

U. S. BUILDS WAR MACHINE

Kuomintang Gives Up Vital War Positions

Canton and Hankow Are Surrendered to Invaders; Turn to Guerrilla Warfare Must Be Made

By LO SEN

Kuomintang resistance to the Japanese imperialist invasion has all but collapsed.

Canton, cradle of the modern nationalist movement in China, was handed over to a thin column of the invaders without a battle.

Hankow, for which scores of thousands of men have been futilely sacrificed, was voluntarily abandoned, "to protect foreign lives."

Chiang Kai-shek and his staff have fled into the distant interior.

Enters New Phase

The war now enters a new phase which depends entirely upon the effective mobilization of the people in the occupied areas for guerrilla activity which will make it impossible for the Japanese to hold the positions they have conquered.

This the Kuomintang leadership, unquestioningly supported by the Communist Party, has proved itself incapable of doing. In Hong Kong, Tokyo, and in London, rumors and reports multiplied that peace negotiations are in progress with the British acting as mediators.

Defeatist Tactics

Under Kuomintang leadership more than 1,000,000 Chinese lives have been sacrificed. All the principal cities, railways and waterways of the country have been given up to the invader. The defeatist tactics of the Chiang Kai-shek regime reached their logical conclusion at Canton. There, through obvious and outright treachery, the most vital remaining center of Chinese communications was surrendered without a struggle.

Chiang's tactic has been to hurl masses of ill-armed, unsupported soldiery in the path of the invaders. The sheer weight and courage of these unsung heroes and the magnitude of the operations themselves have lengthened the struggle for 15 months. But the treachery and ineptitude of the Kuomintang command, the refusal to mobilize the masses of the people, have finally borne their bitter fruit. Worse betrayals are yet to come.

Canton Sell-out

At Canton the Japanese landed a force of about 50,000 men on Oct. 11. Ten days later they marched into Canton without a battle. Much had been written about Kwangtung's 1,000,000 soldiers. It had even been widely claimed that hundreds of thousands of peasants had been armed to repel the invader. But all this the event proved false. So far has the disintegration under the Kuomintang proceeded that in Kwangtung, traditionally the most radical and militant section of the country, the invaders had their easiest time.

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THIRTEEN GREEK COMRADES JAILED BY DICTATORSHIP

Tortures Used to Extract Names From Victims

Thirteen leading members of the Revolutionary Socialist Organization, Greek section of the Fourth International, have been arrested by police of the Metaxas dictatorship, according to press advices here.

Front-page stories in the controlled press of Greece have gleefully announced the crushing blow dealt to "the infernal Trotskyist gang."

Quarters Raided

Headquarters of the organization were raided, these reports said, and large quantities of literature, including copies of the "Proletarios," and "Class Solidarity," illegal organs, were seized. All the prisoners have been subjected to unspeakable tortures in the dungeons of the Metaxas regime.

The list of the arrested was given as follows:

- P. Poulipoulos, secretary of the organization.
Voursoukis, 35, lawyer.
J. Vrehopoulos, 36
G. Krokos, teacher, who escaped from an Aegean island prison camp a year ago.
E. Gianakos, teacher
D. Nakos, lawyer
Catherin Morphy, 36, well-known propagandist
G. Aignitis, tobacconist
D. Pantajis, 20, shoemaker
A. Kastoras, 21, painter

The last two named were charged with distributing revolutionary literature to soldiers.

These comrades are being tortured by police who are seeking to wrest the names of their fellow-workers from them. Every conceivable method of barbarous

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VOTE LABOR!

For Independent Politics And a Fighting Program

Working Men and Women of New York:

In the present election the Socialist Workers Party calls upon you to break once and for all with the two boss parties, Democratic as well as Republican.

FOR INDEPENDENT LABOR POLITICS

American labor is coming of age. You have learned that you can't build a successful trade union by relying on the good will of the bosses or their agents. It is equally clear that you can't build a successful political party for labor by relying on the good will of boss politicians; that gives you in the end only a new name for a rotten boss party.

On the economic field, labor can fight for its interests against the bosses only through its own organizations, the trade unions. To fight for its interests, to preserve and further the gains achieved by the trade unions, labor must have its own political party—a party fighting the parties of the bosses.

In New York, a beginning has been made towards independent labor politics with the formation of the American Labor Party which has the backing of the most important trade unions in the city and state.

Do not vote for parties of capitalism, which is responsible for the years of depression and which is preparing still greater calamities for you! A vote for Tammany or the Republican machine is a vote for perpetuating the system of degradation, misery, slums and unemployment. VOTE LABOR!

Vote for the genuine, independent candidates of the A.L.P.!

The Socialist Workers Party has no interests separate and apart from those of the working class. In urging you to support the A.L.P. we would fail in our duty to our class if we did not at the same time raise our voice in warning and in sternest con-

demnation of the shameful deals with Republicans and Democrats in which the A.L.P. has been involved by its leadership.

For workers to be organized to support the candidates of the Democrats or Republicans is not labor politics, but just a labor cloak for boss politics. For a trade union leader or an A.L.P. member to run on the Republican or Democratic ticket does not make him a labor candidate, but a sell-out boss candidate. Do not vote for candidates who run on the ticket of capitalist parties. Repudiate the shabby deal of the A.L.P. leaders with the Republicans!

Instead of running independent candidates for state-wide offices the leadership of the A.L.P. has endorsed the leading Democratic candidates for Governor and Senator. No self-respecting, militant worker should permit himself to vote for Lehman and Wagner, the nominees of the party of Tammany and Mayor Frank Hague. We urge you to repudiate this endorsement of the candidates of boss parties. That is why we propose that you register your determination to make a clean break with boss parties and your protest against these deals by writing in the names of our candidates for these offices—James P. Cannon for Governor, and Ernest R. McKinney for the regular-term Senator, the standard bearers of independent labor politics for which our party stands.

FOR A BOLD, FIGHTING LABOR PROGRAM!

The present leaders of the A.L.P. remain tied to the tails of the boss parties not only through their choice of candidates and horse-trades for posts but also in their election platform and program.

The current platform of the A.L.P. is a muddle of liberal New Deal planks which can scarcely inspire the workers to close

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10,000 Plants Geared To Army, Navy Needs

Administration Prepares to Put Over Record Appropriation for Armed Forces and Fighting Planes

Utilizing the aftermath of the war crisis, and thereby giving its own interpretation to the character of the "peace" achieved by the Munich agreement, the Roosevelt Administration has opened up a pro-armament propaganda campaign unprecedented in United States peace time history. The predictions carried in these columns as to the effect of the crisis on the war plans of the government are being fulfilled immediately and to the letter.

First place among the war-mongers is, as usual, taken by Roosevelt himself, backed by daily statements from the publicity departments of the Secretaries of War and the Navy, and seconded by the editorial columns of the entire capitalist press.

N.M.U. OFFICERS ARE ACCUSED AS BOSSES AGENTS

Rank-and-File Pilot Makes Sensational Accusation

Charges that leading officials of the National Maritime Union were company agents were made last week in the paper called "Rank-and-File Pilot" distributed on the waterfront here.

Octave Loones, editor of the paper, was formerly editor of the "N.M.U. Rank-and-File Pilot," published last summer by the N.M.U. faction known as the Mariners' Club.

In this issue Loones said "it has been revived in order to expose the rot and corruption of some of the newly elected and trusted officials of the National Maritime Union, their relationship with shipowners and how the Mariners club which was originally formed to bring organized Rank and File opposition to the organized Communist activities in the Union meetings and in Union affairs, became through the trickery of Jerry King and the influence of a detective agency, the tool of shipowners."

Gives Names and Dates

The "Rank and File Pilot," charging prominent officials in the N.M.U. with being labor spies and agents of the shipowners, appeared during the week following a joint membership of the union where charges of spy activities were preferred against Ray Carlucci by Joseph Curran, C.P. front and national president of the organization.

Loones makes sweeping accusations in his story. Giving names, places of meetings and references to telephone conversations, he tells how self-styled rank and file members of the union received money from the shipowners and

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Exceeds All But War Record

Roosevelt has announced, in two long interviews given a few days apart, that the war plans must be completely overhauled and speeded up. He makes no bones about the fact that he will propose to the next Congress military and naval appropriations that will sail far and away beyond anything ever seen except during the actual war years of 1917 and 1918.

The War Department has made public its intention to demand an upward revision of its authorized airplane strength to the extent of at least another thousand planes. In noting the published figures for airplane complements it should be remembered that the Army and Navy air forces are completely separate and that the totals always refer only to first-line planes, exclusive of reserves and training ships.

In addition, the War Department plans to increase sharply the enrollment in the regular Army, to speed mechanization in all services, and especially to expand purchases of the very latest types of anti-aircraft equipment.

Most Deadly Weapon

The Army is also now about to abandon the old Springfield rifle, standard for the past twenty years, in favor of a newly developed rapid-fire automatic rifle—the product of ten years' intensive research—which, it is claimed, is the most deadly weapon of its kind in the world, making each soldier, in the words of one report, "a one-man machine gun nest."

The Navy has allotted orders which fill nearly to capacity all available space in both government-owned and private shipyards. The schedule for completion of vessels already begun is being speeded up two and three times, and arrangements are being made for the vast extension of new shipyard facilities.

Survey For M-Day

Simultaneously, an important phase of the Industrial Mobilization Plan comes into the open. Representatives of the War Department have just reported that they have completed a survey of ten thousand factories in the country, with the aim of working out the skeleton organization of their coordination for war purposes. With great satisfaction, they comment that they met with a spirit of 100 per cent cooperation from the owners of the factories.

In order to groove these factories into integration with the war machine, "sample orders" for munitions, with an initial allotment of \$19,000,000, are being assigned to them. These orders will enable the factories to install equipment and train personnel for the high-speed manufacture of special war implements, and incidentally net the owners some rosy profits in the meanwhile.

The new plans call also for immediate expansion of the already gigantic fortifications and air and naval bases on the Hawaiian Islands and at the Panama Canal; heavy fortification of the Seward Islands and other strategic points

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GPU ODOR BEGINS TO SPREAD FROM NAZI SPY TRIAL

Rumrich Drops Some Curious Hints on the Stand

A peculiar odor, political rather than physical, emanates from the Federal courtroom in New York, three alleged German spies are being tried for selling military secrets to Germany. The papers carry columns of news on the story, and here and there a sentence reflects something significant. But the story cannot be understood without knowing its background and connections.

