

Workers
Of the World Unite!

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Roosevelt Confers With Big Business To Save Capitalism

Prepares Drive on Labor As Sham Fight Against Bosses Nears End

In a headline-making move harking back to the old Hoover days, Roosevelt last week issued summons to scores of the Best Citizens to drop in at the White House for a series of confidential Fireside Chats. The personnel of the first get-together must have been a stiff dose for our New Deal socialists to swallow. Three of the five present were leading directors of the Liberty League: Alfred P. Sloan, Jr., chairman of General Motors; Ernest T. Weir, the great champion of the right of labor to remain for ever free from unionism; and Colby M. Chester, president of General Foods and chairman of the National Manufacturers Association. The remaining two were M. W. Clement, president of Pennsylvania Railroad, and Lewis H. Brown, head of Johns-Manville Corporation, one of the biggest companies in the building supply industry.

A few days later, a new set arrived, this time including Thomas W. Lamont of J. P. Morgan & Co., Ower D. Young of General Electric, and others. But on this occasion our Best Citizens were found to include also none other than John L. Lewis and Philip Murray. And, lo' and behold, the spokesman for the group at the end of the interview turned out to be the same John L. Lewis. The newspapers reported how Lamont, Young and the rest agreeably nodded their heads as Lewis completed his genially non-committal statement.

Stages Sham Fight

While carrying out this move on one salient, the President was equally active on another and seemingly widely separated front. In his best rhetoric he was backing up Jackson and Ickes in their denunciation of monopolies; and in thunderous periods he was calling once more for death to the Utilities Holding Companies. For the twentieth time, the double-dealing of New Dealism was upsetting the political prophets.

However, Roosevelt cannot possibly afford to dispense with such oratorical ventures as the current series against monopolies and the Holding Companies. He won the confidence of the masses in this country and holds them in line through his elaborate front of progressivism and "social-mindedness." To drop this now would gravely undermine mass support not merely of himself but even of capitalism. Roosevelt must continue to appear in the public eye as the champion of the people against the "predatory minority." The day he abandons that role his political doom is sealed. The idea, widely discussed during the past six months, that Roosevelt might give up New Dealism and become an orthodox conservative politician along Liberty League lines, is, therefore, excluded for the present.

The anti-monopoly and anti-Holding Company emphasis is particularly appropriate and even necessary for Roosevelt at the present moment. It is chiefly his middle-class popular support which has lately been sliding away under the impact of the slump and the Tory attacks. Anti-monopoly propaganda—that is, propaganda against the biggest of big business—is above all an appeal to the fears and prejudices of the middle classes.

To Shift Blame

At the same time, this propaganda, together with these conferences with the big industrialists, prepares the ground for Roosevelt to shift the blame for the slump, if it continues and deepens, on to the shoulders of the Tories who, he will claim, refused to cooperate when cooperation was offered and urged. In this way, he avoids taking responsibility himself in the public eye, and hinders the people from tracing responsibility to its true source in the very nature of capitalism.

Roosevelt has, however, more concrete aims in these White House Conferences. There is no doubt that he would like to arrange certain "compromises" with business, which would con-

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W. Coast Unions Score Victories Over Stalinists

Sailors, Firemen Deal Heavy Blows To Bridges-C. P. Fakers

SAN FRANCISCO, Calif.—Progressive and militant unionism won two smashing victories here over the Harry Bridges-Stalinist bureaucratic clique when the Sailor's Union in a land slide election endorsed the policies of Harry Lundeberg and the West Coast Marine Firemen's union ousted the Stalinist fakers who had been running their union and replaced them by a full opposition slate.

In the annual election, Lundeberg was re-elected secretary, treasurer of the Sailor's union by a majority of nearly six to one. He got 2,496 votes against 453 for another candidate.

The policy of remaining independent during the next period from both the C. I. O. and the A. F. of L. which Lundeberg and the entire progressive forces of the union advocated was overwhelmingly approved.

Endorse Amalgamation

The proposal to have an amalgamation of the West Coast Firemen's union with the Sailor's union to serve as a genuine base for real industrial unionism was also endorsed.

In the Firemen's union, R. F. Fitzgerald was defeated in his campaign for re-election as secretary by a vote of 1,472 to 1,052. Fitzgerald stood for Bridges and the other Stalinist fakers who cover themselves with the banner of the C. I. O. He was defeated by V. J. Malone, the candidate of the progressive forces in the union.

In all other contested posts in both the Sailor's and the Firemen's union, the progressives swept into office much to the dismay of the Stalinist bureaucrats.

All the howls of the Stalinist press and the pompous claims of Bridges as "beloved leader" of the West Coast labor movement were drowned in the thunderous chorus of the rank and file of the sea-going unions for real progressive unionism.

Bridges' plan to split the Firemen away from their support of the Sailor's union through his

BOSTON GREET'S NEW PARTY / T WEEK-END MEET

BOSTON, Mass.—An enthusiastic audience of more than 135 greeted the launching of the Socialist Workers Party here at a Lenin memorial meeting last Sunday.

"Our Party is founded on the basic principles that Lenin taught the working class movement of the world," B. J. Widick, labor secretary of the S. W. P., who was the speaker, told the workers.

The previous night a Lenin memorial meeting was held in Lynn, with the same speaker.

2 CIO Leaders Urge Lewis To Talk With AFL

New Peace Move Will Give Impetus To Unity Urge

New York City.—Dissatisfaction with the break-up of unity negotiations between the A. F. of L. and the C.I.O. was voiced last week when two prominent C.I.O. top leaders attempted to place the responsibility of the break-up on John L. Lewis and urged resumption of the peace conferences.

Dave Dubinsky, president of the Int'l. Ladies Garment Workers Union, and Max Zaritsky, president of the Hatters Union, made the pleas for peace.

Although Dubinsky's statement is being used by A. F. of L. spokesmen like Mathew Woll and William Green in an attempt to white wash the executive council bureaucrats of the A. F. of L. and to weaken the C. I. O., his public appeal for unity will have powerful repercussions in both sections of the labor movement.

The public criticism of John L. Lewis by Dubinsky brought into the open a long-smouldering dispute that has existed within the top leadership of the C. I. O. The militant tactics of the auto and rubber workers, especially their use of sit-downs, were tolerated by the C. I. O. but always frowned upon by Dubinsky.

Will Not Withdraw

"I want to state here that, although we are in disagreement on several fundamental points of policy and strategy we will not withdraw from the C. I. O.," Dubinsky declared, when criticizing Lewis for "breaking off negotiations."

Zaritsky, "We have assurance from those who participated in the last peace conference that the spokesmen for the A. F. of L. conceded the main points at issue advocated by the founders of the C. I. O. They specifically accepted the principle of the industrial form of organization in the mass production industries; the reinstatement of all the C. I. O. unions in the A. F. of L. after adjusting their proper jurisdictions; the removal of the power from the executive council to suspend international unions without a convention mandate."

Other C. I. O. leaders answered that the A. F. of L. committee which attended the peace conferences was without authority to negotiate a settlement. The attitudes of Woll and other A. F. of L. officials subsequently offers proof that the A. F. of L. executive council is more responsible for the break-off than Lewis.



MAX ZARITSKY

For the break-off than Lewis. The A. F. of L. executive council, after all, forced the split in the labor movement, and sabotaged the industrial union drive wherever possible.

Sentiment For Unity

The recent action of the Pennsylvania Federation of Labor which refused to obey Green's orders to split the ranks of Pennsylvania labor by expelling the C. I. O. unions from the federation is an indication of the sentiment for unity in the ranks of labor. It symbolized the attitude of militant A. F. of L. unionists towards the reactionary executive council.

The increase in resolutions and telegrams sent to Washington by Local Unions of both the C. I. O. and the A. F. of L. demanding unity with full recognition of the principles of industrial unionism is forcing the top officials towards unification.

New French Crisis Stirred By Break In The Popular Front

Sharper Clashes Loom In Class War As Workers' Burdens Increase

The breathing space offered French capitalism by the People's Front has come to an end.

The fall of the Chautemps government last Friday ushered in a new period of instability which, unless war intervenes, will not be terminated until the workers either take power or are beaten into submission by a frontal attack on their organizations.

Moscow Admits 'Robinsons' Held For 'Espionage'

Stalin's Latest Frame-Up Gets Under Way After Long Preparation

BY JUNIUS

The Soviet authorities have finally made formal admission that the couple variously known as "Robinson" and "Rubens" are in custody and under arrest.

The admission was made after many weeks of evasion, and two weeks of downright silence in the face of a cable of inquiry from the State Department at Washington.

Despite its fears that the "Robinson-Rubens" case is a botch the G.P.U. has found itself too deeply involved to withdraw.

With the acknowledgement of the fact that the "Robinsons" had been in a Soviet prison since early December—that is, some six weeks ago—came the announcement that the prisoners were being charged with espionage in behalf of a foreign power. A trial is expected shortly.

The trial—as we have predicted from the beginning of this case—will be another in the series of infamous frame-ups concocted by the Stalin regime and its G. P. U.

During the past weeks, of course, while hesitating as to whether to go through with the affair or scuttle it with an announcement that the missing couple had never been found, the G. P. U. has been preparing and rehearsing its instruments for a trial.

NOT A DOUBT

All circumstances of the "Robinson-Rubens" case point with deadly accuracy not only to frame-up in general, but to its particular nature and to the purpose it pursues.

The fact that the Moscow statement declares that Rubens was apprehended in the industrial region of the Urals, is additional emphasis.

From the very beginning, the Stalinist press has cautiously sought to connect the "Robinsons" with Leon Trotsky, the American Trotskyists and... a Japanese spy plot in the United States and the Soviet Union. No doubt the G.P.U. will now attempt, by means of the customary "confessions," to realize this despicable scheme in the open.

INSPIRED RUMORS BEGIN

They started their newspaper campaign with inspired rumors (including a phony dispatch from Moscow via Warsaw, that the "Robinsons" had been to Mexico to

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All Out At Lenin Memorial Meeting Sunday Cannon to Speak on Great Leader's Teaching

James P. Cannon, national secretary of the Socialist Workers Party, will speak at the Lenin Memorial Meeting, this Sunday evening, January 23, 8:15 P. M., at Irving Plaza, Irving Place and 15th Street.

