

Workers
Of the World Unite!

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Green Backs War Program

AN EDITORIAL

Commenting at Miami on the enormous war budget proposed to Congress by Roosevelt, President William Green of the American Federation of Labor declared: "I feel that at this period, when we take into account what is happening internationally, we must have confidence in the judgment of the Chief Executive. He must have information on the world situation which we do not possess. It is really the duty of all of us to stand with the President in this trying world situation. If he feels that a billion dollars are necessary to protect America, I feel we ought to support him." (N. Y. Times, January 29, 1938.)

Why Is Information Kept Secret?

In the first place, if Roosevelt has "information on the world situation which we do not possess", why does he not impart this information to the common mortals who have to do the fighting and dying in the war for which he is preparing? And if he doesn't impart it, is it not the elementary duty of a labor leader to demand the information before he asks the workers to put blind "confidence in the judgment of the Chief Executive"?

Why, even such capitalist politicians, progressive and conservative, as Borah, Nye and others, have asked Roosevelt at least to express his foreign policy before he is given a blank check of support!

In the second place, if support to the war program is to be given Roosevelt just because he "feels" that a billion dollars are necessary to "protect" the U. S., then what's the difference between our "democratic processes" and the way things are done under the rule of the Fascist Fuehrer in Germany?

In the third place, why should American labor put even a scrap of "confidence in the judgment of the Chief Executive" of the capitalist class? Has nothing been learned from the confidence in the Chief Executive which Samuel Gompers imposed on the labor movement during the last War to Make the World Safe For Democracy?

No Confidence in Ruling Class

Has the regimenting, conscripting, gagging and chaining of labor in the last war, while the war profiteers became increasingly bloated with blood-stained wealth—has all that been forgotten? Have we forgotten that the last war for Wall Street was also launched on the pretext of "protecting" America?

Have we forgotten that while we were fighting for "democracy" in Flanders, Mooney was framed up in the United States, the Bisbee strikers deported, labor halls raided, labor papers suppressed, genuine labor leaders imprisoned or lynched, and all democratic rights for the masses suppressed—while Gompers "stood with the President" and with the assistant secretary of the navy, Franklin D. Roosevelt?

The government and the capitalist class it represents cannot plunge us into another imperialist war without guaranteeing themselves the support of labor in advance. Without peace at home—at labor's expense—an effective war cannot be prosecuted. Whoever ties the labor movement to the war program and the war machine, is helping bring war closer; he is handing over the working class, bound hand and foot with fake patriotic slogans, to the war-mongers.

That's the crime of William Green. That's the crime of all the other labor bureaucrats who, like the Lewis machine at the United Mine Workers convention, cheered themselves hoarse for Roosevelt at the very moment when he was launching an unprecedented armaments program.

Forward To The Class War

No confidence in Roosevelt or the government! Confidence only in the solidarity and militancy of labor's own ranks! That's the requirement of the hour. If labor relies on itself to defend its own interests, it will save itself otherwise inevitable surprises, disappointments, betrayals.

Not an iota of support to the armaments program for war! We have a war of our own to fight: the war against poverty, suffering and exploitation. That war can be won only if it is fought against the capitalist class and its chief executive in Washington.

Roosevelt may "feel" that a "billion dollars are necessary to protect" American investments and imperialist interests abroad.

But every worker KNOWS that the billion dollars are necessary to protect the millions of unemployed right here from the unspeakable misery they suffer.

A billion dollars for war armaments?

A billion times: NO!

Let us demand that the billion be shifted out of the war column in the budget and into the column for unemployment relief!

'Little Men' Fume and Bluster As F.D.R. Provides Steam Valve

To the tune of shouts, whines, and general turmoil, the conference of a thousand "Little Business Men" last week provided Washington with its most disorderly show of the current season. For two days, these bathrobe manufacturers, country editors, photo supply dealers, salesmen and hardware store owners, wrangled, shouted at each other, shook their puny fists, and struggled hundreds at a time to get the floor. On the third day, a delegation presented to the President a list of twenty-three "demands"—politely worded ver-

sions of "resolutions" issuing out of their mass meeting. This Conference was a most instructive contrast to the various Conferences of the big business men which had preceded it. The meetings of the latter, the real rulers of American capitalism, were models of order and decorum. There were no yells or rioting. The suave spokesmen gave their dignified generalities to the press in the most gracious manner.

The Little Business Men, alas, (Continued on page 4)

WPA WORKERS USED FOR WAR PURPOSES

NEW YORK.—The speed with which the government is preparing for the outbreak of war, and the extent to which it is using the unemployed for war preparations, was revealed here last week.

More than 1,000 W. P. A. technicians, laborers, etc. are now employed on the construction of an army land and sea airbase, with 39 hangars, at the Curtis airport on Long Island.

Construction of the base, although technically coming under the jurisdiction of the W. P. A. and being financed with W. P. A. funds, is actually being supervised by the War Department.

The utmost secrecy and precaution enshrouds this "W. P. A. project," with army men imposing a maximum of discipline on all employed there. In line with general plans to complete the air base within a very short period, the construction work has been put on a 24-hour day, 6-day week basis, with three 8-hour shifts per day.

AUTO WORKERS LEADER SLAMS WAR MONGERS

Homer Martin Exposes C. P. As Reactionary Force In Union

Homer Martin, president of the United Automobile Workers, second largest C.I.O. affiliate, rocked the labor movement last week with a devastating blast against Communist Party policy and activity in the union movement.

Amplifying charges made by Benjamin Stolberg in his series of articles in the N. Y. World-Telegram, Martin declared in an interview that the C.P. was working to "involve the United States in war with Japan for the defense of the Stalin dictatorship in Russia," doing this in the name of "collective security."

The Proof

The entire present activity of the Stalinists, who are laboring overtime to line up the workers of this country behind the war plans of the Washington government, proves Martin's point.

He declares that in their effort to plunge the U.S.A. into war against Japan the Stalinists are "working hand in hand" with "certain financial interests." Right again. Regardless of whether an explicit agreement exists, there can be no doubt in the essence of the matter that Stalin's henchmen in this country are serving the interests of the financial oligarchs of Wall Street by their social-patriotic ballyhoo.

Aid Freely Given

The American imperialists need Stalinist cover for their war plans, Stalinist aid to whip up war hysteria, Stalinist aid for war recruiting, and—when war breaks—Stalinist aid in leading the lynch-mobs against the revolutionists. They get it freely and voluntarily, because it is in line with Kremlin policy in this country.

Martin is not correct in saying that "the Communists are Fascists in every sense of the word." True, Stalin has in his dictatorial rule borrowed freely from the arsenal of fascist methods. Hitler and Mussolini, on the other hand, have supplemented their army of repression with methods copied from Stalin. Nevertheless, the aims of the "Communists" and the fascists are different, even though they pursue those aims by more or less identical methods. Responsibility for the current identification of Communism with Fascism rests exclusively at the door of the Stalin regime and its lickspittle agents who defend and extol Stalin's totalitarian barbarism.

"There is a hue and cry about Nazism and fascism," Martin told his press interviewers, "but if any one mentions Stalinism they are immediately accused of 'red-baiting.' We take the position that a political label does not immunize any group from criticism."

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Hitler Seeks To Appease Reichswehr

Army-Nazi Feud Breaks Out; Shifts Viewed As Compromise

The chronic friction between the German army officer caste and the upstart Nazi bureaucracy reached the explosive point last week in the summary removal of Marshal von Blomberg as War Minister and of General von Fritsch as Chief of Staff, the shifting of several foreign diplomats, the replacement of Foreign Minister von Neurath by the former ambassador to London, von Ribbentrop, and the assumption of direct control of the armed forces by Hitler himself.

The fact that control of the army was given neither to Goering nor to Himmler, who is head of the private black Nazi divisions, while several of the old-line conservative representatives of the army officer clique have been installed in the new dominant Party Council, indicates that Hitler has sought to mollify both sides by concessions and a temporary compromise.

Rests On Bayonets

The destruction of the mass basis of German fascism has brought it to the position where its rule is based entirely on the bayonets of the Reichswehr, on the one side, and the ambitious mercenaries of the private Nazi army, led by the selected corps of Himmler's Schutzstaffel, on the other.

Having preserved German capitalism by the ruthless crushing of the working class and the labor movement, and prepared the ground for the imperialist expansion of Germany, the Nazi upstarts have continually demanded a greater share of the spoils of rule. Their demands have brought them into more than one conflict with the old governing bureaucracy whom they replaced and with the army machine which is the most reliable prop of capitalist domination.

Army Conservatism

The army command has felt, in particular, that the foreign policy of Hitler-Rosenberg-Goebls-Ribbentrop and Co. is too adventurous and calculated to precipitate prematurely a conflict with Britain—whose friendship they seek—in company with so dubious an ally as Italy.

Von Blomberg's plebeian marriage was of course only a pretext for the precipitation of the dispute that has been smoldering for some time. Hitler's solution is merely a temporary makeshift, reflecting the uncertainty of the imperialist alliances in Europe. The establishment of (Continued on page 4)

Leahy Testimony Bares War Plans Of U.S. Imperialism; Admits Conflict Is Near

FDR 'Talks' For Peace; Fleet Prepares For War

Navy Maneuvers, Alaska Issue, Indicate Trend Toward Clash

Foreign policy, Senator Pittman told the Senate last week, consists of "the actions of a government and not its words."

The actions of the United States Government in the past ten days, reflecting its swift pace toward a showdown against Japan in the Pacific, included the following:

1. Nearly 100 warships and 300 fighting planes completed five-day maneuvers off the southern coast of California.

Pearl Harbor Reinforced

2. The already huge military establishment of Honolulu, key Pacific base of American imperialism, was augmented by 1,000 marines withdrawn from Shanghai and 1,268 men of the regular army sent from the West Coast. The marines, originally drawn from the San Diego naval base, were ordered to Pearl Harbor instead of back to their original posts. The submarine Nautilus was also ordered to Pearl Harbor for permanent duty there. Only two weeks ago a fleet of 18 huge fighting planes made a record formation flight across the Pacific to Pearl Harbor and more are to follow.

