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2 Soviet Diplomats Expose Frame-Ups

Corcoran Slain by Labor's Foes - Says Cannon

MINNEAPOLIS, DEC. 7. "No one knows yet who killed Pat Corcoran, but whenever a good militant labor leader like Pat is killed, it must be laid at the door of the enemies of labor," James P. Cannon, editor of the Socialist Appeal, stated at a large mass meeting last night, at the 7th St. Hall sponsored by the Minneapolis Socialist Party. Vincent R. Dunne, State Organizer of the Party, presided.

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Developments of The Week In The Corcoran Case

1. Coroner's inquest sessions ran five days, examining many witnesses, developing many leads for continued search for the murderers of Pat Corcoran.
2. County Attorney Goff speeded up investigation, to provide new material and witnesses when coroner's inquest re-opens on December 22.
3. Minneapolis Board of Union Business Agents meeting voted to recommend that the Central Labor Union sponsor a huge meeting to mobilize labor behind the hunt for Corcoran's assassins and to protect labor from boes press and Stalinist slanders.
4. Threats against Corcoran and other drivers' leaders, made by enemies of labor, were recorded by inquest witnesses.
5. A total of eleven A. F. of L. officials testified that their names had been fraudulently used by the Stalinists on a "volunteer committee" leaflet attacking the honor of the Minneapolis labor movement.
6. George Cole, Regional Director of the CIO, under questioning at the inquest, repudiated all responsibility and knowledge of the slanderous "CIO Industrial Unionist" paper issued by the Stalinists Mauseth and Smith.

But Minneapolis is Not Moscow!



'Save Those Yet Alive' Is Plea To World Labor

The Stalinist frame-up system is cracking!

The gag that prevented the Russian revolutionists from speaking out and telling the truth about Stalin's hideous purges, is being torn off!

The sensational, tremendously significant report comes from Europe that two prominent officials of the Soviets, communists of long standing, have broken through the bureaucratic conspiracy of silence.

Denounce Frame-Ups

One right on the heels of the other—Alexander Barmine, Charge d'Affaires of the Soviet Union in Greece, and Walter Krivitsky, former Director of the War Industries Institute, have resigned from Stalin's service, taken refuge in France, and written statements denouncing the Stalinist frame-ups. They make perfectly clear what the Appeal has been saying from the beginning, namely, that Stalin is murdering and imprisoning innocent people as part of his drive to smash the Russian Revolution.

Following the statement by Barmine, which created a sensation, Krivitsky declared in a letter to the Permanent Administrative Committee of the Socialist Party, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of France, and to the General Confederation of Labor of France:

"During these last years, I have followed the Soviet Government's policy with anxiety. However, I subordinated my uneasiness to the defense of the Soviet Union's interests. This I considered the legitimate thing to do, knowing that my work served it and was therefore necessary to the cause of socialism.

"But the course of events convinced me that the policy of the Stalin Government enters more and more into opposition not only with the interests of the Soviet Union, but with those of the working class movement in general!" Like Barmine, Krivitsky ex-

(Continued on page 2)

Meeting To Hear Verdict Of Dewey Commission; Chairman In Broadcast

NEW YORK.—Concluding eight months of intensive investigation, the Commission of Inquiry into the charges made against Leon Trotsky at the Moscow Trials, headed by Professor John Dewey, internationally known educator, will report its findings to a mass meeting to be held on Sunday, December 12th, at the Hotel Center, at 8 P. M.

The speakers at the meeting, in addition to Professor Dewey, will be a number of his colleagues on the Commission, including Suzanne LaFollette, former editor of the New Freeman. John

Chamberlain, noted literary critic and author, Benjamin Stolberg, labor journalist, Carlo Tresca, labor leader and editor of Il Martello and Wendelin Thomas, former Deputy in the German Reichstag. Another speaker will be John Finerty, counsel to the Commission, who is noted for having reopened the Mooney case.

Dewey On the Air!

At 6:35 Eastern Standard Time, Monday, December 13, 1937, Dr. John Dewey will broadcast over the nation-wide network of the Columbia Broadcasting System

his personal comments on the Commission's work and findings.

Dr. Dewey will also read a telegram from Leon Trotsky which will be Trotsky's first comment on the findings of the Commission.

This program can be heard on the following stations:

NEW YORK WABC
PHILADELPHIA .. WCAU
BOSTON WEEI
CHICAGO WBBM
SAN FRANCISCO .. KSSO

or your own local Columbia Broadcasting System station.

Diplomats Expose Stalin Frame Ups

In Moving Appeal For Threatened Bolsheviks

(Continued from page 1)

posed the police measures used to extort false confessions from those tried and murdered, and added:

Victims Were Innocent

"Each new trial, each firing-squad, shook my conscience more deeply. I had sufficient information to know how these trials were staged, and to realize that innocent persons were perishing."

Both of the former Soviet officials have been members of the Communist Party of Russia virtually since the Revolution, and took this public step only because, in Krivitsky's words, "I believe it is my duty to bring all these to the knowledge of the international workers' organizations." Barmine and Krivitsky have made public the fact that their footsteps have been dogged by G.P.U. agents since their break with Stalinism, but that they are determined to rehabilitate the imprisoned and executed Russian revolutionists in the eyes of public opinion regardless of the danger or cost to themselves.

Ignace Reiss, former agent of the G.P.U., who took a similar step several months ago in denouncing the Moscow frame-ups, was murdered by G.P.U. assassins in Switzerland a few weeks ago. Remembering the fate of Reiss, Barmine has written in his statement: "I know the danger I incur, but I am obeying my conscience in breaking with this government."

Stalin Crisis Seen

Reiss, Barmine, Krivitsky—they are only the first! The Stalinist G.P.U. cannot forever keep old revolutionists terrorized into silence! The crack is widening, and foreshadows the final crisis in the Bonapartist regime of the counter-revolutionary bureaucracy that is undermining all the conquests of the proletarian revolution in Russia.

The Socialist Appeal is fortunately able to print below the statement made by the courageous Russian officials. The first one, by Alexander Barmine, is addressed to the French Committee of Inquiry into the Moscow Trials, with a copy sent to the Central Committee of the League for the Rights of Man in France:

"Having just left the service of the government of the USSR, I consider it my duty to bring to your attention the following facts and to raise an indignant protest to you, in the name of humanity and the rights of man, against the crimes which are becoming more extensive every day.

"First secretary of the Legation of the USSR at Athens since December, 1935, then Charge d'Affaires of the USSR at Athens beginning in March, 1937, I have passed 19 years in the service of the Soviet Government, have belonged for 19 years to the Russian Communist Party, and fought for the Soviet regime and devoted all my strength to the Workers State.

Is Old Revolutionist

"I volunteered for the Red Army in 1919, was named six months later political commissar of a battalion and then of a regiment. For having distinguished myself under fire, I subsequently

went to the school of Red Army officers and held various commands on the Western front. After the offensive against Warsaw, the military council of the 16th Army named me to take courses at the Academy of the General Staff. In 1932 I was retired with rank of brigade commander. I functioned as Consul General in Persia from 1923 to 1925. I have belonged for 10 years to the ranks of the Commissariat of Foreign Trade and was, from 1929 to 1931, director-general of Imports in France and Italy, official agent of the USSR in Belgium in 1932, member of the governmental delegation in Poland in 1933, president of the central export trust of automobile and aviation products in 1934-35. Such were, in brief, my posts before my appointment to Greece. Whatever my functions, I have thought only of wholeheartedly serving the interests of my country and of socialism.

"The recent Moscow trials filled me with stupor and horror. It was impossible for me to accept the execution of the old leaders of the revolution, despite the confessions they lavishly made, confessions which only added to my disquiet while prolonging my last illusions.

Illusions Ended

"My profound attachment to the working class and to the Soviet people, my difficulty in believing in the possibility of crimes on the part of its leaders, led me at first, in all sincerity to do violence to myself and resign myself to the facts. I hoped, in making this effort, to serve still further the cause of Socialism. But the events of recent months (months which I spent in France on convalescence leave) have left me no further illusions. Startling trials prepared the wholesale extermination of the cadres of the Communist Party of the USSR, i.e., of militants who led the struggle in illegality, made the revolution, conducted the civil war, assured the victory of the first Workers State... covered today with slime and handed over to the executioner. It seemed to me then that a reactionary dictatorship had installed itself in my country.

"I saw disappear into prison—perhaps executed or suppressed—my chiefs and companions, all old Bolsheviks: the former ambassador and People's Commissar of Foreign Affairs Krestinsky; the chairman of the Society for Cultural Relations Abroad Arrosev, former vice-Commissar and Ankara ambassador Karakhan, said to be shot; Ambassador Yrunev, former commissar-general of the Red Army in 1918-19; Elivia, vice-commissar of Foreign Trade whose collaborator I had the honor to be; my friends and comrades (with whom I struggled and worked at different times during the last 20 years), Zuckerman and Fechner, directors at the Foreign Affairs Commissariat in Moscow; the Soviet ministers Asmus (Helsingfors), Podolsky (Kaunas), Ostrovsky, friend and protege of Voroshilov (Bucharest); Generals Guekker, Schmidt and Savitsky, heroes of the civil war and comrades of the Military Academy; finally the ambassadors Davtian, Karsky, Bogomolov, Rosenberg, Brodovsky, whom

I knew personally for a short time but of whose honesty and devotion I am deeply persuaded.

Face Death

"I would like to make the most pressing, most desperate appeal to public opinion in behalf at least of those of them who are still perhaps living and against the false and ignoble accusations. I am thinking of my friends remaining at their posts in other countries of Europe, Asia or America, threatened daily with a similar fate and placed before the tragic dilemma: go back to certain death, or, renouncing seeing their country again, to risk the bullets of the agents of the Secret Police abroad, of those agents who quite recently still shadowed my every step.

"To remain in the service of Stalin's government would have been to doom myself to the worst demoralization and to assume my share of the responsibility for the crimes committed every day against the people of my country. It would have been to betray the cause of socialism to which I have devoted my entire life.

"I am obeying my conscience in breaking with this government. I am fully aware of the danger to which I expose myself in acting this way. I am signing my own death warrant and expose myself to the blows of paid killers. This consideration could not modify in any way my line of conduct.