The speaker will summarize the teachings of the great leader of the working class who died fourteen years ago. As a representative of the American Communist Party in its early days, Comrade Cannon visited the Soviet Union on several occasions. In 1922 he attended the Fourth Congress of the Comintern—the last under Lenin's leadership—and had the opportunity to discuss many problems with Lenin.

Particular attention will be given to the specific meaning of Lenin's theory and practice for the tasks of the American work-

ing class today. The meeting will be the first public presentation of the decisions and plans of the founding convention of the Socialist Workers Party.

There is no more suitable occasion for such a beginning than the anniversary meeting of Lenin's death—which fourteen years ago cleared the road for the Stalinist reaction.

DETROIT, Mich.—Although motor company production schedules for the 1938 season are expected to be higher than in any year except 1929, 100,000 less workers are employed in the auto industry, according to a survey made by a Scripps-Howard reporter. Technological improvements caused the unemployment.

After 19 months of the People's Front the workers face the same bald alternative which has been before them ever since the Fascist rising in February, 1934.

Workers Headed Off

The power that was in their grasp during the great strikes of June, 1936, was saved for the bourgeoisie by the People's Front.

The workers were headed off by the joint and strenuous efforts of the Socialist and Stalinist parties. Through them, the bourgeoisie dispersed the titanic energies of the aroused masses far more efficiently than it ever could have done by using the weapon of Fascism. In this consists the real substance of the claim that People's Frontism saved France from a Fascist coup. The bourgeoisie preferred the services of Blum-Thorez to de la Rocque-Doriot, especially after it found itself helpless in the face of the paralyzing June strike wave. That is why the "social legislation" of Blum was rushed through parliament with

But Blum's social legislation could not solve the fundamental crisis of French capitalism any more than it could provide any permanent satisfaction to the workers. Unimproved trade balances and the increased burdens of national defense, cheerfully supported by Blum-Thorez & Co., coupled to the determination of the employers to make the workers bear the charges of the shortened hours and increased wages, soon led to a new impasse.

Gains Wiped Out

Prices and the cost of living rose steeply, wiping out the meager gains of the June strikes. The price index for all commodities rose from 400 in September, 1936, to 608 on January 8, 1938. Foodstuffs rocketed in the same period from an index of 436 to 622.

The flight of capital, the steady depletion of the gold reserves, and the weakening of the franc, led to the introduction of Blum's famous "pause" followed by his removal in favor of Chautemps in June, 1937. Drastic retrenchments followed. The franc was devalued and the cost of living rose to prohibitive heights. The workers soon made their answer.

Strikes began to break out and assumed the proportions of a new major wave of struggle when at the end of the year the employers unitedly resisted renewal of the collective contracts, concluded in June, 1936, contracts, incidentally, they had consistently sabotaged and vitiated from the very date they were signed.

Chautemps Fails

Chautemps tried to stem the tide of strikes by calling another capital-labor conference and although Jouhaux and the Socialist-Stalinist leadership were ready to collaborate, the employers demanded more drastic methods. They boycotted Chautemps' conference. What they wanted became clear last Friday when Chautemps told the Communists in the Chamber to quit the government majority if they chose. The Socialists, fearful of leaving the Stalinists a clear field with the discontented masses, pulled their nine ministers out of the government and forced its fall.

Georges Bonnet, the finance minister whose policies have been synonymous for the workers with new privations, taxes, and high prices, was repudiated by the Socialists. Leon Blum, however, came forward with an open proposal for the creation of a government of national union, and

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Leninism Can't Be Embalmed



LENINISM

Carlo

PARTY CONVENTION ANALYZES POLITICAL SITUATION

Text of Resolution Adopted At Chicago By Founding Convention Of the S. W. P.

The political and economic situation in the United States is developing in the midst of a convulsive evolution of a world capitalist society in a state of crisis and decay—a world crisis with which the United States is inextricably connected and from whose effects it cannot exempt itself by a policy of either economic or political "isolation."

The world bourgeoisie has been able to surmount the violent crisis that shook its whole economic structure beginning with the stock market crash in the United States in 1929. In countries like Germany, a purely conjunctural improvement has been achieved by a sharp reduction of the standard of living of the masses and by a tremendous increase of operations in the armaments and related industries, resulting in a partial consolidation of the Fascist regime. In France, the People's Front movement has been able to survive and to perpetuate its democratic illusions on the basis of a temporary prosperity, or more accurately, of a slowing down of the more violent pace of economic decline which harassed the country a few years ago. England too has been able to arrest a more catastrophic economic fall by virtue of the unprecedented armaments program inaugurated by the Government.

None of the big powers, however, can achieve that level of economic stability which was attained, for example, by France after the World War, except by resolving, at least on a capitalist

basis, the conflict between its productive forces and the national boundaries and the limitations imposed by its share of the world market. This is especially true of those powers, like Germany, Italy, Japan and Poland, whose need of economic expansion comes into the sharpest and most immediate conflict with the present divisions of the world market. The present period may be characterized as one in which all the imperialist powers are jockeying for best position, from the standpoint of the advancement of their economic and military (armaments) strength, in preparation for the inevitable struggle for the re-division of the world among the big imperialist bandits, i.e., for the second World War.

In this sense, the second World War has already begun. More exactly, the big preliminary skirmishes have already taken place. The conquest of Ethiopia by Italian imperialism strengthened the latter's position along the life-line of British imperialism, in the Mediterranean, the Red Sea and Northeastern Africa. The mineral wealth and strategic importance of Spain are the object of a duel between Italy, Germany and England-France, the accompanying shadow of the civil war on the peninsula. The invasion of China by Japan only heralds the war in which not only these two countries, but also the Soviet Union, the British Empire and the United States will be inescapably and directly involved as active belligerents.

American conference in Buenos Aires; and subsequently by the sharp notes to Japan which are only a reflection of America's dogged intention of keeping the

"Open Door" open in China and preventing any other power from shutting off the United States from expansion upon the Asiatic continent.

Foreign Trade Vital for U. S. Capitalism

The direct economic and territorial (colonial) expansion of the United States in the rest of the world is entirely out of proportion to its own economic-financial strength. The position occupied by foreign trade in the economic life of the country, while comparatively small in percentage, is nevertheless decisive, particularly in the form of the continued export of capital. The efforts to solve the devastating economic crisis in the United States on "national soil," have not succeeded in yielding lasting results. Quite the contrary. Although the United States has shared in the general world recovery from the crisis which reached its lowest point in 1932, it has not been able to attain the production level reached at the 1929 boom peak. The "New Deal" recovery has not even been as strong as the recovery experienced by other countries, due largely to the heavy armaments program of U. S. imperialism. The United States in the "Roosevelt era" has not only benefited from an extensive system of government spending, of liberal credit facilities, of a substantial increase of production made possible by the employment of public funds which facilitated the re-organization of capitalist enterprises, but to a certain extent, from the armaments program both of the United States and the rest of the world.

The recovery has undoubtedly reduced the size of the army of the unemployed and mitigated the conditions of the working class in general by an increase in its purchasing power. But this increase in the purchasing power of the masses has not kept pace with the increase in their productivity; the opposite, that is, a widening of the gap between actual output and purchasing power, has occurred. The degree of capitalist prosperity attained in 1929 has thus not yet been reached and from all indications will not be attained before the outbreak of another ravaging crisis. The first symptoms of that crisis are already obvious, and they mark the collapse of both the "New Deal" and the "New Deal" ideology which captured the minds of the masses in the period just elapsed.

It is possible that the full development of the present recession into a deep crisis may be temporarily arrested by a certain period of economic upturn, but the line of development toward a raging crisis is already unmistakable. While neither the rate of development of the crisis, heralded by the present slump nor the moment of its cataclysmic outbreak, can be accurately predicted, it is safe to say that it will break at a lower level than in 1929 and will be of greater scope, depth and duration.

Along with it will break the illusion of a speedy and lasting recovery which accompanied the preceding crisis as a hang-over of the American "prosperity" ideology. The American ruling class will be compelled to intervene in the most brutally aggressive manner outside its own borders in order to maintain its own power and profits. The role of "pacifier" of Europe played by the United States in the past will necessarily be replaced by an attempt to reduce the European powers (and Japan) to a poor relation's share of the world market, corresponding to the unpostponable need of expansion of American imperialism. It is entirely excluded by reality, that the older imperialist powers, themselves desperate and driving relentlessly to war to expand or even retain their resources at each other's expense, will give way to American encroachments merely as a result of purely political or financial pressure. Such decisive changes of the world map as the United States must seek to accomplish, can be obtained only at the cost of war.

It is most unlikely that in the event of an inter-imperialist war, the United States will be one of the original belligerents. At the same time, it is just as unlikely that she will wait, as was the case in the last world war, for 32 months before entering the hostilities in order to emerge as the decisive victor. The comparative poverty of the European imperialist powers, as well as the speedier and more general destruction promised by the coming war, will determine the earlier intervention of American imperialism for the purpose of delivering, as in 1917, the decisive blow in the war and of having the decisive word in the "vision of the spoils."

al middle reformist party based on the trade unions allied with various petty-bourgeois politicians and political grouplets, dominated by middle-class demagogues of the LaGuardia type and by labor leaders like Lewis or Green or both; and breaking either partially or completely the Roosevelt and Democratic party machine, much in the manner in which the ALP broke with the Lehman and Democratic party machine in New York in the recent mayoralty campaign. (3) The Labor Party development takes on a more radical form in appearance, namely, a policy and leadership determined by the Lewis bureaucracy and the Stalinist party. In a word, the unfolding of the economic crisis would scarcely result in any mass movement of Fascism in the United States, but because of the still unexhausted "democratic" reserves in America, the present diffused and unorganized "People's Front movement" would shift to the left and assume more clearly delimited forms.

Faced with the prospect of the formation of a national Labor Party of one kind or another, the S.W.P. has no need of altering the fundamental revolutionary Marxist position on the Labor Party question. The revolutionary party cannot take the responsibility for forming or for advocating the formation of a reformist, class-collaborationist party, that is of a petty bourgeois workers' party. At the same time we must be aware that under certain conditions the movement for a Labor party would not only draw into its ranks the great mass of the organized workers of the United States, but would even absorb most of the progressive, advanced and semi-revolutionary tendencies in the labor movement. The S.W.P. could stand completely apart from such a movement only at the risk of complete isolation and ineffectiveness in the class struggle.

sharp conflict with both the historical and the immediate interests of the working class. As the economic and political crisis sharpens in the United States, the Communist Party will be more clearly revealed not as a defender of the working class but as a decisive prop of the American bourgeoisie and its class rule—a position determined by the desire to win American imperialism, at all costs, to an alliance with the Soviet bureaucracy.

