the Fascists speech-and protection, by thoumade their first stand in New sands of the people's public ser-York? Why wasn't he out on the streets making as courageous an the people? Of course he could attack upon New York fascism deny the right of the people to as he made on Newark fascism? Can the local brand of Nazism possibly be a more democratic

Where was Angelo Herndon, who used to symbolize the rights enemies? Can it be that the fear (now that he is a Twentieth Century American) of embarrassing his new bourgeois friends proves rightier than any former fear of

Where were the Leaders of Jewish Thought? What can they "Much to my surprise I saw a have been thinking to have C.P. member on our picket line. drugged their followers into the Guardia's police on 8th Ave. along non-resistance? Perhaps these with our comrades and doing a Nazis will shrivel at the thought

Where, just incidentally, was has seen in many a year. the Little Flower who springs I am joining the Socialist from two oppressed peoples? He | Workers Party.

I am joining the Socialist Work- do so he just beat it: because, after all, could he have denied Hitler's agents the right of free vants, against the indignation of assemble peacably and picket, because he didn't want them to get hurt. His police did bang a few dozen heads and try to gouge out an eye or two-but that's a sure that the people get hurt).

friends of the people were not on not deplore demonstration: they of the meeting. are anti-Nazi and not afraid to He was trading blows with La traditional Jewish state of passive in the Fourth International, who and I went to 50th Street. were ready to raise their slogans. and lead their ranks-thousands

Farrell Demands Mayor Explain Protecting Nazis

Liberty Bell was. I threw it in a La Guardia's Entire Conduct Reminiscent cops standing around, 'Grab that Of Democrats in Italy, Germany

thought the Communist Party who was present as an observer licemen, and obviously only try- he doubled up his gloved fist and would actually desert the workers at the Madison Square Garden | ing to defend himself, was brutally struck me in the mouth. at a time when the Fascists were counter-demonstration, has sent to punched by a detective. On Forty planning a real attack in New the press and to several promi- Ninth Street, around the corner station he kept repeating: 'Just nent individuals in New York, the and just east of Broadway, there wait until we get you to the stafollowing letter of protest against were other demonstrators, most of tion. police brutality which he sent to them youths, with bruised heads Mayor LaGuardia and other city, and faces, and young girls scream- to make an assault charge. He

"To Mayor LaGuardia:

"In front of the Rivoli Theatre, of pre-Fascist Italy and pre-Faschas decided that he is not too old after the anti-Fascist demonstra- ist Germany. In these countries,

picket line I asked them why the Trotkyites. They know now what and murdered." Y.C.L. did not come out and dem- the Trotskyites stand for-and "Is this policy to continue? Or

James T. Farrell, noted novelist, other one, trapped by several po- his horse. When he reached me, ing hysterically.

"Why was this? What principle telling the desk sergeant that I I saw the leaflet in the "Daily onstration broken up in front of one group was permitted to meet punch at him. News" and I said to myself, 'Yes, the Rivoli Theatre at Forty Ninth at Forty Ninth Street and Eighth the Trotskyites are the only ones and Broadway between ten-thirty Avenue, and another suppressed who are wise to the Fascists. I and eleven o'clock last night while by force at Forty Ninth and of cruelty to animals against

"Citizens of New York were old bureaucrats in the Rand Square Garden was protected by treated to the following policy by School. And I did go along. See cordons of policemen, not to men- the authorities: police protection "These events are reminiscent

to take his place on the line with tors had been dispersed. I saw the democratic authorities also the youth of the Fourth Interna- policemen slugging two helpless conferred the benefits of police demonstrators who were at their protection on Fascists, and the "Where were you-and where mercy. Witnesses of this were benefits of the police power on was the I.L.L. (Independent Labor herded off by the police officers anti-Fascists. I quote from what League)?" said an excited girl in with all the necessary efficiency. Miss Dorothy Thompson, who atthe union hall. "You say the One of these men was lying help- tended the Madison Square Gar-Trotskyltes are only a small hand- less on the sidewalk, crying out den meeting, stated in this mornful of sectarians yet they were the that his leg was injured, an ex- ing's HERALD TRIBUNE: "The only ones who dared take the lead pression of pain on his face. The entire meeting was familiar to me. I saw an exact duplicate of it Age' talks so much about. Don't replied that the Y.C.L. leaders told in the Berlin Sports Palast in 1931, come around here with that kind them not to associate with the That meeting was also 'protected' of baloney. Go on back to Local Trotskylte-Fascists." "But why," by the police of the German Re-22 and help make deals with the I asked, "is it all right for your public. Three years later the peo-Stalinists don't peddle your leaders to break up Trotskyite ple who had been in charge of phoney talk to me any more-I meetings and not meetings of the that meeting were in charge of left the I.L.L. last night, my for- Bund?" There was no answer. the government of Germany, and the police department in order sible city authorities immediately mer friend, and I will be with the They marched along and with the the German citizens against whom. Trotskyites fighting-not talking." Trotskyites went into action in 1931, exactly the same state-"When I saw a couple of Club against the Fascists. Now they ments had been made as were be-Malraux (a Young Communist understand why the Y.C.L. leaders ing made to-night by Mr. Kunze, League club) members on the tell them not to associate with were being beaten, expropriated.

is the conduct of the police on the

MORE SIDELIGHTS "I Am Joining the S.W.P." LA GUARDIA COPS BEAT UP NEGRO IN

Driven By Mounted Police At Nazi Meeting

Brutally beaten by La Guardia's olics on the death of Pope Plus XI." police, who were protecting the Coming Publications meeting of fascists at Madison more generally accepted, and less Square Garden last Monday eveof the workers of all races to roundabout way for the people to ning, Peter Saunders, a Negro get hurt (and that way you make worker, was still under doctor's care suffering from contusions These well-known leaders and and possible internal injuries.