Obeys Conscience

"I have sent my resignation to the Commissariat of Foreign Affairs at Moscow and, renouncing the benefits of diplomatic immunity, I am today only a political refugee who place himself under the protection of the laws and opinion of the country which gives him hospitality. I have obeyed my conscience, sure in this way of having been more faithful than ever to the ideas which I have served all my life.

"May my choice help clarify opinion on a regime which denies in fact all Socialism, all humanity.

"With my salutations,
Alexander Barmine (Graff).
"Dec. 1, 1937."

Herewith we reproduce the letter sent by Walter Krivitsky to the French authorities, requesting the right of asylum. Krivitsky was not only recently entrusted by the Stalinist government with a special mission abroad, but had been previously decorated with the Order of the Red Flag and given a sword of honor. His letter to the French Minister of the Interior follows:
Mr. Minister:

"The undersigned, Samuel Ginsburg, bearing in the USSR as a Soviet citizen the name of Walter Krivitsky, and the political pseudonym Walter, born June 28, 1899 at Podwoloczyska (Poland) has been a member of the CPSU since 1919.

Twice Decorated

"From 1919 to 1937 I was in the service of the Communist Party and the Soviet State, entrusted with missions of a political military and economic nature. I loyally and with absolute devotion fulfilled these missions, convinced that I was best serving my cause. My efforts were recognized many times. The State and the Party testified to their confidence in me. I was named to important posts and was twice decorated.

"For several years, however, I have followed with anxiety the policy of my government. But

Bureaus Restrict Rights Of Jobless Locals; WAA 'Purged'

By Neil Harrison

NEW YORK.—After ten months of unity the Alliance is completely in the grip of Stalinist leadership. Immediately after taking control of the Alliance, the Stalinists started a campaign of suspension and expulsion of militants who dared offer any criticism of their leadership. First, Clarence Roth was expelled on trumped-up charges. Then militants like Sol Berkowitz and Weinberg were suspended for daring to criticize the "leaders." Finally, leading workers such as George Aranoff and Ida Lipp were expelled. Hoodlums were sent into locals not under Stalinist control to take them over and, failing that, to disrupt them. Other locals were packed with Communist party members.

Relief Officials Take Advantage

In the meanwhile the Emergency Relief Bureau started cracking down on the unemployed and putting the Alliance in its place. New rules were put into force. First, clients were separated from delegates; the Stalinist leadership yielded at once. Then the size of the grievance committee from each local was cut down to five; on this the Stalinists yielded again. Then the Bureaus ruled that only one representative from a local could present grievances; and once more the Stalinists yielded. Finally the Bureaus ruled that the Alliance could come in with grievances only twice a week, Mondays and Fridays, irrespective of whether the case was an emergency or not. Through the accumulated "red tape" it now takes at least three weeks before a relief applicant can get on relief; one week before an appointment is made, one week before the investigator calls, one week before the check is issued. This, of course, saves the city hundreds of thousands of dollars.

The Stalinists continued to claim they were winning victory after victory, and if they deceived the rank and file, they did not for one minute deceive LaGuardia or the relief administration who cinched their advances with the plan to set up a central complaint bureau for each bo-

rough, thus eliminating the Alliance locals from the bureau altogether.

Stalinist "Line"

Before the election of LaGuardia a "demonstration" was held at City Hall which had all the appearance of a funeral march. The main slogan raised was "food and rent must come down." Some progressive militants who shouted "down with the sales tax" were nearly beaten up by the Stalinists.

On WPA the line was that nothing should be done to embarrass Roosevelt. Thousands of dollars were raised for a march to Washington which was held after Congress adjourned. The campaign against the lay-offs inaugurated by the Stalinist leadership consisted of phoney "job marches," post card campaigns to the President and Congressmen, and marches to the Chamber of Commerce, the net result being that the government laid off from WPA their desired quota anyway. Now with further WPA dismissals in view, the Stalinists have brought in no concrete plan on how to fight this. Nothing must be done to embarrass the two white hopes of the People's Front, Roosevelt and LaGuardia.

Progressives Organize

A group of progressive militants, early seeing the trend that the Alliance was taking, started laying the groundwork for the formation of a progressive group around the general slogans of a democratic organization a militant fighting program, against the government administration responsible for WPA dismissals and the cutting of relief standards; against the disruption of the locals by Stalinists, against the anti-union signs put up by Mayor LaGuardia in the bureaus. ("It is not necessary to belong to any organization or pay any money to anyone to get on relief" is one of Mayor LaGuardia's "Fordisms" in every bureau).

The Progressive Group now numbers approximately 200 members and is supported by ten locals of the Alliance. The group has received considerable support from the rank and file formerly under Stalinist leadership.

I was convinced that my work served the supreme interests of my workers fatherland and that it was too important to be abandoned whatever my personal opinions. The most recent political events in the USSR completely changed this situation. Faced by the physical suppression of all the old militants and all who, like myself, placed themselves from the beginning at the disposal of the Soviets, I understood that I could not continue to work with the Soviet Government.

"Faced with the choice of following all my old comrades to death, or of trying to save my life and those of my near ones, I decided not to hand myself over silently to the Stalinist terror which has nothing in common with the cause which is mine.

"I know that a price has been placed on my life. Assassination dogs me and will spare neither

my wife nor my child. I have often risked my life for my cause. But I do not want to die for nothing.

Aware of Danger

"I feel in solidarity with all the militant workers of the USSR, with the tens of thousands of imprisoned, deported, murdered, executed by the present rulers of a regime which they brought to power. In remaining abroad, I hope to have the possibility of rehabilitating the memory of these militants of the working class, treated as spies and agents of the Gestapo. It is also for them that I ask you to protect me, me and mine, to authorize me to remain in France until I will be able to go to another country to earn my living for me and mine in full independence and security.

"(Sgd) Samuel Ginsburg (Krivitsky)

Moscow-Amsterdam "Unity": A Diplomatic Maneuver

Comments on the Agreement between the I.F.T.U. and the Soviet "Trade Unions" in an Interview Granted to "El Universal"

By Leon Trotsky

The unification of the world trade union organization, in the present case the adherence of the Soviet Union to the Amsterdam International, could bring great advantages to the working class—under only one condition: that there are actually unions in the U.S.S.R. But there are none there. There is a trade union apparatus totally dependent upon the ruling clique and dominating the working masses. Thus, during the last bloody purge, which is, moreover, far from being ended, the central Council of Trade Unions was totally reorganized without the so-called unionized masses knowing more than what appeared in the official press. The purge of the trade union apparatus was done by the G.P.U. upon the direct order of Stalin.

The former trade union leader, the old revolutionary, Tomsky, was driven into suicide by a campaign of calumnies and vicious persecution. His place was taken, without the least consultation with the membership, by Shvernik, who was never and is nothing more than a bell-hop in the personal service of Stalin. The renovated apparatus occupies itself in its turn with purging the factories and the offices, in hunting and trapping whoever is discontented, critical, or makes demands. Thus the so-called unions represent an organization of industrial police, an appendage of the G.P.U. and not at all an autonomous organization of workers.

Unification? No — Diplomatic Accord!

It is not a question then of the unification of the working masses, but of a diplomatic accord between the Amsterdam apparatus, decently conservative, and the police apparatus of Moscow.

The heads of the British trade unions would like well enough to orient the external policy of their country toward a rapprochement with France, the United States, and the U.S.S.R. The French policy, that of the People's Front, is based upon the support of Moscow. Jouhaux, the head of the French union, while proclaiming the "independence" of his trade unions, belongs in reality to the People's Front. It is this political conjuncture, nationally and internationally, which has determined the rapprochement of the Amsterdam trade union bureaucracy with the pseudo-trade union bureaucracy of Moscow.

We must add still another element which is not without importance. Already for some years, practically since 1924, Stalin has purchased precisely through the intermediary of the so-called trade union apparatus the "sympathies" of various trade union leaders abroad, commencing with England. We are able to cite some cases of British trade union heads on the regular Moscow payroll. Others have benefitted through exceptional privileges, or their wives have received presents in gold or in platinum. This practice of demoralizing the workers' leaders was, be it said in passing, one of the principal points of my struggle against Stalin's clique.

When I became aware of this practice, in the spring of 1925, I protested vigorously. "But why?" Stalin countered, "Do not the bourgeoisie buy the workers'

leaders?" "One can buy," I answered, "somebody in order to corrupt him, but not in order to make him a fighter for the emancipation of the oppressed." This practice has since that time taken on gigantic proportions. We must not forget that the gold industry has made great progress in the U.S.S.R. The industry of bribery and of corruption has made still greater progress.

Many of the so-called "friends" of the U.S.S.R. who have nothing in common with the Russian people, its revolutionary traditions, its sufferings, and its aspirations are not more than interested friends of the ruling clique of the Kremlin. Some of them are paid directly with gold. Others depend in their personal

NOTICE

Internal Bulletin No. 3 is now ready for mailing. All Locals and Branches are urged to send their orders at once. Remittances should be made by check or money order. DO NOT SEND CASH.

The National Office is completely out of Bulletin No. 1 (The Spanish question). Any local or branch having these on hand will please communicate with the National Office without delay as some branches did not get their full quota. Due credit will be given.

political aims upon the aid of the powerful international apparatus of Moscow.

I do not doubt that Stalin, Yezhov, and Shvernik will utilize the so-called trade union unification in order to enlarge their hold upon the number of leaders with a supple spine and conscience. What will be the reaction of the working class against these practices? We shall see in the coming years.

Coyoacan, D. F., Nov. 29, 1937.

Militant Executive Of Hosiery Union Slugged in Minneapolis

MINNEAPOLIS, DEC. 3. — Vern Simonson, Minneapolis Socialist party member and Executive Member leading an opposition group in Local 38 of the American Federation of Hosiery Workers, was brutally attacked and injured by a gang who seized him at 7:30 P. M., Thursday night, Dec. 2, as he was returning from supper to his job on the night shift at the Strutwear Hosiery plant.

Dr. H. P. McCrimmon, of 601 Medical Arts Building, stated that he had, "a severe brain concussion, two broken ribs on the left side, and the abdominal region badly swollen from kicks."

Half conscious and in extreme pain, Simonson labored to give an account of the attack and his opinion concerning the reasons for it. Pieced together his story was:

On 6th Street, between 8th and 9th Avenue South, on the south side of the street, a group of men seized him and dragged him behind a building, striking him on the head and kicking him in the ribs and stomach. They fled when a car approached and its driver stopped and came over to see what was happening. The driver helped Simonson into the car and took him to Simonson's home, at 6500-15 Avenue South, where his sister immediately called Dr. McCrimmon. After examining him, Dr. McCrimmon reported the attack to the police.