The revelation of the reactionary role of the Stalinist party and its leadership will serve to drive a wedge between the latter and the worker-militants in its ranks. The sharpening of the class struggle in the United States, as well as the horrible results of Stalinist policy in the Soviet Union and Spain, will therefore bring with it sharp internal conflicts and crises in the ranks of Stalinism, the first signs of which are already present at the periphery of the Stalinist movement. These will open up to the S.W.P. the prospect of winning many former Stalinist workers to its ranks, and under favorable circumstances of a split in the C.P., even the prospect of the fusion of a section of the Stalinist party with the S.W.P. on the basis of the program of the Fourth International. The Party must therefore pay close attention to this field and prepare the most favorable situation by patient and systematic activity among the Stalinist rank and file, and elements under their influence, above all in the trade union movement.

The world situation and the perspectives of development in the United States thus confront the S. W. P. with tremendous tasks, which it can accomplish only with the greatest responsibility and seriousness. The party must prepare itself consciously and deliberately for these tasks. It must be aware especially of the fact that it faces not only a great sharpening of the class struggle in the United States, but above all the early prospect of an imperialist war, which will be the severest test of all organizations and policies. It can meet this test only by the rigid safeguarding of the Marxist principles of revolutionary internationalism upon which it is founded.

The truly revolutionary party, especially in the present period, must be able to defend the immediate and historical interests of the working class not only on the economic and political field, but also on the theoretical field. The most active participation in mass work which is mandatory upon the party does not conflict with but rather presupposes the most militant defense of the party's program and its theoretical principles from the assaults of all other currents and ideologies in the labor movement.

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Conflict Delay Outbreak Of World War

If the inevitable World War has not yet broken out, this is due to the large elements of uncertainty represented by the dense criss-crossing network of conflicts, rivalries and contradictions among all the powers of the world. The deliberately simplified Stalinist-reformist division of contending forces into "democracies" and "dictatorships," does not seriously correspond to any reality save that of the need to prepare the working masses to act enthusiastically as cannon-fodder for "democratic" imperialism. The rivalry of the two great imperialist monsters, the United States and Britain, continues to be deep-going, in spite of the recent mitigation of its sharpness by momentarily coinciding interests (opposition to Japanese expansion). The British conflict with Japan over the domination of China and, prospectively, of India, is presently sharper than the antagonism between Japan and the United States for the hegemony of the Pacific. However, the conflict between England and Italy for control of the Mediterranean, is of secondary importance and does not necessarily signify the occupation of opposite sides by these two countries in the coming war, any more than it did in the last war.

It would be erroneous, also, to conclude that because England and Germany were opposed in the last war, they will inevitably be opposed in the next. The bonds

making for an alliance between these two powers are far stronger than, for example, the bonds making for an alliance between France and the Soviet Union. It is inconceivable, practically speaking, that France would engage in a large scale war without the assured and direct support of Great Britain, for whom all her present allies of the small "democratic" countries (Poland, Roumania) can scarcely substitute from the standpoint of strength or importance.

An additional element of uncertainty, which serves in a way to postpone the actual outbreak of the war for a period of time, is the "military unpreparedness" of two of the principal decisive powers, England and Germany. But the "completion" of the armaments programs of these two countries involves such a diversion and squandering of economic strength as to sap their otherwise none too stable economic bases. The impending economic crisis, presaged by the recent convulsions in the New York, London and Paris stock exchanges, will not only be more devastating, from all indications, than the preceding crisis, but will in all likelihood serve as the principal direct factor to precipitate the outbreak of hostilities in the international struggle to re-divide the world. In this sense, a war boom alone can arrest the most disastrous development of the crisis.

Likely to Enter War Early

It is just as unlikely that the United States will precipitate the world war by immediately starting a duel with Japan, as is hoped by British imperialism, which is still unprepared for a war in Asia, and by the Stalinist bureaucracy. Under the concrete conditions, a direct military struggle against Japan at the present time would signify that American imperialism is pulling British chestnuts out of the fire and acting as a bulwark protecting the eastern flank of the Soviet Union—and the American bourgeoisie does not intend to enact either role. It may be said with practical certainty that the United States will engage in a war with Japan only under such circumstances as would make it possible not only to deliver a stiff blow at Japanese imperialism in China, but also to strengthen American imperialism at the expense of British. Similarly in the case of the Soviet Union. Unless the latter guarantees vast concessions to the United States in advance, American imperialism would in all likelihood permit itself a direct war alliance with the Soviet Union in a struggle against Japan only after it was well under way and when the entry into the conflict of the United States would permit it to dictate the terms both to its enemy and its ally.

If the working class is unable to prevent the outbreak of war, and the United States enters directly into it, the S.W.P. stands pledged to the traditional position of revolutionary Marxism. It will utilize the crisis of capitalist rule engendered by the war to prosecute the class struggle with the utmost intransigence, to strengthen the inde-

pendent labor and revolutionary movements, and to bring the war to a close, by the revolutionary overturn of capitalism and the establishment of proletarian rule in the form of the workers' state. Combatting the chauvinistic wave, it will not only reject any and every form of class-collaboration, support of the war and of the capitalist government, but will work toward the defeat of the American capitalist class and its war regime by the proletarian revolution.

The S.W.P. will advocate the continuation of the class struggle during the war regardless of the consequences to the military front of American capitalism; and will try to prepare the masses to utilize the war crisis for the overthrow of U. S. capitalism and the victory of socialism.

Even if the United States were to be allied with the Soviet Union in a war against another imperialist power, this circumstance would not for a minute alter the imperialist character and aims of the war so far as the United States is concerned; neither, therefore, would there be any alteration in the position of the S.W.P. with regard to American capitalism and its government and in our irreconcilable hostility towards them. The practical steps which our party would take in the course of its opposition to the war would, however, have to be decided in consideration of the need of facilitating the utmost material aid to the Soviet Union's armed forces in their war against an imperialist power, in conformity with our position of defense of the Soviet Union from imperialist assault.

S.W.P. Must Find Roots in Unions

It would be wrong to conclude from this that even if a national Labor Party, based on the trade unions, were formed, the S.W.P. would seek to affiliate with it. Whether or not the revolutionary party in this country would pursue the same tactics toward the Labor party that Lenin recommended at one time in England, cannot be determined in advance and could be decided only on the basis of the concrete reality of the given Labor party, of the general political situation and the relationship of forces. Even if such a tactic is not eventually adopted, it would be totally false to remain completely aside from a Labor party if it has a mass basis in the trade unions. The primary and principal means of retaining and extending our contact with the masses under such conditions, would be not so much directly through the political branches of the Labor party as through the trade unions themselves. All considerations therefore point to the imperative necessity facing the S.W.P. of making systematic, organized, concentrated efforts to root itself in the factories and in the trade unions, and to participate to the fullest extent in the daily struggles of the workers and in mass work in general. Therein lies the main line of our preparation for the period to come.

The S.W.P. is the product of the fusion of the elements formerly organized in the Workers Party with the revolutionists in the S.P. and the Y.P.S.L. in the course of the struggle to win the membership of these organizations to the principles of Marxism and the banner of the Fourth International. In the split provoked by the reformists and centrists, the Fourth Internationalists rallied the overwhelming majority of the members of the Young People's Socialist League and the bulk of the active membership of the Socialist Party. What remains of the latter is an opportunistic sect, confined to a few localities, having no real and solid connections with the labor movement, and completely dominated by a confused combination of municipal social democrats, pacifists, utopian reformers, second rank labor bureaucrats and a demoralized appendage of centrists. The experience with the Thomas-Hoan-Tyler Socialist Party is at an end; it is behind us. The S.W.P. would be disorienting itself completely if it concentrated any efforts in the direction of the old S.P. under the illusory impression that there are still substantial numbers of militants within the ranks who can be won to the revolutionary program.

The Lovestone group, which since its inception has led the existence of an unacknowledged attorney for Stalinism, and has maintained itself thanks primarily to the adaptation of some of its trade union functionaries to the class-collaborationist bureaucracy, now finds itself compelled to unload the responsibility for the crimes and policies of Stalinism, above all in the Soviet Union, which it defended up to yesterday. This is not only eloquent testimony to the degeneration of the counter-revolutionary Stalinist bureaucracy, but a sign of the shift which is taking place to one extent or another throughout the working class movement.

The fact that the Lovestone leadership is forced to make so radical a retreat from its previous position, and to adopt many of the criticisms and programmatic points of our movement, even if in a distorted form, testifies to the possibilities of winning to the ranks of the revolutionary party a number of workers in its organization. While this possibility of recruitment cannot be ignored, it must nevertheless be borne in mind that the Lovestone group still remains a tiny sect confined essentially to a very few localities.

Reaction Caused By Big Defeats

The party cannot close its eyes to the fact that the almost unbroken series of defeats and setbacks suffered by the world labor movement, especially in the past fifteen years, and above all the tragic disintegration of the Russian Revolution (the phenomenon of Stalinism), have produced a widespread reaction not only against Stalinism but against the principles and organization of revolutionary Marxism. This reaction has manifested itself, both in the realm of theory and political action, in the almost universal attempted substitution of all sorts of reformist and revisionist doctrines, programs, and movements for the doctrine and movement of scientific socialism. The attempts to eliminate the latter from the working class represent at bottom the pressure of a reactionary petty bourgeois ideology upon the ranks of the labor movement in general and of the revolutionary movement in particular. The degeneration of the socialist movement, which celebrated its triumph in the Second International upon the outbreak of the World War, has succeeded in the past decade in completely destroying the Third International as a revolutionary or progressive force.

It would be absurd to imagine that the Marxist wing of the movement, represented by the Fourth International throughout the world, could be completely immune from this petty bourgeois, disintegrating tendency. Fortified though our movement here and abroad is by the assimilation of the rich lessons of the last twenty years, and standing uncompromisingly though it does on the granite foundation of the principles of revolutionary Marxism which the reformists and turncoats jeer at as "obsolete" or "super-orthodox," our International and our Party have felt the effects of the current of degeneration at their periphery.