When a year ago the Robinson-Rubens pair were arrested by their G. P. U. employers in Moscow, we forecast an attempt to rehabilitate discredited Moscow "justice" by a new frame-up trial with an American angle. We said Moscow was even trying to naturalize its frame-up system here, as it already had in Spain.

Washington's Choice

We charged that the State Department was suppressing information which would confirm this, preferring to hold a club over the Russian Embassy, rather than to speak out and help liberate American workers from their last illusions as to the true character of the Stalin bureaucracy. We charged the G. P. U. with operating an undercover ring in this country devoted to spying not on the U. S. military establishment, but on the labor movement, to construct frameups and for other anti-labor political ends.

Less than a year ago, the United States arrested several persons as German spies. No military power is so "moral" as to deny itself the use of spies, and we said at the time that undoubtedly Nazis were conducting military espionage here and elsewhere.

Stalinists Indicted

Disclosures concerning the Robinson-Rubens case had two results. The Stalin apparatus was forced to shelve its new frame-up trial, and the U. S. government, observing that the project was of the usual sloppy G. P. U.

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POUM Trial Foreshadows Munich Plan for Spain

Barcelona Frame-Up Is Smokescreen to Conceal Impending Betrayal of Anti-Fascist Spain

By FELIX MORROW

It is no accident that the Spanish Department of the G. P. U. finally permitted the opening of the P. O. U. M. trial only after the Munich conference. The Barcelona trial is Stalin's way of covering up his complicity in the new drive that is now to be made by the Powers to smash the remaining anti-Fascist forces in Spain. That is why these seven leaders have been lying in jail without trial for 16 months!

Of the trial itself, one can already be sure that only the most widespread protest from the world labor movement can prevent a mechanical verdict of guilty. The press dispatches mention no jury, no defense attorneys; all previous promises by government officials of prior notice of the opening of trial so that observers from other countries could be present representing working class parties and defense organizations, promises of outside

defense counsel, etc., have been violated at the behest of the G. P. U.

G. P. U. Procedure

We are to be treated simply to a Spanish imitation of the famous Moscow trials. The juridical procedure is that laid down by a special "law" precisely for these trials, establishing a "Tribunal for Espionage and High Treason"; meanwhile, the democratic Peoples Tribunals established in the revolutionary days of July, 1936 have been wiped out.

Rovira's Fate Revealed

From the Stalinist press, we learn that the indictment named nine defendants, and that two of them, Andres Nin and Jose Rovira, are "missing." We had already known what fate befell Nin, the outstanding leader of the P. O. U. M.: as even the New York Times was constrained to report, shortly after the outburst

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RAILROAD UNION RESISTS THREAT OF WAGE SLASH

Road Bosses Reveal Attempt to Quash Board Inquiry

By BILL MORGAN

WASHINGTON, D. C. — The railroads are in the national spotlight again. Once again the owners and operators are in Washington seeking a "handout" to revive an industry which has become a racket in the hands of speculators, stockholders and financial "wizards."

After years of milking the public treasury by way of special grants and subsidies (a kind of up-side-down home-reiter) from every administration since the year 1900, the Association of American Railroads now propose to solve its problems, and the national depression too, by a 15 per cent pay cut for all employees.

"Fact Finding"

The powerful Railroad Brotherhoods, representing 18 railway workers unions, has answered

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Trade Unions and the Social Crisis

A Conversation on the Problems and Program of the American Labor Movement

(Fourth International Press Release)

September 29, 1938.

The undersigned was present at a conversation between one of the European leaders of the Fourth International and a well-known organizer of the trade union movement in the United States (C.I.O.). The conversation lasted several hours and dealt with the economic situation of the United States, the approaching war, the task of the C.I.O. and so on. I wish to report here that part of the conversation which might be of general interest.

For more convenient exposition I shall designate the organizer of the trade union as "A," the representative of the Fourth International as "B."

A—The policy of our union is directed toward avoiding complete unemployment. We have achieved the dividing of work among members of the trade union while maintaining former rates.

A—About 40 per cent.

B—But this is monstrous. You have obtained the sliding scale of working hours with the maintenance of former rates; but this means only that the entire burden of unemployment is placed on the workers themselves. By letting each worker sacrifice three-fifths of his earnings, you are freeing the bourgeoisie from the necessity of spending their means for the unemployed.

A—There is some truth in this. But what can we do?

B—Not some truth, but the whole truth! American capitalism is sick from a chronic and incurable disease. Can you console your workers with the hope that the present crisis is of a transitory character, that a new epoch of prosperity will open up in the near future?

Capitalism in Decline

A—I personally have no illusions on this score. Many in our midst understand that American capitalism has entered into an era of decline.

B—But this means that tomorrow your workers will get 30 per cent of their former wages, day after tomorrow 25 per cent, and so on. It is true that episodic improvement is possible, even inevitable; but the general line points to decline, degradation, and misery. Marx and Engels foretold that already in the "Communist Manifesto." What is the program then of your trade union and of the C.I.O. as a whole?

A—Unfortunately, you do not know the psychology of the American workers. They are not used to thinking about the future. They are interested in one question

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Life or Death Appeal!

Four German refugees, whose names cannot be revealed, are in imminent danger from the Gestapo in the Sudetenland.

For two months the American Fund for Political Prisoners and Refugees has been making arrangements to rescue these anti-fascist militants, three men and one woman, who had been under the surveillance of the Gestapo for their work in the anti-Nazi movements in Germany, Austria and Czechoslovakia.

Working under the most difficult conditions at home and then in emigration, these anti-fascists have carried on heroic work under the most difficult and dangerous conditions. But just before they were able to get out, the Nazis marched into the Sudetenland. The Czech government, under Nazi influence, clamped down its dictatorship, and began sending all refugees who fled the Nazi terror.

The American Fund has been presented with an unusual opportunity of contacting these people again and extricating them from the clutches of the Gestapo.

Every day makes it increasingly difficult to reach them and save their lives. Any delay sentences these people to death.

The American Fund is making this special emergency appeal for aid. \$500 is needed within the next week. Show this appeal to your fellow trade unionists and your friends.

IT IS A QUESTION OF YOUR MONEY OR THEIR LIVES! Send all funds to the American Fund for Political Prisoners and Refugees, 100 Fifth Avenue, New York City.

Trotsky Will Speak

by electrical transcription to our GRAND CELEBRATION MASS MEETING, heralding the foundation of the Fourth International and the Tenth Anniversary of our struggle for a revolutionary workers party in this country. Hear JAMES P. CANNON, MAX SHACHTMAN, JAMES BURNHAM, ANTOINETTE KONIKOW, and others, at the Center Hotel, 108 West 43rd Street, New York City, Friday, October 28, 1938, at 8 P. M.

American Trade Unions and the Social Crisis

A Conversation on the Problems and Program of the American Labor Movement

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tion only—what can be done now, immediately. Among the leaders of the trade union movement there are, it is true, also those who give themselves a clear accounting of the threatening danger. But they cannot change the psychology of the masses. Habits, traditions, views of the American workers bind and limit our possibilities. All this cannot be changed in a single day.

Threat to Unions

B—Are you sure that history will grant you many years for preparation? The crisis of American capitalism has an "American" tempo and scale. A strong body which has not known sickness begins to deteriorate very rapidly from a certain point on. The collapse of capitalism signifies at the same time a direct and immediate threat to democracy without which trade unions cannot exist. Do you think, for instance, that Mr. Hague is a chance phenomenon?

A—Oh no, I do not think so at all. During the last period I have had not a few talks with trade union functionaries on this subject. My opinion is that in each state we already have now—under this or that banner—a full-fledged reactionary organization ready to become on the morrow the mainstay of fascism on a national scale. We will not have to wait 15 or 20 years. Fascism can become victorious in three or four years.

B—In this case... A—What is our program? I understand your question. The situation is very difficult, some great measures are necessary. But I do not see the necessary forces, the necessary leaders.

Psychology of Leaders

B—This means capitulation without a struggle?

A—The situation is difficult. We must recognize that the majority of trade union functionaries do not see or do not want to see the danger. Our unions, as you know, have grown tremendously within a very short time. It is natural, therefore, that the leaders of the C.I.O. go through a honeymoon period. They are inclined to view the difficulties lightly. The government not only considers them but even plays ball with them. They have not been accustomed to this in the past. It is natural, therefore, that their heads swim a little. This pleasurable dizziness does not predispose them to critical thinking. They enjoy today without thinking of the morrow.

B—Very well said! In this I am in complete agreement with you. But the successes of the C.I.O. are temporary. They are only symptomatic of the fact that the working class of the U.S.A. has come into motion, has broken with routine, and is now seeking new methods to save itself from the menacing abyss. If your unions do not find new methods, they will be crushed into pulp. Even right now today Hague is stronger than Lewis because Hague, despite his limitations, knows clearly what he wants and Lewis does not. The whole thing may end by your leaders waking up from their "pleasurable dizziness" . . . in a concentration camp.

Meetings Poorly Attended

A—Unfortunately, the past history of the United States with its unlimited possibilities, with its individualism has not accustomed our workers to social thinking. It is enough to tell you that trade union meetings are attended at best by 15 per cent of the organized workers. Just consider this fact!

B—But is it not possible that the cause for the abstention of 85 per cent lies in the fact that the speakers . . . have nothing to tell the masses?

A—Well . . . to a certain extent this is true. The economic situation is such that we are forced to keep the workers back, to put a brake on the movement, to retreat. Of course, it is not to the workers' liking.

B—That is just it. The fault lies not with the masses but with the leaders. In the classic epoch of capitalism, too, the trade unions found themselves in a difficult situation during a crisis, were forced to retreat, lost part of their membership, spent their basic capital. But at least there then existed the certainty that in the next rise they would retrieve all their losses. Now there is not the slightest hope for this. The unions will become weaker and weaker. Your organization, the C.I.O., might collapse just as rapidly as it came into being.