Fought Splitters

As a Socialist party member associated with Vincent R. Dunne and other labor leaders in a fight to prevent the splitting of unions and to maintain the unity of the labor movement of Minneapolis, Simonson had come into sharp

conflict with the group dominating the local union to which he belonged.

V. R. Dunne, Socialist Party Organizer and associate of Pat Corcoran in the leadership of the Drivers' Union said:

"Vern Simonson is the second victim of violence against labor, employed by open and disguised enemies of labor. He is associated with the same group of labor officials as was Pat Corcoran. Whether in or out of the A.F. of L., this group has always stood for a united labor movement and against union-splitting."

"I want to emphasize most emphatically that Vern had no quarrel with the national leadership of his union. When Alex McKeown was stationed here as the representative of the national office of the American Federation of Hosiery Workers, Vern and he were on the best of terms and were in substantial agreement on union policy. Likewise, it must be noted that throughout the country the American Federation of Hosiery Workers maintains cordial relations with the entire labor movement. Only in Minneapolis, under the regime of the Bill Mauseth-Hilliard Smith gang who control Vern's local, is there friction with the labor movement. Vern Simonson opposed this insane union-splitting policy as well as he could as the lone oppositionist on the local's executive board, and as a result was vilified, calumniated and threatened by those pursuing a mad policy of rule or ruin."

Threatened by Stalin Men

"They hated Vern Simonson, not only for his trade union policy but at least equally for his poli-

Corcoran Case Analyzed At Minneapolis Meeting

(Continued from page 1)

"Pat Corcoran's assassination is a tragic consequence of a totality of events which have raised Minneapolis from a notorious open shop town to what is probably the best organized city in the United States, as recently attested to by officials of the National Labor Relations Board. The killing of Corcoran is not an isolated instance, but is a link in a chain of events forged by sinister forces, the enemies of the working class. The role of the Associated Industries in this case (the A. I. is the former Citizens Alliance) is that of a pack of jackals, who seek to besmirch the names of the leadership of the local progressive unionists. The bosses have not reconciled themselves to the fact that the labor movement has so materially raised the living standards of the workers, has caused millions of dollars more to go in the pay envelopes of their employes.

"Since 1934, when the drivers' union succeeded in having the bosses operate under signed contracts, the trade union movement of Minneapolis has trebled in size, until there are today over 45,000 workers working under union contracts. There are 50 more local unions in 1937 than there were three years ago, new industries have been organized, better contracts have been secured each year, which mean shorter hours and more pay and yet the Stalinists, with characteristic effrontery, echo the bosses' charges of "gangsterism", and that Pat Corcoran was killed as a result of "inter-union warfare."

"The role of gangsterism in the trade union movement is to terrorize the workers in the unions, to take bribes from the bosses, and to put the quietus

tical program. As a left wing Socialist, Simonson is opposed to the frame-up and murder system perpetrated on an international scale by the Communist parties of Stalin. It is of course a notorious fact that the same Mauseth-Smith-Bean gang who fought him in the unions are also partisans of Stalin. They denounce Vern Simonson as a "Trotskyist-fascist" and declare they will drive all of us out of the labor movement. They try to raise a lynch spirit against us, which can lead to anything.

"These utterly irresponsible people have been attempting to strike at our group by attempting to link us with alleged gangsterism in the labor movement. They have thus created an atmosphere in which any enemy of labor can strike down labor leaders with impunity, for the Mauseth-Smith propaganda has in advance pinned all such crimes on the labor movement itself. The fact is that the bona fide labor movement of Minneapolis, the most progressive in the country, is clean as a hound's tooth. These attacks come from enemies of labor whether open or disguised."

on militant action by the workers. The bosses are not averse to racketeering in the unions—it pays them well. A cinching proof of the worth of the drivers' leadership is the fact that throughout all their strikes, the workers have been led from one victory to another, until the scale for drivers—which was 42½c per hour after the victorious strikes of 1934—is today 70c per hour.

"The revolutionists in the trade union movement—the Dunnes and the Dobbs and the Skoglunds—have always sought the means for cooperation with the other honest but comparatively conservative elements in the trade union movement, have always sought a united front with other progressive forces in joint action against the common enemy, the bosses. It is quite possible to successfully work with conservative trade union forces in furthering the immediate demands of the workers, higher wages and shorter hours and better working conditions. This may be done, as proved by the work of the Dunnes in the drivers' union, despite fundamental differences with conservatives like Corcoran on politics, religion, and the goal of the class struggle. Men like Corcoran, unlike the Stalinists, knew that there was a class struggle, and that the only way to win it was to organize unions which genuinely fought for the interests of the workers.

Sailing Under False Colors

"The Stalinists sail under false colors. While they are the class-collaborationists and counter-revolutionists, they denounce all honest revolutionists as class-collaborationists and counter-revolutionists, and this in the name of Leninism, of social revolution. They have put the Soviet Union, which is a trade union raised to the highest level, in a precarious condition through their crooked maneuvering and compromise with the capitalist nations of the world.

Call Police

"The wailing and yelping of the Minneapolis Stalinists for a special police investigator to pry into the records of Local 544, is a case in point; since when do militant workers go to the police for help; since when have the Stalinists forgotten that the police are the agents of the bosses; and that the state is the agent of the bosses; and that the state and the police and the bosses are the enemies of the workers?"

Before the meeting, the Communist Party, not through its own name of course, but through that of one of its members, one Robert Kelly, organizer of the Miscellaneous Workers Union, local 655, asked a series of questions on a mimeographed leaflet. The Socialist Party, in great contrast to the practice of the Communist Party, allowed the leaflet vendors to distribute them even at the very doors of the meeting. (As a matter of fact, one of our leaflet distributors was beaten up by a gang of Stalinist thugs recently at a Stalinist Ralph Bates meeting.) The questions on the leaflet were adequately answered by Cannon; also numerous questions from the floor. Where one questioner asked who beat Vern Simonson, a member of the Minneapolis Socialist Party, who is in active opposition to the Stalinist control of his local union of the American Federation of Hosiery Workers, Cannon asked why this question was not on the list of questions addressed to him in the Kelly leaflet.

The Stalinist Frame-Ups From Moscow To Minneapolis

Speaker

James P. Cannon

Just Returned from Minneapolis

FRIDAY EVENING, DEC. 17, 1937, 8:00 P. M.
WEBSTER MANOR, 125 East 11th Street (Near 4th Ave).
Auspices: Socialist Party (Left Wing), New York Local

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Jobless Must Be Roused Into Action

Elsewhere in this issue as well as in previous issues of the *Socialist Appeal*, facts and figures have been cited to picture the frightful plight of the American workers as the economic crisis deepens. The ominous sweep of the lay-off campaign is matched by the equally disastrous sky-rocketing of the cost of living.

Laid-off workers met the onrush of the great crisis of 1929 with a wave of militancy and struggle that will long be an inspiration for American labor and for the working class throughout the world. It was precisely this vigorous determination of the unemployed wage slaves to stand up and fight that forced the concessions upon that system of inhumanity called capitalism, resulting in the setting up of the federal relief and W.P.A. agencies.

Once more, and even more acutely than before, the spectre of starvation hovers over working class households. No one will drive it off, this time as at all times, except the workers themselves, organized in fighting demonstrations, rallied to solidarity by militant organizations.

The Workers Alliance, completely in the stranglehold of a Stalinist leadership which is more concerned in helping United States capitalism prepare for war than it is in obtaining the most elementary rights for its rank and file, has issued no call for action. This alleged organization of the unemployed has organized no campaign and sent out no directives to arouse the unemployed and the workers who are constantly being laid off to planned, concerted national demonstrations of struggle such as the seriousness of the situation requires. Instead, the Stalinist leaders of the Alliance are dilly-dallying with the so-called "progressive" capitalist politicians; lobbying endlessly while hunger grows; lulling the unemployed into illusory reliance upon Roosevelt benevolence and LaGuardia magnanimity.

The Stalinist helpmates of the capitalist politician cannot be expected to give the jobless that indispensable leadership and spirit of struggle which the hour demands. Already, in spite of them, sit-downs are taking place in local relief bureaus all over the country to force the administration to an adjustment in relief grants commensurate with the new needs. Resentment against the impending cuts on W.P.A. are mounting on every project. But the sentiment as well as the actions are still too scattered. The cohesion necessary for effective results is still lacking.

Revolutionists, militants in the unemployed movement, face a heavy responsibility and a great task in the coming months. It is incumbent upon them to agitate for militant action on a national scale in the ranks of the Workers Alliance. Theirs is the duty to provide the necessary leadership to the unemployed movement in the struggles ahead. Now is the time for the militants in the W.A.A. to organize their forces in a challenge to the Stalinists, whom the fighting jobless men and women will of necessity discard both inside and outside the present organization.

The revolutionary socialists are needed in the van of the unemployed. It is up to them to put their shoulder to wheel if the laid-off auto, rubber, steel workers are to get W.P.A. jobs at prevailing union rates; if those now on W.P.A. are to head off curtailment of work relief; if the latter and those on direct relief are to prevent the cuts in relief appropriations now being planned cold-bloodedly by the Administration; if relief grants and W.P.A. wages are to be brought in line with the rising cost of living; if the entire organized labor movement is to be lined up in support of the unemployed.

Bad Week for Frame-Up Artists

It was a bad week for the frame-up artists. First, eleven union officials in Minneapolis repudiated their signatures to the Stalinist "Volunteer Committee's" union-wrecking document. Next, the Harry Bridges "assassination" hoax was pretty thoroughly exposed on the West Coast. Finally, a crushing blow came with the exposure of the Stalinist murder gang by two Soviet diplomats in Paris.

Pittsburgh Congress for "Peace And Democracy" Prepares War

Roosevelt's policy of "quarantine the aggressor" was embodied in the program of the American League for Democracy and Peace (formerly "Against War and Fascism") at its fourth congress held in Pittsburgh last week end. Last year the Congress as a whole did not accept the concept of aggressor and defender nations but instead adopted the pacifist proposal: "To demand that neutrality legislation effectively cover all war supplies, loans and credits, and permit no discretion of the President". Though even then it contradicted its own program the Communist party voted for this!