This current can be counteracted by the party waging a consistent struggle for the defense of those revolutionary principles upon which it is built and by which it must guide itself in all its daily activity. The party today must become the rallying center of all revolutionary and class conscious workers. Unless the party is to fall victim to a sectarian, self-satisfied rigidity, it must take into account

the prospect that in the coming period it will draw into its ranks many workers, not only from the Stalinist camp but in general, who have not passed through the years of political and theoretical training that the main core of the party has experienced. In a sense, these new elements will bring with them, unconsciously, confused and distorted ideas. The utmost patience and the broadest inner-party democracy are required in assimilating all new forces, especially militant proletarians, but the task can be successfully performed only if the party itself maintains an unyielding firmness in its own principles and its own theoretical conceptions. Otherwise, the party will gradually decline into a formless mass of conflicting and contradictory currents which will not only negate its basic program but render it ineffective as a revolutionary force in the class struggle.

The S.W.P. sees the fundamental causes of the degeneration of the other workers' parties in their departure from the principles of revolutionary Marxism and the adoption of petty bourgeois reformist policies and theories. This process has always been accompanied by the imposition of bureaucratic regimes inside those organizations. Precisely because our party is based upon the tested principles of Marxism and is inflexible in its defense of the program of revolutionary internationalism, it stands four-square upon the basis of democratic centralism in its structure. The party that stands for the triumph of workers' democracy cannot tolerate a bureaucratic regime and structure in its own midst. Democratic centralism is based in the first place upon a common adherence to the fundamental program of the party. It implies the free interchange of opinion, the right of discussion, presentation and defense of views within the framework of the principles of revolutionary Marxism, the unimpairment of the membership freely to decide the policies of the organization and to select its leadership. It further implies the most rigid discipline in action upon the basis of the program and policies of the party under the direction of the party leadership and the subordination in action of the minority to the majority.

the inclusion of all right wingers and the exclusion of all revolutionists.

Our conception of democratic centralism, which makes possible the richest and most fruitful inner-life in the organization and the mutual influencing of all its component parts by discussion, definitely excludes, however, the conversion of the party into a Bohemian talking shop which discusses interminably without ever coming to a decision and acting upon it. The revolutionary party is primarily a party of action and not an intellectualistic discussion club where everybody may come and go as he pleases. Democratic centralism is the means which enables the party to arrive in the freest, most untrammelled and speediest manner at those decisions and at that practise which makes

Imperialists Seek Defeat of S. U.

The Soviet Union occupies a singular position in the present world situation. The fragility of its alliances with capitalist powers (France, etc.) is only a reflection of the still existing irreconcilability between the world of imperialism on the one side, and the yet remaining achievements of the Bolshevik revolution on the other. It is a conceivable, of course, that for a given period the conflict between two imperialist camps may become so sharp as to cause one side to enter into a real military alliance with the Soviet Union. But it is no less likely that the rival imperialist camps will find it more expedient to postpone a settlement of the conflicts among themselves, involving not only the risk of the defeat of one set of imperialists by the other and their reduction to a secondary status by the victor, but also the defeat of all of them by the proletarian revolution.

A postponement of the inter-imperialist war for a re-division of the capitalist world market is conceivable only in the form of a joint imperialist struggle to destroy the Soviet Union and to divide it among themselves as colonies, spheres of influence and protectorates. The imperialist "haves" would thereby not only preserve their present forces in the world market (colonies, etc.) from being snatched up by victorious "have-nots," but, in the event of a defeat of the Soviet Union, would even extend their powers along with their present threatening rivals. It would therefore be the greatest blindness to imagine that the plans of Germany and Japan, which are ready to forego for the time being

their demands for a larger share of the world market of the other imperialist powers if the latter consent to a partitioning of the Soviet Union, are unacceptable to countries like France and England because of their adherence to the renowned principles of democracy. It is not at all out of the question that the imperialist powers may seek to compose their own differences at a feast over the body of the Soviet Union.

It is entirely inconceivable that American imperialism can succeed in resisting the pulling it into the vortex of the coming world war. The United States is today the strongest world power. The bases of its economic and political strength extend over every continent, and the shocks and convulsions of capitalism anywhere in the world have their immediate, direct or indirect, effects upon this country. This is expressed in military terms by the fact that, despite the virtually invulnerable geographic position of the United States, its armaments program today is the largest in its peace-time history, adjusted to the objectives of world conquest rather than to the myth of self-contained isolation. Politically, it was expressed in the clearest terms in the aggressive, interventionist speech of Roosevelt in Chicago, announcing the determination of American imperialism to take the leadership in the struggle to keep its present most dangerous rival, especially in the Far East, from increasing its ration of the Asiatic market; earlier, in Cordell Hull's efforts to consolidate the dominant position of American imperialism at the Latin

Crisis Drives Ruling Class Toward War

The impending economic crisis will not only propel the United States sharply along the road to imperialist war, but will be accompanied by a radical change in the political situation at home. Up to the present time, the "People's Front" movement has assumed the form of support of the Roosevelt regime, and to a greater or lesser extent, of its policies, not only by the bulk of

the Democratic Party, and sections of the progressive Republicans, but by the Farmer-Laborites, the trade unions (CIO and AFL), the Stalinists and the social democrats. But this form, expressed in the field of legislation through the official, but internally torn, Democratic party, is already proving inadequate for a perpetuation of the class collaborationist illusions fostered to

Parleys Not Sought With Sects

Not very fruitful would be the expenditure of any energy in a hunt for recruits from or fusion with the variety of disintegrating ultra-leftist sects (Oehler, Weisbord, etc.) which have doomed themselves to sterility and have become reactionary, even if insignificant obstacles on the road to the building of the revolutionary party in the United States. While the S.W.P. holds the door wide open to all the sincere revolutionary elements still affiliated with such sects, and is ready to admit them to membership on the basis of acceptance of the party program and without the slightest prejudice to the rights or obligations which they would share in com-

mon with all other members, it considers it wasteful and futile to engage in a series of "negotiations" looking towards "fusion" with the sects themselves.

The Communist Party presents a different problem. Although it has grown enormously in the recent period as a result of the influx of large numbers of middle class elements, attracted by its petty bourgeois line, it has also succeeded in recruiting thousands of militant and even revolutionary-minded workers. The interests of the counter-revolutionary Stalinist bureaucracy, which dictate the position and activity of the Communist Party in this as in all other countries, come into increasingly

Stalinist Democracy A Fraud

The "democracy" of the Stalinist parties is confined to the "right" of the party membership to carry out unquestioningly all the decisions arbitrarily arrived at by a bureaucratically appointed leadership over which the ranks of the party have absolutely no control. The "democracy" of the "all inclusive" Thomas-Tyler party is a miserable fraud. Our whole experience has demonstrated that it consists in the fullest freedom for the opportunists and reformists to act as they please, even in the violation of the formal policy of the party, and in the most brutal bureaucratic suppression of the revolutionary left wing for the crime of fighting inside the party for a Marxist program. The "all-inclusive" party conception of the present leaders of the Socialist Party is a gross deception, which has ended with

(Continued on page 3)

New Party Given Lead By The Convention

(Continued from page 2)

possible the party's most effective participation in the class struggle.

We cannot ignore the fact that the past development of the Fourth Internationalist movement in this country has prepared it to meet the great tasks that now face it chiefly in one sense, namely, in that it has provided the party with its thought-out and proven principled foundations. At the same time, it must be recognized that the intensely political and polemical life of the movement in the past, its enforced isolation from the main stream of the working class movement, has produced not only certain sectarian tendencies (Oehler, etc.), but also a tendency towards an exclusively internal existence unconnected with the living movement of the working class. It is imperative that this tendency be overcome and that the party turn its full energies towards rooting itself in the labor movement.

The S.W.P. proceeds in its tactics and activities not merely from the standpoint of what it

ought to be and must become, but primarily from the realistic consideration of what it is at the present time, what forces are at its disposal, and what tasks it can reasonably accomplish in the coming period. We are not yet a mass party and therefore cannot assume all the responsibilities incumbent upon such a movement. It is only in certain localities—and they are not numerous—that our party has firm contacts with the organized labor movement. For the most part, however, the party still operates as a large propaganda organization. It is necessary to take deliberate measures to pass beyond these confines. The main task of the party in the coming period is not the impossible one of becoming the leader of the American working class; that would be a vain illusion, and would bring both disappointment and disorientation into our midst. Our main task is to entrench ourselves in the labor movement, above all in the trade unions, to gain important bases in the labor movement, to consolidate them, and to proceed from them to our next tasks.

Party Composition to Be Improved

The accomplishment of this simple, prosaic but indispensable task means a radical improvement of the composition of our party. We will not succeed in rooting the party in the working class, much less to defend the revolutionary proletarian principles of the party from being undermined, unless the party is an overwhelmingly proletarian party, composed in its decisive majority of workers in the factories, mines and mills. We cannot blind ourselves to the fact that this is not the case at the present time. The party must therefore steer a deliberate course towards recruiting above all from the factory proletariat, especially those engaged in heavy industry. It is a perilous weakness of our party that it has a very small representation in the mining industry, in steel, in automobile, etc. Our attention must therefore be turned to the most patient and systematic agitatorial activity in the industries, in the shops, themselves. The winning of a thousand factory proletarians to the ranks of the party would be a triumph which would change the whole complexion of the movement and both the nature and effectiveness of its work in the class struggle. What is said about the social composition of the party applies with at least

equal force to the organization of the youth which, precisely because of the decline of youth in industry, has a far too small proportion of proletarian elements in its composition.

No effective work can be done in the trade unions—and consequently no effective work in the class struggle—unless the party is directly connected with these elementary organizations of the working class. This means that the party must not only demand a minimum of activity of all its members, but that it demands of every worker in its ranks immediate adherence to his corresponding trade union, and activity inside of it if he is already a member. The most correct trade union policy in the world has little or no significance if the party is not in a position to apply it where it is meant to be applied.

These elementary measures, which are indispensable for the transition from a propaganda group to a mass party in the American working class and its struggle, if carried out in organized, systematic form, enable the party to ward off the danger of being sapped by triflers and dilettants, by purely literary radicalism, and to become a serious and significant factor in the great struggle and decisive tests that lie ahead on the road to the proletarian revolution.

