Unemployed Get No Lead At WAA Meet

N. Y. Convention Skirts All Issues Vital For Jobless

NEW, YORK .-- A three-day talk-fest in which anything and everything but the pressing problems of the unemployed victims of capitalism was discussed and dealt with - this was the convention of the Workers Alliance of Greater New York held at the Hippodrome last week.

Held tightly in the bureaucratic control of the Stalinists and their stooges, the convention was compelled to listen to dull and lengthy People's Front speeches and to spend an even longer time in debating a raise in membership dues. No time whatsoever was allowed for a discussion on W.P.A. resolutions, the urgent question of relief, or future policies. Resolutions on these and other vital matters were referred to the new joint board without being discussed or even seen by the delegates.

LaGuardia's Advice

First of all, the convention listened to Mayor LaGuardia. The only advice the "Little Flower" could offer the unemployed representatives was this: "If you want something just come to me, but don't picket."

This set the tone. Sam Wiseman, secretary-treasurer of the Alliance, then proceeded to read a People's Front speech — 31 pages of it-although this sheaf of Stalinist wisdom had already been handed to the delegates in mimeographed form. This proceeding occupied, with asides, a LaGuardia, but in the dulcet Pennsylvania Democratic pritones of a good People's Fronter maries by Labor's Non-Partisan

relief recently. arrested only 100 W.A.A. mem- action last week completed the bers in the last six months as picture of confusion in this sigcompared with 1,000 in the same nificant political struggle. "not that we condone a single arrest," he was careful to add.

"Democratic" Processes

ed should support Roosevelt, al- upon this class basis, Lewis and ident is not quite perfect. Collective security, as was only to "capture the Democratic party" have been expected, loomed large in Pennsylvania — that is, they in the remarks of this 100 per- set out to stifle the growing cent Stalinist. His next big point class-consciousness of the workwas a threat to outlaw the Pro- ers by keeping them tied in the gressive group.

Stalinist "democracy" began operating in all its nakedness immediately after the conclusion of Wiseman's long-drawn-out speech. A motion was carried Thomas E. Kennedy, vice-presforbidding the distribution to de- ident of the United Mine Worklegates of any resolutions or ers and present lieutenantleaflets not approved by the ad- governor of Pennsylvania. Goministration. This motion, aim- vernor Earle, New Deal stalwart ed at the Progressives, compel- and leader of the Democratic led the latter, and others as well, party in Pennsylvania, refused. to hand copies of their resolu- The dispute was carried right up tions to their fellow delegates to the White House, but Rooseoutside the convention hall.

Lasser On Roosevelt

national secretary, following Wiseman's example, spoke at great length. Lasser outlined a points, but he smeared it with upon, the Roosevelt administration, finishing up with a plea for unity and democracy.

Jerry Benton and Moe Howard reported for the Unemployed being offered the old choice betand W.P.A. divisions. In discus- ween two sets of capitalist masing the reports, a delegate from Harlem, taking the red-baiting cue already given by Wiseman, launched into a denunciation of the "Trotskyist" disrupters in her local.

Shortly thereafter Rhoda Pearson, a leading Progressive, took the floor to expose a case of rank discrimination against a worker on a white collar project who committed the error of not following the Communist Party line. This project is run on strict Stalinist totalitarian lines. Disagree with Browder's latest fad and out you go, while the union stands to one side and applauds. No sooner had Rhoda Pearson

mentioned the sacred name of (Continued on page 2)

150.000 FRENCH WORKERS OUT ON STRIKE TO DEFY DALADIER

Threatens Workers



PREMIER DALADIER

LABOR PLAYING **PENNSYLVANIA BOSS POLITICS**

Over Democratic Party Machine

pudiation by the A.F. gently chided the mayor for hav- League and the C.I.O. again ing made a 10 per cent cut in underlined the disastrous futility of labor's attempts to play ca-LaGuardia's police, he noted, pitalist politics. The A.F. of L.

The powerful trade union movefor the rapid development of independent working class political And, of course, the unemploy- action. Instead of building firmly though the "peace-loving" pres- the other leaders of Labor's Non-Partisan League set out to

net of capitalist politics. Roosevelt Steers Clear

Lewis demanded a place on the regular Democratic slate for velt, playing safe, washed his hands and declined to intervene.