3. These American cruisers, the Trenton, the Memphis, and the Milwaukee were scheduled to be at Singapore for the ceremony there on February 11 opening the new huge British naval base.

This significant American participation in a naval display obviously aimed at Japan was linked with the secret and still unexplained trip to London of Captain Royal Ingersoll, of the War Plans Department of the Navy, last month.

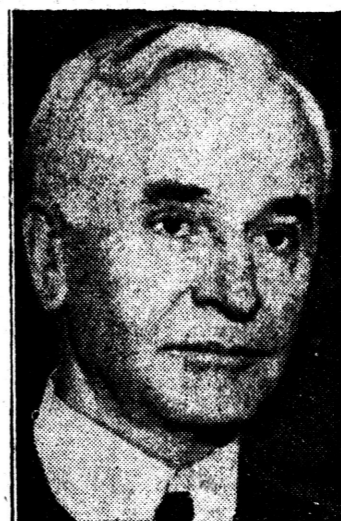
Testifying in Washington last week, Admiral Leahy, chief of naval operations, refused to explain the purpose of Ingersoll's visit, which was obviously in order to coordinate possible Anglo-American naval action in the Pacific.

Capital Ship Race

4. Concurrently with Great Britain and France, the United States government on February 6 presented to Japan a virtual ultimatum on the subject of super-dreadnought building above 35,000 tons as the prelude to an undisguised race for naval sup-

(Continued on page 4)

Threatens Japan



CORDELL HULL

LINKS POYNTZ TO 'ROBINSON' SPY FRAME-UP

Carlo Tresca Says She Was Abducted By G. P. U. Agent

BY JUNIUS

While Loy Henderson, U. S. charge d'affaires in Moscow waited for the G.P.U. "to arrange the time and place" of his interview with Mrs. Rubens, Carlo Tresca, veteran anti-Fascist leader, this week delivered a withering attack on the Stalin frame-up machine charging it with the abduction of Juliet Stuart Poyntz, noted Stalinist leader who disappeared last summer.

Tresca offered to go before the Grand Jury now investigating the Rubens passport mystery and to give evidence implicating the G.P.U. in the disappearance of Miss Poyntz.

Linked To Rubens

He also indicated that a connection might be established between the Poyntz disappearance and the Rubens case, which seems about to flower into a first class "spy" plot seeking to involve American Trotskyists (Continued on page 2)

HINT JOINT ACTION WITH BRITAIN

Note to Japan on Battleship Program Heralds Naval Race; Admiral Says Fleet Will Be Used to Implement Monroe Doctrine

Not troubling to mince words, Admiral William D. Leahy, chief of naval operations of the U. S. Navy, last week revealed to the House Committee on Naval Affairs the broad lines of the war policies of the Roosevelt government.

Admiral Leahy was testifying in favor of the \$800,000,000 naval budget proposed by President Roosevelt and he made it plain that Congress would be called on to vote still more millions to fulfill all the far-reaching aims of American imperialism in the war which Leahy admitted was "nearer now than at any time since the World War."

The note sent to Japan on February 5 concurrently by the United States, Great Britain, and France, demanding information by February 20 on Japan's battleship building plans, made it plain that the Roosevelt regime is prepared to embark on a naval building race and to construct super-dreadnoughts of more than 40,000 tons.

Mysterious Trip

This joint step clarified at one stroke the meaning of the mysterious trip to London made by Captain R. Ingersoll of the War Plans Department of the Navy, on which Admiral Leahy refused to give information to the House Committee before which he testified. The note showed that first tentative steps have already been taken by the Roosevelt Administration for joint naval action with Britain in the event of war.

What other commitments the administration and the military and naval chiefs have made without the knowledge of Congress or of the people will be disclosed only when further actions bring them to light.

What Leahy Revealed

Enough has already been revealed, however, to require of all workers the utmost vigilance against the war plans of American capitalism.

In a prepared statement Admiral Leahy told the Committee on Monday that "the political conditions in the world at this moment both in Europe and the Far East are far more threatening than at any time since 1918 and no improvement was in sight. The major conflict in progress in China has resulted in many grave incidents involving the sovereign rights of the United States and other third powers. The civil war in Spain continues unabated and the threat of a general European conflict is ever present."

Just a Police Patrol

The Admiral regarded the navy as a police patrol for the entire western hemisphere. "At our doors nothing stands in the way of possible exploitation or seizure of the Republics of Central or South America except the Monroe Doctrine, backed by such naval forces as the United States may have and the use of that force if the necessity should arise."

He asserted that the navy must be "maintained at a strength which will prevent a serious challenge by any nation or nations to any of America's vital national policies." He specifically referred to "the recently concluded German-Italian-Japanese anti-Communist protocol" and the breakdown of all limitations on naval construction as reasons for an immediate increase in American naval power.

After pointing out that the navy was the first line of national defense, he stated that "in defending our territory in war, we cannot assume an attitude of passive defense. Prompt and effective injury to an enemy at a distance from our shores, is the only correct strategy to be employed in case of anticipated or actual attack. This declaration that the best means of defense was an offensive attack nullified Admiral Leahy's steadfast denials in the subsequent question-

ing that the naval expansion program was a weapon of aggression to be used in line with Roosevelt's policy announced in his Chicago speech of "quarantining" aggressor nations.

Ready For Anything

Asked on Tuesday by Republican Representative Maas from Minnesota whether "if we should have trouble in the Pacific, we could anticipate any substantial aid from any other power?", Admiral Leahy replied: "We are planning to take care of any situation. In response to other questions, Leahy indicated that the defense lines of the navy include Canada, Mexico and Central America. "The Pacific defense line," he said, "extends from the Aleutian Islands to Hawaii, thence via Samoa to the Panama Canal. The Atlantic defense line extends from the coast of Maine to the Virgin Islands to Colon."

Asked later, whether in the case of any attempted "indirect invasion" of Central or South American republics by a foreign power, the U. S. navy would be used to thwart such an attempt, Leahy answered that it would be so used if the national policy at the time required it. He further stated that the ability of the navy to enforce the Monroe Doctrine at present depended absolutely on the amount of force employed against the Monroe Doctrine.

The concentration of the hearings upon the situation in the Pacific revealed that Japan was considered to be the main enemy in the coming war. On Thursday Leahy testified that President Roosevelt contemplated a navy adequate to protect the nation only on one ocean, the Pacific. He said that with the fleet concentrated in the Pacific as at the present time no nation could invade the United States on the Pacific shore. He thought it necessary for the Navy Department to have a force at its disposal equal to the combined strength of the German, Japanese, and Italian fleets because "these nations are in some sort of agreement."

Denies English Alliance

Admiral Leahy persistently denied that there was an understanding between the United States and Great Britain on naval policy or plans involving joint action in case of war. He said that the recent visit of three U.S. cruisers to the British naval base at Singapore on his orders was merely "a friendly visit to a friendly port." He denied that the naval race before the outbreak of the last war was a factor in starting that war. He agreed with Chairman Vinson's assertion that "a prepared nation is in a much better position to maintain peace than an unprepared nation." No one bothered to point out that "a prepared nation" was also in a better position to wage war.

Leahy's testimony was riddled with such contradictions. After having pointed out that the international war danger and the naval strength of other nations were the prime factors in proposing the huge new naval program, he refused to admit that the new program would have any considerable effect upon the rest (Continued on page 3)

Crucible Strikers Win Despite Hague Threats

Majority of Points Won After Week's Strike; Kaempf Cheered

JERSEY CITY, N. J.—Organized labor gained its biggest victory against the anti-union policies of "I am the Law" Frank Hague, boss of Jersey City, when the Crucible Steel strikers won the majority of their demands after one week's shut-down of the plant.

Picket lines were maintained throughout the strike, although Hague has often threatened "drastic action" against any C. I. O. union which organized in his bailiwick.

Leader Gets Cheers

An enthusiastic mass meeting of the strikers voted to approve the terms of the agreement as outlined by the negotiation committee. Cheers for Ed Kaempf, S. W. O. C. organizer, who directed the strike, showed the workers' response to his militant leadership.

The morale of the Crucible unionists had been low in some departments when the strike began. The workers today are the most spirited in the state. Every one of them understands the great chances they had taken when a strike was called in Hague's anti-labor territory.

Visions of police brutality, mass arrests and other means of terrorism stood before the workers throughout the strike. They watched each move of the police with apprehension.

Police Cautious

But nation-wide publicity forced the police to be cagey. The fact that the workers were all Jersey City residents and that the company has an odious reputation aided the strikers immensely.

Already, in other steel plants, organizing is proceeding more rapidly. Five union men were reinstated in one big steel plant.

Jersey City will be organized if the C. I. O. follows the policies which the steel workers used in the Crucible strike.

Program Mapped At N.Y.C. Convention

Two-Day Session Opens New Phase of Work For Party

NEW YORK.—The first New York City convention of the Socialist Workers Party met on February 5-6 and made plans for the coming six months. In addition to adopting proposals for each department of work, the convention decided to launch a campaign against Roosevelt's war preparations, linked to a drive for party membership and the increased sale of the Socialist Appeal. There were 31 delegates representing 13 branches.

The convention revealed that in the past period, one of reorganization and national and local pre-convention discussions, insufficient attention had been given to popular mass propaganda, distribution of the Socialist Appeal, and in general, that the city committee and the organization had not shown immediate responsiveness to issues as they arose.

Better Union Work

Marked improvement was recorded in trade union work. In several unions the Stalinist campaign to drive the militants out of the movement was met with effective resistance and counter-attack. A number of trade unionists were won to the party during this period. The report showed that about two-thirds of the party are members of trade unions.

In the Workers' Alliance, the Stalinist campaign had created a large progressive opposition to People's Frontism and expulsion of militants. In view of increased lay-offs caused by the economic recession, the workers are being pitted against the LaGuardia and Roosevelt administrations—much to the embarrassment of the Communist Party. The convention recognized work among the jobless as a major task in the coming period and adopted measures for the maximum utilization of the situation.