"I am not a member of the hand on the day they have spoken | Socialist Workers Party," he told of "when fascism first rears its a staff reporter of the Socialist ugly head." They all had reasons Appeal. "I was just returning for deploring demonstration. home along 53rd Street after vis-But the people of New York did iting some friends on the evening have discovered his fabulous

"The police turned me back besay so. And they found leaders, fore I reached a subway entrance

"Black Son-of-a-Bitch" right fine job of defending him- of being beneath the contempt of strong-in the most heartening there, and one of them mounted names of policy holders to ballots

walk and said, 'Get back." bitch," he said. Then he stuck what's a little bit of forgery in his spurs in the horse's flanks, the business world.

making it lunge at me. "I reached up my arms to pro-

tect myself from the horse and pulled on the bridle. "The cop yelled to the other

black son-of-a-bitch.' "Two police held me while the mounted policeman climbed off

"On the way down to the police

"At the station house he wanted of work. started the frame-up going by

Beaten At Station

"'Why don't you bring a charge him?' asked the desk sergeant.

'That would be a better charge.' "After booking me and filing charges of 'cruelty to animals' this lump on my face? Well, I tion an army of uniformed storm- for Fascists, police clubs for anti- and 'assaulting an officer,' they dragged me into a back room and 20, many thousands of anti-fascist sat me in a chair. Then the po- workers gathered in the vicinity liceman who had brought me of Madison Square Garden to down took off his coat and said, protest against the provocative You god damn black Communist. Nazi meeting. Numbers of these

under the American flag.' ashamed I'm an American.""

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

going to be investigated? Or do protecting the fascists. We ask the taxpayers of this city support that these men can herd the pub- institute an investigation into lic like sheep, attack anti-Fascist these actions. The American Fund, pickets, tear their banners from them, and slug them?

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

> Sincerely yours, James T. Farrell lice."

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, ex-police Commissioner J.P. Bolan testified at the Hines hearing that all he knew about Schultz was what he read in the papers. . . . Assistant Attorney General Amen is investigating charges that six high ranking police officials in Brooklyn received graft for suppressing strikes to the tune of \$100,000.

Maxim Litvinov

League, Litvinov played the role of a social lion in international circles in Geneva and Paris. . . . I remember one party at which Princess Stahremberg, the mother of Rudi, the aspirant dictator of Austria, presided, and where Litvinov, his face wreathed in smiles, was throned between the Princess Tortonia and the Countess Coudenhove-Kalergi, with a couple of the Princesses of the blood on tabourets at his feet. 'Go and look at Rasputin with his whiskers off," said Van Beek en Donk, the correspondent of the Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant, when I arrived." -Pierre Van Passen in "Days of our Years," p.119.

"After Russia had entered the

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." Column 7. A.P. dispatch from Moscow, "Soviet Press criticised Pope Pius

XI as a defender of Capitalism . . . for his crusade against Soviet Russia . . . and for maintaining good relations with Spanish Insurgents and Japanese." Column 8, "The second annual convention of the New York Communist League was brought to a close yesterday afternoon with a resolution expressing sympathy to young Cath-

Izzy Amter, 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. Judiclary haven't found the wisdom of Solomon, some of them at least appear to mines. Judge Manton, it is now revealed banked a million bucks while meting out equal justice to

both rich and poor. Forgery not Widespread

mass demonstration New York on a horse rode up on the side- in the company's biennial elections, officials of the Metropolitan "'T'm going home," I told him. Life Insurance Company said the "'Get back you black son-of-a practice was not widespread. And

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." Eight to fifteen million unemployed workers searching the highways and byways of the U.S. for the past ten years have been unable to find the missing Billion hours

Protest Delegation "Why was an anti-Fascist democracy was upheld when had jerked his horse and took a stalled by Mayor

(Continued from Page 1) to city officials by George No-

vack, secretary of the American Fund for Political Prisoners and "On Monday evening, February

am an American and fought anti-fascists who were doing nothing but exercising their consti-"He started beating me while I tutional right of picketing the was in the chair. When I stood meeting in a peaceful fashion, up from the pain of it, he kicked were ridden down and trampled me in the stomach. 'If this is the upon by mounted police, and bruway Americans do,' I said, T'm tally beaten by uniformed and plainclothes policemen.

"The American Fund for Political Prisoners and Refugees Prisoners and Refugees. Hearing energetically protests against these unwarranted attacks against the anti-fascists by the police, who streets of New York last evening devoted their entire energies to that the mayor and other responwhich 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 po-