Earle stood by his refusal; David Lasser, national pres- and, after a few days hesitaident, and Herbert Benjamin, tion, Lewis decided to run an opposition slate in the primaries. Kennedy was put up for the senatorial post. After a week more national program for the Alliance of jockeying around, the notoriwhich contained many good ous Guffey, already at odds with the Earle group, threw his own praise of, and a call for reliance machine behind the Kennedy slate.

> Thus, Pennsylvania labor, instead of getting a chance to promote its own class interests, is (Continued on page 2)

Plenum of S. W. P. Postponed One Week

The Plenum of the National Committee of the Socialist Workers Party has been postponed from April 15 to the following week, and will open Friday, April 22. The change in date was necessary in order to permit a fuller attendance of National Committee members than would have been possible earlier. The anti-war mass rally at the Center Hotel, Friday, April 14, will be held

Red Flag Flies Again Over Paris Factories As Workers Resist Reactionary Offensive; **Communists Vote For Daladier**

A swiftly-spreading strike of more than 150,000 workers in the airplane, automobile, and motor factories around Paris was the immediate response of the French working class to the formation of the cabinet of Edouard Daladier.

Sit-down strikers in the Citroen plants were joined tion was revealed April 6 in rapid succession by the 35,000 workers in the Renault factories. Without awaiting orders from their unions or parties workers in one plant after another joined in the movement for defense of the workers' livelihood from the open capitalist offensive.

NIPPON DRIVE

BOGS DOWN IN

Absolute Powers

By Congress

Japan's imperialist drive into

Central China has been checked

north of Hsuchow, the strategic

junction of the Tientsin-Pukow

and Lunghai railroads which is

Chinese troops massed along

the north bank of the Grand

Canal have not only succeeded in

checking the Japanese advance

Against Great Odds

(Continued on page 4)

plain.

treat northward.

Floodgates Open

The collapse of the People's Front on the parliamentary field nas opened once more the floodgates of proletarian activity. While Daladier, touted as the "strong man" in the present crisis, seeks to break the strikes again by arbitration, the new wave has every possibility of growing into a movement comparable to that which in June, 1936, stopped practically every vheel in French industry.

After two years of futile People's Front governments the workers are once again face to face with the economic and political impasse which provoked that great strike wave two years ago. Now they are freed from the blackmailing of their "own" government. They can feel free the key to the Central China to present their demands with less restraint and to throw the whole weight of their revolutionary methods of struggle into the Lewis Sets Out To Take social balance. They understand that the Daladier government is a transition to a "national and forced the invaders to reunion" regime and that such a regime will mean a pitiless attack on their political rights and living standards. These they are prepared to defend.

Accord With Rome Looms

tional union." In the domain of ed in a terrific struggle in which foreign policy it will begin to all the odds provided by superior in the Philippines. shift France in the direction al- arms and equipment are against ready blazed by Britain-agree- them. ini, and after ment of heavily industrialized him, Hitler, and abandonment of against the Japanese imperialist of Baron Tanaka's memorandum construction of a new lock, Pennsylvania provides the basis the Soviet Union to its own de- invaders—like the fight against had made it clear that the Phi-dredgings and other improvevices and to Hitler's designs.

(Continued on page 4)

U. S. Puts Off Mink, Well-known Freedom For C. D. L. Accession **Philippines**

War Strategy In Orient Causes Revision of Plans

One of the most significant of all the war moves of the Roosevelt administrain the announcement from Washington that an agreement had been reached between President Roosevelt and Manual L. Quezon, president of the Philippine Commonwealth, whereby the economic independence of the Philippine Islands will be postponed until 1960, that is, 22 years hence.

The announcement followed hard upon the statement of Col. Theodore Roosevelt, former governor-general of the Islands (reported in last week's Socialist Appeal) that when the Islands gained their independence Chiang Kai-shek Given their seizure by Japan was a certainty.

