

**SOCIALIST APPEAL**  
 Vol. III, No. 42 June 16, 1939  
 Published twice a week by the  
 SOCIALIST APPEAL PUBLISHING ASS'N.  
 at 116 University Place, New York, N. Y.  
 Telephone: ALgonquin 4-8547  
 Subscriptions: \$2.00 per year; \$1.00 for six months. Foreign: \$3.00 per year, \$1.50 for six months. Bundle orders, 2 cents per copy in the United States; 3 cents per copy in all foreign countries. Single copies: 3 cents.  
 Bronx and Manhattan subscriptions are: \$1.50 for six months; \$2.00 for one year.  
 \*Registered as second class matter February 16, 1935, at the post office at New York, N.Y., under the Act of March 3, 1879.  
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- FIGHT WITH THE SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY FOR:**
1. A job and a decent living for every worker.
  2. Open the idle factories—operate them under workers' control.
  3. A Twenty-Billion dollar Federal public works and housing program.
  4. Thirty-thirty! \$30-weekly minimum wage—30-hour weekly maximum for all workers on all jobs.
  5. Thirty dollar weekly old-age and disability pension.
  6. Expropriate the Sixty Families.
  7. All war funds to the unemployed.
  8. A people's referendum on any and all wars.
  9. No secret diplomacy.
  10. An independent Labor Party.
  11. Workers' Defense Guards against vigilante and Fascist attacks.

**Alarm Signal**

The fascist raid on the Debs Labor School in New York City is an alarm signal to the whole labor movement.

To our knowledge, this is the first labor headquarters in the United States to be invaded and wrecked by a fascist gang which was, we have no doubt, of Coughlinite inspiration.

The style employed is not new. It is typical of the methods employed by the fascists, in Italy and in Germany, when they launched an audacious offensive to smash labor and all its organizations. That's how Mussolini and his Black-shirts began the campaign which brought them to power. They started with the smaller headquarters of the trade unions and the labor political parties. They entered the unprotected halls and wrecked everything in sight. They sought thereby to intimidate the workers, to imbue them with the feeling that the reactionary tide could not be stemmed.

It would be a catastrophic error if American workers were to let an occurrence like the smashing of the Debs School hall go by without reflecting deeply—and acting immediately.

The raid cannot, must not be waved aside as an accident. It is an audacious trial balloon sent up by the fascist mobsters in this country. They are waiting to see how it is taken by the workers of New York and elsewhere. If there is no aggressive reaction to their brutal provocation, they will deliver a stiffer and more insolent blow next time.

What will it be next time? It is not hard to judge—for Germany and Italy give us the opportunity to tell in advance what steps the fascists in this country will seek to take.

First a small, obscure labor hall, conducted by the Socialist party. A few hours before that raid, the stabbing of a man on 14th Street—not a hundred yards from the headquarters of the Communist Party and the Socialist Workers Party.

Tomorrow and the days thereafter—the halls of the trade unions, the meetings of the trade unions, the very life of the trade unions will be involved.

UNLESS—

Unless the workers of the United States wake up

- to learn the lessons from Europe;
- to a realization of the growing danger in this country;
- to a realization of their own enormous strength and power.

The fascists are growing. They are becoming bolder. But faced by a militant working class movement determined to smash them, they wouldn't amount to a bag of empty peashells. They would vanish like so much filth before a storm. They would scurry for the holes from which they came.

In Italy, in Germany, in Austria, fascism triumphed because the workers were not prepared in time to fight. When they finally did fight, as in Austria, it was after the fascists had already gained the upper hand as a result of the previous indifference and paralyzing influence of the labor leadership.

Shall we wait, like animals in a trap, until the monstrous beast of fascism is strong enough to snap his jaws around our throats?

Or shall we mobilize our vast power now, while there is still ample time, before our halls are smashed, our papers suppressed, our best

fellow-workers stabbed or beaten to a pulp?