Feudal-Military Reaction Planning Mexican Coup To End Reform Program

By Bernard Ross

Recent reports from Mexico seem to indicate that the feudal-military reactionaries are preparing a coup d'etat. Their purpose is twofold: to squelch the agrarian reform movement and to smash all working class organizations, taking away from the proletariat the hard-won concessions wrested from the bourgeoisie, native and foreign, since the revolution of 1910.

The reactionary forces are by no means weak. They count in their ranks a number of national senators and deputies as well as a group of state governors. The important role the latter may play cannot be underestimated when one realizes that the majority are high ranking military men who control, besides their own state forces, important contingents of the national army. A number of fascist organizations exist such as the "Middle Class Confederation," "Nationalist Youth," "Veterans of the Revolution," and a conglomeration of clerical-fascist groups called the "Social Democratic Party," whose sole function consists in spewing venom on agrarian reform measures and working class liberties. And to this long list we must add the most retrogressive force in Mexican history: the Roman Catholic hierarchy.

Besides the already mentioned state governors, the reactionaries are strongly entrenched within the national government and the state apparatus. The National Revolutionary Party, Cardenas' political machine, far from being a homogeneous outfit, has quite a number of "Callistas" in its ranks. The army is a hot-bed of

reaction with a goodly portion of the officer caste belonging to the "Veterans of the Revolution."

Cedillo Heads Reaction

The central figure of Mexican feudal reaction today is General Saturnino Cedillo, who recently was forced to resign as minister of agriculture. A bitter foe of agrarian reform and the working class, he has systematically kidnapped, assassinated and driven out of his state of San Luis Potosi labor organizers and a radical peasant leaders. A few months ago his armed bands massacred working class demonstrators in the city of Valles.

The leaders of the C.T.M. and the Stalinists, bound to the Cardenas administration, and not wishing to compromise the latter, try to dissimulate the fact that the greatest threat of an armed rebellion comes from individuals who today are part of the government, the National Revolutionary Party and the army. To admit that would be tantamount to showing how the government permits the reactionaries to carry on their political activities unhampered. The Stalinists, instead, sign paeans of praise to the army and do not even call for a purge of reactionary generals. The army, they say, will never revolt. But Mexican history and tradition teach us otherwise, namely, that the military has always played a predominant and decisive role in turbulent Mexican politics. It will do likewise in the near future and one can easily foresee the consequences with the army under reactionary leadership.

The liberal bourgeois government of Cardenas has been in

The Hangman's Year

By Victor Serge

The Soviet year 1937 opens in January with the Trial of the Seventeen, the sequel of the Trial of the Sixteen in August 1936. On the First of February several of Lenin's companions and friends are lowered into their graves, shot in the back of their necks. Among them is the leader of the Ukraine victory of 1918, the great industrializer, Gregory Zinoviev; the leader of three insurrections in Moscow, N. Murloff; the party founder, S. Borkoff; the director of the chemical industry, Rataichak; Drobnis and Boguslavsky, famous fighters in difficult days...

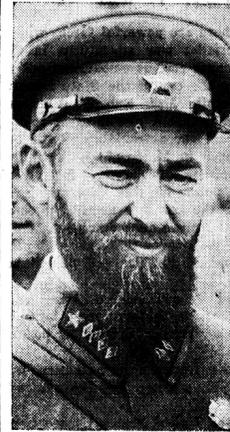
The year continues with the execution of eight army chiefs, haloed with the memory of Civil War triumphs: Tukhachevsky, Yakir, Kork, Eidemans, Putna... The year, or rather, the massacre of the founders of the U.S.S.R., continues with the execution of the old Caucasian Bolsheviks Mdivani, Okudjava—and others in Tiflis, Lakoba in Sukhum, still others in Batum. A stream of blood. One thousand two hundred and three executions of People's Commissars, high functionaries and poor devils—according to the official press—between the middle of August and the middle of November. In November comes the finish of the diplomats: Seven ambassadors disappear all at once, representing the Soviet at Helsingfors, Tallinn, Kaunas, Berlin, Nanking, Bukarest, Warsaw.

We learn of the disappearance of the last among the leaders of the Communist International: Bela

leaders of the forced collectivization—ordered by Stalin—in the Caucasus.

Shoots Boyhood Friend
Aveli Yenukidze is shot. He too, was a founder of the Bolsheviks.

Victim of Purge



JAN GAMARNIK

mas Eve with a horrible report: eight more executions. Four of those massacred were also fighters from the very first days and founders of the regime, members of the government only the day before. It is officially confirmed that Rudzutak, a member of the Political Bureau to this day, has been declared an enemy of the people and is doomed to the same fate... A frightful year. I'deede, a year for the hangman...

Karakhan has been shot. I knew it; I made it public more than a month ago. The official communiqué admits it on December 20. Karakhan: one of the insurgents of October 1917, plenipotentiary of the Soviets at Brest-Litovsk in 1918, later ambassador to Peking, more recently ambassador to Ankara... Orekhalashvili is shot. One of the builders of the Bolshevik party in 1903, a fighter in the 1905 revolution, vice-president of the Transcaucasian Council of People's Commissars, a member of the Central Committee of the party... Sheboldayev is shot, a boyhood friend of Stalin's, once exiled to Siberia with him. Secretary of the Central Executive Committee of the Soviets, placed at this post through Lenin's confidence in him, from 1918 to 1934. Known for his firmness, his trustworthiness, his good nature, his great culture. Suddenly removed in 1934. Apropos his case, I wrote only a year ago:

"The proscriptions have their logic. The whole October generation must be outlawed. Whatever its last representatives may be made to do, to say and to write, words no longer count. Stalin knows that these men may some day take hold of themselves again and that, in their heart of hearts, they are his implacable

Victim of Purge



BELA KUN

Kun, Piatnitsky, Ludwicz, Magary, Valetsky, Felix Wolf, Egerlein, Remmele... The secret execution of one of the most remarkable theoreticians of Bolshevism, Nikolai Bukharin, appears to be confirmed. Also the execution of the former chief of the police forces, the People's Commissar of the Interior, Stalin's trusted man, Henry Yagoda. On December 12 takes place the plebiscite organized according to the new Stalinist constitution: 90 million voters vote for the genial leader. A few days pass and the year closes on Christ. A soldier in the Civil War, a member of the Central Committee,

office three years and during that time has amply shown that it cannot and does not desire to carry on a consistent struggle against feudal reaction. Cardenas tries to compromise and conciliate as has been shown by his attitude towards Cedillo and his recent accord with the notoriously reactionary governor of Sonora, General Yocupico.

Bound to Imperialism

Effective solution of the land problem necessitates a struggle against foreign imperialism, but the national bourgeoisie, far from opposing imperialism, is inseparably bound to it. The Cardenas government has been hailed as "anti-imperialist" and the recent confiscation of Standard Oil lands is given as an illustration. But, almost simultaneously with that action, Cardenas grants large concessions to the British Royal Dutch Shell. A genuine struggle against imperialism would mean raising the peasant and proletarian masses to action. But that very prospect is enough to frighten Cardenas out of his wits. Likewise in the international arena, the Mexican bourgeoisie expressed its loyalty to its imperialist overseers. Can it easily be forgotten how at last year's Buenos Aires conference, Najera, the Mexican delegate, far from clamoring against imperialism, worked harmoniously and in accord with the Washington delegation?

The Mexican bourgeoisie, vacillating and conciliatory, cannot accomplish its own bourgeois-democratic revolution, i.e., give the peasants the land. History has turned over this task to the industrial proletariat.

The Mexican Bolshevik-Leninists, unlike the Stalinists and reformists, have the most correct practical program in face of an imminent reactionary coup d'etat: independent working class action and non-reliance upon the Cardenas government; the immediate organization of a proletarian united front and the formation of workers' militias.

judges.... Now we understand the bizarre Yenukidze affair of 1935 and the dissolution, at the same time, of the Society of Old Bolsheviks. The Secretary of the Bureau of the Executive of the Soviets, devoted though he was to Stalin, might have hesitated to reject the appeal for pardon of the Sixteen. The Old Bolsheviks might have muttered against the decapitation of the old party." (Russia Twenty Years After, pp. 253-254.)

Purge Goes On

The Old Bolsheviks don't matter any longer: they are dead. A few days after the elections of December 12 (if one can speak of elections when only official candidates are presented) several of the candidates—the official candidates—and members of the government, to boot, suddenly disappear: among them are the Mezhlauk brothers, Ivan and Valery, fighters of 1918 in the Volga region; one of them only recently the People's Commissar for Heavy Industry and Chairman of the State Planning Commission; the other, the director of the institutions of higher education; and the chief of the air forces of the U.S.S.R., General Alksnis, together with Admiral Orloff (also disappeared, for more than a month now) one of the signatories of Marshal Tukhachevsky's death sentence. Alksnis is believed to have been shot, as well as the pioneer in Soviet aircraft, Engineer Tupoloff.

Of the members of the govern-

Stalin's Tool



ANDREI VYSHINSKY

ment commission which elaborated the new constitution, the most prominent are gone. Thirty candidates—approximately—disappeared in the course of their candidacy. The chief has also taken precautions to make plain that the purge is to continue after the elections and that no sort of immunity is to spare those elected—although one of the most numerous groups of the deputies of the two Soviet chambers is that of the high police functionaries (some 60)....

No regime in modern history has unleashed such a reign of destruction against its own leading elite. What price will history demand one day for these hecatombs?

Roosevelt Confers

(Continued from page 1)

not at the straw-men Tories against whom he rants, but at labor. It was no accident that the head of Johns-Manville was included in the first conference. Roosevelt has made clear that he is beginning a drive against wage scales in the building trades under the pretence that lower hourly wages will guarantee higher annual income. Nor will the drive stop with the building trades. The higher annual income doctrine, incorporated in a hastily constructed economic theory, will be used as part of a general onslaught against wage levels. Indeed, in several plants—for example, the Hormel plant in Texas and several small auto supply plants—the workers have already been induced to accept reductions through the influence of this theory.

In addition, as an ominous paragraph in the Annual Message indicated, Roosevelt is preparing to amend the National Labor Relations Act and to introduce a new Bill with the aim of increasing "union responsibility." Under this phrase the industrialists include, above all, the ham-stringing device of union incorporation (embodied in several Bills already before Congress), along with other measures designed to deaden the influence of the rank and file of the unions and especially to hamper both the calling and the militant conduct of strikes.