Concession to Bourgeoisie

In 1936, the Tydings-McDuffie Act gave a promise of Filipino independence by July 4, 1946. Roosevelt placed the act on the statute book, against the opposition of the more rabid imperialists in the government, with the aid of the powerful American sugar interests which have heavy investments in the Cuban planta-

These slavers of the Caribbean, vicious exploiters of the but have reconquered lost ground Cuban plantation laborers, "welcomed" the Philippine independence plan because it meant an and to the duty-free entry of dippine sugar into the Unite These victories—coming after States. Passage of the act was

the loss of the northern provinces thus a valuable economic conand the coast to below Shanghai cession to the imperialist sugar interests. But its primary importestify to the enduring power Internally the Daladier regime and fighting capacity of the tance lay in the fact that it was epresents a transition to "na- Chinese soldiery who are engag- a political concession to the bourgeois-nationalist movement Japan was at that time already

engaged in its march toward a But the course of the war continental empire. Publication Franco in Spain-is not deter- lippines were among the terri- ments which will allow of the Despite this the Socialists and mined by military considerations tories marked down as prey by passage of larger ships, ties in Communists came into the alone. The Chinese armies are the Japanese imperialists. Japan- closely with the projected con-(Continued on page 3)

LEON TROTSKY

WILL IMPROVE PANAMA CANAL FOR WAR USE

\$200,000,000 Voted For Widening: Nicaragua Plan Dropped

Outstanding among the latest war preparation moves of the Roosevelt administration is the plan, announced from Washington last week, to spend \$200,000. 000 on the expansion and improvement of the Panama Canal. This plan, which calls for the

(Continued on page 3)

Notorious Stalinist Agent Proceeds South Via Galveston; Served As Terror Chief For G.P.U. In Spain

TROTSKY'S LIFE IS MENACED!

G.P.U. Assassin, Is

En Route To Mexico

By MAX SHACHTMAN

An international assassin is en route to Mexico.

He sailed early this week from the port of Galveston, Texas, for the port of Vera Cruz, Mexico, to carry out the mission assigned to him by his gangster overlords: TO ORGANIZE THE MURDER OF LEON TROTSKY.

In this country he is known to certain circles by the name of George Mink-known to the Philadelphia police as a petty larceny crook—subsequently known to the workers on New York's waterfront as the financially well-heeled boss of the late "Marine Workers Industrial Union" organized nine years ago by the

Worried In Moscow

In Moscow, after the inevitable collapse of his "Union," he was known as an associate of Juliet Stuart Poyntz in the Red International of Labor Unions (the "profintern"), where he worked in reality as an agent of the G. P. U., especially charged with surveillance over American communists and other visitors to Moscow's hotels. He is a relative by marriage of the Stalinist chief, Arnold Lozovsky, head of the Red International of Labor Unions prior to its dissolution.

In 1935, the New York Times reported in a dispatch dated from Copenhagen, Denmark, July 30, that "two Americans, George Mink and Nicholas Sherman, arrested two months ago, were condemned today to eighteen months in prison under the accusation of espionage." The two had been apprehended in Denmark for their espionage activities in behalf of the G. P. U.

More recently, we learn from the charges made by Carlo Tresca, editor of the anarchist weekly "Il Martello", who bases himself upon the secret investigations of the anarcho-syndicalists in Spain, Mink was engaged for more than a year in working as head of the murderous G. P. U. in Barcelona, where, under the name of Alfred Herz, he and his agents were instrumental in organizing the arrest and assassination of literally hundreds of militant anarchists, members of the P. O. U. M. and of the Fourth International.

He Killed Berneri

It was "Herz" and his assistant, "Herman" (Nicholas Sherman?), who organized the foul assassination of the noble Italian anarchist leader in Barcelona, Camillo Berneri and his comrade Barbieri.

It was Mink, whose description tallies fully in every detail with that of "Herz," who told the wounded English militiaman, Parker, on April 31, 1937—the very eve of the famous May events in Barcelona-that "in a few days we're going to get Moulin and all the other goddamned Trotskyists." Shortly thereafter, our comrade Moulin, leader of the Fourth Internationalists in Catalonia, disappeared and has not been heard of since.

It was Mink who was known throughout Barcelona as the man directly responsible for the arrest of John McNair, representative in Spain of the Independent Labor Party of England.

It was Mink-"Herz" who was responsible for the disappearance and probable kidnapping to Moscow of Marc Rein, son of Rafael Abramovich, Menshevik member of the Bureau of the Second International, and of Erwin Wolf, former secretary to

It was Mink - "Herz" who, under the direction of Soviet Consul-General Antonov-Ovseyenko, carried on a reign of terror against all those militants who refused to bow to the totalitarian power of Stalinism in Spain.