Education Stressed

Plans were also adopted for the extension of educational work, including frequent publication of popular leaflets and pamphlets, a drive for enrollment in the Marxist School, concentration on several local open forums, monthly open branch discussion meetings and the organization of local classes in elementary socialism.

The brightest part of the convention was the report of the Young Peoples Socialist League. Enthusiasm and spirit has marked the work of the YPSL. Concerted activity, including an effective anti-war campaign, has resulted in substantial increase in membership, particularly among high school students and Stalinist youth. Steps were taken to insure greater cooperation between the party and youth organization.

'Victory' Faked By Office Union

Leaders Try To Conceal Defeat To Protect Prestige

NEW YORK CITY.—How strike "victories" are faked in Stalinist-controlled unions in order to maintain the prestige of the leadership at all costs was brought out by the Progressive Group of Local 16 of the United Office Workers Union in connection with the recent strike of over forty office workers at the Howard Stores. In an article in the Ledger, official organ of the Union, the claim is made of a "victory" in Howard's and the granting of Union recognition.

Actually twenty-one of the 42 workers involved lost their jobs, and only four out of the 42 workers are now members of the Union. The rest are completely demoralized by the Stalinist sell-out. The facts are as follows:

Strike Voted

After weeks of futile negotiations between the Union and the Howard Stores, a strike was voted by the forty-two office workers involved. After picketing a day and half, the strikers were informed by the manager of the Howard Stores that the strike had been called off. Believing this to be a trick, the strikers got in touch with Union headquarters and were informed that as a result of a conference between Lewis Merrill, international president of the Office Workers Union, and the manager of Howard's, the strike had been called off, and that all workers were to go back to work Monday morning.

On Monday, the strikers reported back to work. Instead of all of them being taken back only twelve out of the forty-two were rehired. The rest were out. Upon reporting this back to the Union, they received no instructions to resume picketing. Not only that but the Union permitted the twelve rehired to remain at work. That evening the strikers were told that beginning the next day picketing would again be resumed by the Union.

On Tuesday morning when the strikers reported to the Union office they were informed that inasmuch as a conference between the Union and the employer was scheduled for that day no picketing was necessary. A stormy meeting of all the workers of the Howard Stores was held that evening. The workers were militant, demanding strike action and a fight to the finish until all the workers were taken back.

Try To Discourage

The administration did everything to discourage the workers, pointing out the difficulties of picketing in cold weather, that the Union could not finance the strike, that a continuance of the strike would lead to demoralization, etc. In spite of this, however, on a motion as to how many would picket, thirty out of forty present raised their hands.

Before a vote was taken, the organizer read the names of the twenty-one of the forty-two whom Howard was willing to re-employ. The rest would be put in a preferential list and rehired as soon as vacancies occurred. This last move broke the spirit of the strikers and the motion to call off the strike carried.

Strike Is Over

The strike was over, and half the workers were out of jobs. Those remaining on the job were completely terrorized. Since then three additional have been fired, while 17 new workers were hired by Howard from various agencies.

For four weeks following the strike nothing was done by the Union. The strikers were left to shift for themselves. Only when the news leaked out, and the Progressives got hold of the facts did the administration begin to take action and discuss the advisability of taking the case before the State Labor Relations Board.

Strikers Firm

All the false stories in the press, and the strike-breaking activities of the police, however, have not succeeded in breaking the morale of the strikers. A boycott against Ford is succeeding. Only 75 cars a day are being made in the plant.

Dependence on government agencies has been one of the chief weaknesses in strike strategy. Main emphasis has been placed on National Labor Relations board hearings which drag out interminably. Even then Ford can ignore the findings, and a policy of militancy must soon be adopted if the strike is not to be lost through stalling around.

A policy of rallying all workers to support the strike by having an independent strike bulletin is being urged by progressive unionists. The progressives are pointing out that the fault of the union leadership has been to place the confidence of the workers in the labor board rather than in their own action on the picket line.

Also, unless the Ford strike is won here, it will be more difficult to organize the main Ford plants in Detroit. A victory here would inspire the Ford Workers everywhere.

Curran Gets N.M.U. To Vote S.U.P. War

NEW YORK.—Some 2,000 members of the National Maritime Union, meeting here February 1, heard the Sailors Union of the Pacific charged with discriminating against East Coast men and demanded a statement from the S. U. P. regarding its stand in the matter.

Professing opposition to the "civil war" resolution defeated by militants the previous week, Joe Curran, N. M. U. organizer, presented a more "moderate" proposal differing in no essential from the defeated measure.

If within ten days the S. U. P. does not issue a public statement acceptable to N. M. U. leaders, the N. Y. district committee will have power to take the following contemplated steps: (1) Pull West Coast men off East Coast ships unless they take out N. M. U. books; (2) deny shipping rights to West Coast seamen; (3) open N. M. U. halls on the West Coast.

There was no organized resistance to these proposals of Curran. A barrage of words from the speakers' platform, charging progressive non-Stalinist West Coast unions with wrecking national unity of the maritime workers, caused the militants to weaken, and only a few scattered "noes" greeted the revised "civil war" resolution.

Vote Aids Bureaucrats To Act Against Real Militants

Stormy re-affirmation of an old resolution barring Communist Party members from the ranks of the United Mine Workers was given by Lewis' union last week at the closing session of its convention in Washington. A Communist Party spokesman, taking the floor with a plea for "tolerance," was slouted down with cries of "throw him out."

Resolution All-Inclusive

Unlike Homer Martin's attack upon the Stalinists, which centered upon the C.P.'s pro-war policy and specifically stated that the fight against it did not involve undemocratic procedure in the union ranks, the U. M. W.'s resolution was reactionary in character.

The resolution, re-adopted as an article of the constitution, groups the Industrial Workers of the World, the Working Class Union, the One Big Union, with the Communist Party, the National Chamber of Commerce, and the Ku Klux Klan, making no distinction between sincere working class groups and capitalist organizations, or between the C.P. as a pro-capitalist party and the outright organizations of American capitalism.

Militant Policy Need In St. Louis

Progressives In Ford Strike Urge New Fighting Tactics

ST. LOUIS, Mo.—The United Automobile Workers strike against Henry Ford at the local here continues unabated after three months, despite increased police terror against the workers, and the cooperation of the capitalist press with Ford's anti-union plans.

The strike was forced on the union by a lockout which the management pulled in an effort to break the union. For seven months prior to September 15 the union had certain collective bargaining privileges with the local management. Of nearly 1,000 employees, ninety per cent were in the union.

Ford Police Take Over

After the seasonal shut-down, re-employment of the men was taken out of the hands of local management and placed in charge of Ford's private police service directed by Harry Bennett. A flagrant policy of discrimination against active unionists was instituted.

Ford's strategy was to force an isolated strike and then whip the United Automobile workers piecemeal. Yet the auto workers had no other choice but to go on strike against the discrimination or to allow the union to be broken without a struggle. A strike was called.

Escorting Scabs Into the Plants

Escorting scabs into the plants became the chief occupation of the city police. Besides, workers were continually arrested, picket lines broken, strikers framed on false charges, and every conceivable anti-union activity fomented.

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Also, unless the Ford strike is won here, it will be more difficult to organize the main Ford plants in Detroit. A victory here would inspire the Ford Workers everywhere.

UMW Convention Bans Communists From Membership

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No Political Motives

Thus, in line with Lewis' traditional policy within his own union, the resolution can, and in all likelihood will, be used as an excuse to bar genuine militants and revolutionists rather than servile Stalinists from the U. M. W.

No attempt was made at the convention to pursue Martin's policy of exposing the Stalinists on the ground of their warmongering and support of the Roosevelt re-armament program, as well as their dictatorial rule or ruin policy in the union movement.

Weak-Kneed Defense

Stalinist union bureaucrats immediately took a defensive attitude, either arguing that the U. M. W. has a right to make whatever decisions it desires or refusing to comment at all.

Clarence Hathaway issued a statement for the C. P. in which he assured his followers that "this is not the beginning of a drive against the Communists... in the miners' union there are large numbers of Communists loyally working to build the union and to carry out its policies."

Despite these bland reassurances, however, there are many indications that C. P. leaders expect and are fearful of a concerted drive against them in the C. I. O. Such a drive may well be reactionary in character unless militants see to it that its content is straightforward and political, instead of purely organizational.

Link Poyntz To 'Robinson' Case

(Continued from page 1)

with Japan's espionage system in this country. Tresca was promptly subpoenaed.

Tresca declared that Poyntz was "lured or kidnapped" to the Soviet Union because "she knew too much." He said he knew the man who he believed was responsible for spiriting the woman leader out of the country after she had broken with the Stalinist party.

'Forward' Names Him

(The Jewish Daily Forward said on February 8 that the man referred to was Schachno Epstein, former editor of the New York Stalinist Jewish paper, the Freiheit, who was long suspected of being a G. P. U. agent.)

Elias Lieberman, at one time attorney for Miss Poyntz, came forward with an attempted denial, but admitted that some months ago there had been suspicious pointing to the man Tresca had in mind. Since Tresca had mentioned no names, Lieberman's statement caused some astonishment. Lieberman himself named no names nor did he disclose what action, if any, had been taken by him in the matter.

Asks Defense Action

In his statement, Tresca said it was high time for all American radicals who oppose the Stalin regime to take "some measure of defense against the terrorism of the Soviet G. P. U."

Party Resolutions TRADE UNION MOVEMENT and the S. W. P.

The following is the second installment of the resolution on the trade union question adopted by the convention of the Socialist Workers Party.

The militant vanguard must constantly stress the fact that neither industrial unionism nor unity, by themselves, solve the problems of the working class and its struggle. In its way, each is a step forward for labor which facilitates its further progress. Unification is always desirable because it enables labor to present a more solid and effective front. Industrial unionism aids in the development of rank-and-file democratic control and in militant mass action, and promotes the best functioning of the organized workers in the modern big machine industries.

But unless the industrial unions, or the union movement in general, function as class struggle organizations, they present to the working class no decisive and lasting advantages. Class collaboration under whatever form or structure finally yields only defeat for the working class. The correct basis for the union movement can only be found in the theory and practice of the class struggle, in the widest inner-union democracy, in rank-and-file control, and in a leadership and policies based upon the class struggle and workers' democracy.