It is these latter aims that dictate the use of Lewis as spokesman for the second conference. Roosevelt knows that the most effective way to deceive the masses is with the aid of their own leaders. We may, therefore, expect other labor bureaucrats to figure prominently in conferences to come.

Letter From China Reveals Harsh Facts On Far Eastern War

The following letter, received from a Chinese comrade in Shanghai, throws into bold relief some vital aspects of the current war situation in the Far East. It shows how the government of Chiang Kai-shek, in alliance with the Stalinists, has brought China's struggle against Japan to an impasse, how living forces have been wantonly sacrificed in actions foredoomed to failure because of the Kuomintang's cowardice, incompetency and fear of the masses, how the burdens of the war have been loaded onto the backs of the toilers, while the exploiters and oppressors of the people have grown fat from graft and war profiteering. Our correspondent makes it clear that for the successful continuance of the war against Japan the Chinese masses must be aroused and organized around a program of revolutionary struggle.—Ed.

Shanghai, Dec. 13, 1937.

Dear Comrades:

In my letter of last month I promised to send you an informative letter about the war situation here. The rush of things has prevented me from doing this until now. The Loukiachiao incident (the skirmish which on July 7, 1937 precipitated the fighting near Peiping—Ed.) has opened another big chapter in China's post-revolutionary history. Ten years of Kuomintang rule over all of China has culminated in turning China into an inferno. War atrocities have killed hundreds of thousands of people.

No Mass Enthusiasm

The war has tested the extent to which the Kuomintang still retains influence among the people. Despite the loud clamor and propaganda, the common people show little enthusiasm for the war. They regard it as a necessary evil and groan under the oppressive war conditions.

What has the war imposed on the people? Apart from the vast destruction wrought at the front, with the number of victims constantly mounting and a growing number of people thrown out of work, the war has brought about speculation, high prices, more taxes and requisitions in kind from the peasants, forced labor and conscription. The conscription, the commandeering of labor power, carts and horses, food and fodder are all repugnant to the peasants. For how can their families be maintained if their man-power is levied, if their scant means of livelihood are taken away from them? How can they pay taxes, rent and usurious interest? Will not their wives and children be arrested for default of payment?

Peasants Flee

Therefore the peasants exclaimed: "Fighting, fighting, the country people always stand to lose. The Government will take away from us all that we possess. Before the Japanese come we shall have died of starvation." In consequence, they flee from the war zones at the first opportunity. Many of those who remain "protest" in another form against the misrule of the Kuomintang. They become the Chinese "traitors" who work for the Japanese armies in the intelligence service and as paid agents. Both the commanders and the soldiers complain bitterly of the malicious activities of the traitors at the front. No sooner has some defense work been completed than Japanese airplanes shower heavy bombs on it. Another example is the fact that the Japanese are always in possession of facts concerning the location of field headquarters, which are followed from place to place and bombed by Japanese planes.

A certain general has given a vivid description of this situation: "At the front there are no masses, but only traitors... We do not fear the enemy's bombs and artillery... We fear most of all the activities of the Chinese 'traitors.'" Illustrating concretely how these traitors are active at the front, the Shanghai general continues: "In this war we feel most distressed over the fact that there are no organized masses. After the arrival of our troops, all the people who could support us flee. Those who remain are the traitors. As we did not know the roads well, we had great difficulty and were unable to find even one countryman of ours to guide us. Sometimes, because of this, we entered enemy territory by mistake at a great cost in lives. The activities of the traitors were manifold. They not only disrupted our communications, gave signals, etc., but they also reported our movements to the enemy and helped the enemy to requisition laborers.

How earnestly the soldiers desire the support of the people in the fighting! They have no laborers to transport their supplies, they are unable to purchase provisions which are available nearby, they have a very poor intelligence service, etc. In a word, although they fight in their own territory, they have to fight alone as if they were in a desolate land. The preference of the Chinese armies for positional warfare as against mobile warfare is explained by the fact that they are not on good terms with the people. Cooperation between the armies and the people is essential to the success of guerrilla warfare. How heavily the Chinese armies suffer in casualties by fighting under the cross-fire of bombs and artillery. In a territory where they receive little or no support from their own countrymen!

POPULAR FRONT CRACKS IN FRANCE

(Continued from page 1)

invoked the threat of war as its justification. He proposed, with the approval of the Stalinists, to include Reynaud, ultra-conservative ex-Finance minister. When Reynaud demanded that the new coalition extend to the extremist right, Blum had to demur and withdraw for the time being.

C. P. For Sacred Union

The Stalinists, protesting their continued undying fealty to the People's Front of strike-breakers and wage-cutters, have now come forward with a demand for entry into a new People's Front or Sacred Union government. They realize that unless they take this step, the workers might again take the path of open struggle and carry it beyond their control. To this the bourgeoisie has so far been cold, preferring to count on its own General Staff and underground armed bands to deal with the workers' unions if necessary.

The whole question of France's foreign policy weighs heavily upon the complicated political maneuvers among the ministers of the various People's Front Parties. Thorez recognized this fact openly at a rally in Paris on January 17 when he declared that Chautemps' attempt to drive the Stalinists out of the majority was inspired by Great Britain.

So long as the French government first under Laval, then under Blum and until the last year under Chautemps, continued to stand by the Franco-Soviet pact, the Stalinists chose to remain outside the government, supporting its fundamental program for bolstering up French capitalism, but appearing before the masses as an independent force.

Flirtation With Hitler

But this situation has sharply changed. The Stalinist purge in the Soviet Union and the obvious

Traitors Everywhere

"The traitors were as numerous as ants—so numerous that it was impossible to exterminate them. Each day we had to repair telephone lines more than ten times. Sometimes even operative orders were delayed. Had the masses been organized, not only would the traitors have been unable to conceal themselves and other tasks solved (such as protection of communications, transport, guide and intelligence work), but infringe aid could have been given to the army. By contrast with the period of the Northern Expedition (Chiang Kai-shek's 1926-27 campaign which brought most of China under the sway of the Kuomintang—Ed.), we were unable to find any civilians, peasants or city folk, who were willing to cooperate with us, so that we even had to buy salt from Shanghai, for example. But means of transportation were scarce and we received instead 'comforts' from Shanghai. To those who brought these 'comforts' we say: Organize the masses to support us instead."

How earnestly the soldiers desire the support of the people in the fighting! They have no laborers to transport their supplies, they are unable to purchase provisions which are available nearby, they have a very poor intelligence service, etc. In a word, although they fight in their own territory, they have to fight alone as if they were in a desolate land. The preference of the Chinese armies for positional warfare as against mobile warfare is explained by the fact that they are not on good terms with the people. Cooperation between the armies and the people is essential to the success of guerrilla warfare. How heavily the Chinese armies suffer in casualties by fighting under the cross-fire of bombs and artillery. In a territory where they receive little or no support from their own countrymen!

Tribute to Soldiers

The fighting power of the soldiers is remarkable both on the Northern and Southern fronts. The soldiers of the 28th Army refused to leave their positions and were finally moved out of Peiping only by a stratagem. The police and Paoantui (Peace Preservation Corps, a semi-military police force—Ed.) in Nientsin stormed the Japanese airfield and barracks. They suffered heavy casualties because the 38th Army, by order of the commander, was removed from the front and did not join in the fight. The soldiers in Nankow fought against tanks with hand grenades and revolvers and succeeded in shooting down the

(Continued on page 4)

instability of the regime, plus shaken confidence in the Red Army, has caused France to deal more readily with Great Britain's efforts to strike a new four-power balance of Germany, Italy, France, and Britain with a view to isolating the Soviet Union and making it the chief target of the coming war.

The Van Zeeland plan, which is actually sponsored by Great Britain, provides for opening Anglo-French credits to Germany and Italy and laying the economic basis for political collaboration of the four powers. This however, is only symptomatic of the fact that France is not so sure an ally of Moscow as Stalin-Litvinov so fondly believed.

Future Clashes

This lies, in part, behind the effort to isolate the Communists. In return, the latter may try to wield the weapon of mass pressure, which they try to turn on and off like a faucet. We can only hope that once having turned on the pressure, they will be unable to turn it off.

The future will in any case be marked by new clashes. As our comrade Pierre Naville has pointed out in these columns, the recent revelations concerning the Cagoullards show how far the preparations have gone toward a Fascist-military coup, involving the high command of the army, and the underground armed bands in the pay of capital.

In the coming period, the mobilization of the French workers for struggle and their orientation toward seizure of power from the hands of a capitalist class unable any longer to rule by ordinary parliamentary means will be the decisive factor in this situation. In this the role and growth of the P.O.I., the Workers-Internationalist Party, will in measure far out of proportion to the small size of that party at the present time, determine the future trend of events.

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'Robinson' Frame-Up Under Way In Moscow

(Continued from page 1)

confer with Leon Trotsky prior to their departure for Europe. To this they added the suggestion that the "Robinsons" or "Rubens" had been to California prior to their departure for Mexico—without failing to tell their readers that California is the main center of Japanese espionage activities in the United States.

All these deliberately disseminated rumors acquire significance in the light of the charges, completely refuted, to be sure, made in the Radek-Piatkov trial last year, to the effect that Trotsky had conspired with the Japanese Mikado to "give" Japan the Soviet Maritime Provinces and the island of Sakalin (and its oil) for the purpose of war against the Soviet Union and the United States.

Commission Gives Spur

It is quite apparent, therefore, that a systematic attempt has been made now for months to cook up a new frame-up, made particularly necessary for the Stalin regime because of the fact that the International Commission of Inquiry into the Moscow Trials, headed by Dr. John Dewey, so effectively exploded the previous charges made by the G.P.U. in its "confession trials" against Leon Trotsky as an agent of Hitler and Japan.

How G. P. U. Works

Finally, at the beginning of December, a man registered at the National Hotel in Moscow under the name of "Robinson" suddenly disappeared. The woman registered as his wife was told by the Soviet authorities that her husband had been taken to a hospital. A few days later, Mrs. "Robinson" also disappeared—although the Soviet authorities systematically denied knowledge of their whereabouts. That, at least, was the first story.

Case Bungled

But, unfortunately for the frame-up artists, the whole case has been bungled miserably from the very beginning. Starting with the idea of having the "Robinsons" enact the role of intermediary between Trotsky and the Mikado, the G.P.U. is ending with an increasingly clear pattern revealing that the "Robinsons" have been associated throughout with the Stalinist movement.