Today Roosevelt has helped fill the breach. The Communist party's program, now more than ever in harmony with the interests of American imperialism, was adopted by the fourth congress:

Adopts F. D. R. War Program

"Demand a foreign policy based upon: (A) Distinction between aggressor and victims. (B) Denying markets to the aggressors (C) Concerted action to quarantine the aggressor." (Daily Worker, Nov. 29, 1937).

The differences between the liberal pacifists and the Stalinists is indicated by the odd formula in point eight of the program: "Seek to remove restrictions on access of the Chinese and Spanish governments to the purchase of American goods and at the same time remove the risk of becoming involved in war." (Our emphasis).

What does this platonic reservation mean? All supporters of the Spanish and Chinese people are in favor of removing the obstacles to their purchase of material in the United States. (Obstacles, by the way, which were created by the "neutrality legislation" called for by the third congress of the League).

The American League program instead of removing "the risk of becoming involved in war", by its advocacy of "concerted action to quarantine the aggressor" (point nine), aids the Roosevelt administration in mobilizing the masses for its imperialist aims.

The fact that one third of the delegates are reported to have come from trade unions does not

change the pro-war significance of the Congress. During the last war, the labor and "socialist" forces were mobilized behind Wilson through the "American Alliance for Labor and Democracy". The declaration of principles of the American Alliance (adopted at its first congress September 5-7, 1917) clearly reveals the plagiarism of our present day social patriots:

"As labor unionists, social reformers, and Socialists we pledge our loyal support and service to the United States Government and its allies in the present conflict. (The American League as such is not so frank. But wait... have patience!)

"We declare that one overshadowing issue is the preservation of democracy... We declare that the great war must be fought to a decisive result: that until autocracy is defeated there can be no hope of an honorable peace, and that to compromise the issue is to sow the seed for bloodier and more devastating wars in the future."

"We strongly denounce the words and actions of those enemies of the Republic who, falsely assuming to speak in the name of labor and democracy are now ceaselessly striving to obstruct the operations of the government's purposes." (Browder has already—before the war!—used stronger language).

Beware of Repetition of 1917 Fraud

In the preparations for the new war not only do the armament programs outstrip the last pre-war period but the social patriotism of the Social Democracy and Stalinism is far more blatant than could be found in the labor movement before the last war. In the American League itself the Stalinists still have to keep in line with the pacifists.

Yesterday, the American imperialists wanted "neutrality", so this was the program of the League. Today, it demands "quarantine of the aggressor" or collective security, so the League obliges. And tomorrow... The experience of the American Alliance for Labor and Democracy will be duplicated by the American League for Democracy and War Against Fascism.

NEW YORK DANCE TO AID CONVENTION

Christmas Eve promises to be a gala occasion for New Yorkers. All revolutionary socialists and their friends will converge on Irving Plaza for an evening of celebration before the New York delegation leaves for the National Convention in Chicago.

The Committee in charge of the dance assures us that every step has been taken to make this dance the outstanding affair of its kind.

A first class band has been engaged and attempts are being made to secure a number of well-known professional entertainers.

The full proceeds will be turned over to the National Convention. Tickets are 55c in advance and 75c at the door. They may be secured from the Labor Book Shop, 28 East 12th Street and at the office of the Party, 116 University Place.

Christmas Eve Dance

Friday, December 24th, at 9 P. M.

IRVING PLAZA

15th STREET AND IRVING PLACE

Tickets: In Advance 55 cents — At the door 75 cents

For Sale at: Labor Book Shop, 28 East 12th St.

AUSPICES: Convention Arrangements Committee
Socialist Party (Left Wing)

Nanking's Fall Ends First Phase of War

By Li Fu-jen

With the capture of Nanking, China's capital, by Japan's invading legions, the first phase of the Sino-Japanese war is drawing to a close. Through five months of struggle, the Kuomintang government and Chinese bourgeoisie have demonstrated, not for the first time, their utter incapacity to conduct with any degree of success the liberating campaign for China's national independence against imperialism.

Already there is talk that Chiang Kai-shek, having fled from Nanking, is about to go into "retirement." According to a Shanghai dispatch to the *New York Times*, a reorganized government will assume "the onerous task of negotiating the best peace terms available." The same message relates that the "Japanese authorities have already been approached with this plan, and it is understood they suggested that General Ho Ying-ching (Minister of War in the Nanking government) succeed General Chiang Kai-shek in control of the army."

There can be no illusions as to the terms which the Japanese imperialists will impose. The Kuomintang government will be obliged to abandon the military struggle and put its signature to an agreement which will make it a pliant tool in the hands of Japan. There will be the first fruits of the war as it has been conducted hitherto by the Kuomintang and Stalinists under the banner of the "People's Anti-Japanese Front."

New Phase Opening

The surrender and capitulation of Chiang Kai-shek and the Kuomintang, however, will not mean the end of China's struggle against imperialism. A new phase is opening, in which the exploited masses of China, held in passivity by the Kuomintang and the Stalinists, will march to the front of the war stage. Reports from North China already indicate the opening of guerrilla warfare over a widespread area. This movement will grow and extend throughout the country. Goaded by the bestialities of the armies of Japanese imperialism, the masses will arise everywhere against the invaders.

The task of the Chinese revolutionists is to link themselves to the masses by means of a practical program of struggle based on revolutionary perspectives, to organize and mobilize the workers and peasants for the struggle, to blast the last illusions which the masses still retain concerning the Kuomintang and the Stalinists, who stand exposed before the entire country as the organizers of defeat.

Japanese Victories Episodic

Military victories won so far by the armies of Japan have only an episodic character. Japanese imperialism, in attempting to subdue all China, will encounter difficulties a thousand times greater than it has encountered in Manchuria. The first serious reverses will set in train a series of social explosions in Japan, whose economic fabric has already been terribly strained by the war. Thirty million Chinese in Manchuria, 21,000,000 inhabitants of Korea and 5,000,000 inhabitants of Formosa will rise up against their Japanese oppressors.

The activity of the Chinese Bolshevik-Leninists in organizing the masses for struggle against Japanese imperialism around revolutionary slogans must be linked with the struggles of the Japanese proletariat and peasantry and with the corresponding struggles of Japan's colonial slaves. Together, these masses represent a force which all the hosts of imperialist Japan will not be able to vanquish—provided they are armed, not only with guns, but with revolutionary objectives.

The New International

Our heartiest greetings, this week, go to the revived *New International*, the first issue of which has just come off the press. Graceful in its new format and more vigorous than ever in its contents, the theoretical organ of revolutionary Marxism fills a need which the partisans of the Fourth International throughout the world have felt very deeply during the year and a half of its suspension. In the stirring days of social ferment and class struggle ahead of us, it will be an indispensable weapon for proletarian fighters. More power to it!

Raidson 'Hooded Ones' Stir France; P.O.I. Calls For Workers Militias

By Terence Phelan

Spectacular charges and counter-charges in the inter-Fascist libel suit, paralleled by even more spectacular police raids upon Fascist arms-caches, have for the last month kept France in ferment. LaRocque has used court proceedings, ostensibly brought for libel against 17 persons and newspapers ranging from the Stalinist *Humanité* to the Royalist Action Française, as a base for attacking rival fascist groups, particularly those under Pozzo di Borgo and General Duseigneur, of which the theatrical French Ku-Kluxers, the Cagoulauds or "hooded ones," are the fanciest.

Sudden Raids

With a remarkable promptitude, the Popular Front police suddenly discovered a revolt plot, involving LaRocque's rivals: two Paris raids, for example, uncovered 1480 hand-grenades, 45 machine-guns, large stocks of ammunition, subterranean forts and arsenals, and elaborate military organizational plans leading throughout France. Duseigneur, who evidently fancied himself as the French Franco, and DiBorgo himself, were jailed. DiBorgo's allies, the Monarchists, counter-attacked from Switzerland with elaborate proclamations by the royalist pretenders (which fell flat). The government of the Front Populaire, slowly tapering off the raids, issued communiqués which for their exaggeration of the importance of the affair and for their self-congratulatory complacency, are theatrical masterpieces.

This performance has received an excellent official press; but the applause of the truly advanced workers has been more polite than enthusiastic. Regarding with well-founded cynicism the suddenness of the police discovery of the arms-caches of LaRocque's momentary political adversaries, they point out the significant fact that somehow none of LaRocque's far more numerous and well stocked arms-depots were discovered; and though they have been treated to exciting detective-story reports of complete membership lists found, and of great figures involved, they note that the arrests have been extremely few in number, and involve, apart from DiBorgo and Duseigneur, no one of any note; and that, furthermore, most have been released again.

The Fascist Danger

This is far from meaning that French Fascism is not to be taken seriously. Quite the contrary. Staged and limited as the raids were, their revelations are a symptomatic warning of the sort of which Spain had plenty prior to July 1936. They show once more that, just as in Spain, the Fascists are preparing, right under the nose of the Popular Front government, their eventual armed insurrection. The arms seized are only a drop in the bucket. Just as in Spain, the army officers are overwhelmingly Rightist in sympathy: the French counterparts of Sanjurjo, Franco, Mola, and Mola only await the signal. Just as in Spain, the Popular Front government takes only feeble half-measures that, on the one hand, are a positive provocation to the Fascists, and,

on the other, tend to lull the workers to a false sense of security. Summed up, the Front Populaire's whole behavior, in a situation that obviously precedes either revolution or counter-revolution, leads inevitably, not as in 1917 Russia, to the former but as in 1936 Spain, to the latter.

P.O.I. Calls for Struggle

Against the false and fatal policies of the Popular Front, only the French section of the Fourth International, the Parti Ouvrier Internationaliste, raises the slogans that can prevent France's becoming another Spain. Against the provocations and plots of the Fascist gangs, and equally against the feeble and treacherous policy of the Front Populaire toward those gangs, the Bolshevik-Leninists call for workers' militias. Against the increasingly violent attacks by the nationally organized bosses against what few remnants are left of the workers' gains in the great strike of May-June 1936, and equally against the suicidal policies of class peace, legality, and merely "symbolic" 4-hour strikes foisted upon the aroused workers by the reformists, the Bolshevik-Leninists raise the slogan of "generalized mass-occupation of the fac-

ories, as in June '36!"—for nation-wide wage contracts, for a sliding-scale of wages based on the cost-of-living index, for complete workers' control over hiring and firing. Against the P.F.—Stalinist line of compromise and retreat, they raise the cry that the only real defense is "attack and workers' victory — direct mass action"—"for mass occupations, for workers' militias, for the general strike."