The first step in the mobilization is the building up of the WORKERS DEFENSE GUARD, the fighting arm of the unions and of every other workers' organization, their shield from fascist gangster attacks.

Every minute's delay is like another weapon presented to the fascists.

Act now — don't wait for the concentration camps!

"The history of the human race is an unfolding record of mankind's endeavor to grasp the meaning of substance and supply and thereby acquire a sufficient supply of something to meet his needs and demands," says Judge Frederick C. Hill, Christian Scientist. "Religion has been an important factor in the affairs of mankind, and from canonical writings the fact is disclosed that substance and supply are to be found in the mental realm, and not in the material world." Just another way of saying what Joe Hill said first, and a damn sight better and plainer: "Work and pray, live on hay; you'll get pie in the sky when you die."

**Briggs Strike Victory**

The great victory won by Briggs Local 212 of the United Automobile Workers, reported in detail in the last issue of the SOCIALIST APPEAL, may very well prove to be a turning point in the fortunes, not only of the automobile workers, but of the labor movement in general.

In auto, it is an advance which puts the entire international union in a position to go over to an offensive fight against the auto barons all along the line, and puts an end to Homer Martin's pretensions of having delivered any significant section of the auto workers to the A.F.L.

In the general labor movement, it signifies—following on the heels of the victory of the United Mine Workers—a healthy contrast to the critical situation in which the C.I.O. found itself a few months ago. The two victories together mean that the C.I.O. has again gained the upper hand in the labor movement, and since the C.I.O. unquestionably represents the most progressive movement, that is all to the good.

It is no surprise to find that the Stalinist press managed to report the Briggs strike without a single mention of the local which led it or of its president, Emil Mazey. Instead the Stalinists dwelt on quotes from pro-Stalinist elements in the union who had little or nothing to do with the strike and the victory.

But it is something of a surprise to find that the "C.I.O. News", June 12, devotes only a one-column head on page 2 to this great victory, and that the story fails to mention the local or its leadership. That treatment of this story is probably to be explained by the name on the masthead of Len De Caux as editor and publicity director—a Stalinist stooge. Thus the significance of the Briggs strike is sacrificed by him for factional reasons. That is the kind of disservice which Stalinists and their stooges render the labor movement.

The Briggs victory was the achievement of a local led by anti-Stalinist progressives. Militant action freed from Stalinist poison—that is the road to union victories.

**Fascists Steal Children's Food**

In August its work will be transferred from Spain to the French concentration camps for Loyalist supporters. The Quakers find they cannot work with the Spanish fascists; Mr. Cope said that the immediate cause was the disappearance of six or seven shiploads of food destined to feed 100,000 starving Spanish children which "so far as we can find out was eaten by the army."

This is evidently a common practice: "In Murcia, where we have a canteen feeding 1,000 refugee children who are its only clients, we turned over to the Franco Social Auxiliary enough food for a month and three days. All this food had disappeared in ten days' time and we were asked for more supplies. We soon found out that the food had not gone to the children. Among other things, the Social Auxiliary delegate had sold sugar for as much as seven times its established price." In Albacete, the Quaker director was driven out of town by the fascists, because the evil man had "fed the Reds."

Mr. Cope went on: "When the woman delegate took over our canteens in Murcia the first thing she did was to announce: 'From this moment the children must sing our Nationalist songs.' They had to sing them before they could get anything

**Republicans**

The United States has seen few sights more sickening than the exhibition of toadyism given by officials of the republic—Democrats and Republicans, in high position and low—during the visit of the British King and Queen.

The parasitic royal couple is the daily beneficiary of a vicious system of murder, pillage, exploitation and oppression as can be found anywhere on this globe. Every gem in the royal treasure-trove is stained with the blood of British imperialist conquest and extortion. There is not an inch of the crown's power that is not maintained by machine-gun and bayonet. Slaves of all colors, numbering more than a fourth of the world's population, are kept under the heel so that this pair of useless grinning anthropoids and their retainers may continue to rule a monarch's throne.