Masses and Leaders

A—What is to be done? B—First of all clearly tell the masses what it is. It is impermissible to play hide and seek. Of course, you know the American workers better than I do. Nevertheless I permit myself to say with certainty that you look at them through old glasses. The masses

are immeasurably better, more audacious, more decisive than the leaders. The very fact of the rapid birth and growth of the C.I.O. shows that the American worker has changed radically under the influence of the terrific economic jolts of the post-war period, especially of the last decade. When you showed even a little initiative in the creation of more militant unions, the workers responded immediately and gave you an exceptional, never before heard of support. You have no right to complain about the masses. And the so-called "sit-down strikes"? It was not the leaders who invented them but the workers themselves. Is not this an unmistakable sign of the readiness of the American workers to pass over to more decisive methods of struggle? Mr. Hague is a direct product of the sit-down strikes. Unfortunately, in the upper layers of the trade unions no one dares to draw just as daring conclusions from the sharpening of the social struggle as the capitalist reaction has drawn. This is the gist of the matter. The leaders of capital think and act immeasurably more firmly, more logically, and daringly than the leaders of the proletariat—these sceptics, rut-followers, bureaucrats who dim the fighting spirit of the masses. And out of this grows the danger of the victory of fascism, moreover in the very near future. The workers do not come to your meetings because they feel instinctively the insufficiency, the inconsistency, the lifelessness, the direct falsity of your program. The leaders of the trade unions get off general phrases while each worker feels catastrophe over his head. You must find a language corresponding to the real situation of rotting capitalism and not to bureaucratic illusions.

A—I have already told you—I do not see leaders. There are individual groups, sects, but I do not see anyone capable of uniting the working masses, even if I should agree with you that the masses are ready for struggle.

B—It is not a question of leaders but of program. A correct program not only will raise up and weld the masses together, but it will train leaders.

A—What do you consider a correct program? B—You know that I am a Marxist, more precisely, a Bolshevik. My program has a very simple and short name—the socialist revolution. But I do not demand of the leaders of the trade union movement that they adopt immediately the program of the 4th International. What I do demand of them is that they draw conclusions from their own work, from their own situation; that for themselves and the masses they answer at least these two questions:

1. How can the C.I.O. be saved from bankruptcy and ruin? 2. And how can the U.S.A. be saved from fascism?

B—What would you do today in the United States if you were an organizer of a trade union? B—First of all the trade unions must pose squarely the problem of unemployment and wages. The sliding scale of hours as formulated by you is correct: all must have work. But the sliding scale of hours must be supplemented by a sliding scale of wages. The working class cannot permit a constant lowering of its standard of living, as this would be tantamount to the collapse of human culture. The highest earnings on the eve of the crisis of 1929 should be taken as the point of departure. The powerful productive forces created by the workers did not disappear, did not perish; they exist. Those who own and dispose of the productive forces are responsible for unemployment. The workers know how to work and want to work. The work must be divided among all the workers. The earnings of each worker should not be lower than the maximum reached in the past. This is the natural, the necessary, the inexorable demand of the trade unions. Otherwise they will be crushed aside by historic development as so much trash.

A—Is this program realizable? It spells ruin for the capitalists. Precisely such a program could hasten the development of fascism.

B—Of course, this program presupposes struggle and not prostitution. The trade unions are faced with two possibilities—either to navigate, maneuver, retreat, close the eyes and capitulate on the installment plan in order not to "aggravate" the bosses and not to "provoke" reaction. The German and Austrian social democrats and trade union functionaries tried to save themselves from fascism in this manner. The result is known to all—they broke their necks. The other road is to

Sailors Union Granted Charter by AFL Conclave

SAN FRANCISCO, Oct. 25.—Last night the membership of the Sailors' Union of the Pacific meeting in union headquarters here formally accepted their new American Federation of Labor charter.

Two weeks ago the A.F. of L. convention in Houston, Texas, issued an international charter for all seamen sailing in North American waters. At that time the Sailors' Union of the Pacific was named as receiver of the charter. Name chosen by the S.U.P. for the new international is the Seafarers' International Union of North America.

The charter was granted after the old International Seamen's Union, which lost the loyalty and support of American seamen by default, was formally and officially declared defunct. An A.F. of L. federal charter issued a year ago to an outfit known as the A.F. of L. Seamen's Union was automatically lifted when the new International came into being.

As Secretary of the Sailor's Union of the Pacific, Harry Lundberg will be in charge of organization work. Membership of New Union The Seafarers' International has an initial membership of 7,000 West Coast sailors, plus 2,500 fishermen in Alaska. 5,000 sea-going firemen organized in the independent Marine Firemen, Oilers, Wipers and Water-tenders' Association on the West Coast are known to be sympathetic to the sailors there, and may be expected to affiliate with the new International. On the east coast the 7,500 men in the Deck, Engine and Stewards departments, formerly members of the A.F.L.-S.U. will come immediately into the new set-up. East coast fishermen, now under the banner of the A.F.L., will also affiliate.

Add to these figures the 3,000 lakes seamen claimed by the A.F.L. and the new organization begins its day with roughly 25,000 members. It plans to bring in 50,000 seamen during the coming year.

Upon receiving the Charter at Houston, Harry Lundberg immediately announced to the press that the central point in his program, around which he proposes to organize one big seamen's union, is a vigorous fight against Government regimentation. West coast seamen have waged a head-on fight against the Maritime Commission's program of Government hiring halls and Government training ships.

Program of Organization That the new union will continue this fight with the full support of the entire forces of the American Federation of La-

bor was corroborated by both Harry Lundberg and William Green. Full program of the S.U.P. as it appeared in WEST COAST SAILORS, official organ of the union, follows: 1) A continued fight for better living conditions, better quarters, food and higher wages; 2) Hiring of all seamen thru Union Halls. Definite and unqualified opposition to fink halls . . . and this includes government hiring halls and ship owners' agencies for hiring seamen. We pledge our combined economic force to resist the establishment of any other than hiring halls for American seamen; 3) Opposition to a policy of training new seamen for the American Merchant Marine on Government schoolships in the face of the fact that thousands of qualified bona fide American merchant seamen are flooding the beaches of this country, unable to secure employment; 4) Strictly against the arbitration of inter-union jurisdictional matters by any government bureau or board, and against the arbitration of any fundamental union dispute; 5) Against the introduction into trade union affairs of either politicians or their political philosophies; 6) Friendly and solid relations with bona fide labor organizations on the basis of mutual self-respect and self-protection against predatory employers; 7) Aid to all other workers in their fight against their employers.

Machinery for organizing on the east coast, where the majority of seamen now belong to the National Maritime Union (C.I.O.),

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NMU Leaders Accused As Shipowners Agents

(Continued from page 1) worked in close cooperation with a detective agency. He says that Ray Carlucci worked in the union as a labor spy under direction of "Industrial Service" detectives James A. Walsh and Harry J. Conner whose offices are at 110 East 42nd St., New York City. The charge is that all these people are employed by the Isthmian Steamship Line, working with the company's personnel director, J. A. Jump.

An open letter to the La Follette Civil Liberties Committee calls for a thorough investigation of the situation.

King Involved Mentioned in Loones indictment are: A. L. Hennessey, newly appointed assistant editor of the Pilot, official organ of the National Maritime Union; Peter J. Innes, Jerome King and Walter Carney. Both King and Carney were elected to office in the recent vote taken by the union. King is national secretary. Carney heads the deck division.

According to Loone's statement, King and Carney met regularly with agents of the shipowners to discuss union policy. He tells how he also was involved, accuses Hennessey of receiving "money from Walsh on repeated occasions; sometimes it was given to me and I in turn would give it to Hennessey." Agents of the shipowners first became associated with union spokesmen last March at which time information from the files of the Naval Intelligence Service was offered to the group putting out the N.M.U. Rank and File Pilot, Loones claims.

Why Paper Was Published The paper based itself upon the justified resentment of east coast seamen against the dictatorial policies pursued by the Communist Party leadership in the N.M.U. "A great amount of dissatisfaction was evident and rumbles of impending revolt were heard daily with increasing force wherever small groups of the membership gathered and discussed union affairs."

Original purpose of the rank and file paper was to voice the opposition of the membership to the now infamous "Tanker Agreement" signed by Joseph Curran last Spring. Loones says, "The agreement reached with the oil companies was considered by many members a dangerous document which, if ratified, threatened the very existence of the Union . . ."

Tool of Opportunists Expressing these grievances but failing to adopt any clearly defined program for improving conditions of seamen, the N.M.U. Rank and File Pilot easily became the tool of unscrupulous opportunists in the Union. The struggle against C.P. oppression degenerated into a dog-fight over posts and control within the

union. Loones was expelled from the union for editing the rank and file paper. He was conveniently forgotten by his former associates after they were elected to office.

About King he has the following to say, "(he) lacked the courage to identify himself with the publication although he took the leading part in the publishing and no issue was produced without his instructions." King Denies . . . The Pilot, official paper of the N.M.U., carried a flat denial by Jerome King of all allegations against him. His statement said in part: "A certain group using Octave Loones and the 'Rank and File Pilot' have attempted to infer that I have been friendly with labor spies working in the interests of the operators. This is an absolute lie."

About Sherman Lemmon, now employed by the Maritime Commission and formerly associated with King and the NMU Rank and File Pilot, Loones says: "I wish to state that I believe Sherman Lemmon to be ignorant of the fact that detectives were involved in this picture and that to my knowledge he had no part in betraying the interests of the membership but was himself also a victim of an attempt to slander him." Both Lemmon and the Commission have apparently decided to maintain discreet silence. No comment on the whole affair has come from that source as yet.

Appeal Army

A Few Still Left: Out of the many extra thousands of copies of the World Congress and Anniversary issue printed, there are still a few hundred copies left over. Those branches which have neglected to get "extras" on this magnificent issue still have the chance to do so.

New York City has disposed of 3,000 copies of this issue, with Chicago handling 1,000 and Los Angeles close behind with 750. Practically every branch took more than double its usual quota and early reports indicate successful sales and great interest displayed in the basic program of our newly founded International. Send in reports of how sales went and we'll print extracts in next week's issue.

Increased Sales and Subs:

We're very pleased to report that our strenuous efforts of the past few weeks (special anti-war issues and World-Congress 12-pager) are beginning to have excellent results in the way of added circulation. The way subs have been coming in indicates that our goal of 50 per week may soon be attained. Also, bundle order increases have been mounting steadily. Each and every branch should now be in an excellent position not only to start a subscription campaign (New York City is in the midst of such a drive now!), but also to add many more copies to its weekly bundle-order.

New Advertising Manager:

Bob Browne, former Appeal business manager, has returned to work for us as Appeal advertising manager. We're especially glad to welcome Bob back to the Appeal staff and know he'll be more than successful in his work. Henceforth, all communications and questions regarding advertising (aside from routine branch announcements) should be addressed to Bob Browne, care of the Socialist Appeal.

Branches would be doing well if they paid some attention to the problem of getting ads. How about trying to get a few from stores and restaurants used by our comrades? A little effort in this direction would be appreciated and be very helpful to Appeal finances.