Congress Prepares for Action

These are outstanding among the militant slogans adopted by the Second Annual Congress of the POI, held, despite LaRocque's protests to the Front Populaire, October 30-31 and November 1 in Paris. No adventurism, they are backed by a carefully planned practical program of organization leading through the dual power to a workers' state. The Convention, looking also outside France, pledged its continued defense of the conquests of October in the USSR, its solidarity with the Spanish workers and peasants in their fight against Franco, and their aid to the world proletariat, whether under democratic, fascist, or colonial domination, in its struggle against the real enemy, capitalism, and its Stalinist and other reformist lackeys. Cheered by a great organizational growth in the last year, the POI turns its face to the masses, to give them true revolutionary counsel in the most critical year the French workers have had to face since the last imperialist war.

Renewals

The Socialist Appeal has been mailed regularly to former subscribers of Labor Action and the old Socialist Appeal. We did not want subscribers to either of these publications to feel that they were not getting their money's worth. Now, in literally hundreds of cases, subscriptions have expired but we have continued mailing the Appeal with the hope that renewals would be forthcoming. Each person whose subscription has expired has been notified by letter and there has been some response.

Much as we would like to, it is financially impossible to continue supplying the Appeal to sub-

scribers who do not renew their subscriptions. The number appearing beside your name on the wrapper indicates the issue with which your subscription expires. This issue is No. 18. If your wrapper shows a lower number than this, your name will be removed from our subscription list until you renew.

And while you are renewing, don't forget that subscriptions alone will not finance the Appeal. The blank below provides space for contributions. If you can spare any amount to keep alive the only Revolutionary Marxist newspaper published in the United States, spare it now.

Socialist Appeal
116 University Place
New York City

Date

I enclose \$..... for which please send me the Socialist Appeal. One year—(\$2.00); Six Months—(\$1.00).

I enclose \$..... as my contribution toward building the Socialist Appeal.

Name

Address

City

Letters from Our Readers

Olivia, Minnesota, Local Backs Left Wing

We are reprinting below, excerpts from a copy of a letter to Roy Burt, sent to us by Comrade John Enestvedt, the Secretary of the Socialist Party Local in Olivia, Minnesota. The National Secretary of the Socialist Party (Right Wing) had demanded a "loyalty oath" from the Olivia comrades, a demand which had previously been rejected by the Minneapolis, St. Paul and Austin locals in Minnesota. The Olivia comrades had protested the expulsion of the latter for refusing to comply with Burt's order. —Ed.

Olivia, Minn., Nov. 22, 1937.

Dear Comrade Burt:

When you refer to the Appeal Group or Trotskyites as a dual organization in the party, I am reminded of some of the things that happened at the Chicago convention: For instance, when either the Right Wing or pure Stalinists got up and attacked the Trotskyites... the rank and file at the convention got up one after another and virtually drove them back into their seats. Which only goes to show that the wish of the convention was not to drive the Trotskyites or the so-called dual organization out of the party, but that they welcomed the political principles by which this group was tied together. Let me also remind you that the so-called Trotskyites or dual organization to which you refer is composed not only of former members of the Workers Party but also the real militant Left Wing of the Socialist Party which was developing even before the so-called dual organization entered the Socialist Party.

You refer to the fact that the convention (to be held) on Dec. 31 is made up of a group of disgruntled people. I think you are generally correct: It is made up of the whole Left Wing tendency within the party. In other words, it is made up of the rank and

file of the party members of the Chicago convention who passed fairly revolutionary resolutions and realize now that they have been betrayed by the Right-Centrist N.E.C. which they elected through the short-sightedness on the part of the Clarityite caucus at the convention.

You take me to task for calling the expelled comrades revolutionists... Then you go on haranguing about their being disrupters and therefore are being expelled.

I would like to call to your attention the record of these revolutionists, particularly in so far as Minneapolis is concerned. A short while ago, a report from the U. S. Government declared Minneapolis the best organized union city in the country. A short five years ago, Minneapolis was an open shop town that the Citizens' Alliance of any city would point to with pride. We hold these people to be revolutionists because they have been able to combat not only the forces of the Citizens' Alliance, but also the union splitting and disruptive tactics of the Stalinists...

If you mean by staying as members in the Socialist Party, that the Olivia comrades must denounce the principles of Revolutionary Socialism which the delegates of the Chicago convention endorsed, that no revolutionist will do. We reaffirm our solidarity with the expelled revolutionists, but we do not consider ourselves expelled from the party for upholding the principles of Revolutionary Marxism. We cast our lot with all those politically exiled who are subjects of bureaucratic acts by a leadership at the top of whatever institution they may be, including our comrade Sam Baron, arrested by the G.P.U. in Spain for Trotskyism.

Fraternally yours,
John Enestvedt, Secretary
Olivia Local

A Letter to the Editor of the "Modern Monthly"

We reprint below a copy of a letter sent by comrade Trotsky to V. F. Calverton. To date, no reply or acknowledgment has been made to it. —Ed.

October 15, 1937.

Mr. V. F. Calverton,
46 Morton St.
New York City, N. Y.

My Dear Editor:

You propose that I write an article on war for the *Modern Monthly*. Before entering directly into discussion of your amiable proposition, I am forced to put one preliminary question. In the list of your associate editors is inscribed the name of Mr. Carleton Beals. After his "participation" in the Inquiry Commission on the Moscow Trials, there cannot be the slightest doubt about the moral physiognomy of this gentleman. Beals' article on the Commission hearings in Coyoacan was nothing but a series of lies and falsifications dictated by the interest of the G.P.U. I enumerated the most important of these lies and falsifications in an article, a copy of which, so far as I know, was forwarded to you. You have not yet, however, reacted in any way to the attitude of Mr. Beals.

I can give an article to a bourgeois publication without any concern about the other contributors, as I may ride in a bus without concern about the identities of the other passengers. Totally different is the case with a magazine which appeals to Marxism and revolution. Every

contributor in this case is bound by a reciprocal bond to all the others. I consider it impossible to carry any responsibility not only for Mr. Beals himself but also for the publication which tolerates him in its ranks.

Stalinism is the syphilis of the workers movement. Anybody who chances to be a direct or indirect carrier of such a contamination should be submitted to a pitiless quarantine. The hour has struck for the unsparing demarcation of honest people from all the agents, friends, lawyers, publicists, and poets of the G.P.U. Collaboration in a journal like yours is necessary for such as Beals in order to preserve their mask of "independence." The less reason has an independent journal to give its cover to such gentlemen.

If the name of Mr. Beals remains on your list only through oversight (and I should be glad to hear from you that this is the case) then you can immediately correct this error. In the opposite case I shall be forced to ask you to publish this letter in your magazine in explanation for my taking away my name from the roll of your contributors.

Sincerely yours,
Leon Trotsky.

SOCIAL and DANCE
Saturday Eve., Dec. 18
at LEAH DILLON'S STUDIO
137 E. 18th Street
Auspices: ADMISSION 20c
Lower Manhattan Branch
and Y. P. S. L.

Lovestoneites Change "Line" Under Impact Of Recent Events In U.S.S.R.

By Joseph Carter

The so-called Russian question has been and remains the touchstone of international Marxist politics. The twentieth anniversary of the Russian Revolution is not only an occasion for the celebration of this great event but simultaneously the moment to evaluate the meaning of the present crisis in the Soviet Union and how it can be resolved in the interests of revolutionary socialism.

This task is undertaken by M. S. Mautner, for the Lovestoneites, in *Workers' Age* (Nov. 20, 1937). In line with the resolution on the Soviet Union of the "International Communist Opposition" (see *W. A.*, August 14, 1937), Mautner justifies his group's defense of Stalinism against Trotskyism in the past on the ground that the Soviet bureaucracy then played a progressive role.

A Belated Echo

"Trotsky himself declares that it would be criminal to deny the progressive work accomplished by the soviet bureaucracy," the author tells us. And adds: "But it is equally true that this progressive mission has been completely exhausted. In the past, its (Stalinism) positive and constructive aspects predominated; it was the builder of socialism. Today it has entered its negative and destructive phase: it is undermining, degrading, endangering its own achievements."

In so far as the above is correct, it is a belated echo of the Trotskyist analysis. However—and this is the nub of the matter—the Lovestoneites saw (and see) no connection between the yesterday and today save Stalin's organizational methods which are completely divorced by them from his general program, social, economic and foreign policies.

Trotsky's objective analysis of the progressive role of the bureaucracy referred to one side of the function of Stalinism, which it performed despite itself, its own reactionary program and practice; under the pressure of the kulaks, private traders and imperialists on the one hand, and the Trotskyist opposition on the other. (This is clear by an examination of the origin and development of the First Five Year Plan).

For the Lovestoneites, reference to yesterday's progressive role of the bureaucracy serves merely as an apology for its defense of the Stalinist program, internal and foreign policies.

The Sources of Stalinism

Mautner, however, clearly reveals the untenable position of the Lovestoneites. He tells us that the sources of the present crisis in the Soviet Union are not to be found in the "Thermidorian reaction" but rather:

"... in the specific conditions in which the Russian Revolution has developed, in the incredible handicaps it has faced of the backwardness of the country and its own isolation in a world of imperialism."

For the solution of this crisis, he adds: "And it is the International socialist revolution alone that can break the fatal isolation of the Soviet Republic in the world of imperialism."

With this, Mautner not only goes beyond the analysis given in the resolution but "sinks to the depths of Trotskyism!" For he presents the crux of the Trotskyist argument against Stalinism—the impossibility of constructing socialism in one country alone, without the aid of the international socialist revolution; that is, the objective conditions for the

"Thermidorian degeneration."

Or is this an exaggeration? Let us listen to Jay Lovestone in August 1935:

Yesterday's Position

"...The Soviet workers themselves with their own forces, without armed proletarian aid from outside can build a socialist society in Russia." (*Soviet Foreign Policy*, Pg. 28). Even more, he adds: "If the C P S U were not correct in concluding that the Soviet proletariat was capable of overcoming fully all capitalist elements within its country, that is, of building a socialist society, then it would really have no reason for maintaining power. We should then stop fooling the workers in the USSR and everywhere else and give up power to another class." (Pg. 28).