Class struggle policies and leadership, and union democracy, are at a minimum in the A. F. of L. and in the C. I. O. The bulk of the leadership of both sections of the union movement have in common the fact that they both serve as the labor lieutenants of the capitalist class and are the defenders, basically, of the capitalist system. All the difference between the two movements notwithstanding, this common fundamental feature of the leaderships can be ignored only at the greatest peril to the proper orientation of the militant vanguard. The A. F. of L. bureaucracy is the classic representative of class collaboration policies in the labor movement, with its theory of the "harmony of interests" of employer and employee, and the acceptance of capitalism implied in the slogan of a "fair day's pay for a fair day's work." The same bureaucracy has, consequently, not recoiled from the most arbitrary and repressive measures against every militant and revolutionary minority that has threatened its rule and its policies.

C. I. O. Leadership Also Reactionary

Fundamentally, the role of the C. I. O. leadership has been no less reactionary. It has performed the function of steering the spontaneous and independent class action of the workers organized under its banner back onto the road of class collaboration, of employer-employee "harmony," of reliance upon the Roosevelt, i. e., the capitalist government, its institutions and its "impartial mediation." The failure of the "Little Steel" strike only emphasized the ruinous results of this course. The most elementary requirements of strike organization were ignored. No real strike committees or mass picket lines were organized. The workers were not given to understand that the strike was to be a real and vigorous class action and that victory depended upon their own might, their own militancy, their own organization.

Aided and abetted by the Stalinists who follow their line, Lewis and Murray repressed the militant forces in favor of an appeal to and dependence on official action by the president and the governors involved. The idea that Roosevelt, and not the workers, would win the victory for the union, proved fatal, as was to be expected. Class collaboration was carried to the limit of welcoming the Ohio National Guard in Youngstown. The leaders and their subordinates poisoned the minds of the workers with assurances that the governor had sent the Guard to keep the plants closed, and thereby help the workers defeat the employers.

The bureaucratic management of the new C. I. O. unions is notorious. The Lewis-Hillman-Murray clique, aware of the danger to their leadership and policies represented by the mass unionization of the aggressive unskilled workers in the large-scale industries, sought to paralyze rank-and-file control in advance by establishing a bureaucratic guardianship over all the unions they organized. Neither the leadership nor the policies were voted by the union membership. No regular organization has been set up in most cases. Officials are appointed in the worst traditions of the United Mine Workers of America.

Bureaucrats Appointed By Themselves

The C. I. O. itself is a self-appointed committee of leaders which has never been ratified by the rank-and-file. The inability of the latter to determine their leadership or decide upon the policies of the various "Organizing Committees" has already produced a bad reaction in the organizations, manifesting itself in a decline of interest, falling into indifference, reduced attendance at meetings, etc. The C. I. O. can be restored to its full strength and effectiveness, and put in a position to exploit all the possibilities of growth before it, only in a relentless struggle against the poison of class collaborationism and bureaucratism, and against the leadership that represents them.

If neither industrial unionism, nor unity, as such, are a solution of the problem, they are nevertheless steps in that direction. The problem itself may be summed up as follows: the triumph of a militant leadership in the unions, basing itself on class struggle policies, union democracy, and rank-and-file control.

Of all the labor political groups in the trade unions today, which is indicated to promote a solution of this key problem? The Communist Party was once the organizer of the progressive and left wing movement in the trade unions. It has completely abandoned this role today. In the period of its reactionary degeneration, it has been reduced to the position of an agency in the American trade unions, representing the interests and responding exclusively to the commands of the anti-Soviet bureaucracy of the Kremlin.

Stalinists Are Servile Flunkeys

Throughout the trade unions, but above all in the C. I. O., the Stalinists are the most servile and venomous assistants of the reactionary bureaucracy. They shout the most vehement in their advocacy of class collaboration, of reliance on the Roosevelt regime, of subservience to the union officialdom. At the same time, it must be emphasized that they nevertheless have a different basis than that of the C. I. O. or A. F. of L. bureaucracy. The latter, though they act as the labor lieutenants of the bourgeoisie, and base themselves on bourgeois democracy whose left, reformist wing they constitute, cannot preserve their own power as a bureaucracy without, to one extent or another, preserving its source and foundation, namely the trade unions. Their policies, in the long run, do, it is true, help destroy the very trade unions upon which they rest; but in doing so, as shown by the German, Italian and Austrian experiences, they are themselves destroyed.

The Stalinist bureaucracy, even in the trade unions, is, however, primarily an instrument of the counter-revolutionary Stalin bureaucracy in Russia, and serves its interests first of all. The preservation and advancement of the interests of the trade unions, and the working class in general, are entirely secondary considerations, subordinated to their main function. For them, the trade unions are primarily institutions to be converted into instruments for the People's Front, for the successful propagation of the war of the "democratic" imperialists against the "reactionary" imperialists in defense of the Stalin regime. The most consistent class collaborationists and social-patriots in the working class, and in the trade union movement, are the Stalinists. Hence, they are the most violent and bureaucratic

enemy of all revolutionary and truly progressive forces in the unions. Hence, their chief slogan: "Drive the Trotskyists out of the labor movement," which means, drive out of the labor movement all those who stand for the class struggle, who oppose imperialist war, and the reactionary bureaucracy which is already part of the capitalist government machine today and the war machine tomorrow.

The idea that the Communist Party represents a progressive factor in the trade union movement is based upon outworn memories of the past. The C. P. today is a reactionary force in the labor movement and must be dealt with as such. It is a pernicious influence which the vanguard elements and militants in general must fight tooth and nail to eliminate from the working class movement.

Small Likelihood Of Blocs With C. P.

Blocs with the Communist Party in the trade unions are, as a rule, entirely inconceivable for the revolutionary Marxists, and are permissible only under the most extraordinary and exceptional circumstances, and provided only that the utmost vigilance is maintained towards them and the most rigid political independence is insisted upon. Ninety-nine times out of a hundred, collaboration with the C. P. forces will prove permissible only under exceptional circumstances where they are part of a much more broadly organized general progressive or left wing movement of which we may also form a part.

In those unions which are under the control of the Stalinists, and in which left-wing minority work is particularly difficult, it is the special duty of the revolutionists to remain doggedly at their task, to avoid and fight against expulsion, and not to leave the rank-and-file under the uncontested leadership of the C. P. cliques.

The Thomas-Tyler-Altman Socialist Party cannot be counted as a decisive progressive force in the trade unions. The S. P. is a right-wing propaganda sect without direct influence of its own in the labor movement. Wherever individual members of that party occupy official or leading posts, they were gained, as a rule, not by the advancement of a militant socialist position, but as a result of adaptation to the policies and rule of the conservative union bureaucracy. This has, in fact, been the traditional method of "rooting themselves in the unions" pursued by the S. P. reformists.

Even over these officials, the S. P. has no control, nor does it seek to exercise any. Party discipline is employed only against those few rank-and-file militants who do seek to conduct a militant struggle against class collaborationism and bureaucratic leadership in the unions. However, because of the number of rank-and-file S. P. members who are ready to go part of the distance in a consistent struggle for left-wing policies, it is permissible and necessary for the revolutionists to form blocs with them in specific instances and for specific ends.

With insignificant changes, what has been said about the S. P. applies to the Lovestone group. The positions occupied by some of its members in the trade unions have been acquired or maintained, generally speaking, by the surrender of working-class principles and adaptation to the conservative bureaucracy and its policies. Examples of this are to be found in the International Ladies Garment Workers Union, the Shoe Workers Union, and the Auto Workers Union. As with the S. P. blocs are permissible under certain conditions with the Lovestone group.

To the extent that the Lovestoneites also come into conflict with the Stalinists and their murderous Red-baiting drive against all militants, the Lovestoneites will be compelled to seek a common front at least on such elementary questions as the rights of minorities in the unions. Actuated though they are by the interest of self-defense and self-preservation, temporary blocs with clearly limited aims are quite conceivable between the revolutionary Marxists and the Lovestoneites.

I. W. W. Now Only A Reactionary Sect

From the standpoint both of its membership and its sympathizers, the I. W. W. plays only a limited role in the labor movement today. As an organization, it is a reactionary sect, dominated by a narrow-minded anarchist clique imbued with a deep hatred of the Marxists and the Russian Revolution, and animated by the narrowest factional interests. On the other hand, as a general movement, in the sense of those former members of the I. W. W. who are still influenced by its ideology, it has a distinct importance in certain fields, notably in the maritime industry. Most of these elements have splendid traditions behind them and are permeated by an irreconcilable spirit of class struggle and militancy. In the maritime industry, the building of a broad progressive and militant movement requires a sincere cooperation with the best elements among the syndicalist-minded workers.

At the same time we must conduct a persistent and stubborn though patient and comradely—struggle to break down the anti-political, anti-Marxist prejudices inculcated into these militants and fostered by the corrupt parliamentarism and reformism of the Social Democracy and by the bureaucratism, deceit, fakery and treachery to principles of the Stalinists.

The only consistent revolutionary and progressive force in the trade union movement is represented by our party, the party of the revolutionary class struggle. It can begin to accomplish its tasks only by understanding its present relationship to them. The party is woefully weak in general, and especially weak in the trade unions. Its influence and leadership is either local, episodic, or accidental. Very little systematic trade union work is done, and what is done is not properly organized or centralized. Our press only casually reflects the American class struggle. News of the trade union movement, its struggles and internal life, are accidental in its columns, dependent largely upon chance contributions of isolated comrades.

Complete Reorientation Is Demanded

A complete reorientation of our party, from the membership up to the leadership and back again, is absolutely imperative and unpostponable. No less drastic a reorientation is required of our weekly press. The attention of the party must be focused primarily upon the American labor movement. The energies of the party must be devoted mainly to rooting itself in the trade unions, becoming an inseparable part of the trade unions and their struggles. The bulk of the party's work must be directed to this vital field of the class struggle. Unless this slogan is translated speedily into life, the party is doomed to vegetate as an impotent sect which will be washed away by the waves of the first serious social crisis.