Here is the list of new subscriptions obtained last week:

NEW YORK CITY	15
Chicago	7
Massachusetts	7
California	4
Seattle, Wash.	3
Indiana	2
Philadelphia	2
Arkansas	2
Illinois	2
Denver	2
Foreign	2
New Jersey	1
Total	48

And look at this list of new and increased bundle-orders!

(1) M. Sapire of Johannesburg, South Africa has increased his bundle by 6 each week. Incidentally, Johannesburg sells over 100 Appeals each week among native and English workers living in South Africa!

(2) Reading has gone up to 25 per week.

(3) P. Scott, who is easily the best agent Cleveland has ever had, has increased his order by 15 and now takes a total of 50 per week.

(4) John Murphy of Los Angeles has jumped again by 30! John now takes (and pays for!) a weekly total of 215. Incidentally, John is the best literature-agent the west coast ever had. He's to California what Ruth Querio is to Pennsylvania, and anyone who rises to her class is going some!

(5) C. E. Taylor of our new Seattle, Washington branch, has raised his order from 10 to 20 per week.

(6) D. T. Burbank of St. Louis has doubled his order by adding 15.

(7) Toronto, Canada, takes 6 more, making a total of 95 per week; while the Syracuse, N. Y., Yipsel circle has a new literature-agent in Herb Lewin who begins with a modest 5 per week.

All in all, one of the best bundle-order weeks we've had in a long while!

Appeal Army

Bound-Volumes: Bound volumes of the 1937 Appeal will be mailed out this week. We urge more orders (there are still some left) and thank those who have waited so patiently.

New York City Subscription Campaign:

New York is in the midst of a subscription campaign, conducted by Abe Miller. The contest is closing on November 1st of this year and a prize consisting of 3 books ("Not Guilty," "Case of Leon Trotsky," and "The Revolution Betrayed") will be awarded to the one getting the most subs. In case of a tie, duplicate prizes will be awarded to the winners. Who's in the lead, Abe?

Send all contributions and subs to:

SOCIALIST APPEAL
116 University Place
New York, N. Y.

Have You a Suppressed Desire to be Napoleon, Stalin or Cleopatra? Suppress It no Longer!

Come in Costume to the HARVEST MASQUERADE at Irving Plaza 15th Street and Irving Place November 5th 8:30 P. M.

Swing Band + Entertainment Competitions

Sub: 50¢ with Costume 65¢ without Aspirics: Socialist Workers Party Tickets May be Obtained at Labor Book Store

THIRTEEN GREEK COMRADES JAILED

(Continued from page 1) mistreatment is being used for this purpose.

3,000 Imprisoned The Metaxas regime has already sent at least 3,000 militants to concentration camps on Aegean islands and to the jail at Acronauplia, a medieval castle where our comrade Scalasios died. Among these exiles are at least ten of our comrades.

The notorious police tortures include castor oil, hanging by the feet, the beating of the soles of feet until they bleed, insertion of sharp sticks under fingernails, unnameable tortures of girls. Many are thrown out of windows, as was our young comrade, Telegades.

THE MARXIST SCHOOL 116 University Place, New York City FALL TERM ANNOUNCEMENT Classes Begin Nov. 9.

- I. THE AMERICAN TRADE UNIONS Mondays, 7:00 P.M.—8:30 P.M. 6 lectures, \$1.00
- B. J. Widick
- II. AFTER THE MUNICH CONFERENCE Mondays, 8:45 P.M.—10:15 P.M. 6 lectures, \$1.00
- Jack Weber
- III. LIVING MARXISM—A COURSE IN FIRST PRINCIPLES Tuesdays, 7:00 P.M.—8:30 P.M. 6 sessions, \$1.00
- John G. Wright
- IV. THE BRIDGE TO REVOLUTIONARY ACTION Tuesdays, 8:45 P.M.—10:15 P.M. 6 sessions, \$1.00
- James P. Cannon James P. Burnham Max Shachtman
- V. LABOR JOURNALISM Tuesdays, 8:45 P.M.—10:15 P.M. 6 sessions, \$1.00
- James Casey
- A course in both theory and practice—news reporting, news writing, editorial writing, newspaper make-up, book reviewing and drama criticism. Students will be given assignments. This course will be continued next semester.
- Wednesday, 7:30 P.M.—8:30 P.M. 6 sessions, \$1.00
- VI. THE THREE AMERICAN REVOLUTIONS Wednesday, 8:45 P.M.—10:15 P.M. 4 sessions, \$.75
- George Novack
- VII. CAPITALIST ECONOMY IN CRISIS Fridays, 7:00 P.M.—8:30 P.M. 6 sessions \$1.00
- David Cowles

REGISTRATION Registration may be made either at the school office, 116 University Place, N. Y. C., between 8 P. M. and 10 P. M., or at the Labor Bookshop, 28 E. 12th Street, N. Y. C., between 1 P. M. and 8 P. M. Registrations can also be made by mail or by calling STUYVESANT 9-0567. The school term will begin on November 9th.

10,000 Plants Geared To Army, Navy Needs

(Continued from page 1)

in Alaska; and a general extension of military and naval centers in virtually all of the island possessions of the United States.

Spy-Scare Smoke

The picture of the new war preparations would be in no sense complete unless it included notice of the shameful spy-scare which the Administration is whipping up. Here as elsewhere Roosevelt himself has taken the lead. His Department of Justice is handling the fantastic trial of the four super-awkward "Nazi agents" currently in session in New York. He himself gave the chief statement on the "spy menace" and the need of "adequate" steps to meet it.

Through the spy scare Roosevelt is aiming at a number of birds at once: he seeks to justify in the eyes of the public the new appropriations for Army and Navy; he gets ready to smear with charges of "treason" and "foreign agent" all opponents of his war plans; and he lays the basis for the enlargement of the Army and Navy Intelligence Services into a full-fledged counter-espionage secret police which would have as its main function undercover work against labor and revolutionary opposition to the war.

Armaments For Conquest

Only the naive can have any doubts about the real perspective in Roosevelt's plans. The United States is absolutely immune to the possibility of attack from foreign nations. From a strategic point of view, it simply could not be done. This means that the armaments which Roosevelt is building are and can only be intended for use in external intervention in the coming war that Roosevelt knows is on the way. It does not make any difference how often he or anyone else denies this intention and prattles about peace and "defense." The strategic facts tell the true story.

In spite of the warnings from the past, the American workers are being caught off guard by the vigor and scale of the Roosevelt war campaign, and they are being hamstrung in effective opposition to it by the political reliance on Roosevelt which the Lewises and Greens and Dubinskys have imposed upon them.

If resistance to the war preparations is to be organized, it is now or never. If the forces against the war do not get into action, the American labor movement will awake one morning in the not distant future to find itself clamped solidly in the iron vise of the war machine.

DEFENSE GROUP ORGANIZED FOR G.P.U. VICTIM Blackwell Committee Is Representative

NEW YORK. — Smashing through the iron ring of official silence that has shrouded the plight of Russell Negrete Blackwell for months, and to save him from the fate that overtook Andres Nin who was assassinated by agents of the G.P.U., a broad defense committee has been organized to push his case into the open where the aroused indignation and public protest of the American working class will force his release.

Blackwell is the 34-year old American militant, who went to Spain two years ago to help fight for Socialism and who has twice been arrested by the "Secret Police."

Among the members of the Committee are Anita Brenner, Ex. Sec'y, M. Olay, American representative of the C.N.T., James Oneal, Carlo Tresca, James P. Cannon, John Chamberlain, Jas. T. Farrell, Sidney Hook, and others.

Twice Arrested

Blackwell, arrested last May, was released from a Madrid prison on July 26. He was placed aboard a British vessel in Valencia harbor on Aug. 1 scheduled to take him to safety of Marseilles and then home. He was snatched by the Secret Police behind the back of the American Consul into whose custody he had been released for repatriation. He has been held ever since.

Eight tendencies in the American labor movement are represented on the Committee: The Socialist Workers Party, Social Democratic Federation, Independent Labor League, I. Martello Group, Revolutionary Proletarian Group, Revolutionary Workers League and League for a Revolutionary Workers Party. The permanent American representative of the C.N.T. has joined the Committee and pledged the support of his organization in Spain.

Sirovy, 'Friend' Of Moscow, Outlaws C.P. Social Democrats and Union Leaders Join in Craven Capitulation to Pro-Hitler Regime

By W. KELLER

The regimentation of the Czechoslovakian labor movement by the new authoritarian regime is approaching completion. The spontaneous attempts of the Czech workers to unify their forces for resistance against the Fascist reorientation have failed. The Stalinists and reformist leaders are determined to drink the bitter cup to the last drop.

The Czech Social Democratic Party has officially abandoned the Second International in order to win the toleration of Hitler. The reformist trade union leaders have taken a similar decision. Jointly with the trade unions of the Benes party they have merged with the company unions of the Agrarians, Catholics, and Fascists. The first act of the united unions was to endorse the compulsory labor service ordered by the military dictatorship.

C.P. Dissolved

At the same time the Prague government, following the example of the Slovak government, has ordered the dissolution of the Communist Party in Bohemia and Moravia and the suspension of its entire press and the cancellation of their parliamentary mandates. Prior to this G. E. R. Gedy, the Times correspondent who has been so partial to the Stalinists, had reported the voluntary cessation of all activity by the Communist Party on the orders of its leaders, Gottwald and Kopetsky. These two versions are not at all contradictory. They fully complement each other.

The situation is clear as a bell. The Prague government is eager to adapt itself to its Fascist neighbor. At the same time it is compelled to avoid anything which would disrupt "internal peace" and provide a pretext for military intervention by Germany, Poland, and Hungary. It therefore utilizes the aid of the Stalinist and reformist bureaucracies, which are trembling for their lives and their positions, in

order to lace the workers into the Fascist strait-jacket. Having secured the public promise of the Stalinist leaders to sacrifice the labor movement on the altar of the Fatherland, it could safely outlaw the Communist Party.

Perfidious Betrayal

The history of the labor movement is filled with betrayals by bureaucrats who have alienated themselves from their own class. But the exploits of the Czech Stalinist leaders in the domain of perjury and treachery certainly rank with any that have ever gone before. In 1933 the democratic government of Prague under President Masaryk accused the Stalinist leaders of "high treason and espionage in behalf of a hostile state" (the U.S.S.R., Gottwald and Kopetsky fled to Moscow. There they helped to crush all voices of opposition in the Comintern after the German defeat, tenaciously maintaining the theory of "social fascism." At the end of 1935 they returned triumphantly with the People's Front thesis for their newly-discovered "fatherland."