And today, Mautner-Lovestone tell us quite casually that the internal crisis is due to the "fatal isolation" of backward Russia which can be broken only by "international socialist revolution." In other words, the Russian workers by "their own forces, without armed proletarian aid from outside" cannot build socialism! To follow Lovestone's old logic he should today conclude that therefore "We should stop fooling the workers in the USSR and everywhere else and give up power to another class" (see above)! But his "logic" was as deceptive as his theory (of socialism in one country); today he abandons both without the necessary re-evaluation.

The Stalinist Constitution

The Stalinist Constitution, the trials and purges, the foreign policy (in which are included the policies of the Comintern) are not merely symptoms of the present situation but necessary prerequisites for the bourgeois counter-revolution from within.

The Constitution expresses in legal terms the political expropriation of the proletariat and the omnipotence of the bureaucracy. The trials and purges destroy actual and potential defenders of nationalized property relations. Soviet foreign policy (and Comintern policies) aims to maintain the absolutism of Stalinism against Fascist destruction and prevent at all costs a working class revolutionary victory in Western Europe which would make impossible Stalinist absolutism in Russia and threaten the Stalinist policy of subordination of the working class to its "democratic" imperialist allies.

The new constitution was hailed by the Lovestoneites:

"The new constitution of the Soviet Union is living proof that the proletarian dictatorship makes for the full development of the rights of the toiling masses... As a result of the new constitution the Soviet state is nearing its goal of abolishing the state altogether," we read in the *Workers' Age* of Nov. 14, 1937. Seven months later we are told by these same people that the articles of the constitution "read like a gruesome mockery." (*I.C.O. resolution*, June 25, 1937, *W. A.* August 14, 1937). Mautner does not even mention the constitution.

Moscow Trials

The Zinoviev-Kamenev and the Radek-Piatkov trials were likewise defended by the Lovestoneites. Like pleading attorneys they asked the jury to overlook the "circumstantial evidence" which pointed to frame-ups, the inconsistency between the politics of the defendants and the charge of individual terror, discrepancies in testimony and indisputable falsehoods. The trials should be viewed with "historical objectivity", they insisted; and pretentious analogies were made with the revolutionary terror of the Jacobins. (See *Workers' Age*, Feb. 6 and Feb. 13, 1937).

An editorial of February 20th declared: "When objective judgment is passed on the Moscow trials, it must surely be done primarily on the basis of the all-absorbing question: Is it Stalin or the Trotskyist opposition that by and large represents the basic interests of the socialist revolution in Russia, that is the bearer of the fundamentally sound policies of socialist construction? And on this question our position has been made clear more than once. The course of events itself, moreover, has pretty generally confirmed the viewpoint of Stalin as against that of Trotsky."

But life itself so ruthlessly threw to the winds the despicable apologetics of Lovestone, that following the execution of Tuchahevsky, the arrest of Yagoda, etc. the *I.C.O.* resolution of June 25, 1937 stated: "Such methods (Stalin's terrorism) deal communism the most disastrous blows it has received at any time from any source." (*W. A.*, August 14, 1937).

Could anything reveal greater bankruptcy! The Lovestoneites now unwittingly admit that they mistook Stalinist counter-revolutionary terrorism for revolutionary terror.

Nor were the Lovestoneites more successful in understanding Russian foreign policy or its relation to the policies of the Comintern. In August 1935, Lovestone wrote:

"The Trotskyist theory that there is a fundamental cleavage between the interests of 'Russian state policy' and the interests of the international proletariat is false from top to bottom." (*Soviet Foreign Policy*, Pg. 27). He polemicized against those who declared that, for example, the social patriotism of the French Communist Party was due to Russian foreign policy.

And today? Lovestone (and Mautner) remain silent. However, August Thalheimer, their international theoretician, presents a hitherto not unknown view:

"What is responsible for the change in the policy of the Communist International?", he writes in the *British New Leader* (August 20, 1937), "The crisis in Russia is the explanation. Because of the absence of proletarian democracy, Soviet Russia is going back and the bureaucracy is defending itself under terror."

"The rulers of Russia are satisfied with Socialism (!) in their own country and status quo in other countries. Their policy is the Isolated Socialist State." Is it not clear how critics of Stalinism must "borrow" (more accurately, plagiarize!) from the basic views of Trotskyism which they yesterday declared "counter-revolutionary"?

We thus see that the Lovestoneite fundamental theories, analysis, logic and conclusions on this basic

INTERNATIONAL NOTES

The Franco-Soviet Pact and the Maneuvers of the Imperialists. Soviet Union Elections Featured by Continued Purge.

By John G. Wright

Rumors that the Franco-Soviet pact is about to be scrapped have been revived of late. The "democratic" European press keeps stressing the growing isolation of the Soviet Union. British diplomacy has been particularly active in recent days in pointing out that there are no insurmountable barriers to divide the imperialist camp into two irreconcilable wings, i.e., peace-loving "democratic" states, versus the bellicose Fascist states. The official and "unofficial" visits paid to Hitler by British statesmen are indications of a similar trend. A curious incident that occurred toward the end of last month may be directly connected with these maneuvers to "reconcile" the existing antagonisms.

The Paris correspondent of one of Mussolini's newspapers sent in a dispatch on the desirability of establishing a Franco-Italian rapprochement. It was published in *Tribuna*. The issue in which this article appeared was thereupon confiscated, and the correspondent recalled. The official explanation was that this correspondent had merely expressed his "personal" opinion. It is of course no secret that no "personal" opinions are permitted to slip into the rigidly censored Fascist press. In any case, Mussolini is "unofficially" on record as ready for "reconciliation".

Journal des Nations, the "organ" of the League of Nations published in Geneva hardly carries any news about the Soviet Union. An occasional brief notice may appear from time to time dwelling on some latest "achievement". Not a word about the purge, the "trials" etc. On the other hand, it carries perhaps the most detailed accounts outside the Comintern press of the activities of the Stalinists, especially with regard to France and Spain.

Thus, *Journal des Nations* devoted several issues to reports of the recent plenum of the Spanish Communist Party, giving considerable space to the speeches made there, and in particular to the oration made by M. Anton "the political Commissar of the Central Front." M. Anton, we are informed by the *Journal*, devoted his entire speech to "showing the relations between the Trotskyites and the Fascists, between the members of the P.O.U.M. and the partisans of Franco." There follows an extract from his speech: "The struggle against Trotskyism," he declared, "is not a question which solely concerns the Communists, but is the struggle of the Spanish people as a whole. That is why we want to denounce the peril that is constituted by the Trotskyite elements." (*Journal des Nations*, Nov. 19, 1937.)

The French newspapers, however, devote a great deal of attention to the purge. *Matin*, for example, insists that the Red Army is undergoing another "cleansing." *Havas Agency* has been circulating "unverified reports" that many army divisions are now being headed by officers of subordinate rank. *Matin* likewise reports the rumored suicide of Postyshev, and the arrest of Victor Keen, editor-in-chief of *Journal de Moscou* and former Tass correspondent in Rome and Paris.

In the Soviet Union there are 33 republics, of which 22 are autonomous and 11 "independent" Soviet entities. No other sphere appears to have been more thoroughly purged than the administrative machinery of these republics. The hands of the executioner reached even into Biro-Bidjan where the Jewish party heads, Professor Lieberberg, Chafkin and several others were arrested as "saboteurs, bourgeois-nationalists—and Japanese spies". These men had been credited officially as the "builders of Biro-Bidjan".

Latest dispatches leave no room for doubt that the republics are being "re-purged". Thus, in the Ukraine where Lubchenko, the Chairman of the Ukrainian Soviet Government, committed suicide on Aug. 30, and the secretary of the party Popov was arrested as a "Trotskyite", the newly appointed Chairman of the Government, Bondarenko, also "committed suicide." In White Russia, Cherviakov, the President of the Republic, committed suicide, and the Chairman of the Soviets and the secretary of the party were arrested. In Tadjikistan, Muksumov and Bobkalov, the successors of Rakhimbayev, the Premier, and Shotemir, the President, were arrested on September 21st. The Kirghiz Republic had been purged, but again the Chairman Isakeyev and others who had replaced the "spies and traitors" were themselves purged. On Nov. 20, there was reported another "plot" in Uzbekistan. Seven "plotters" were shot. Among them the head of the C. P., Kaipov.

Writing in the *Manchester Guardian* on this aspect of Stalin's blood purge, Dr. J. N. Steinberg comments as follows: "It is impossible to believe that in all the national states states simultaneously all the most important leaders should be nothing but political and moral criminals. This mass campaign seems to be intended to clear the way for a purely Russian national state." (*Manchester Guardian Weekly*, November 5).

To demonstrate to the world how securely he sits in the Kremlin, Stalin promised to free 15,000 political prisoners on the XX anniversary of the October revolution. But, of course, they remained in jail and in the concentration camps.

question have been refuted by history itself, as inadvertently admitted by the Lovestoneites themselves.

What remains? Bewilderment, spiced with critical bits taken from Trotskyism; apologies for their old position, and a utopian conception that although in Russia "There can be no hope for any kind of democratic rights

either inside or outside the party" the removal of Stalin (that is, the overthrow of the bureaucracy) "can take place thru the channel of evolution" (*ICO resolution*, June 25).

And with this eclectic program the International of Lovestone-Thalheimer-Brockway-Gorkin is to be organized!

Bankers Order Congress To Place Crisis Burden on Workers and Farmers

By James Casey

Finance Capital has poised its forces to shackle the nation's toilers with a mass of new legislative chains before the end of the Winter.

The Wall Street bourbons have this three-fold purpose:

First to place the entire burden of the current crisis upon the shoulders of the workers and farmers.

Second, to cut wages, curb government relief for the unemployed, arrest the rising power of the trade unions, stimulate company union organization, and lower the living standard of the American masses.

Third, to procure congressional legislation for this program, which is designed to end the "business recession" and blast the path for new and bigger dividends.

View of Press

Walter Lippman, David Lawrence, Hugh S. Johnson and other mouth-pieces of Reaction write with a cynical bluntness of these plans of the monopoly capitalists and of Roosevelt's open capitulation to the "economic royalists." In three different publications, but at the same time, the three mentioned writers say that the imperative need, "if depression is to be averted and a sound economy is to be induced, is a revision of New Deal policies aimed at stimulating private credit and investment."