The party membership must be rooted deeply in the trade unions. The first demand for activity that the party must make on every member is that he join the union in which he is eligible for membership. The sweep of unionism, covering virtually every craft, trade and industry, insures the possibility of virtually every worker becoming a unionist today. It should be borne in mind that if our party is to be a genuinely proletarian party, both in its composition and its ideology, it must be composed, in its decisive majority, of proletarians and trade unionists. Above all, it should be borne in mind that if the party is to survive the coming war, with its certain persecution and hounding of the revolutionary movement, if the party is to fulfill its great tasks during the war, if it is not to be dispersed and its efforts rendered nugatory—the party membership must be solidly and inseparably connected with the organized working class. There is no better way of accomplishing this connection than by every member becoming an active, responsible and influential trade unionist.

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Reiss Describes Inner Life of Stalin's G.P.U.

(Continued from page 1)

ponage". When his chief, an intimate friend of his, who knew very well this was a lie, was asked how he had failed to notice that S. was a spy, he replied: A spy does not impart his secrets. An important G.P.U. functionary, Sh., was arrested, and, of course, charged with espionage. His wife was immediately thrown out of their apartment. Sh. was a typical G.P.U. worker, in the worst sense of the term. Comrades who knew him intimately were in a quandary: Why had this man been arrested? Was it perhaps because he knew languages? Was this perhaps held suspect by the authorities?

In the G.P.U. there worked a German. His fate had long been decided, but for one reason or another he had not yet been arrested. Apparently they were waiting for some suitable trial. A pure-blooded German of the Aryan type, he was admirably suited for the role of a Nazi in some public trial. It was indispensable to "liquidate" him, if only because he was a German. Either because no suitable trial cropped up, or for some other reason, a different method was applied in his case. He was sent to Spain, and disappeared there. In general, it is by no means a rare practice to send people to Spain for the purpose of liquidating them.

Dog Gives Clue

A member of the G.P.U. fails to show up for work. Was he arrested? Worried comrades begin to wonder. No one, of course, dares to make inquiries. There was still hope that X. had gone abroad, where he had done work. Sometime later a friend of his receives a letter from X's servant abroad, with an inquiry as to what she should do with X's dog. She had written to the master, but received no reply. Thus, because a dog had been left abroad, news of the arrest of the dog's owner arrived in Moscow.

Several years ago, one of the G.P.U. functionaries detailed to "work" on the street and to compile reports about the prevailing moods, in making his report to the authorities was rash enough to say that in re potatoes, things were really very bad. Not potatoes, but some sort of mud. Couldn't something be done about it? He was clapped in jail, and, as is sometimes the case, forgotten. He received no packages, no visits; his relatives were afraid to inquire. A year and a half passed. An investigating magistrate, on finding the case among the old files, proposed in the nucleus that he be set free. (At that time minor cases concerning members could still be brought up in the nuclei.) No decision was reached on the question. The authorities kept dragging the case, but no one doubted that the arrested man would be freed either this day or the next. Presently, some one again reminded himself of the case, and this time the authorities finally decided: To be shot in 24 hours.

To Avoid Fuss

Nowadays they try to make arrests with the least amount of fuss. Men are not seized either at home or in the department—so as not to cause panic. People are not arrested—they simply disappear. For example, a meeting is in session; a man gets up to go to the toilet and does not return. This attracts least attention. No one, of course, asks what happened to him.

After Yagoda's removal and the smashing of the central apparatus of the G.P.U., they began to recall foreign agents to Moscow. As a rule they are recalled by some sort of ruse. For example, X. is informed that he had been compromised and would have to transfer to another country, and "en route" he might drop in on Moscow. U. is recalled on some other harmless pretext. In Moscow, they "disappear."

Arthur Stashevsky worked in Spain ostensibly as a trade representative. But in reality as one of the leading functionaries of the G.P.U. After Tukhachevsky's trial and connection with the arrest of Unschlicht and other Polish communists, it was decided in Moscow to recall Stashevsky as well. But inasmuch as his wife and daughter were working in the Soviet pavilion at the Paris exhibition, Moscow was afraid lest he refuse to return. The resourceful minds in the G.P.U. thought up the following stratagem: Stashevsky's daughter (without her father's knowledge) was sent from Paris to Moscow with some exhibits, while Stashevsky himself was called to Paris from Spain. In Paris two surprises awaited him: an urgent request by wire to come to Moscow and the information that his daughter was already there (a hostage!). Ac-

According to the reports of Stashevsky's friends, neither he nor his daughter ever reached their Moscow apartment. Apparently they were seized at the border. Stashevsky, incidentally, was considered a 100 per cent Stalinist. He was given an interview by Stalin "himself" and received personal instructions from him prior to his departure for Spain. In 1935, he demonstrated his loyalty by betraying Sirtsov, who had been rash enough to make some critical comments on Stalin's "activity" around the corpse of Kirov.

Woman Accused

An old Polish communist, a woman, R., was arrested (her husband had been spared from jail only by a premature death). She was accused of having joined the C.P.S.U. on instructions from the sub-Bureau of the Polish General Staff, in whose employ she had allegedly been since 1921. Bruno Yassensky and other Poles are in jail on similar charges. Inasmuch as they are not apprehending real spies, they are arresting and shooting innocent people.

Even in the G.P.U. hardly any one knows what happens in the inner prison to those arrested.

A case better known than the others is that of the aged Friedman, an old Chekist whom Stalin, for some reason, was bent on including in the Zinoviev trial. He was subjected to many long months of torture to extort confessions from him. Nor did they lose hope of breaking him until a few days before the opening of the trial. But Friedman remained adamant. The story is that his last words were: You can shoot old Friedman only once, but no one can make a whore out of him.

During examination, in most cases, the investigating magistrates do not, apparently, talk frankly with the prisoners, i.e., they conduct the investigation in accordance with orders issued from above, without themselves knowing the truth officially. But, of course, they are very well aware of what is involved.

Scoff At Confessions

In Moscow the "confessions" are openly scoffed at. Very popular are anecdotes such as the following: Alexei Tolstoy, upon being arrested and examined, confessed that he was the author of Hamlet, etc.

Because of the number of arrests, and the enormous number of cases, virtually all the functionaries of the G.P.U. have become investigating magistrates. For the same reasons, no packages are permitted in jail. With tens of thousands in prison, the sending of packages is allegedly impossible "in practice." On the same grounds, many are shot: There is no room in the prisons. Political prisoners are now usually sent into exile together with ordinary criminals, and, in addition, the criminals are extended the "right" of stripping the political prisoners bare. It is hardly surprising if in these conditions many exiles never reach their place of exile, but perish on the way.

After Yagoda's arrest and the massacre in the G.P.U., the most incredible stories began to circulate among the foreign agents and a real panic ensued. In order to check it somehow, the G.P.U. sent out a circular letter throughout the entire foreign network. Its contents were approximately as follows: The C.C. has removed the gang at the head of our department. We must unfortunately admit that our heads (Yagoda and the rest) turned out to be bandits. The chief task for us and for you is to struggle against the Fascist-Trotskyites: (1) struggle against the Trotskyites; (2) keep a strict check on your subordinates.

Demoralization Reigns

It must be said that in connection with the recent trials, the important functionaries of the G.P.U. abroad had to "agitater" their subordinate foreign agents nights on end, so great was the demoralization these trials produced even in this milieu.

According to the latest reports, Z. Unschlicht (sister of Unschlicht), an oppositionist, who was arrested in 1934 and who had worked in the Comintern, died in the isolator. (At the time of her arrest, she was taken from her sick-bed.) The well known Ukrainian communist Kotsubinsky has been shot.

The Bulletin (of the Russian Opposition) is widely read in the G.P.U. Gide's book, or, more precisely, stories concerning this book, and Gide's taking a new position, have indubitably produced a great impression in the U. S. S. R. Those arriving from abroad are bombarded from all sides with questions about what Gide had written. In present conditions, a rather

Defends Property



JUAN NEGRIN

Negrin Promises Stern Defense Of Private Property

Frank Interview Shows Who Is Destroying Revolution

The real economic aims of the Spanish Loyalist Government were strikingly revealed last month by President Juan Negrin in an interview given to the Radio news agency. The most significant statements, omitted from the reports in the American press, are reprinted below from the Paris L'Oeuvre:

"Numerous owners have already made peace with the Republic and their property has been returned to them. The seizure of property is illegal. We shall do everything within our power to assure foreign property-holders or stock-holders the full enjoyment of their property and the complete exercise of their rights. The workers recognize the difficulties inherent in the functioning of the enterprises and are increasingly well-disposed to accept regulation. In this connection, we have been assured of the collaboration of the Communists, and we shall do what is necessary to obtain that of the Anarchists."

Deeds Versus Words

These frank statements of policy, intended to appease the exacting capitalists of Great Britain and France, run directly counter to the oft-repeated promise of the Government that "the conquests of the Revolution will be defended at all costs."

In the light of Negrin's interview, it is interesting to recall the reasons given for the arrest of hundreds upon hundreds of Anarchist and P.O.U.M. workers. The papers of the latter groups repeatedly warned that the Popular Front Government, acting in the interests of British imperialism, had as its chief duty the crushing of the Spanish revolution.

The Government and the Stalinist circles, when they initiated the mass arrest of revolutionaries, charged these groups with "consciously playing the game of the fascists in attempting to create an atmosphere of discontent within anti-fascist Spain and its French and British allies." (Las Noticias, Stalinist organ of the U.G.T.)

It is pertinent to ask: Who is "consciously playing the game" of British imperialism? Who is destroying "the conquests of the Revolution"—the revolutionary workers' groups or the Popular Front Government?

grave "problem" for the Soviet functionary is the question of arranging a party. X. is considering giving a party in his house and inviting a number of friends, among them foreign communists, mostly workers in the G.P.U. A more experienced friend urgently advises against it: Something might come out of it. The best thing is to go to a party given by so and so. Such-and-such people will be present there, whose position today is quite sound.