Preceded By Other Agents

Now this murderous thug is on his way to Mexico, and when this appears in print, will probably have arrived in the capital, where Leon Trotsky and his wife have been granted an asylum which has proved to be a bone in the throat of the Kremlin

Mink has been preceded by a number of other Stalinist agents. More than a month ago we made public the fact, transmitted to us from France, that a certain Georges Fournial, member of the notorious Stalinist "International of Educational Workers" (Continued on page 3)

Twelve SWPers Injured By **Hoodlum Attack In Chicago**

CHICAGO. - An organized ber, and "Red" Kruck, hoodlum gang of Stalinists carried out a sympathizer of the C.P., the planned attack against members gang ordered the Y.P.S.L. and meeting in Chicago last Wednesof the distributors.

hours to Browder's exhortations pointed out the 4th Internationto the people to rally to the alists to them and demanded that support of "democracy." over 60 they be arrested. Stalinist hoodlums systematical-

of March 19.

minent Communist Party mem- cracy."

of the Socialist Workers Party S.W.P. members off the streets. and the Young Peoples Socialist seized their remaining leaflets, League distributing leaflets a and proceeded to beat them up block away from Earl Browder's -men and women impartially. Not satisfied with playing day and succeeded in injuring 12 the role of a volunteer capitalist police force, when the uniformed

After having listened for two police arrived the Stalinists

The "Open Letter" was read y attacked and beat up the 4th avidly by workers who had at-Internationalists, who were dis-tended the Browder meeting and tributing copies of the "Open witnessed the attack. Many of Letter to the Communist Party" the leaflets which had fallen to printed in the Socialist Appeal the pavement in the melee were picked up by workers who have

Led by Claude Lightfoot, pro- ideas of their own about "demo-

Leon Trotsky

THE PRIESTS OF HALF-TRUTH

The Nation and the New Republic are now playing the sorriest and most ignoble role in the American press. These journals lay claim to the role of oracles of "liberal" public opinion. They have no ideas of their own. The social crisis that began in 1929 and caught the "liberals" unaware compelled them to cling to the U.S.S.R. like a saving anchor. In popularizing the successes of the planning principle and in the cautious counterpoising of this principle to capitalist anarchy, these gentlemen temporarily found a mission. They had absolutely no independent program of action for the United States; but for that, they were able to cover up their own muddleheadedness with an idealized image of the U.S.S.R.

In fact, the "friendship" with Moscow signified the reconciliation of bourgeois liberalism with the bureaucracy which had strangled the October Revolution. The more extensive the privileges of the new leading stratum became, and the more conservative it grew in the defense of its privileges-the greater became the number of its friends among the bourgeois intellectuals and the liberals, snobs who keep up with the vogue of the day. The inspirers of this state of mind became Walter Duranty and Louis Fischer, downright sycophants of the Soviet oligarchy. Under their guidance, small-minded professors, mediocre poets, lawyers who had not succeeded in attaining prominence, bored widows, and ordinary lonesome ladies, seriously began to take their friendship with the Soviet Embassy in Washington for service in the interests of the October Revolution. Many of them displayed a readiness to defend the Soviet Union to the last drop of blood.... not theirs, to be sure, but that of the "Trotskyists."

REED AND.... DURANTY

In the heroic epoch of the revolution, the representative of American public opinion in Moscow was John Reed. At that time, Walter Duranty was located in Riga, working as professional calumniator of the revolution and of its leaders. In later years, Duranty became the principal link between the Soviet bureaucracy and "liberal" public opinion in the United States. The moral contrast between John Reed and Walter Duranty well reflects the political antagonism between Bolshevism and Stalinism. If the editors of the Nation and the New Republic tax their ingenuity to avoid an understanding of this antagonism, it is because such petty tradesmen in lies as Duranty and Louis Fischer are incomparably closer to them in spirit than the heroic

Is it surprising that the present bureaucracy of the Kremlin

is incomparably more suitable to the democratic oracles than was the revolutionary party of Lenin? Just as in the past they did not understand the laws of the revolution, so today they do not understand the laws of reaction. They hoped that the bureaucracy, not without their benevolent cooperation, would become increasingly respectable and "human." Faith in uninterrupted and automatic progress has not been extirpated, to the present day, from the heads of these people. They have been unable to draw any conclusions at all even from the fact that the democratic petty bourgeoisie, whose flesh of the flesh they are, transformed itself in a few years in Germany into an army of fascism. They were even less capable of understanding the malignant evolution of the Stalinist bureaucracy.