Through the Soviet Embassy in Prague they had obtained promise of immunity in return for drumming up the vote for Benes, then running for president. Sheltered by the bourgeois police, they forced the workers to renounce the class struggle in favor of the rotten democratic regime of Czech imperialism. In order to "defend" the Soviet Union, they became ardent patriots of the capitalist republic.

"Social Fascism" Reincarnate

Now they have proved that for them, as for all genuine patriots, it is the fatherland, "right or wrong," regardless of its political regime. To avoid hampering the Czech capitalists and to save their own skins, they are voluntarily cooperating with Gen. Sirovy, the democrat of yesterday and the fascist of today, in bringing about the dissolution of the labor movement. Indeed, if "social fascism" has ever really existed, it is incarnate in the leaders of

Kuomintang Gives Up Vital War Positions

(Continued from page 1)

Not a plane, not a gun came from Chiang to aid in Canton's defense. Gen. Yu Han-mou, left in undisputed command at Canton, had achieved that position in 1936 by a judicious betrayal of his previous superior, Gen. Chen Chi-tang. That he had sold out to the Japanese, with the probable connivance of the British, there can now be little doubt. Otherwise the Japanese would never have attempted the attack with so small a force, vulnerable to devastating flanking attacks through its 125-mile march inland from the sea.

British Connivance

The Japanese, as usual, chose their moment to invade South China with an eye and ear cocked to the European situation. It was clear that Britain would do nothing to defend its "sphere of influence" in South China, economically dominated by Hong Kong, except to make the best possible arrangement through negotiation. Long-drawn out hostilities would have prolonged the paralysis of Hong Kong. That is why it is not hard to see the fine English hand in the Canton deal.

The Japanese were positively punctilious in their regard for Hong Kong's territorial boundaries and the British authorities there were correspondingly warm in their praise of the conduct of the Japanese forces. What all this means is that the Japanese have taken Canton as a basis for bargaining with the British in the negotiations now in progress.

Tasks That Remain

The fall of Canton and Hankow means the end of positional warfare along clearly defined fronts. In the western provinces, Hunan, Kweichow, Szechwan, and in the northwest in Shensi, regional Chinese control will continue. But

the real battlefield now becomes all of China nominally under the Japanese flag. The Tokyo freebooters dare not yet color their maps solid.

They hold only the railroads and rivers. The countryside is by no means theirs. This has been and remains the basis for the hope and conviction that Japan, whatever the sweep of its apparent victories, is doomed to ultimate defeat in its whole China adventure.

But that this should be so requires a sharp turn from the policies of resistance directed by Chiang Kai-shek and his fellow-generals. The ex-Communist Eighth Route Army has been forced to remain bottled up in Shensi. Chiang refused to let it take its place on the vital Central China front. The Communist Party leaders deferred to this, as in all things, to the all-mighty generalissimo.

Masses Victimized

The masses of the people—despite all the fanfare about mobilization broadcast abroad by the Stalinists—have been left, the helpless, hapless victims of the war. That is why the defeats and the losses have been so heavy.

Because for the masses the war against the invaders has not been identified with the war in their own interests as workers and peasants, they have remained in large part passive. Freed of the vise of Chiang's dictatorship, aroused by the most vigorous campaign of arming and organization, their energies directed against the impositions of the hated foreign invader and against the native exploiter, the workers and peasants can alone turn the tide, can alone make the vast valleys of China too hot for the invaders to hold.

POUM Trial Foreshadows Munich Plan for Spain

(Continued from page 1)

of the P. O. U. M., Nin was incarcerated in one of the notorious "preventorios" — private prisons of the G. P. U.—and taken out and executed by a G. P. U. murder squad. The Stalinists still have the effrontery to repeat that he "made his escape to fascist territory."

A similar Stalinist report about Rovira means that that gallant figure is dead at the hands of assassins. A man of little theoretical equipment, a supporter of the right wing in the party, he was, nevertheless, a fine example of a proletarian fighter. In the successful struggle to wipe out the fascist potsch in Catalonia, he was in the forefront, and rose to be military commander of an army division after leading P. O. U. M. troops in the victorious assaults which wrested Monte Aragon and Estrecho Quinto from the fascists. Seized by the G. P. U. in July, 1937 we know his terrible fate.

The section of the indictment which has been published indicates a typical Stalinist amalgam. That which the P. O. U. M. did—alas, only in words while in the main they attached themselves to the People's Front, as in the entry of Nin in the Catalan coalition cabinet of September 24, 1936—criticism of the government and the People's Front, criticism of the Soviet Union's policy, is "linked" to the utterly false ascription that P. O. U. M. collaborated with Hitler and Mussolini.

The main reason why the trial, is launched at this moment, is to muddy the waters of understanding of the process which led to the four-power move against antifascist Spain.

Like newborn innocents, the Stalinists report the four-power plan as if it were a veritable thunderbolt never suspected before. See, for example, the front-page story in the Daily Worker of October 8:

"London, Oct. 7.—Democracy's hangman, Chamberlain, hopes to drag the Spanish Republic to the gallows after Czechoslovakia, it was learned here today.

"A diabolical scheme to blockade the Spanish Republic and foist a four-power dictatorship upon the Spanish people has been devised by Chamberlain's pro-Nazi henchmen, it was learned here today.

"... This plan—already under discussion in Rome—provides for token withdrawal of 10,000 Italian infantrymen from Spain... Then Franco—prompted by the four-powers—would show his 'peaceful intention' by proposing a 'truce' to the Spanish Government.

"This proposal for betrayal, in the British Tory view, would give the four-power line-up of Germany, Britain, and France an opportunity to 'mediate' and arrange a 'settlement'...

Fresh "Revelations"

The Stalinists pretend to be wide-eyed innocents, just discovering this monstrous business—"it was learned here today." Far from being a new plan, however, this has been the scheme systematically propagated by the "great democracies," England and France, since the very beginning

of the Spanish civil war.

From the first the Socialist Appeal, and before that our former organ, Labor Action in California, raised the cry of warning against this impending betrayal by the "great democracies."

The interested reader will find the relevant material, documented, in my "Revolution and Counter-Revolution in Spain," which was completed in October, 1937. Furthermore, our movement, both here and abroad, time and again put the question to the Stalinists, why they were silent on the preparations for the betrayal, why they did not even comment on the plain intimations appearing during the last two years in the capitalist press.

The Stalinists were silent, deliberately silent. They were silent because they were perfectly well-prepared to permit the suffocation of the anti-fascist cause in Spain, if in return there would remain some hope of securing for the Soviet Union a military alliance with France and England.

Stalin's Role

More than that, Stalin directly collaborated in the plans for this betrayal. The "non-intervention" apparatus, and the agreement for withdrawal by both sides of "foreign volunteers" were the necessary pre-conditions for the coming betrayal—what is to come is that an armistice will be imposed on the pretext that it is required in order to carry out the withdrawals of volunteers under the direction of the "non-intervention" committee. To all this Stalin agreed, as he was ready to agree to any infamy in return for a military alliance with England. At the time, in our published material on Spain, we pointed out the future consequences of this betrayal, and now, unfortunately, our predictions are coming true.

Only a few days ago the Stalinist hirelings in Spain were still dispatching to the Stalinist press everywhere cable dispatches bathed in faith in the "great democracies." "If the world democracies answer this plea (for arms), Spain feels confident that it can prove to the world," etc. etc. ... thus wrote the Daily Worker's Barcelona correspondent (Daily Worker, September 27, 1938).

Pravda's Admission

If anyone might still believe, in spite of the obvious evidence, that the Stalinists' systematic propagation of faith in the "world democracies" was not conscious guile but honest obtuseness, then note what Pravda, Stalin's personal organ, has to say on October 11:

"The old British plan of an 'armistice' between both sides in Spain has been taken out of the archives. Under pretext of organizing an armistice, it is intended to smuggle in recognition of Franco as a full-fledged belligerent power, to 'legalize' the existence of Franco's puppet government." (Daily Worker, October 12).

Between October 7, when "it was learned here today" that the British plan was, and October 11, the plan has become "the old British plan" which has now been "taken out of the archives." The explanation for this contradiction is that the Stalinist press in the western world, aware of the difficulties of covering up the line of putting the fate of Spain into the hands of the "great democ-

GPU Odors Spread from Spy Trial

(Continued from page 1)

type, withheld open support. Indeed, a New York Grand Jury indicted two Stalinists, Messrs. Sharvin and Garber, in connection with the Robinson-Rubens passport fraud.

The U. S. Attorney had a chance to conduct an investigation and trial which would have exposed some of the reactionary anti-labor frame-up machinations of the G. P. U. He chose to ignore the chance, and pigeonholed the G. P. U. case. In the Nazi case, he ordered an elaborate and costly investigation, and brought the persons indicted after Sharvin and Garber to trial.

What does this trial show?

What Trial Reveals

It shows, of course, that the Nazis seek to conduct military espionage. But it does not show that such espionage is clever, serious or successful. The plans of the "spy," Rumrich, have been labeled by every reporter as "ludicrous," "fantastic," "incredible," etc., etc.

Indeed, one may say that if Congress were to base its attitude solely on what this trial proves concerning the espionage conducted by the defendants now in court, including the one who turned State's evidence, it would be justified in refusing to appropriate a penny for counter-espionage against an organization which sets a record for bungling and incompetence. But the government is laboring to get jury and public to take the case seriously, and it has the aid of the Hearst and other militaristic sheeps.

Creating Spy Scare

The government's main aim is to create a general spy-scare, not so much to justify a counter-spy budget, a relatively small item which it could wheedle from Congress on general principles, but to inflate general military propaganda and create a bellicose public mind, facilitating an easy transition to such an anti-alien, anti-radical drive as featured the last war.

That is why, on the eve of this trial, the President announced that the country is full of spies, a statement which has been called to the attention of every juror in the box at the Nazi spy trial. All this is elementary: the N. Y. World-Telegram, for example, characterized the present trial as a "demonstration."

It is not surprising that the prosecutor should have chosen a military spy case against the Nazi government, rather than a labor spy case against the G.P.U. This servant of U. S. military policy has nothing in principle against G.P.U. anti-labor and anti-radical espionage and frame-ups.

An Important Aspect

There is one aspect of the trial which is becoming increasingly prominent. As Herbert Solow pointed out in an article in the New Leader last week, the present trial has uncovered no effective Nazi espionage against the American military establishment, but it has contained several references to allegedly successful Nazi espionage directed against the Soviet Union. This was further emphasized by Moscow's reactions to the trial.