The Known Facts

1. Mrs. Rubens' relatives regarded her and her husband as Stalinists. Mr. Rubens had no known occupation but plenty of money. 2. In applying for birth-certificates in the names of dead persons named Robinson, the Rubens used an address at which lived a number of Communist Party members, among them Julius Rosenthal (deceased), Lillian Paley, and apparently one other, formerly an official of Intourist, Soviet travel agency.

Links Established

4. Sharfin was linked with one Max or Mac Shaw. This Shaw is apparently the same person as Marshall Shaw, star subscription salesman for Soviet Russia Today, whose picture appears in that magazine, page 18,

December 1933 issue. He is known to members of Local 338 of the Retail Clerks Union as a Stalinist. He apparently also goes under the name of Wershow. His wife, Muriel, is also a Stalinist supporter if not a party member.

5. Sharfin, having obtained the passport applications either from Rubens direct or through an intermediary, passed them on to Harry Zukerman. At this point the passport applications graduated from the G.P.U. level to the Tammany Hall level, and went through several Tammany stooges to Al Marinelli, County Clerk of New York, who certified them and sent them to Washington. The State Department made out passports.

Ravitch Got Passports

6. The passports were sent, as ordered by the applicants, to an organization called the Drama Travel League Miss Isabel Walsh, worker in that office, has identified pictures of Mrs. Robinson as those of a nervous woman who once came into the office looking for Miss Helen Ravitch, the manager. Miss Ravitch, despite her denials, has been identified as the person who signed the receipt for the passports delivered to her by the Post Office Department.

7. Miss Ravitch is married to Dr. Solon Bernstein, physician to Stalinist William Z. Foster, and also connected with the Stalinist International Workers Order.

8. Before instructing the State Department to deliver the passports to the Drama Travel League, the Robinsons had asked that they be delivered to a mid-town address where lived one Mr. and Mrs. Harry Friedlander. The Appeal has been informed that the Fried-Post Office Department has shown considerable anxiety case, Mrs. Friedlander's maiden name is Florence Oken. This is the name of a known Stalinist supporter; the organizational tie-up, if any, is unknown at this writing. It may or may not be a coincidence that Oken is a well-known name in Stalinist circles, Helen Oken being the wife of an editor of the New Masses.

Guilty Knowledge

9. A well-known Stalinist in New York stated many weeks ago, when not a single newspaper knew anything about the "Robinsons" identity, that the couple had been "in California before going to Mexico." This Stalinist obviously had inside information on the story which the G.P.U. had gotten up for the "Robinsons" to tell.

10. Several weeks ago the Freiheit, Stalinist Yiddish organ, declared that certain "Trotskyite" writers on New York Yiddish papers were aware of the real identity of the "Robinsons." Needless to say, the Freiheit has not named names. The Appeal has inquired, not of Trotskyite writers (there are none) but of those Yiddish writers whom the G.P.U. "accuses" of Trotskyism. All deny knowledge of the "Robinsons." The Freiheit was preparing to drag a few Yiddish anti-Stalinists into the frame-up—and incidentally gave away its own guilty awareness of the nature of the G.P.U. plot.

S. W. P. Mail Pilfered

11. Two months ago the national office of the S.W.P. complained to the Post Office that its mail had been rifled. We now learn that the Post Office Department has arraigned one Arthur Semle, a department employee, charged with stealing mail on the route which includes the office. Semle has signed a confession and will shortly be brought before a Federal Grand Jury. The Post Office Department has shown considerable anxiety to convince the press, including the Socialist Appeal, that the only motive in the thefts was to obtain money. The fact remains, however, that none of the mail orders or checks which are missing have been cashed—and that political documents are missing. Inasmuch as the C.P. has for many years made it a practice to steal political documents belonging to its working class opponents, we believe the theft of the mail had the usual political motive: to obtain a basis for forging documents useful to the G.P.U. Coming at the time they did, we naturally would not be surprised if these thefts had as their aim forgeries to be used in bolstering up the C.P.'s plans for the "Robinson-Rubens" case.

Grand Jury Probe

For the last week there has been in session in New York a Federal Grand Jury investigating the passport racket whereby the mysterious "Robinson-Rubens" got their phony passports. The high political significance of the "Robinson-Rubens" case is indicated by the fact that not a single New York newspaper has reported one bit of news concerning the Grand Jury proceedings. Either the reporters can get no information—or they are afraid to print what they get lest they be prosecuted for contempt of the Federal Jury. Moreover, United States Attorney Lester Dunnington has apparently hedged himself about with unusual protections against publicity, usually one of the chief delights of prosecutors.

The orders for silence and secrecy, in fact, come from the Department of State rather than from the Department of Justice.

For what is at issue here is not an affair of justice but an affair of state.

Early in December Secretary of State Hull asked Moscow for an explanation of the disappearance of the Rubens couple, then known only as the "Robinsons." It is rumored in diplomatic circles in Washington that Trotsky told Hull not to yell too loud or he would be sorry. In any case, Moscow made no official answer for a week, apparently confident that it could play with the sensibilities of Washington with impunity. At the end of a week the State Department discovered that the "Robinson" passports were phony, issued a statement implying that the "Robinsons" were not American citizens, and thus unloaded the missing couple who thenceforth were suspect in American eyes.

Subsequently it was established that the phony Mrs. "Robinson" was really Mrs. Rubens and that, whatever she may have to do with a "Robinson" passport, she was an American-born citizen. Inasmuch as the Soviet government had never answered Washington's inquiry—except indirectly by an equivocal Izvestia announcement that measures were being taken to apprehend the missing couple—Hull early in January felt compelled to address a new request to Moscow, this time for information about Mrs. Rubens only.

Hull On The Lid

When a week went by without a reply from Moscow, a number of American newspapers commented on the amazing attitude of the Soviet government toward a government whose friendship it has sought in a thousand

ways to guarantee. Two weeks went by before the Soviet government answered. While using the passport disclosures, to deal a few blows to the G.P.U. in the United States, Hull made no public disclosures.

The "Appeal" Pries The Lid Off

The Socialist Appeal is not a State Department gazette. It has established that at both ends of the chain which made it possible for the "Robinson-Rubens" to get their phony-passports are Stalinist connections. We have charged that the "Robinson-Rubens" affair is important because it casts light on the nefarious, reactionary political activities of Stalin's G.P.U. both in this country and in the U.S.S.R.

No Stalinist organ or official has attempted to refute any of our charges.

Powerful Forces At Work

In the United States there are powerful forces which, having an eye to imperialist war adventures in the Far East, desire not to cause serious embarrassment to Stalin. These forces have the ear of the State Department. Consequently, despite Mrs. Rubens' American citizenship, despite the fact that a plot is afoot to use the "Robinson-Rubens" case for a frame-up by the use of "evidence" manufactured in Moscow, the State Department enters a conspiracy of silence. Instead of making available to the public all that its many investigators have learned in the last two months, it contrives to silence most of the press on the subject. While it does not dare to suppress openly the American political opposition, it protects Stalin's "good name" before the public.

Hull may be expected to continue conniving with the Kremlin to hide the facts, unless forced to open the Robinson-Rubens-Yezhov dossier now in his possession.

The continuance of the Appeal's investigation will bring more facts to light, making the Department's situation more difficult.

If at the same time the United States Senate Committee on Foreign Relations demands the facts now in Hull's possession, the State Department may have to do a great deal more talking than Hull or Troyanovsky would like.

Left Jobs

The Trail of Empire

The bloody trail trod by Great Britain in her march forward to becoming a "peace loving nation" is marked by the "honors" of her famous regiments. Take a look at the "honors" list of the Seaforth Highlanders, the "honors" consisting of the list of places where Scottish boys of that regiment died "defending democracy." Here is the list to date: Carnatic—Hindustan—Mysore Cape of Good Hope, 1806—Maida—Java—Central India —Peiwas Kotal—Charasiah—Kabul, 1879—Kandahar, 1880—Afghanistan, 1878-'80—Tel-el-Kebir—Egypt, 1882—Chitral—Atbara—Khartoum—Paardeberg—South Africa, 1899-1902—Marne, 1914-18—Ypres—Loos—Somme—Vimy—Arras—Cambrai—Valenciennes—Palestine, 1918—Bagdad.

A "Peace Loving Nation", 1938

The following quotation from the "World Review" brings another "honor" to the record of Bloody Britain. "That aerial bombing is freely used by the Aden Administration (British) is not denied by the government. It is actually defended by those responsible for it, as a rapid and humane method of keeping peace in the outposts of the Empire. We are told that villages selected for aerial destruction are always warned in plenty of time to allow the inhabitants to get away."

"The End of Civilization"

"If the Anti-Lynching Bill is allowed to pass it will mark the end of civilization in the United States."—A distinguished Southern gentleman, speaking in the Senate.

A Wage Differential for Southern Senators

Senators from the South, who opposed the Wages and Hours Bill on the ground that "due to the beneficence of Mother Nature" workers in the South should have lower minimum wages than in the north, were asked to apply the same rule to themselves and take a twenty per cent cut in salaries by the Atlantic District Council of the I. L. G. W. U. So far no "saviour of civilization" has stood up on his hind legs in the Senate to propose a bill along those lines. If such a bill were passed, wouldn't the pillars of civilization totter?

"Quite Unintentionally"

Says Director Fechner of the CCC camps: "2,300,000 CCC youths have been taught discipline, how to live in large groups harmoniously, how to care for themselves, and how to maintain rigid sanitation." He adds: "Quite unintentionally their training is also such that they could be turned into first-class fighting men at almost instant notice."

Bei Mir Bist Du Schoen

The latest song hit, goes 'round and 'round and it comes out in the strangest of places. Last week it popped out in a cartoon in the "Morning Journal." Here we found no less a "notable" than Moissaye Olgin, editor of the "Freiheit" (Stalinist Jewish Daily) down on one knee (he has had a lot of practice in knee, bending), looking with adoration at the Pope, and singing Bei Mir Bist Du schoen.

"The Sun, the Moon and the Stars"

O great Stalin, O leader of the peoples, Thou who broughtest man to birth, Thou who fructified the earth, Thou who restorest the centuries, Thou who makest bloom the spring, Thou who makest vibrate the musical chords. Thou splendor of my spring, O thou, Sun reflected by millions of hearts. —Quoted from "Pravda" in Victor Serge's "Russia Twenty Years After."