Is there a Fourth of July celebration where the Democratic and Republican politicians fail to extol the countless virtues of our Great Republic, to point out our emancipation from England and the monarchical system?

Yet all of them joined in the obscene, humiliating rush to grovel before Their Majesties. In New York, school children were commandeered to greet the King and Queen, like the serfs of old who welcomed home the returning lord of the manor. In Washington, Senators and Representatives—to say nothing of their women folk—drooled with delight at the touch of the royal hands. Some of them made a living for a day by allowing their hands to be touched by those not fortunate enough to have touched the King's or Queen's.

It goes without saying that the capitalist press—including, need we add, the Daily Worker—was not outdone in servility and bootlicking by the statesmen.

**A Quaker's Testimony on Life In the Land of Franco Fascism**

Quaker Relief Representative Tells How the Fascists Stole Food Destined for Starving Children, How They Are "Reconstructing" Spain with the Aid of Lies and Terror

By DOROTHY WILLIAMS

Fascists and semi-fascists everywhere have lauded the termination of the Civil War as a victory of the people of Spain over "the forces of darkness seeking to destroy them." What does this "victory" look like to the Spanish masses themselves?

Some authentic information on life in fascist Spain was given recently by Alfred H. Cope of the American Friends Service Committee, the international relief organization of the Quakers. It is a well-known fact that Quaker organizations are very averse to publicity and hence Mr. Cope's remarks have added value. His parting statement would indicate that, if anything, he has erred on the side of understatement: "Please don't overstate anything. I want to be as fair to both sides as I can."

Since the early days of the Civil War the Friends' International Commission for Assistance to Child Refugees in Spain, with which Mr. Cope was connected, has been engaged in feeding as many half-starved Spanish children as its means permitted.

**THE MURDERED AND JAILED**

When questioned on the number of Republicans who had been executed since the fall of Madrid, the Quaker relief director became stilted and refused to make any guesses. However, he did say, "When I was in Murcia I know that a great many shots were fired in the jail between midnight and two in the morning. I slept in my car and was awakened by them. Also the nurse in charge of our hospital heard shots all

**"Christian Ideal"**

Herbert L. Matthews, Rome correspondent of the N. Y. Times, sends the following dispatch to his paper: VATICAN CITY, June 11—Pope Pius today greeted the Spanish soldiers of the Italian Arrow division in words of the warmest praise for having brought a "triumph of the Christian ideal" to Spain.

**'Freeing' of Mrs. Rubens Opens New Chapter of G. P. U. Drama**

(Continued from Page 1)

to be star performers in another Moscow show trial.

Plans for this trial, designed to bolster up the shattered reputation of Moscow justice after the Dewey Commission's conclusion that the earlier Moscow trials against "Trotskyists" were patent frame-ups, were proceeding apace when the conspirators ran into trouble with the American courts. Rubens' American collaborators in the passport ring were arrested, indicted and convicted as passport forgers — and they were known to be Stalinists.

Stalinists Convicted

Ossip Garber, Edward Blatt and Aaron Sharfin were the men convicted by a jury in Federal Court in May.

Sharfin was identified by labor papers — and the charge was never denied by the Communist party — with being a member of the Bronx section of the Communist Party.

Ossip Garber, at whose photographer's salon Rubens occupied desk space, and who forged the passport pictures, was characterized at the trial by his brother-in-law as being "communistic."

Edward Blatt, lawyer and

friend of Rubens, was a close sympathizer of the Stalinists, working with David Mankoff, a Stalinist functionary.

Imre Kline, publisher of "Literary America" and recipient of funds from Rubens for publishing the magazine, of which Rubens posed as an editor, is another known Stalinist involved in the ring.

Two others who testified, Ernest Welchen, who sold his naturalization papers to the ring, and Edward Petersen, who housed one of the fugitive defendants, testified that they were members of the Latvian Unity Society, which is the Latvian section of the Stalinist-controlled International Labor Defense. Rubens was a Latvian who found the Lettish wing of the Stalinist movement a ready reservoir for members of his passport ring and other activities.