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Expulsions from A. F. L. Setback For Unity Drive

Reactionary Move By Executive Council Widens Chasm in Labor Movement; Campaign For Unity Must Be Intensified

BY E. J. WIDICK

A damaging blow to the cause of unity in the labor movement was dealt this week by the reactionary executive council of the A. F. of L. when it expelled the United Mine Workers of America, backbone of the C.I.O., from the Federation.

President William Green of the A. F. of L. implied that the revocation of the miners' charter, and two other smaller C.I.O. unions, was a compromise between the civil war policy advocated by the "diehards" and the policy of "moderates" in the executive council.

The Federation of Flat Glass workers and the Mine, Mill and Smelter workers were the other two international unions whose charter were revoked.

Leadership Divided

The action of the executive council came after two weeks of indecision which reflected the division within the top A. F. of L. leadership. Dan Tobin, of the Teamsters, and George Harrison, of the Railroad Brotherhoods, were for moderation. Bill Hutcherson, of the Carpenters, headed the "civil war" group.

The strategy of the A. F. of L. executive board in expelling the miners' union is obvious. It hopes to "isolate" the John L. Lewis-controlled section of the C.I.O., and cause a split in C. I. O. ranks.

David Dubinsky, president of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union, indirectly played a part in determining this strategy by his recent public attack on Lewis.

Hope in Dubinsky

Louis Stark, of the New York Times, pointed out in his article of February 6 that the A. F. of L. was placing hope in winning Dubinsky away from the C.I.O., and having him, "carry the ball across the C.I.O. goal line." It was this difference between Dubinsky and Lewis that gave the A. F. of L. council new vigor and aided in determining the policy of continued hostility to the C.I.O.

Surprise was expressed in many labor circles that of the major C.I.O. unions only the miner's union was expelled. The Amalgamated Clothing Workers was "slated to go," too, according to the "civil war" theory. The very fact that this demand of the "diehards" was not voted by

the council indicates that open warfare on too wide a front is not yet the plan of the A. F. of L. leaders.

The revocation of the Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers Union charter was part of the plan to "isolate" the miners, since this international is closely tied up with the Lewis-controlled U. M. W. A.

Raid Plan Seen

The bitter internal dispute in the Flat Glass Workers Union which led to the ousting of Glen McCabe as international president, offered the A. F. of L. the hope of "raiding" that industry. McCabe turned against the C.I.O. following his overthrow and probably expects to capture some locals for the A. F. of L. McCabe was originally suspended when charges were placed against him in regard to use of the C.I.O. union funds.

The executive council did not vote on the appeal of the Pennsylvania State Federation of Labor against the Green order to purge itself of C.I.O. affiliates. If the State Federation of Labor is forced to cause a split of Pennsylvania labor, it means that the A. F. of L. leaders will intensify hostilities against the C. I. O. on the political field.

A split in the ranks of Pennsylvania unions would seriously affect the political perspectives of the Lewis machine, which intends to run Thomas Kennedy, secretary-treasurer of the miner's union, for governor.

Green Hits League

Green repeated his blast of last fall against Labor's Non-Partisan League in a special report to the council. He termed it a "mere tool and mouthpiece of the C. I. O." His previous attack was ignored in many labor centers but today it might mean further action against the C. I. O. in the political sphere.

These recent developments delay the possibility of peace in the labor movement. In his study of the situation, Stark aptly summed up the prospect and perspectives by writing, "If for the present, hostilities do not cease, it will not mean an end to peace hopes nor an end of striving toward renewal of peace parleys. Resumption of peace negotiations will be made more difficult by these hostilities, but forces both inside and outside labor will continue to work for unity in labor."

Leahy Testimony Reformists Win Bares War Plans In Jersey W. A. A.

Progressive Forces Go Down to Defeat At Trenton Meet

(Continued from page 1)

of the world. "You realize," he was challenged by Representative Brewster of Maine, "what we are asked to do is of major importance to the whole world."

"No, I do not," answered Leahy, "but I do think it is of major importance to our own country."

Conceals Secret Talks

Republican Representative Church of Illinois created a sensation toward the end of Friday's session when he suddenly inquired what matters involving the British and American navies were being discussed in London by Captain Ingersoll. "I will not answer that question," Admiral Leahy said, "but I will make a statement in executive sessions, of course, on the basis that it is absolutely secret, because it is of vital importance to the interests and defense of the United States."

Leahy told Churchill that he did not know whether or not President Roosevelt had delayed the submission of the \$800,000,000 program to Congress for about two weeks because he wanted first to confer with Captain Ingersoll.

In discussing naval defense on the Atlantic Coast, Leahy remarked that an "excellent base" could be created from the area of Long Island Sound and Narragansett Bay. When the Representative from Massachusetts on the Committee asked why an adequate fleet was not maintained for the defense of the Atlantic, Admiral Leahy answered, "Climate condition is one reason." He was not pressed to mention others.

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FUR WORKERS BACK VERDICT ON FEDERMAN

Stalinists Try To Break Up Meeting Held To Hail Findings

TORONTO, Canada.—Gathering at a joint meeting of Locals 40 and 100 of the Furriers International Union, an overwhelming majority of the furriers in this city gave enthusiastic endorsement to the verdict of the workers' jury which last week acquitted Max Federman, vice-president of the International and manager of the Toronto locals, of the frame-up charges brought against him by Ben Gold, Stalinist union president.

When the Stalinists became conscious that their frame-up was a failure they provoked physical attacks to break up the meeting.

Stalinists Slink Away

The Fur Workers, however, remained orderly. A small number of Communists, no more than 70 or 75, left the meeting and went to the C. P. headquarters. The hundreds of furriers remained, the meeting continued and endorsed in full the recommendations of the trial committee.

Also here, in Toronto, the Stalinists had their men make "confessions," in order to involve Max Federman. The trial committee condemned the frame-up witnesses, who admitted their part in the deal, and unanimously exonerated Federman.

When all the provocations of the Stalinists encountered a stone wall of opposition from the union, they embarked on typical gangster methods. Arming themselves with knives and clubs, they entered the union headquarters and brutally beat up five union militants, supporters of Max Federman. This attack has evoked the strongest protests from all sections of the Canadian labor movement.

Run To Court

As a further act of desperation, the Stalinists proceeded to the capitalist law court to secure an injunction debaring the Toronto Furriers Union from using offices in the Labor Lyceum. The union has been compelled to withdraw from Ben Gold's International and to apply for a charter in the A. F. of L., which has been granted.

The Left Poale Zion, of which Federman is a member, has challenged Gold and his cohorts to appear before an impartial workers' tribunal charged with a thorough investigation of the entire affair. This challenge has so far been ignored.

Taking issue with the Stalinist union wreckers, the Toronto Furriers Union has put out a public statement in which it declares: "For many years the Furriers Union of Toronto has been regarded as one of the strongest and most progressive unions in Canada. Under the capable leadership of Max Federman, the union has carried on militant and exemplary struggles to win for the hundreds of fur workers and their families in Toronto decent living standards."

Attack C. P. Wreckers

"We, the fur workers, have always guarded against attempts to make of our union just another subdivision of the Communist Party. We were certain that the wolf in our ranks would never be satisfied until it got a victim in its claws. It took no longer than six months for the Communists to get their fingers on the fur workers union."

"We have decided to raise a fund of \$10,000 to defend our union in the interests of the fur workers. We furriers have already raised \$1,000 towards this fund. We are the victims of a new Communist offensive against working class rights and democracy. Heed our call, protest against Communist brutality in its assault upon the fur workers in Toronto."

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Speaker: **FELIX MORROW**
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SOVIET UNION NOTES

Purge Reflects Economic Crisis — Coal Piles Up At Mines — Tractor Failures Slow Down Harvest

By JOHN G. WRIGHT

New Crisis in Soviet Economy

There is a clear connection between the current reign of terror and the economic difficulties in which Stalin's regime of self-proclaimed "victorious socialism" finds itself at the beginning of the Third Five Year Plan. Thousands of technicians, engineers and plant administrators are being made scapegoats for failings which are inherent in the Stalinist management and operation of Soviet industries.

Soviet railways, long a weak spot in industrial life, are again in serious straits. The basic equipment of the railways, like that of the majority of vital plants, has been seriously undermined in the reckless drive for records. Despite vast sums poured into transportation in recent years under the direction of L. M. Kaganovich, the railroads are functioning poorly. Wrecks and accidents show no signs of decreasing. Car loadings have been dropping at an alarming rate, thus nullifying the recent "successes" in metallurgy and mining.

In the latter industries, production has been temporarily restored to the levels attained towards the end of 1935, at the beginning of Stakhanovism. For example, coal production in the Donbas region is averaging 225,000 tons per day (daily production in December 1935—229,000) as against the previous levels of below 200,000 tons daily. But the additional coal is simply piling up at the mines.

Coal Stocks Pile Up at Pits

So grave is the situation that Pravda on January 15, devoted to the First Session of the Supreme Council, had to allot space to the "disgraceful condition" of the Donbas railways. Pravda reports that in the first ten days of January the coal stocks at the mine pits "more than doubled." "More than 600,000 tons of coal" piled up, and the reserve keeps increasing. Meanwhile, according to Pravda, "The North Donetz and South Donetz railways fall behind, failing to load daily from 25 to 30 thousand tons. . . . On the North Donetz Railway only one-half of the trains start on schedule and only one-third keep to the schedule."

This affects not only the work of the coal mines but of other plants as well, in particular the metallurgy industry. "Tens of thousands tons of production remain lying in metallurgical and other plants of the Donbas for the same reason." (Pravda, January 15.)

Pravda for Jan. 24 devotes its leading article to the railways crisis. Here is the opening paragraph: "The work of the railway transport has steadily worsened in the recent period. The magnificent position which the railwaymen occupied in the summer of 1937 has now been lost by them. Daily, the transport system fails to fulfil the plan by 10 to 20 per cent. The most important freight for the life of the country—metal, oil, and bread—is being held up for long periods at the key stations. The debt of the transport system to the country is growing with every passing day."