The New York Times of Oct. 22 reported the trial being followed "with great interest" in Moscow, "because it is held to prove... that Germany has sown the Soviet Union and other countries with spies. Soviet commentators link German espionage with Trotskyists." The dispatch added that "significance is seen in the fact that the New York trial is occurring simultaneously with the trial of an alleged Trotskyist group in Barcelona on charges of being agents of German-Italian Fascists. Pravda says: "Both trials illustrate the work and methods of Fascist intelligence services and their foul Trotskyist agents."

The Daily Worker features an article retelling Moscow's comments under a big head: "PRAVDA LINKS SPY TRIALS WITH BARCELONA CASE." There, it says Stalin's New York rag, "an organic connection."

Enter the G.P.U.

It begins to appear as though certain aspects of this trial were rigged in advance to serve this very end. This trial, contributing little indeed to a knowledge of real Nazi espionage, is being staged for the benefit of militarist propaganda. But at the same time it begins to look as if the G.P.U. had somehow succeeded in hitching its caboose to the U.S. Attorney's train.

The possibility of such a combination is real. Rumrich, the

defendant who has turned state's evidence after pleading guilty, admitted, under cross-examination, that he established contacts with the German espionage service solely in order to trap German agents and thus win forgiveness for having deserted from the American army.

Some Curious Facts

He was arrested last year in the midst of the hullabaloo about the Robinson-Rubens case, while posing as an American Under-Secretary of State in a clumsy "effort" to get blank passports for use in Russia. He did not come to trial until he had spent some time in "a Governor's Island dungeon."

He has admitted that he consults daily, during the trial, with the prosecutor. He has never been tried as a deserter. On the stand he characterized his brother as "a little roughneck and a typical little Nazi." He has used such colorful phrases as "patriotism is an abstract conception" and such words as "ideology."

Under cross-examination he has called himself a patriot and American counter-spy — after swearing for four days under direct examination by Mr. Dunigan that he is a German spy. In answer to a question by the judge, he has answered that if he had ever gotten his hands on any secret military secrets, unlike such "junk" which he found in his photo album, he would never have turned it over to the Germans.

Who Is Rumrich?

Who is Rumrich? Why is he confessing? What is his confession worth?

Like a bombshell at Tuesday's session, Mr. B. Matthews, war-time prosecutor of German spies and now government-appointed counsel for the defendant Erich Glasser, asked Rumrich:

"Did you ever in political discussion defend the Communist position?"

"Yes, I did," answered Rumrich.

"Did you do that in a discussion with Mr. Bauer?"

"Yes," was the reply.

"Did you have any discussions with any other people?"

"With some."

"Who were they?"

"I'd rather not give their names," Rumrich answered.

In the midst of this colloquy, the prosecution objected to the line of Mr. Matthews' questioning, but the judge declared that it was permissible. Rumrich himself turned to the judge and said that he did not think it was proper of Mr. Matthews to ask him about political discussions, but the judge instructed him to answer, which he did after some hesitation. Mr. Matthews, who has been characterized by the Daily Work-

er as not having "his heart in the defense," dropped the subject.

And Matthews?

It is interesting that Mr. Matthews, in his opening address to the jury, expressly dissociated himself from the line of defense of the two other defense lawyers, both of whom are rumored to have official German backing. Where his heart is, remains to be seen.

Mr. Matthews himself has denied in the courtroom that he sees any connection between the present case and the Robinson-Rubens case. His denial came in response to an objection raised by the prosecution against a question Matthews put to the confessed spy. He asked Rumrich whether he had been reading the stories about the expose of the Robinson-Rubens passport fraud ring early this year at the time Rumrich attempted his farcial passport coup.

He Read the Papers

The prosecution objected to the question on the grounds that it was immaterial unless Matthews first established that the Robinson case is related to the present case. Matthews declared that he makes no such connection, but that he thought the question justified on other grounds. The judge allowed the question and Rumrich replied that he had been reading the papers at the time but went ahead with his scheme anyway. Matthews asked him if he then thought that was a good time to try a passport fraud and Rumrich answered simply that he tried it.

To summarize:

1. This trial has been staged by a prosecutor who chose it as opposed to the Robinson-Rubens case.
2. This trial has revealed much more realistic anti-Stalin espionage work by Nazis than it has anti-American espionage work by Nazis.
3. This trial is hailed with glee by Stalin's press in Russia and here.
4. Involved in this trial is a

New Expulsion Wave in Stalinist Youth Ranks

In their frantic attempt to line up the membership of the Young Communist League behind the Roosevelt-New Deal war machine, the leadership of the Y.C.L. is meeting strong resistance from growing sections of the rank and file. In the last few months signs of mass discontent with the social-patriotic line of "collective security" have been seen. From New York to California, and points north and south, militants of long standing in the Y.C.L. are being bureaucratically expelled.

In New York City the number of expulsions is largest. In the past few weeks the president of the Fort Washington Branch, Edward Jaffe, and the Educational Director, Herbert Garfinkel, have been expelled for "Trotskyism."

When asked for a statement on their expulsions, Jaffe and Garfinkel had the following to say:

Refused to Be Patriots

"Although we were both members of the League for two years, and held responsible positions, it didn't take us very long to see where Browder and Company were leading the Party and League membership.

"We became convinced of the complete bankruptcy of the Communist Party and Young Communist League when, at the start of the Lenin Memorial Meeting in Madison Square Garden, the Star Spangled Banner led the way. We refused to rise and sing it. We had too much respect for Lenin to do that. At its conclusion we raised our clenched fists and shouted "Red Front." A sudden murmur was heard all around us, and several Party members shouted "Throw out those dirty Trotskyites." We thought we had come to a meeting to honor Lenin, but we soon learned different."

Joined Y.P.S.L.

Jaffe and Garfinkel said that they were happy to join the Young People's Socialist League, affiliated to the Fourth International, because "that was the only youth organization in the country which inherited the best traditions of the Communist and Young Communist Internationals—the struggle for the world proletarian revolution. We have saved our revolutionary honor and integrity by joining the ranks of the Fourth International."

In the Ben Leider Branch, in "confessed spy" who is also a confessed counter-spy, and who has on occasion argued politics privately from a Communist viewpoint, and who looks no more like a Nazi spy than Vishinsky, Krestinsky, Bukharin, Komm or any of the other actors in the Moscow treason trials.

5. Stalin himself links this trial to the frame-up trial in Barcelona and his own "demonstrations" in Moscow.

One may safely say that a sensation is in store.

the Bronx, two of the most active members were expelled for refusing to swallow the reactionary People's Front and Democratic Front policies of the Y.C.L. Harold Burt and M. Wolf, the expelled members, stated:

"We tried to convince ourselves that the present opportunist policies of the Y.C.L. were mere temporary maneuvers, designed to bluff the bourgeoisie, and that after a while the Party would turn left. But we are now completely certain that the Communist Party has sunk so deeply into the mire of reformism, that it can never again return to the path of Marx and Lenin.

A Fresh Start

"The People's Front in Spain, France, and elsewhere, have brought to the workers defeat after defeat. The only movement which offers the workers a program of revolutionary struggle against imperialist war and fascism is the Fourth International, world party of the proletarian revolution. We have no regrets at our expulsion from the Y.C.L. In the Young People's Socialist League we are able to breathe the fresh air of revolutionary socialism."

In the City College Branch of the Y.C.L., from which not a few members have been expelled in the past for Trotskyism, Al Lindenfeld announced his resignation this week. Lindenfeld expressed his complete disgust with the counter-revolutionary policies of Stalinism.

"After the murders of the Old Bolsheviks in Moscow, I was certain that Stalin was headed towards one thing: the complete destruction of all the conquests of the October Revolution," he said. "I was certain, now more than ever, that the biggest obstacle towards the defense of the Soviet Union is the defunct Comintern, which, in its process of putrefaction, is poisoning the clean well of the working class. For that reason I break with Stalinism and join the only force which has the real program capable of mobilizing the workers in defense of the Soviet Union—the Fourth International."

Appeal to YCLers

Expulsions have also taken place in the Hunts Point and Milt Young Branches in the Bronx, as well as numerous other branches in the city. A former member of the New York State Committee of the Y.C.L., Dave Davidson, has been expelled for Trotskyism.

The Young People's Socialist League, (Fourth Internationalists) appeals to all Y.C.L.ers who believe in the teachings of Marx and Lenin: Break with the corrupt machine of Stalinism. Beware of the Browners and Greens who want to drag you into another war "for democracy." Join the revolutionary movement, under the red banner of the Fourth International.

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Open the Doors!

The problem of the European refugees is of profoundest concern to every worker. All hopes for the future, all possibility for the progress of civilization depend today on the action and solidarity of the working class of every country. It is not merely from considerations of humanity that we must seek to aid the victims of fascism driven from land to land, often left in the ditch to starve.

The only real answer to the barbarism practised by the reactionary capitalists in the name of national culture, is the mobilization of working class forces on the basis of international solidarity against all class and national oppression. In the performance of this duty of organizing practical aid for the disinherited and mistreated victims of fascist reaction, the working class forges unbreakable international links in the chain of its struggle to pull civilization out of the mire.

The American proletariat must unite to help the refugees so that in this very process they may prevent the same thing from taking place in their own country. By making their power felt in warding off the blows of reaction delivered against the oppressed of other countries, the American workers at the same time mobilize their strength to defeat similar attempts at oppression at home.

The partition of Czechoslovakia and the advance of fascism into Central Europe daily uproots thousands upon thousands of helpless families which are rendered destitute overnight. It is especially the Jews who become the chosen victims of triumphant reaction. They find themselves a people without a country and without any rights that need be respected. Their terrible plight in Europe is made the more tragic by the events in Palestine. There British imperialism pursues its own aims at the expense of both Arabs and Jews, purposefully utilizing the antagonism between the two. What can we propose in view of the awful tragedy of the refugees, particularly the Jews?

The bourgeois governments, under the leadership of Roosevelt, called the Evian Conference ostensibly to "aid political refugees." This conference presented the ironic spectacle of each of the governments represented making polite requests of all the others to increase their quota of refugees. Roosevelt asked Mexico, Brazil, Argentine to open their doors wider, but the U. S. did not lift a finger to increase its own "share" by as much as a single refugee. Thus

the American quota list is already exhausted for a year and a half to come. In actuality, behind the scenes, the Evian Conference was called to permit the various bourgeois governments to keep tabs on the radical refugees and to advise each other on their movements. The Evian Conference was called for the purpose, not of aiding refugees, but of regulating their inevitable flow over various borders in the interests of the ruling class.