"Lot's Wife and Daughters"

David Dubinsky, president of the I.L.G.W.U., who wants peace and unity between the A.F. of L. and the C.I.O. and wants it now, is compared by John L. Lewis to "Lot's Wife," who disobeying instructions looked back at the destruction of Sodom and Gomorrah and was turned into a pillar of salt. Lewis in his scorn of Dubinsky, apparently sees himself in the role of Lot who did not look back. John "Lot" Lewis should, however, remember what happened in the cave (Genesis; 19th Chapter: 32-35 verses. "Come let us make our father drink wine and we will lie with him" etc. etc.) and watch out for the 20th Century American "daughters" who are getting a bit too ardent in their affections.

Correspondents Write In From The Trade Unions

EAST CHICAGO, Ind.—The long awaited purge of the Stalinists has begun in the Steel Workers' Union of the C. I. O. Predicted for many months by every one who studied the scene, the purge comes as a blow to the Stalinists. Beginning first in the Chicago-Calumet area where the Stalinists are particularly strong, the drive has started by the dismissal of the district sub-director and former strike director during the Little Steel strike. Other Stalinist organizers are slated to be removed immediately as the John L. Lewis-Phil Murray bureaucracy moves to strengthen its position. The pretext given is "economy" but any intelligent observer knows that this is not the real reason.

When the drive to organize the steel industry was begun, the C. I. O. was forced to rely on the many Stalinists who volunteered as organizers.

During the strike in Little Steel, the Stalinists demonstrated to the bureaucracy that they were trustworthy stooges and showed them that they were the equals if not the superiors of the Lewis group in their class-collaboration tactics and in their stifling of the workers' militancy.

Stalinists as Stooges

Always afraid that Murray would dispense with them if they became aggressive, the Stalinists did their best to prove to him that they were the best Charlie McCarthies of them all. Even during the S.W.O.C. convention held in Pittsburgh during the week of December 15, when it was apparent to everyone that the purge was about to begin and that their stooging tactics were of no avail, the Stalinists worked hand in hand with the Lewis-Murray machine in crushing rank-and-file democracy and militancy.

Lewis, Murray, and the coal-miner bureaucracy secured greater power than they ever had before in this convention, where they were given by the delegates (most of whom were either controlled by the Murray machine or by the Stalinists) a blank check to do what they pleased. Now they are moving to consolidate their position and, no longer needing the Stalinists who did a great deal of the dirty work for them, they are pushing them out.

AKRON, Ohio.—Authentic reports that the rubber barons here plan to attempt a return to the eight-hour day with reduced

wages for thousands of rubber workers has galvanized the C.I.O. unions into preparing a defense against such moves.

The C.I.O. industrial union council branded the company plans as a "selfish, callous and arrogant" move and pledged, "its complete support to Local Unions involved in fighting such a program."

The six-hour day is one of the few remaining gains won by the United Rubber Workers of America which has been left intact in the recent onslaught by the rubber companies against the unions.

MARION, Ind.—An object lesson in hog-tieing workers to their employers under the lofty slogan of "profit sharing" was given here by the Marion Shoe Company.

Several years ago the company was on the rocks, and threatened the workers and the towns people with closing. By devious methods a public spirited campaign to keep the factory in Marion was begun.

Workers raised money for a \$23,000 stock subscription to purchase the factory from the owner. The money was borrowed, and paid back by deducting two per cent of the employee's wages each week.

Magnanimously, the boss decided to stay, and, equally magnanimously, the workers rented

Letter From Shanghai Tells of China Struggle

(Continued from page 3)

drivers, actually managing by these methods to capture six tanks.

The soldiers at Shanghai also fought bravely and inflicted heavy losses on the Japanese. But their commanders failed them at every turn. A badly dis-united command (at Chapoo, for example, the Japanese landing was almost a scandal), the heterogeneity of the soldiers, the fear of commanders to sacrifice their own forces, mutual distrust, panicky retreat before the approach of the Japanese armies, all contributed to the ease with which the Japanese occupied the Northern provinces. At Shanghai, the officers showed an inclination to retreat and several division commanders were executed. The general previously quoted stated that the Shanghai phase of the war had convinced him that the factor which decides victory is not the army but the masses. This conclusion will be fully utilized in the future guerrilla warfare.

Masses Held Down

As to conditions at the rear, we see how the bourgeoisie, the landlords, the village elders and the new gentry fear the masses. The masses and the youth are not allowed freedom of organization. If they attempt to organize they are denounced as "traitors" and arrested. The upper classes organize themselves into patriotic societies to collect funds or do relief work. This is to forestall similar organizations among the masses, to forestall any mass movement. The propaganda of the youth is branded by them as "undesirable activity." The students are closed up in schools as in the olden days to study the Chinese classics and to mull over tedious, worn-out lessons. Their work in "national salvation" is limited to such unimportant fields as collecting funds, mass singing, play reading, wall newspapers, etc.

Administrative officials utilize their positions to amass big fortunes by regulating grain prices, by taking bribes for granting exemptions from conscription, by inventing new taxes and requisitions, etc.

Under such conditions, it is sheer deception of the masses to advocate national solidarity in the fight against Japan. The petty classes which are capable of winning a decisive victory in this war are still trampled under foot. The resistance of the upper classes will inevitably collapse. It is designed to prove that resistance against Japanese imperialism is hopeless. Then the upper classes will be ready to live under Japanese military rule.

Stalinists Betray

The most shameful political attitude is that of the Stalinists. When the student and petty bourgeois national salvation movements were widespread and persecuted by the Kuomintang, the Stalinists came out for a "National Anti-Japanese United

factory to him at the rate of one dollar a year.

Marion, Ind., now has a shoe factory, the boss has his profits with no deductions for machinery depreciation, and the workers foot the bill.

The American Federation of Labor, which reports this highly instructive incident, is silent on the question of wage, hours, seniority and working conditions.

CANTON, Ohio.—Little Steel barons in the Canton region moved to consolidate their positions last week by introducing into city council a drastic alien registration measure.

The ordinance, proposed by Republican Mayor James Secombe, would compel all foreign born residents of the city to register at the police station every six months, be finger-printed, photographed and pay a one dollar registration fee. They would be furnished with cards which would have to be carried at all times, and shown upon demand of a policeman.

The quiet, almost secret manner of presenting the ordinance failed to catch local labor napping, however. It has been unanimously condemned by the C. I. O. Industrial Council and the American Federation of Labor, with the exception of the building trades council.

The building trades together with the American Legion and other "civic" groups are waving the flag and beating the drum for its passage.

So determined has opposition become that council postponed a final reading of the ordinance at its meeting last week. Organized Labor representatives were on hand to vigorously oppose the measure.

Letter From Shanghai Tells of China Struggle

Front," that is, they sought to drag these movements backward into the fold of the Kuomintang instead of trying to deepen the class consciousness of the masses against the present regime. Their line of action is to push and urge the Kuomintang, to hope and demand that the Kuomintang accept them into the Government and realize their program. Having abandoned the agrarian revolution, they hope to solve the agrarian problem by legislative means. They have abandoned the class struggle because it jeopardizes national solidarity, etc., etc. This means that they have turned their backs on the masses and that they recognize the Kuomintang as their master. When they joined in the work of Chiang Kai-shek's headquarters, Chiang counter-balanced their influence by appointing additional right wingers.

Reform Is Hopeless

The recent reorganization of four provincial governments left government posts still occupied by landlords and reactionary bureaucrats and cliques. It is absolutely hopeless to reform the political structure from within or to initiate military reforms corresponding to the needs of the moment. The experience of the war shows us that the most essential material of the struggle is man-power, the living soldiers. But the Kuomintang has been just as reckless as it could be in handling this living material. The military collapse, I believe, will continue, but the armies, in falling apart, will become guerrilla forces which, in cooperation with the people, will harass the Japanese army and wear it down.

The operations in Shansi by the former Red Army show that a small army, with a politically conscious rank-and-file, animated by the spirit of equality, having close connection with the people, can win big successes. Here the masses do not flee from the fighting zone, but help the army in various ways. There are no more traitors. Japanese planes fly over the army's headquarters, but they do not drop bombs because no traitors have disclosed to them its location and it cannot be identified from the air.

The Revolutionary program

Because of the still prevalent suppression of the mass movement through China, especially in the cities, and the arrest of revolutionists (who are called "traitors"), also because the Kuomintang controls all popular organizations, there has been practically no genuine mass movement as a reaction to the Loukiaochiao incident and the events which have followed it. The Stalinists have completely turned their backs on the masses. Hence it is up to us to approach the masses with a revolutionary program, calling for the organization of the masses, for the creation of councils of workers', soldiers' and peasants' deputies, for the arming of the workers, etc.

Fraternally, L. J. C.

Marxist School Starts Winter Term Feb. 16

The winter term of the Marxist School will open the week of February 14th at 116 University Place. Regular courses will include: Elementary Socialism, Marxian Economics, Principles of Revolutionary Socialism, History of the Third International, History and Problems of Trade Unionism, Party Organization Problems, and Problems of the Youth Movement. (The last two will be open only to members of the Socialist Workers Party and Young Peoples Socialist League.) Other courses are also being planned.

The last semester of the Marxist School—its first—revealed great interest in socialist education. Several hundred students regularly attended the lecture courses.

ANOTHER GALA EAST SIDE LABOR CENTER AFFAIR! SATURDAY NITE JAN. 22 159 Rivington St., 1st floor Subscription 20c. WAA Member 10c AUSPICES: EAST SIDE BRANCH S.W.P. AND Y. P. S. L.

LENIN, LIEBKNECHT, LUXEMBURG Memorial Meeting SPEAKERS: Maurice Spector, (Member of Nat. Comm. S. W. P. Harold Draper (Nat. Sec. Y. P. S. L.) Sunday, Jan. 23rd, at Labor Educational Center 415 S. 19th Street PHILADELPHIA, PA. Auspices: Socialist Workers Party and Y. P. S. L. Philadelphia Branch ADMISSION—25 cents

Lenin, Liebknecht, Luxemburg. MEMORIAL MEETING SPEAKER: N. Gould, Nat'l Organizer Y. P. S. L. and full length showing of "Ten Days that Shook the World" FRIDAY, JAN. 21, at 8 P. M. ADMISSION 25 CENTS At 916 9th Avenue, (between 58 and 59 Streets)