Continues Pravda: "The railwaymen have no objective, external reasons whatsoever for the lag." The solution for the difficulty is: "To raise the discipline among the railwaymen," in other words, to pile repressions upon repressions. That is the only solution Stalin has to offer. The condition of the transport is especially grave in view of the fact that the country's resources are being strained to match the armament race for the coming conflict.

The Crisis in Spring Sowing

Despite the Stalinist boasts of a record crop last year and forecasts of even a greater crop in the coming season, it is quite apparent that serious difficulties are being encountered in agriculture, especially in spring sowing. Seeds have not been prepared; the tractors are not ready; the plan is not being fulfilled. Emergency measures are being resorted to. "Volunteer" brigades are being recruited to go into the country and repair the tractors. The entire Komsomol (Young Communist League) has been mobilized to fulfill the plan in repairing tractors and "prepare the sowing campaign."

On January 18 Eikhe, the new Commissar for Agriculture, delivered a report on the "Plan for 1938 in Agriculture" at a plenary session of the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. He painted a dismal picture of the conditions in agriculture. His report might as well have been entitled "the work of wreckers in the agricultural organs." "Wreckers" are to blame for everything. In the meantime, according to Eikhe, the plan for repairing tractors has been fulfilled only 30 per cent. Gasoline supplies are lacking, seed has not been prepared. (Pravda, January 22.)

Dispatches appearing in the Soviet press present even a more dismal picture. In the Ukraine (Chernigov) tractors are not being repaired. In 14 tractor stations there are no head mechanics. (Pravda, January 19.) In the Maryansk region in Kuban, at the tractor station there, on January 1, out of 26 tractors requiring major repairs only 8 were ready; out of 30 tractors requiring "average" repairs only 10 were ready. In Maryansk, 1,400 tons of gasoline were needed, only 6 tons were stored. In Novomyshastovsk out of 1,860 tons needed, only 71 tons were ready. (Pravda, January 17.) The Georgievsk tractor station (Ordjonikidze province) had not produced a single tractor by January 1. (Pravda, January 24.) Things are bad in Bashkiria and worse in Tadzhikistan. The Commissar for Agriculture in the latter region, Selivanov, is "not to be trusted."

In its leading article on January 3, Pravda declared: "On December 20, 1937, the plan for repairing tractors had been fulfilled only 13 per cent for the Union as a whole. In point of fact, the plan for the fourth quarter has collapsed."

Havoc Caused By Purge

The havoc caused by the purge accounts in part for this condition. Thus Pravda (January 24) reports that in Bashkiria alone for the last three months 87 agricultural heads and 46 directors of tractor stations have been removed, together with their deputies and "scores of mechanics." Eikhe reported that out of 200 tractor stations in White Russia only 144 had directors. He added "We have the same picture in Omsk, Orenburg, Sverdlovsk and a number of other regions." (Pravda, January 22.) Remedy? It is provided in the leading editorial of the same issue of Pravda which declared that in the recent order of the Central Committee to "suspend" the purge, the party has "a new sharp weapon against the enemies of the people."

Purge in the Commissariat of Heavy Industry

Among those made scapegoats for the latest economic crisis were all three deputies of Lazar Kaganovich, Commissar for Heavy Industry (who replaced—on August 22, 1937—the purged Mezhlauk, successor of the deceased Ordjonikidze). In the early part of January, they all "disappeared." Among them was Zavenyagin, candidate to the Central Committee, decorated with the highest orders for successful construction of the Magnitogorsk combine and director of Magnitogorsk plants, and appointed as deputy by Kaganovich himself on September 17, 1937. The fate of Zavenyagin and his colleagues became known when Pravda and Izvestia for January 8 printed terse notices of the appointment of three new deputies: Butenko, Kuzmin and Perukhin.

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HAROLD ROBERTS FRANK GRAVES Associate Editors. BOB BROWNE Business Manager.

A. F. of L. Expulsions

The decision of the A. F. of L. Executive Council to expel the United Mine Workers and two other international unions, is a reactionary blow at the prospects of peace in the ranks of organized labor and a blow at organized labor itself.

The fossilized bureaucrats assembled in Miami, their vision circumscribed by the narrow horizon of craft unionism into which they split the American workers for years, simply would not reconcile themselves to the living, unchallengeable reality constituted by the successes of industrial unionism under the banner of the C. I. O.

The move for unification, which still represents the best interests of labor in the United States, should not be slowed down for an instant because of the Miami decision. On the contrary, it calls for an even more vigorous assertion of the rank-and-file's demand that the split in the labor movement, especially in face of the critical situation in industry, be promptly overcome—not at the expense of industrial unionism, to be sure, but rather with guarantees of the unassailable rights, proved a dozen times over in struggle, of the industrial form of organization.

The War In The Far East

China's 450,000,000 people cannot be whipped and driven into slavery by the Japanese imperialists—provided these millions rise up and fight against their would-be enslavers.

During seven months of the Sino-Japanese hostilities, the invaders of China have been able to score a number of important military victories—because the Kuomintang rulers, aided by the Stalinists, have held the masses back from the struggle.

Japan's war machine is now concentrated

on the task of effecting a junction between the invading forces in North China and those in the Yangtze region. Success for this venture will mean virtual Japanese control of all territory between the Great Wall and the Yangtze at least as far west as the Peiping-Hankow Railway.

And still there is no indication of any attempt being made by the Kuomintang to mobilize the masses against the invaders. A Shanghai dispatch to the N. Y. Times on February 5 brings this fact into bold relief. Says the correspondent:

"Despite the announcements in Hankow concerning the enthusiasm for continued mass participation in prolonged hostilities, the Kuomintang Rightists (those who make government policy - Ed.) oppose such a policy if it means greater freedom for the masses, agrarian reforms or basic domestic housecleanings which the former Communists advocate. According to a version widely believed here, the Kuomintang fears the common people more than it fears the Japanese and would compromise with Japan if moderate terms were offered."

The Times' correspondent thus confirms what has been pointed out by us almost from the commencement of the war, and he is by no means a Trotskyist.

Kuomintang - Stalinist leadership of China's struggle is bankrupted. But the struggle itself is far from ended. In the coming phase the masses must move to the forefront to spell out the doom of imperialism and all its native allies.

Keep Gerson, Mr. Isaacs!

The American Legion, the Catholic Church, and even the Sons of the American Revolution have called upon Manhattan Borough President Isaacs, upon Mayor LaGuardia and Governor Lehman to have Simon W. Gerson, ex-reporter of the Daily Worker and Communist Party functionary removed from his appointed position of assistant to President Isaacs.

However Popular this new Front may seem to many, we respectfully decline to support it. In fact, our brows are knit in puzzlement at the to-do that is being made around Mr. Gerson's case.

Is Mr. Gerson's Americanism being challenged? We don't know what ship his forebears came over on or what their XVIIIth, XVIIIth or XIXth Century Americanism was. But we are ready to give expert testimony on the lawlessness of his XXth Century Americanism.

Is his loyalty in question? There is no more frenzied supporter of the American form of government, of the present government itself, than Mr. Gerson and his political associates. And we say that if Mr. Roosevelt has the right to public office, Mr. Roosevelt's most ardent advocates also have.

His honesty and civic pride? Imagine questioning those qualities in a Stalinist! Why, we know of no politician, from the days of Richard Croker to those of Tin-Box Farley, who has greater moral probity.

Patriotic fervor? Gentlemen, you ought to hear him warbling the Star-Spangled Banner! Its enough to put to shame the sachems of Tammany Hall, whose whiskey tenors are notoriously poorly adapted to that soul-stirring anthem.

A Communist? Forsooth, forsooth, and flappodgle! Of Gerson's type of communism (or socialism), the late Elbert H. Gary once said: "We are all socialists now."

Mr. Isaacs, keep Gerson!

A More Than Apt Pupil



The above cartoon is reproduced without permission and without apology from the 'Daily Worker' of three years ago. Even more timely now than it was then, it offers its own comment on the present-day policies of the Communist Party summed up by Earl Browder in his famous 'New Republic' article: "In our country the task is to organize effective support behind the President's policy."

What Is Collective Security?

BY JAMES BURNHAM

The current war program of the Stalinists is summed up in the phrase, "Collective Security." Earl Browder's half of the New Republic debate with Charles A. Beard, subsequently reprinted in The Daily Worker, is entitled "For Collective Security." The Communist Party has recently issued several pamphlets with the same title. We must enquire further into the true meaning of Collective Security.

At first glance, the program of Collective Security seems reasonable and practical to many people. "Clearly," argues Browder, "in this relation of forces, there does exist the possibility of preventing the spread of war, and of extinguishing the wars going on, provided the peace-loving 90 per cent can arrive at a concerted program of action, at least to a degree in some relation to that of the concerted action of the Triple Alliance of the anti-Communist bloc of fascist states...."

Considering the economic resources of the war-makers, it would clearly be sufficient to bring them quickly to a halt if the United States, France, Britain and the Soviet Union should jointly declare an embargo upon all economic transactions with the aggressors....

ORIGIN OF COLLECTIVE SECURITY

But let us, approaching this as all questions from the point of view of the interests of the working class, ask: First, even assuming that Collective Security might preserve peace, is it a correct program; and, second, whether it can in fact preserve peace—or whether it is even designed to preserve peace. The answer to both of these questions requires a brief account of the origin of the idea of Collective Security.

The idea of Collective Security is not an invention of Browder, nor of Litvinov nor of Stalin. It arose in the camp of the Allied Powers during the latter part of the War of 1914-18, and was part of the basis for the construction of the Versailles system.

Its chief early advocate was Aristide Briand, the renegade from socialism who became during that time an outstanding spokesman for French imperialism.

program of Collective Security, which is the program for the preservation of an Anglo-French dominated imperialist system, is thus crassly and directly counter-revolutionary.

However, in any case the assumption that the program of Collective Security might preserve peace is directly contrary to fact. Italy, Germany, Japan do not begin military operations, do not try to upset the existing division of the world because Mussolini, Hitler and the Mikado are madmen or "war-lovers."