The American Jewish bourgeois "leaders" follow carefully the pattern laid down for them by the political spokesmen for the capitalist ruling class. The policies advocated by these leaders dovetail into those of the American government. The various nationalist Jewish organizations have sent out widespread to Jewish homes telegrams to be signed and forwarded to Secretary Hull of the State Department asking the United States to intervene to prevent Great Britain from closing the doors of Palestine to Jewish immigration.

Hull and Roosevelt could have wished nothing better to give them prestige as liberals without lifting a finger to give real help. It costs these wily politicians nothing at all to make this empty gesture. Hull states this publicly when he calls attention, even while sending his gratuitous message to England, to the fact that after all the United States cannot prevent England from carrying out whatever policy it pleases. This remark will be understood in its true worth by the British government.

Thus the Jewish misleaders aid the capitalist politicians in siphoning off the stream of mass agitation into safe and useless channels. The Jews are aroused as never before at the awful plight of their fellow-Jews in Palestine and in the fascist countries. To prevent this sentiment from crystallizing into a militant mass movement, the reactionary Jewish leaders provide a safety valve in the form of harmless telegrams.

We certainly stand against the closing of the doors of Palestine to the Jews. It has always been the Marxist viewpoint that the masses of workers should be permitted to move freely across all borders without restriction. We recognize, however, that the Jews in or out of Palestine will not be helped one iota by appealing to the imperialist British government which is responsible for the oppression of countless millions of people of all races all over the earth. An appeal to this government means to entrust the fate of the Jews to one of the worst enemies of all humanity.

No, the American workers, including the Jewish workers, can perform a far more useful service to the refugees, including the Jews, by making forceful demands not on the British government which need not and will not pay the slightest attention, but on "their own" government. We must demand the open door for refugees not merely in far-away Palestine, but here at home in the United States. Why has not Roosevelt attempted to have the quota law completely abolished—or even revised upwards? This would be really practical aid to the refugees. It would be an excellent way to combat anti-semitism because it would mean an educational campaign against race prejudice conducted in the ranks of the working class.

Organize the masses around this demand for the open door and this demand will soon make itself felt! For the abolition of the quota law and for the reestablishing of the United States as a haven for political refugees! This is the only real democracy—the fight for the Open Door for all refugees!

Millions Hit as Stalin Purge Continues in Soviet Union

By J. G. WRIGHT
No official statistics relating to the Stalinist purge have been issued. None will be forthcoming. Nevertheless on the basis of indirect data in the Stalinist press the number can be roughly approximated. A figure of 1,000,000—1,500,000 for the past two years would be a conservative estimate.

In December 1937, Walter Krivitsky, leading Soviet diplomat who refused to return to Russia, stated that in May of that year he had learned from an authoritative source that the number of political arrests had at that time reached the total of not less than 300,000, the majority being party members and members of their families. In the period since May, the number of arrests had considerably increased and Krivitsky estimated it to be in the neighborhood of half-a-million.

Krivitsky's estimate is indirectly borne out by a dispatch from Denny during this same period: "The purge continues unabated although it has now been going on so long that its trials and executions have become routine news stripped of all dramatic value." (N. Y. Times, Dec. 2, 1937).

Replacement and Purges
However, we have a far more authoritative verification. In January of this year Pravda asserted that: "More than 100,000 people have been advanced to leading posts during last year alone—in districts, provinces, federated and autonomous People's Commissariats. More than 100,000!" . . . The advancement has acquired a mass character, it is becoming almost everywhere a mass phenomenon. (Jan. 27. Emphasis in the original.)

It goes without saying that for every individual who was "advanced" another one was removed, i. e., purged. It is equally clear that for every "leading" functionary a number of subordinates, to say nothing of relatives, were caught in the dragnet. A ratio of 5 to 1 is hardly exaggerated. Thus on the basis of Pravda's boast, the number of those purged during "last year alone" can be set at not less than 500,000. The appalling implication of the figure mentioned in Pravda becomes clear if we bear in mind that Pravda cited it only to call for an intensification of this campaign of "advancement." It was only a modest beginning! In March came the Bukharin-Rykov frame-up as part of the machinery of speeding up the purge.

At that time Webb Miller, United Press staff correspondent, reported from Moscow: "Many thousands of persons have been arrested—the number perhaps running into five figures—throughout the Soviet republics since the recent treason trials." (N. Y. Post March 8).

"Tens of Thousands . . ."
In July, Walter Duranty was able to state with satisfaction that "there is no doubt that it (the purge) cut a deep furrow

through every phase of national life. To prove this it is sufficient to compare published membership lists of official bodies, from the high military council to local soviets, of two years ago and now, or to read reports of changes of the personnel in Communist party secretariats, both provincial and municipal, and in government administrative positions." (N. Y. Times, July 26). The spheres and the changes enumerated by Duranty embrace not isolated individuals but the entire party and administrative apparatus of the country, that is to say, thousands upon tens of thousands of people.

We continually meet with this refrain of "new thousands." Thus, in August, Izvestia stated that "in the recent period thousands of new people have been advanced to leading posts in People's Commissariats and the administrative bodies" (August 28. Our emphasis). And only the other day, Denny reported on the Army purge as follows:

"The purge that is still continuing in the Red Army, though apparently on a smaller scale, is being accompanied by promotions of thousands of junior officers to responsible posts." (N. Y. Times, Oct. 17. Our emphasis).

Yardstick for Data
The scope of the "promotions" provides a yardstick for the real extent of the purge. Let us apply it to those isolated cases in which the Stalinist press provides us with some statistics.

In Pravda, for July 22, A. Akopov, director of the Ural Heavy Machinery Plant made the following boast: "There are more than 400 engineers and technicians in the construction department of Uralmash. Of these only 3 completed their studies prior to 1917, all the others are from among the Soviet youth." We also learn that "more than 250 Stakhanovists from among the labor and technical personnel have been promoted to leading posts." Here we have a purge of more than 60 per cent in a single department. So we are not shocked to discover that in this plant there were: "a foreign specialist, the spy Z. . . ; former chief metallurgist, the 'diversionist P. . . ; head of the central laboratory, the spy D. . . ; former head of the forging-press dept., Z. . . ; chief engineer, the wrecker L. . . former head of the order bureau, the spy K. . ."

One-Year Olds
Here is a report of the results of the Party Conference in the city of Stalinsk: "In the Kuznets metallurgical plant named after Stalin, the cadres of the party have been vigorously renovated in the last year. The majority of the secretaries of shop committees and group organizations are new people—their past record in party work does not exceed one year." (Pravda, July 22)

Finally, we take the instance of the Don Basin. Time and again has the administration been purged, culminating in the sweeping changes effected by Kaga-

novich in October of last year. Pravda commented as follows: "The People's Commissar of Heavy Industry, com. L. M. Kaganovich has reorganized 'Glavugol'; he has expelled from there the apologists of wreckers' theory . . . the bureaucrats and the office holders; he has reinforced the apparatus of the chief administration with young engineers, tested communists, people who know their jobs and are desirous of fighting for the convalescence of the coal industry." (Oct. 2, 1937).

"Worthless Directors"
On June 11, 1938, Pravda announced the removal of these "worthless directors" and boasted of a new leading staff embracing: 260 mine superintendents; 240 chief engineers, 610 heads of sectors, 400 "leaders of tens," 650 Stakhanovists, 120 organizers and 140 chairmen of mine committees.

Said Pravda: "The chief task of the directors of 'Donbasugol' was to transmit the experience of the advanced mines in the struggle for coal to the laggard mines, to put an end once and for all to criminal negligence and to proceed to root out the consequences of wrecking . . . The former leaders of 'Donbasugol' failed to do this. Departmental-bureaucratic methods of management predominated in their work. The worthless directors have been removed." (June 11). In October of this year, the Donbas has been reorganized once again, this time into three separate units. No purge was reported in connection with this reorganization but it doubtless took place. If the purge elsewhere assumed the same proportions it would involve not 1½ but several millions. We presume that these are exceptional cases.

Commissariats Cleaned
Of the 28 Commissariats established in January 11 have been purged from top to bottom. These include the commissariats of Agriculture, Trade, Mechanical Construction, Light Industry, Food Industry, Land Transport, Finance, and Farm Products Storage. On Oct. 2, came the news of the reorganization of the State Bank, with the appointment of Bulgain as chairman, and three deputies. All four of these new appointees are G.P.U. functionaries—an evil omen to the personnel!

The naval commissariat has been purged. The purge in the Army continues. While there has been no confirmation of Bluecher's arrest, it is known that his entire general staff and scores of his closest collaborators have been arrested.

The refusal of collectives to deliver grain to the government is being met by the extension of the purge into the collectives. This list far from exhausts the countless thousands who are involved. In the light of these facts our estimate of those who have fallen victims to the purge at three times the figure set by Krivitsky last December is, if anything, an understatement.

HARLEM LOCALS QUIT ALLIANCE

NEW YORK—The growing revolt in the ranks of the Stalinist Workers Alliance reached new proportions last week when in a stormy session of the Harlem Council here Browderite Sam Wiseman, W. A. City Secretary was "shown the gate," and five locals with a combined membership of more than 800 voted to leave the Communist Party-controlled Alliance.

Before this latest chapter in a long series of Alliance defections was over, another local, No. 53, in the Washington Heights section with a membership of over 200, also voted to leave the Alliance, charging the W.A. as being a "C. P.-run racket."

Twenty Expelled
It was also learned here that during the height of the "Harlem revolt," some 20 members of the Communist Party were expelled from that organization, with the reason given as "Trotskyism."

While the "rebellion" in Harlem was in its formative stage,

the Italian Harlem W.A. local, also experienced a "revolt" of its own, when organizer C. Everett, at a meeting of that local two weeks ago, denounced the Stalinist fakers, and led more than 140 members to that local.

Ex-Congressman Vito Marcantonio, candidate and darling of the Browderites, presiding at a branch meeting of the American Labor Party, ordered that Everett be thrown out, when he attempted to address the meeting in Italian, the language which most of the workers gathered there, could understand.

Calls Cops
Marcantonio then proceeded to call the cops. The police arrived, but Everett addressed the meeting, which consisted for the most part of Alliance members, and at the conclusion of his remarks, in which he exposed the false roles of Marcantonio and the Alliance officials, he led a procession out with him.

With the Harlem locals, goes the last remaining stronghold of the unemployed section of the N. Y. Alliance.

Duty predicted that the "rebel" Harlem locals may soon become a section of the Unemployed and Project Workers Union.