Defendants Wouldn't Testify

The most striking feature of the New York trial of Rubens' American accomplices is the fact that the three men refused to take the witness stand in their own behalf. Thus, the prosecution was denied the opportunity of disclosing through cross-examination their Stalinist connections. The complete suppression of these all-important connections with the Stalinist apparatus now furnishes the G.P.U. the opportunity to establish any political connection it desires. The pending trial of Rubens in Moscow may see an effort by the G.P.U. to smear Rubens and his jailed companions in this country as Trotskyist spies, despite all evidence pointing to the G.P.U. itself as the originator and sponsor of the passport ring.

**Special Offer!**

TWO BOUND VOLUMES of the SOCIALIST APPEAL 1937 and 1938 Both for only \$3.00—including postage This 25% reduction holds good for only a few weeks!

most every night for two weeks."

Asked about the number of anti-fascists held in concentration camps, Mr. Cope said, "About half a million is the figure usually given. There are camps everywhere, many of them holding 5,000 prisoners or more. When the Nationalists occupied Ciudad Real they crowded 20,000 Loyalist soldiers into the bull ring and kept them there for twenty days, with almost no food at all and very little water to drink. They were packed in so tightly that most of them couldn't lie down. I got this from a man whom I know very well and whose word can't be doubted."

A good many stories have appeared recently in the newspapers regarding the reconstruction which is taking place in Spain, of plans for future rebuilding, etc. Mr. Cope reveals what they amount to in practice: "I was in Valencia many times when the Fascist planes came over from Mallorca. I know the Nationalists are now going around getting people to sign statements saying that they dynamited the houses themselves and that they were not destroyed by aerial bombs."

**ITALIAN TROOPS STILL THERE**

Evidently Mr. Cope doesn't think very much of "final" withdrawal of Italian troops, which has recently caused a small flurry among capitalist journalists: "About May 10 tremendous numbers of Italians were concentrated all the way between Gandia and Murcia. I drove over that road. We went through village after village, town after town, and the streets were cluttered with Italian soldiers and their equipment. I don't know how many Italians were in the rest of Spain, but there were tens of thousands of them in this district alone. They were repairing the roads and apparently digging in for a considerable stay. From the Italians that I've seen myself, I would say—if they have withdrawn 23,000—then they've only withdrawn about 25 percent of them. I would estimate that three times that number are still in Spain."

The fighting spirit that carried the Spanish masses through centuries of the most cruel exploitation to which any people has been subjected, culminating in thirty-two months of Civil War and defeat, is not gone yet. Between May 12 and 15 Mr. Cope tried to get a pass for Madrid, but it was refused because "Franco was having trouble there. A Swiss relief worker came down from Madrid. He told me that Franco's troops were being sniped at nightly and pamphlets strewn around the streets."

Spain has a long history of resistance to oppression—a fight which ended time after time in defeat, only to be renewed in guerilla warfare, sniping and sabotage of the conquerors. The spirit of Spain is sorely wounded, but the Spanish masses will rise again in their might and destroy forever the hideous sadism that is capitalism in decay.

**And Who Is Lagging?**

There are rising indications that throughout the country the workers themselves are ready for a new kind of politics: for working-class politics, for union tickets and a labor party. This was shown in November by the success of McLevy in Connecticut, in spite of sabotage by the Stalinists and the officials of both C.I.O. and A.F.L. It is being shown today in Minneapolis, where, in the face of a late start and the overwhelming Farmer-Labor collapse in November, the workers have impressively rallied to Elide and the rest of the unions' ticket.

The complaint is made that the American workers do not learn, that they are politically stupid. But this complaint is ordinarily merely the excuse for passivity, opportunism or betrayal on the part of the complainer. The American workers have learned, during the last decade, a large part of the lesson. They now observe the collapse of New Dealism; and more and more of them are prepared to break not only with New Dealism but with bourgeois politics as a whole—if only they can find an alternate path. The Lewises, Greens and Browders have as a principal function to hide and block that alternate path: the path of independent working-class political action.