They concede that monopoly capitalists, thrown into confusion by the depth of the last crisis, found in 1933 a most valuable prop in Roosevelt's New Deal policies. This New Deal, however, had given a few sops to labor in the form of government relief projects and encouragement to trade unionism.

Now, after five years, the country is again floundering through an economic morass. Wall Streeters and their legislators have found that the recurrence of business "depression" cannot be prevented by any "democratic" new deal. They are preparing now to out-Hoover Hoover with their plans toward unprecedented reaction.

Discussing the "united front" of Big Business interests and their plans in Congress, Ray Tucker, one of Finance Capital's leading spokesmen writes in the last issue of the Magazine of Wall Street:

Attitude of Capitol Hill

"The reasons for the changed mental status on Capitol Hill are ironic, and yet natural. Five years ago the market collapse and subsequent industrial depression frightened the politicians into blind subservience to Roosevelt. He seemed to have both the right answers and the right questions, and they amended him by enacting his proposals without knowing the titles of the bills. He was the one and only saviour. They expected miracles.

"None has come. On the contrary, business and industry have gone into another tailspin which, in some respects, is sharper than the original dive. In some industries the decline in production has been more precipitate than it was in the early days of the original depression. Never before in Rooseveltian days was

there such a cynical and questioning attitude on Capitol Hill." Having said this, Tucker proceeds to reveal how the members of Congress have decided to perform their jobs for Big Business, while turning their backs on the needs of the increasing number of unemployed and their families. "They will demand revision of all laws believed to dampen and discourage private enterprise," Tucker writes. "They will aim first at the modification of corporate taxes, especially capital gains and losses and the undistributed surplus levy. To revive the building industry they will urge resumption of the home modernization campaign and seek better FHA terms for home builders. Drastic amendment of the Wagner Act so as to make it less pro-labor is almost a certainty.

Proposed Legislation

It is seen from the foregoing that Wall Street intends to have the government meet its budgetary expenses by taxing those in the lower income brackets and, in the course of procedure, slash relief and force the jobless to depend on local charities and the employed workers. Tucker discloses, also, that Roosevelt's much-touted housing program has its origin and support in Wall Street and is calculated, primarily to serve the big contractors and realtors, rather than give aid to millions of slum dwellers and prospective small home owners.

Then there is to be "drastic amendment" of the Wagner Act and Tucker makes no effort to conceal its aims. The amendment is to be wholly in the interests of the bosses, which means its motive is to weaken and, if possible, block the work of trade union organization, suppress strikes, curtail picketing and benefit company unionism.

Nor is that all. Wall Street is insistent that even the semblance of proposed pro-labor legislation must be revamped to the satisfaction of the bosses. Read what Tucker writes of such proposed legislation:

"The wages-and-hours measure, if passed at all, will be only a shadow of its first form. Whereas the original White House aim was a 40-40 proposition with sliding, regional scales administered by a Federal board, Congress will probably provide for a 40-hour week and a \$12 minimum weekly wage to be administered under hard and fast rules. It will not permit any Federal agency to fix regional and industrial differentials in accordance with its investigatorial whims."

Wages to Be Lowered

Since employers always insist that the minimum also be the maximum, it is patent that Wall Street has struck upon this ruse as one of the quick ways to end the new crisis. Thus, if the bankers' drive is not stopped, a \$12 minimum wage would be established as the average standard for the American worker. Neither would there even be recourse to

a Federal agency against arbitrary slashing of wages by business, large and small.

Moreover, with a rejection of the thirty or even the thirty-five our week, it is clear that "private enterprise" in accordance with its inherent nature, is concerned first and foremost with the quick return to big dividends and is turning a deaf ear to the pleas of "liberals" for absorption of the jobless as a means of stemming the "recession."

Finally, the public utilities are to be permitted to raise rates anew and swell profits.

Compromise with Power Trusts

"Of all the economic royalists most violently denounced by the New Deal preachers, the public utilities stand to gain most in view of the more subdued and realistic attitude on Capitol Hill," says the Wall Street spokesman. Declaring that the plan for seven additional TVAs may be ditched, Tucker writes:

"Even the President seems to be weakening on that sector, and if he can negotiate a 50-50 compromise with the power boys, he will gladly withdraw from this costly and controversial scheme."

The "scheme" is "controversial" because it proposes to lower light and power rates for millions of consumers throughout the country and cut into the profits of the Morgan-Rockefeller corporations, who control more than 60 per cent of the utilities in America. Also, the "scheme" would provide employment for thousands in agencies not directly controlled by the big interests. Therefore, it is to be taboed.

The enactment of even a part of the program, as outlined by Tucker, would be a deadly blow to the American workers. It would erase many, if not all, the concessions wrung from the corporations in the last few years through strenuous trade union activity. It would set the labor movement back a couple of decades. The American toilers must act at once to put a check on Congress and the bosses.

(The next article on the crisis will deal with the mobilization of the nation's workers and farmers.)

Futile Debates in Capitol Reveal Coming Party Rifts

By James Burnham

The Special Session of Congress has now been going on for nearly a month. To date, its score in work accomplished is exactly—zero. A remarkable fact when placed against the headlines which we read every day. There is, evidently, no lack of problems that might be dealt with.

And yet the Congressmen have spent by far the greater part of their time in debating "points of procedure." The Congressional Record these days is a rich laboratory book in the intricacies of the rules of order.

Purpose of Special Session

Roosevelt called this Special Session, early in the autumn, to enact a four-point "social program": Farm Aid, Housing, Wages and Hours, Reorganization of the Executive Branch of the Government. No one will deny that each of these matters is of the utmost importance, bound up with the interests and needs of large sections of the American people. No one should be so foolish as to imagine that Roosevelt actually intended that these questions should be genuinely solved by the Special Session. What was needed was a gesture in each field sufficient to arouse the hopes and illusions of the masses, to reinforce their faith in Roosevelt, but at the same time so vague and limited as to guarantee no breach in bourgeois economy and no real break with bourgeois tradition. This is the perennial method of the New Deal policy and New Deal demagogy.

But when the Special Session was called, the business "recession" was just beginning, and there was still confidence that it was only a minor drop of a few weeks, to be quickly "corrected." During the intervening weeks, the index of production, along with the prices on the Stock Exchange, hurtled downward, at a rate twice as rapid as that during the last months of 1929. Wide-scale layoffs began. Whether or not a new major cyclical crisis has begun, no one any longer doubts the seriousness of the current drop. And, in addition, the war question thrust itself heavily and abruptly forward, not as a distant cloud, but as a heavy present shadow.

The real issues in the face of which the Session gathered were simple and direct: the downward swing of the business cycle, long before the optimistically anticipated upswing had been completed according to the norms of the bourgeois statisticians; and the approach of the war.

And with these issues, so intimately affecting the lives of the masses, in face of the lay-offs, the lowering of wages, the whole gathering storm of "economic crisis" and the untold human misery which it brings with it, Congress debates points of order. The President has a toothache (one always does well do be suspicious of the toothaches of politicians) and goes fishing off Miami. Senator Connally makes wise cracks about the Anti-Lynching Bill. No clearer symbols of the decay of capitalism could be found. Confronted with genuine social problems, the bourgeoisie itself, and its spokesmen, are dismayed and floundering.

Their attitude betrays the fact that, consciously or unconsciously, they have lost confidence in their own answer, the answer which in an earlier era they had so con-

fidently ready. Their aim was once the progressive one of expanding the productive forces of society. This is no longer possible—for them. And now they seek only rationalizing formulas for preserving their social power and privilege, before going over to the open brutality of fascism.

Battle Behind The Scenes

It should not, however, be imagined that nothing is happening in Washington. Beneath the surface debate in Congress, a real and far-reaching battle is now going on; a battle which emerged in an earlier stage last Spring during the fight over the Court Bill. The first bone of contention, from the point of view of each group, is; how to slough off responsibility for the new crisis which seems to impend?

Roosevelt must seek to attribute it to the sabotage of "economic Tories" and to a recalcitrant Congress. The "economic Tories" and their immediate spokesmen, on the other hand, must try to make New Dealism responsible in the public mind. Thus Roosevelt, by giving the rope to Congress and making "concessions to business" (himself meanwhile having toothaches and going fishing), jockeys into a position where, if it seems desirable at a later stage, he can again denounce the Tories, prove that cooperation with them was the cause of all evil, and re-assert New Dealism on a "new and higher plane."

One point, however, and by far the most important point, Roosevelt, the various factions in Congress and the "Tories" have completely in common: namely, the necessity for attributing the new crisis to something, anything, other than its true cause which is, of course, simply the capitalist system itself. At all costs, they must hide this conclusion. The real importance of the present crisis is in providing the final proof (if one is needed) that reformism (represented by the New Deal) is no more capable than *laissez faire* of solving the great social problems of our time.

As in the Court fight, so in the Special Session, the most bitter exchanges take place not between Republicans and Democrats, but between the different factions of the Democratic Party. The division between the Republican and Democratic Parties founded in the issues focussed during the Civil War has reduced itself to a Tweedledum-Tweedledee contest; and the political framework it has provided is no longer convincing enough to sustain the illusions of capitalist politics in this country. The pressure of the Labor Party movement, containing beneath its distorted and bureaucratic surface the incipient class movement of the masses, is being felt; and the need for coming to terms with it in a way that will guarantee its harmless development. If the Republican and Democratic Parties are still in the field in 1940, they will not be the same parties that have been known since the Civil War.

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Editor "Socialist Appeal"
"New International"
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Are You Ready for War?

A Discussion on Imperialist War, Past and Present, on the Presidential "Peace-Lovers" and How They Prepare the Minds of the Masses in Support of a New World-Wide War for Plunder and Exploitation.

Not "Red" But Yellow

Many people, who have become accustomed to regarding the Communist Party as the "reds", the arch-revolutionists, may not be aware that in recent years they have thrown aside their whole revolutionary past and have instead taken over completely the ideas of the pinkest reformist socialists. The Massachusetts investigation found them stoutly insisting that they believed in achieving Socialism through "peaceful means," through the election process, that they were against the overthrow of the government "by force or otherwise," and against world revolution. These things, they said, had been believed by the Communist International only in its "infancy"—that is, while it was led by Lenin. Today, Stalin, having grown "wiser", is devoting his time to wiping out the revolutionary past of the Communists by framing up and shooting all the men who led the great Russian Revolution.