TO SOLIDIFY VERSAILLES SETTLEMENT

Collective Security was the plan for accomplishing just this solidification. All of the nations (united in the League) were to take joint steps against any nation which might attempt to break through the existing imperialist division. In addition, it was of course understood that collective action would above all be exercised against a bid for power by the working class of any nation—which would naturally be the greatest of all threats against the existing imperialist division.

It was as if two coalitions of gangs had been fighting for control of a racket. The winning gang, having consolidated its victory, decreed that henceforth "peace and order" were to reign over Brooklyn. All the gangsters together would take collective action against any rival gang which attempted to muscle in. And, of course, similar collective action would likewise be taken against any group of honest citizens who tried to break up the rackets themselves.

In the case of the gang, it is clear enough that Collective Action is hardly the answer to the problems of good citizens. Their interest is to smash all of the gangs, and to get rid altogether of the rackets.

"PEACE" TO PROTECT IMPERIALIST GANGSTERS

The case of the imperialist powers is exactly the same. Even if Collective Security could preserve "peace," that would mean simply protecting the dominant imperialist positions of the Anglo-French bloc; protecting their right to exploit the major part of the world; safeguarding their rule of starvation and terror in India, the Near East, Indo-China, Africa; guaranteeing for eternity their right to the exploitation and oppression of the workers in the home countries.

The workers have absolutely no interest in the preservation of any imperialist division whatever, no matter what nation or group of nations a given division favors. Their interest is to overthrow the whole imperialist system; and, if mankind is not to revert to barbarism, to do so in the shortest possible time. The

THE FIFTH WHEEL

By LEON TROTSKY

The so-called International Workers' Association (A.I.T.), representing the Anarcho-Syndicalist groupings in various countries, convened in Paris from the 8th to the 17th of December. As is well known, the only large section of this International is the Spanish C.N.T. All the other organizations (Swedish, Portuguese, French, Latin-American) are completely insignificant in size.

Of course, even a small organization can be quite significant if it has an independent revolutionary position which anticipates the future development of the class struggle. But, as can be seen from the brief account printed in the "Information Bulletin of the A.I.T." (No. 67 of the German edition, "Boletín de Información"), the special congress in Paris ended with the full victory of the politics of Garcia Oliver, i.e., the politics of capitulation to the bourgeoisie.

Manage Bourgeois State

During the past year a few Anarchist publications, especially the French, have mildly criticized the Spanish C.N.T.'s methods of action. There are quite enough bases for this criticism: instead of building stateless Communism, the leaders of the C.N.T. became ministers in a bourgeois state! This circumstance did not, however, hinder the Paris congress of the A.I.T. from "approving the line of the C.N.T."

In turn the leaders of Spanish Anarcho-Syndicalism explained to the Congress that if they had betrayed the socialist revolution in the interests of saving the bourgeoisie, that was merely due to "insufficient solidarity of the international proletariat."

The congress invented nothing new: all reformist betrayers have always laid the blame for their betrayal upon the proletariat. If social-patriots support their "national" militarism, it is, of course, not because they are lackeys of capital, but because the masses are not "matured yet for real internationalism."

No Criticism Heard

The account does not say a word about revolutionary criticism at the Paris congress. In this respect, as in many others, the gentlemen Anarchists fully imitate the bourgeois liberals. Why let the rabble hear of differences among the higher circles? This can only shake the authority of the Anarcho-bourgeois ministers. It is very likely that in answer to the "left" criticism from the French anarchists the latter were reminded of their own conduct during the last imperialist war.

We have already heard from some Anarchist theoreticians that at the time of such "exceptional" circumstances as war and revolution, it is necessary to renounce the principles of one's own program. Such revolutionists bear a close resemblance to raincoats which "leak" only when it

rains, i. e., in "exceptional" circumstances, but during dry weather they remain "leak-proof" with complete success.

Boycott Proposed

The decisions of the Paris congress are entirely on the same level as the politics of Garcia Oliver and his kind. The leaders of the A.I.T. have resolved to appeal to the Second, Third, and Amsterdam Internationals with a proposal to create a "united international anti-fascist front."

Not one word about the struggle against capitalism! The methods of battle are announced: "boycott of fascist goods" and.... "pressure upon democratic governments": the most reliable methods with which to liberate the proletariat!

Evidently with the aim of exerting "pressure" the leader of the Second International, Blum, became premier in "democratic" France and did everything to crush the revolutionary movement of the French proletariat. Together with Stalin, and with the cooperation of Garcia Oliver, Blum helped Negri-Prieto stifle the socialist revolution of the Spanish proletariat. In all these acts Jouhaux took a most prominent part.

A New Betrayal

The Paris Congress signifies the imposition of the betrayal of the Spanish anarchists upon Anarchism throughout the world. This finds its expression particularly in the fact that from now on the general secretary of the A.I.T. will be appointed by the Spanish C.N.T. In other words, the general secretary will from now on be an official of the Spanish bourgeois government.

Gentlemen Anarchist and semi-Anarchist theoreticians and semi-theoreticians, what do you have to say about all this? Following the example of the Spanish Anarcho-syndicalists, do you agree to playing the role of fifth wheel on the cart of bourgeois democracy?

Many Anarchists do not, of course, feel completely at ease. But to overcome this uneasiness they change the subject of conversation. Why, indeed, occupy oneself with Spain or the Paris congress of the A.I.T.... when one can talk about... Kronstadt or about Makho? The most burning themes!

Fourth International

In its decomposition and decay the Anarchist International evidently does not wish to lag behind the Second and Third Internationals. All the sooner will the honest worker-Anarchists find the Fourth International. Coyoacan, D. F. January 27, 1938.

Little Men Fume, Let Off Steam

(Continued from page 1)

are feeling the big squeeze. Caught inescapably between the crushing weights of the two great class forces, they can only complain and whimper. With no program of their own, the best they can accomplish is to patch up second-hand versions of the program of their masters. Roosevelt showed his usual political skill by giving them this mass Conference in which they could let off steam.

These Little Business Men feel in their own lives the heavy hand of the big corporations. Their program incorporated their timid and absurd gestures against finance-capital, following the lead already given by Roosevelt during the month preceding. "We urge the strengthening and enforcement of all laws seeking to curb monopolies," says plank 13. "We oppose a surtax on 'small business' closely held corporations," adds plank 21. We "urge approval of legislation designed to curb destructive competition of chain stores," says plank 12, speaking plaintively for all the single-store proprietors present at the Conference.

Seek A Joshua

Above all, they want to stop the relentless march of history. "If American leaders, as represented by the Federal Government, would light some place and maintain a constant perch rather than flit about like a canary, American business would find encouragement." If only, in other words, history would stop, and leave us alone, immune to its conflicts and troubles, maybe we Little Men would make out somehow.

Then, however, after these futile slaps, the real viciousness in their hearts was let loose. Big Business is oppressing them, but

Party and Press

The Socialist Workers Party is one of the bright spots on the Appeal horizon.

He has increased the Chicago bundle order by 50 per cent and promises to double it in the near future. He has made regular payments on back bills and kept up payments on current bundle orders. He has also started a subscription drive which has already brought in more subs than we have received from any other local since the Convention.

Hats off to Chicago and Karl Shier! Now, let's get going all over the country with the slogan "Double the Appeal circulation by April 1st."

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perhaps they can curry favor by turning fire against the common enemy. After all, are not their five and ten and twenty employees, with their inordinate demands and unionization and collective bargaining, driving them to the wall as effectively as the monopolies?

Want Labor Curbed

So plank after plank calls for the repeal of the Wagner Act, condemns any wage and hours Bill whatever, wants unions made more "responsible," asks exemptions from the Social Securities Act, insists on broadening of the Income Tax Base. The Big Busi-

ness Conferences were most careful not to put matters in such crude fashion; they left it to their Little Business valets.

Here, it should be noted, is the record of the heroes of the People's Front. These are the "democratic bourgeoisie and petty bourgeoisie" of the People's Front fairy tale, so different from the "fascist-minded most reactionary sections of finance-capital," the champions who are going to defend the working class from War and Fascism. The working class had better think twice before turning itself over to Little Business and its program.

FDR Peace Talk Belied By Acts

(Continued from page 1)

remacy in the capital ship category. 5. Hearings were begun in Washington on a bill introduced by A. J. Dimond, representative of Alaska, demanding "protection" of the \$46,000,000 salmon fishing industry in Alaskan seas. The bill would have the United States government assert sovereignty over hundreds of miles of ocean now regarded as international and would order the confiscation of all Japanese ships found in these fishing preserves.

"Incidents" Will Follow

"I am gravely apprehensive," Dimond said, "that unless suitable legislation is passed, there will be armed conflict in the Bering Sea." He said the fishermen would take up arms themselves unless the government stepped in. Said Representative Sirovich of New York: "I would send up bombing planes, torpedo planes, and ships and drive them out of these waters."

Here is a fertile field for future "incidents" which will be used to the fullest extent in whipping up war sentiment.

Lower East Side Labor Forum "THE CRISIS AND THE UNEMPLOYED" Speaker: NEIL HARRISON (Chairman—W.A.A.—Loc. 15) FRIDAY NITE FEB. 11 at East Side Labor Center 159 Rivington St. (Near Clinton) Admission FREE

Hitler Stalls In Army-Nazi Feud

(Continued from page 1)

an understanding between Germany and England, for which the latter has been working and to which the former is not at all averse, would signify the disruption of the present line-ups, not only at the expense of Italy but also of the Soviet Union. That this is far from excluded is seen from the extremely reserved attitude of the British towards the German shake-up and the feeling in London that it should cause them little concern.

Martin Attacks CP War Mongers

(Continued from page 1)

Martin is absolutely correct. For the Stalinists, Communism is just a label covering a political line and activities which are entirely harmful to the workers and their organizations. The revolutionary socialists certainly are opposed to all red-baiting from whatever quarter it comes. One way to deliver a blow at the real red-baiters is to expose the Stalinist patriots for what they are—vicious enemies of the working class masquerading in the guise of friends.

By taking a step in that direction, by revealing the rule or ruin policy of the Stalinists in the unions, by exposing their treacherous social-patriotism and all the vicious practices flowing from it, Homer Martin has rendered a valuable service to the labor movement.