Conditions are again ripe, after a year or more's hibernation, for blasting away the obstacles. A Presidential year approaches as the War Deal consolidates its hold and social reaction drives deeper. In the months ahead, the slogans for labor politics are certain to meet with an ever-widening response, if they are put forward boldly and clearly, and carried direct into the camp of the enemy.

**Says Cedric Adams, Minneapolis Star columnist:**

In Montreal messenger boys draw ten cents an hour; cab drivers work for 20 cents and work ten hours; a good stenographer capable of speaking and writing both English and French can be employed for \$10.50 per week. A pharmacist gets 28 cents an hour; while a plumber gets 95 cents an hour. You can bet your bottom dollar that the plumbers have a union.

Republican leaders, now formulating plans for 1940, are preparing a "bill of rights"—particularly the right of worship and religious freedom. I'll bet they'll pass right by the right of better wages and working condition—for workers.

**Their Government** By James Burnham

The other night I saw a Philadelphia friend of mine who is a "radical New Dealer." He is one of the bright young men who believe, they say, in "the ultimate goal of socialism," but as "realistic" politicians convince themselves (and try to convince others) that the practical and progressive step today is to support "Roosevelt against reaction." He is a little discouraged lately, and he is anxious to find someone to blame for the fact that all is not so rosy as he expected six years ago.

He told me about a textile worker who lives in the house next to him. This neighbor had had a job in a Philadelphia plant for many years. The plant was unionized, and wages were comparatively good. Suddenly, last September, the company shut the Philadelphia plant, and moved its equipment to non-union, low-wage territory down South. The Philadelphia employees were left behind, without jobs or prospects of jobs.

"In November, two months later," my friend went on, "my neighbor voted for Judge James and the whole Republican ticket." He had got to his point, and found his scapegoat. "How are we going to get anywhere in this country," he concluded, "when the workers are dumb enough to act like that?"

**Just Who Is Stupid?**

Offhand it might seem that my friend had a point. For a worker to think that he is going to solve his problems by voting the ticket of the ultra-reactionary Republican Party, after all these years, does look at first like almost hopeless stupidity. But reflection on this little incident led me to a conclusion very different from that of my friend.

Pennsylvania had for four years been under the control of George Earle, darling of the New Deal and close intimate of Roosevelt. In last year's Spring Primaries, the U.M.U. had run Tom Kennedy for the gubernatorial candidacy, against the Earle machine. In the Primaries campaign, which was bitterly fought, Kennedy and his supporters had denounced Earle from one end of the State to the other, and every charge they made against the machine was justified a dozen times over. The workers, especially the C.I.O. workers, rallied to Kennedy, but he was defeated.

For some months thereafter the C.I.O. officials did nothing. Then, shortly before the election, they told the workers to vote for—the very same Earle machine which they had denounced that Spring, the same machine that had been running the State into the ground for four years, the machine under which the textile worker's job had disappeared.

What, then, was my friend's neighbor to decide? What possible basis did he have for accepting this new advice, contradicting everything that had been told him before, as well as his own experience? It seems to me that his decision not to vote for the Earle machine was both correct and intelligent, with no trace of stupidity but on the contrary a firm grasp of realities.

What positive was left for him to do? There was only one other party in the field, the Republican Party. He was not a syndicalist or indifferent, he wanted to exercise his rights as a citizen, and therefore the only act within his power was to vote for James and the rest of the Republicans.

Granted that his vote was directly counter to his own interests, as he perhaps understands now, with James' signature just fixed under the new union-smashing labor act. But who was to blame here? Who was at fault that this workers' revolt against the status quo (for that is what it amounted to) was turned into the blind ruck of Republicanism? It was not his fault: he, as an individual, had no other choice.

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