The Notebook of An Agitator

"MAN'S BEST FRIEND IS HIS DOG"

One of the funny features which relieve the tedium of the current election campaign in New York is provided by the furious battle for Progress which the Stalinists are waging in behalf of Banker-Governor Lehman and the rather impatient request of Lehman that the newly hatched democrats curb their ardor, or at least be more private about it.

The raucous campaign of the Stalinists for "Lehman and Progress" was briefly interrupted last week by the curt public announcement of Lehman that he didn't want their support. Moreover, he added—though not quite so emphatically—he would not accept it. Thus called to heel, a moment of tense and somewhat embarrassed silence on the part of the Twentieth Century Americans followed. During that blessed moment the total volume of sound decibels which assail the collective ear of the public, in total disregard of the anti-noise ordinance, was considerably diminished.

But it was only for the moment. The reputation only gave them pause. It couldn't stop them. When they are out to defeat reaction at all costs nothing can stop them. Their noisy and delirious new confessions of faith, shouted with the fervor and frenzy of a camp meeting convert, drowned out the politely modulated disavowal of Lehman. They are now in full cry again, and there will be no peace in New York State until they have shouted progress to victory in the elections once again.

There are some over-anxious and jittery people in the embattled ranks of progress who believe all the bad news they hear, and always expect the worst. These political hypochondriacs feared that Lehman's rebuff to his Kremlin chorus signified—oh, danger of dangers!—a "split in the progressive forces."

They were unduly alarmed. The conflict was more apparent than real. It was not fundamental, but only a difference of opinion about manners and methods. Lehman was merely trying to train the Stalinists to curb their enthusiasm, to act more like settled residents of the Democratic Party, not like rowdy new arrivals who have just crashed the gates.

The parvenu-democrats haven't understood this yet. They are like certain breeds of too-affectionate canines who are not satisfied merely to be allowed in the master's house but must leap into his lap and slobber in his face. Lehman, by his press statement, simply meant to say "down Fido!" But Fido-Browder, for whom everything the master does is right, mistook the rebuke for a caress, and began to whine and howl with delight at the attention. That's the sound you hear over the radio on the Communist Party hour.—C.

RAILROAD UNION RESISTS THREAT OF WAGE SLASH

(Continued from page 1)

with a vote to call a national strike when the cut becomes effective. And the Roosevelt administration, understanding full well the importance of national transportation in time of war, appointed a "fact-finding board" in order to solve the whole problem as quickly and as quietly as possible.

The hearings held by this "fact-finding board" brought forth no new facts but have succeeded in bringing to the front pages of the newspapers the sorry plight of the workers in this industry and the complete inability of the bosses to run their business.

Some Eyewitness

Testifying before this board, Mr. Charles Donnelly, president of the Northern Pacific Railway, said that he did not believe the pay cut would affect general business. "I can't see why prosperous industries would follow action taken by distressed railways," he said.

Mr. Donnelly disagreed with the contention of the council for the brotherhoods that the proposed reduction would reduce purchasing power. "The money saved to the railroads in wages," he said, "would get into circulation in some form."

"We did not tell the men they would get only 85 per cent of their wages," he went on. "We approached them in the same manner as in 1932, pointing out their favored position as compared with the dire straits of the management."

\$95 Per Month

Then the fact was brought forward that the average wage in the industry is less than \$95 a month and that section workers, according to L. E. Keller, statistician for the Brotherhood of Maintenance of Way Employees, earn not more than \$347 a year! (a 15 per cent cut for these workers would bring their pay to \$295 annually.)

In answer to the plea of the owners for the wage reduction, W. Jett Lauck, an economist for the unions, charged that the wage cut had been decided upon by a small group of bankers which dominated the railroad industry.

He went on to describe how in organizing the New York Central Railroad, the promoter as a preliminary step, doubled the stock in his possession by a 100 per cent stock dividend without any corresponding increase in assets. On this stock, which he described as fictitious, dividends amounting to more than \$210,000,000 had been paid since 1870.

Diverted Revenues

"This obviously means," he continued, "that revenues to this amount—which should have been used for advances in wages and working conditions of employees, the lowering of passenger and freight rates, the payments of debts and general improvements—have been improperly diverted and distributed."

In a discussion of the New York, New Haven and Hartford Railroad, the witness said that,

with J. P. Morgan & Co. dominating its policies, "there was dissipated within ten years \$400,000,000 of the capital assets of the company."

The resources of profitable roads were used to finance this recent fantastic financial orgy. Hundreds of millions were lost and the workers of these exploited railways are now suffering and will be permanently handicapped by this wrecking—to say nothing of the hundreds of small investors who were thus "taken for a ride."

Efforts To Balk Inquiry

The wages and working conditions of employees on two outstanding Western railroads, (the Southern Pacific and Great Northern) have been completely ruined in recent years because the bosses of these roads gave away to their stockholders profitable income-producing assets valued at \$527,000,000.

Despite the fact that neither the fact-finding board nor the administration have shown any intention to favor the unions in this situation, the Association of American Railroads, which is the bosses' organization, has made frantic attempts to prevent the investigation from being held. The publicity such an investigation might attract would not add to the case for the owners when and if a fight develops between the railroads and the unions.

This was exposed by a counsel for the Brotherhoods in the cross-examination of Mr. Pelley, former president of the New York, New Haven and Hartford Railroad, and now president of the Association. Mr. Pelley said that no investigation. And answering Mr. nothing can be done anyway." The counsel asked him if it was not a fact that he had tried to investigate. And answering Mr. swer was an emphatic "No!"

"Then," asked the counsel, "is it not a fact that you corresponded with Milton Harrison of the Securities Owners Association and that Mr. Harrison wrote you that he had 'scotched' the investigation." And answering Mr. Harrison did you write:

"I think you did a splendid job and hope that the Senator (Wheeler) stays put! Isn't that true?"

"Yes," replied Mr. Pelley.

Other Plans

The plans offered by various groups to save the railroads were reviewed by the board. The Brotherhoods have proposed a series of steps which would reduce competition by restricting trucks from doing long haul work, by the introduction of new, lighter equipment, a fixed rate base for freight and passenger service, restriction of stock so that at no time would more than 40 per cent of the roads' value be sold in bonds or stock, a series of consolidations, cooperation between the management and the unions.

This proposal, however, is not looked upon with any considerable degree of satisfaction by the workers who have in convention after convention gone on record for government ownership and responsibility for the roads. The unions have recently asked the Federal administration to take over the roads and guarantee the workers a minimum wage equal to the average necessary for a decent standard of living.

VOTE LABOR!

For Independent Politics And a Fighting Program

(Continued from page 1)

ranks and conduct the stubborn fight necessary for victory. A fighting labor program is indispensable. Such a program must provide for the defense of the only serious right which is left to workers in a society based upon exploitation: THE RIGHT TO EMPLOYMENT AT A LIVING WAGE.

The A.L.P. must categorically demand employment and decent living conditions for everybody.

As preliminary steps toward securing this right, the A.L.P. must fight for the following immediate demands:

- 1) **Adequate provision for relief.** New York with its great army of unemployed requires at least an annual appropriation of \$1,000,000,000 for relief and public works projects. This sum will provide a minimum income of \$1,000 a year for the million odd families whose breadwinners are out of jobs.
- 2) **Jobs in industry for the greatest possible number of workers.** This can be achieved by a reduction of working hours in industries with no reduction in pay.
- 3) **Adequate Housing.** A State Housing Authority Act for a complete clearance of slums, the infamous hovels and fire-traps for which New York is notorious. In addition to providing decent housing, it will create jobs for a category of workers particularly hard hit by the depression—the building trades.
- 4) **Opening of factories closed down as a result of the crisis.** The measures enumerated above will absorb only a portion of the unemployed. To provide jobs for millions who will never again be reabsorbed by private industry, the A.L.P. must aggressively support a long term public-works program. Within the framework of such a program, there should be included resumption of work in private enterprises shut down by their present owners, such resumption on the basis of declaring these enterprises and factories to be public utilities which are to be operated by workers' committees and exempt from any profit interest and rent charges.
- 5) **Placing the burden of the depression not on the backs of workers, but where it belongs—ON THE BOSSES.** LaGuardia's sales tax collects pennies from the poor, leaving untouched the dollars of the rich. Repeal the sales tax! Tax the rich! Over and above the demand for a taxation program which will ease the

tax burden of the workers and the small home owners, the A.L.P. must demand that all war funds be turned over for relief—for a program of WPA, public works and housing.

6) **Put an end to the gouging of the power trust and the plans of the transit companies to increase the fare.** The exorbitant gas and electric rates in New York must be reduced. The five cent fare must be maintained. This can be accomplished only by expropriating these trusts and really running them for the benefit of the masses in our city.

While we gird ourselves to fight for the foregoing program, while the trade unions continue their day to day struggles for better wages and working conditions, the reactionary vanguard of the capitalist class is not sitting by idly. Boss Hague's onslaught against the workers in Jersey City is but a portent of what is coming everywhere. Anti-semitism and racial hatreds are being prepared openly as bosses' weapons to divide the ranks of the workers. At the same time, the Roosevelt government is speeding up its preparations for a war to redivide the world among the imperialist powers.

Anti-semitism, all racial persecution, fascism and war are by-products of the decaying capitalist system, arising from capitalist decay as inexorably as economic crises, unemployment and working class slavery. The struggle against fascism and war is the struggle against capitalism.

Only the working class, relying upon its own strength and its own independent organizations, in an alliance with the poor farmers and the millions brought to ruin by capitalism can wage a successful struggle for the abolition of capitalism and the establishment of a socialist society—mankind's sole safeguard against a relapse into barbarism, and the only road that leads to further progress.

Cast your vote FOR INDEPENDENT LABOR POLITICS. Work FOR A BOLD FIGHTING LABOR PROGRAM. Vote for all genuinely independent A.L.P. candidates. Write in the names of James P. Cannon for Governor and Ernest R. McKinney for regular-term senator. Local New York, Socialist Workers Party, (Section of the Fourth International)

THE MARXIST SCHOOL WEEKLY FORUMS

- on Sunday evenings at 8:00
- OCTOBER 30—SHOULD LABOR SUPPORT THE A.L.P. B. J. Widick—Nat'l Labor Sec'y of S.W.P.
 - NOVEMBER 6—CELEBRATION OF 21st ANNIVERSARY OF RUSSIAN REVOLUTION Max Shachtman—Editor of New Internat'l
 - NOVEMBER 13—A.F.L.-C.I.O. UNITY
- Irving Plaza — Irving Place at 15th St.