This degeneration of a movement has happened before. The Second (Socialist) International too was founded as a Marxist organization; before the World War it too was regarded as a red bogey, and its shameful support of imperialism in the World War came as a shocking surprise to all. Today the Communist International announces its betrayal of the working class in advance. Both the Second International and the Third (Communist) International have gone the way of social-patriotism and support of imperialist war.

But the working class struggle for Socialism and against war demands a revolutionary International to organize that fight on a world-wide scale and revolutionary parties in all countries that will take up the red banner. We of the movement for the Fourth International have our own answer to the questions that were asked Dave Grant—the answer of our leader Lenin.

The Answer of Revolutionary Marxism

Do we differentiate between the capitalist "democracy" of the imperialist countries and the soviet democracy of a workers state? We certainly do. Capitalist democracy is a sham which is not believed in by the capitalists themselves, who are ever ready to throw aside all democratic pretenses in strikes, in the lily-white South, in its Cubas; it is a cover for the cruellest exploitation of the masses of people. We do not defend capitalism, democratic or otherwise, whether it is allied with the Soviet Union for its own imperialist reasons or not. But we do defend the Soviet Union against imperialist attacks: within the Soviet Union we support its war against the imperialists; in the capitalist countries we carry on the revolutionary struggle to establish a working-class state as the only possible reliable ally of the Soviet Union. Under capitalism the workers have no fatherland; we have a country to defend

only when the working class has taken power.

Are we for the abolition of the ROTC and the other government agencies seeking to militarize the young people? The fight against war must be carried on NOW, not only after war is declared, through a concrete struggle against militarism. Against ROTC, both compulsory and optional, as the goose-step agency on the campus. Against the militarization of the CCC camps, which are under army control for the purpose (as army officers have boasted) of preparing the youth for war. Against Roosevelt's sky-rocketing military appropriations, and his plans for military-industrial dictatorship in war-time. Around such issues wide united fronts can be forged.

Do we in the A.S.U. support the Oxford Pledge "to refuse to support any war conducted by the U. S. government"? This pledge, which has combined on different grounds revolutionists and pacifists in the immediate struggle against the concrete imperialist war which is being prepared, has more than anything else in the student movement provoked the Hearsts and ROTC colonels to frothing denunciations. They could see no more favorable symptom in the student movement than the abandonment of this platform. The YCL is now doing this work for them. We call upon all sincere anti-war fighters in student ranks to smash this drive in the A.S.U.

Opposition to War Requires Fighting Organization

But the Oxford Pledge is a correct statement only of what NOT to do when war comes. One must go far beyond it. We do not look upon an imperialist war merely as a horrible catastrophe, though it is that; to us it represents a crisis of the capitalist system, when it is staking its all, when the workers are given arms and told to fight for the bosses. Our aim is to utilize this crisis for the purpose of abolishing the capitalist war-system itself, to teach the armed workers to turn their guns not against their fellow workers in the opposite trenches but against their enemy at home. Our aim in opposing imperialist war is the revolutionary overthrow of capitalism. Do we believe in turning imperialist war into civil war? This is the way by which the Russian workers secured peace in 1917 while their brothers in other lands were still struggling under the yoke of imperialism. This is the only way by which permanent peace can be gained and war abolished from the face of the earth.

This fight is not an easy one. It is not sufficient to stand on the sidelines and say "Attaboy" every once in a while at a mass meeting or while reading a pamphlet. Our enemies are the organized forces of capitalist terrorism, military dictatorship, war hysteria, betrayers within the working class who act as direct agents of the war-machine. Our answer, if it is not merely fatalistic or defeatist, must be a fighting organization.

Filling Station Workers Win Frisco Strike

SAN FRANCISCO.—Expression of a strong sentiment for unity of the rank and file in CIO and AFL unions against both sets of bureaucrats led to the speedy and favorable settlement of a strike in a General Petroleum service station here last week. The four men in the station struck when Jerry Driscoll, member of the Filling Station Employees Union, Local 410, CIO, was fired for union activity.

Bridges agreed to support the action but attempted to turn it into a CIO-AFL beef when the AF of L officials sent members of their Garage Employees Union to work behind the CIO picket line.

In reply to this splitting maneuver the men on strike issued a leaflet to the rank and file of the AF of L Union declaring they were for presenting the station owners with a set of joint demands and "demanding of the leadership of both unions that this unity be brought about" in order for the workers to present a "solid front to gain their demands."

The day this leaflet was distributed, the AF of L men were withdrawn from the station and one day later the strikers were back on the job with their demands won. There is nothing like an alert and militantly led rank and file to bring the bureaucrats and their bosses into line.

Good Meeting For H. Milton In St. Louis

ST. LOUIS, Mo.—On the evening of November 30, Harry Milton addressed an enthusiastic meeting sponsored by the St. Louis District of the Socialist Party (Left Wing). About 70 persons attended.

Taking as his general topic "The Truth About Spain", Milton gave a devastating analysis of the miserable history of the Popular Front regime in Spain, and in particular, of the role played by the Spanish Stalinists.

In the discussion period the spokesmen for the CP, unwilling or unable to deal with specific cases, confined themselves, at the beginning, to long-winded and very "reasonable" dissertations on the theme that since the policy of the Popular Front Government is correct, any measures it may take to enforce that policy are justified. Finally, after Milton had introduced the testimony of Henry Beattie, Canadian ex-Stalinist and veteran of the International Brigade who recently exposed the frame-ups against the revolutionists in Spain, the representatives of the CP dropped their League-Against-War-and-Fascism disguise and proceeded rapidly to lose control of themselves.

Homer Martin's Wisdom

"The International Union is ready and willing to accept responsibility and will make every effort not only to fix responsibility for unauthorized action on the part of the members of the union, but will gladly recommend joint penalties by the union and the corporation... as every one knows this is no time for strikes. Business, government and labor should cooperate honestly to stabilize employment and to minimize the evils of the present business recession." Bill Green, himself, could do no better.

Left Jobs

Life Under Hitler

Synthetic bacon made from pig's blood and synthetic eggs made from fish are among the blessings enjoyed by German labor since Heiling Hitler has been substituted for thinking, and goose-stepping for labor unions in Germany.

Life Under Mussolini

Conditions close to serfdom, growing poverty, miserable subsistence wages, increased hours of labor, uncertainty of employment, decline in quantity and quality of food consumption, worsening of conditions of sharecroppers, impoverishment of small farmers, are among the blessings bestowed on the masses of Italy by Mussolini and the Fascist regime according to Dr. Carl Schmidt of Columbia University who spent eight months studying conditions in Il Duce's paradise.

"Patriotism: Last Refuge of a Scoundrel"

"If Communism is 100 per cent Americanism on a national scale—and it is—then why shouldn't our lower units develop the same kind of patriotism for their neighborhoods?" — Clarence Hathaway in the Sunday Worker. If old Sam Johnson was alive today would he not change his definition to, "Patriotism is the last refuge of a Stalinist?"

Mickey Mouse in Concentration Camp

Believe it or not, here's the headline from the Times: "Writer in trouble over Mickey Mouse. Times Man is Ordered from Yugoslavia after his Story of Ban on Comic Strip." That's tough on Mickey and the reporter but watch the Storm troops and executioner go into action if Hitler ever hears Donald Duck go Quack! Qua-a-ak!!! Qua-a-a-a-ak!!!!

Shopping Notes

Morning papers report that Leopold of Belgium and his brother Charles are in England in search of brides. "They will attend the Worship shopping festival to be opened by Lady Anne Cavendish-Bentnick." We hope they find some bargains. Our own supply of 5 and 10 heireses is completely gone, not even a used one on hand. But if the boys can't pick up something at the festival, we might mention that our Mr. Simpson is on his way to Europe.

Pins and Needles

If you live in or near New York or if you are visiting our village, don't fail to see "Pins and Needles," the I.L.G.W.U. Players hit. It shows only on Friday and Saturday because the players are working men and women who make dresses five days a week. All the theatre critics have given it high praise and what's more important, workers from the shops are enthusiastic. It's a musical review though we are sure Hitler and Mussolini would find other names for it. All numbers are good but the Mussolini Handicap or the Baby Marathon and the Four Little Angels of Peace—Eden, Hitler, Mussolini and Japan are the two best or in any case the most popular.

The National Industrial Conference Board reports unemployment for the month of October increased by 293,000 over the September figures.

Try To Bolster Midwest Frame-Ups With "Confession" In Frisco; Plot Fizzles

SAN FRANCISCO.—Facts are stubborn things. And James O'Neil, personal publicity man for Harry Bridges, is rapidly learning how true this is. Less than twenty-four hours after making the startling accusation over the radio that he was in possession of a "confession" which linked Minneapolis Teamster officials with a plot to kill his boss, reports in the press were already refuting the stupid but nonetheless significant attempt at a frame-up.

During his Thursday night broadcast on the CIO's "Tune in on the Truth" hour, O'Neil said that CIO officials were in possession of a "confession" signed by Robert John Bell of Minneapolis. Bell is reputed to have said that he was sent by teamster officials there to the West Coast. That they gave him a \$1,000 which he cashed and told him to report

to Dave Beck in Seattle. He gave \$600 to his wife before leaving on this mission, it is alleged.

After a prolonged stay in the Northwest, O'Neil said, he was called into the office of a union official, given a police revolver and told to "get" Bridges. Instead, according to O'Neil's report, he refused and ran immediately to a CIO representative and told all.

Without naming the Minneapolis union heads he was implicating O'Neil ran off a typical Stalinist amalgam in summing up his statement. He linked Bell through the Minneapolis Teamsters to William Green, Dave Beck, Mayor Dore etc.

Friday morning press reports were already shattering this obvious frame-up attempt. The Marquette Bank at which Bell claimed he cashed his check declares it has no record of the

transaction.

And Bell's own wife denied that he gave her any \$600. She even stated before the publication of the "confession" that her husband had gone to Minneapolis, according to the S. F. Chronicle.

Clarence Hathaway and Al Richmond will have some difficulty giving their Daily Worker and Western Worker prostitutes a line that will explain how their frame-up got nipped in the bud. Steps are already being taken in San Francisco to set up a commission to gather and publish the facts about how the Communist Party works in the labor movement. Progressives of all shades of opinion are being approached to join this movement which will have as its aim the exposure of the methods of Stalinism right here at home and isolation of their influence from the labor movement.