LOGIC OF CLASS STRUGGLE

Lamentable indeed is he who, in the great turns of history, confines himself to empirical conjecture instead of penetrating into the imminent logic of the class struggle. In the psychological sense, the defendants were merely instruments in the hands of the G.P.U. Inquisition. In the historical sense, the Inquisitor, Stalin, is merely an instrument in the hands of the bureaucracy which has landed in a blind alley. The bureaucracy itself is merely an instrument of the pressure of world imperialism. The Soviet masses hate the bureaucracy. World imperialism regards it as a tool that has outlived its usefulness and makes preparations to overturn it. The bureaucracy seeks to dupe the masses. It seeks to dupe world imperialism. It lies on both fronts. So that the truth shall not filter out past the frontier nor filter into the country from abroad, the bureaucracy allows only "reliable" people to enter or leave the country.

It surrounds the Soviet Union with a border patrol palisade such as the world has never seen and with a countless pack of (Continued on page 4)

*W. Duranty, in spite of his genuine Anglo-Saxon "soul, participates in the Moscow frame-ups in a strictly planful manner, side by side with the judges, the prosecutor, the defendants, and in general with people who have a "Russian soul." However, Durantv was not even confronted with the necessity to choose every day between life and death. His colleague, Mr. Harold Denny, a man who obviously has an American soul, even if not of very large dimensions, has speedily adapted himself to the totalitarian regime. Faced with the need of choosing between lean-stomached truth and fat sandwiches, he unhesitatingly took his stand with the sandwiches and Vyshinsky. It is creatures of his stripe who are the source of inspiration for "liberal" public opinion.

Stalinists Turn Out Teachers Union Ousted By Joint Committee

Company Union Type of Organization Moves With Reactionary Wave; Conciliatory Methods Of Local 5 Prove Bankrupt

Teachers.

Militant Slate

In the elections of officers and

teachers. Only upon such a pro-

gram can the union fight off its

many enemies and continue to

grow as a force in the New York

Rochester Unions

Begin Organizing

Jobless Workers

AFL Affiliates Support

Drive To Unite

Unemployed

ROCHESTER, N. Y .- With the

aim of bringing unemployed

workers directly into the recog-

nized trade union movement,

steps are being taken to organize

W.P.A. workers of Rochester

under a charter of the Interna-

First Charter Granted

munist Party group.

breakers.

the pickets.

workers.

Fur Strike Ends

Its Second Week

NEW YORK .- A large force

strike duty, and these are aug-

mented by mobile reserves that

ers are keeping the fur shops

are strong, and a series of meet-

Meanwhile, the Stalinist lead-

not dream of embarrassing the

mayor by exposing his use of

the police against the strikers,

last week.

school system.

mediately upon the close of the the union membership a proposal prolonged applause the call of legislative session in Albany, to affiliate Local 5 with the Na- B. J. Widick, national labor secwhere it worked feverishly to defeat the progressive teacher and to be confused with the American child welfare legislation introduced by the Teachers Union, tional company union of teach-Local 5, the Joint Committee of ers, supervisor-controlled rival Teachers Organizations on April of the American Federation of 7, ousted Local 5 from the committee by a vote of 82 to 25.

The ostensible reasons given were "criticism" and "charges" made by the representatives of the Teachers Union in 1936 and month, the Independents are run-1937 regarding the Committee's ning a full slate against the administration upon a program of actions in Albany.

Line-up With Reaction

This move serves notice on the and Republican politicians, exteachers of New York that the posure of the role of the Joint Joint Committee takes its place forces of reaction, retrenchment position to the pro-war policy of and hysteria as expressed most characteristically by the Mc-Naboe-Devaney bill in Albany and the "Educational Signpost" in the school system. (The "Signpost" is the publication of a newly-organized American Education Association whose purpose is to eradicate radicalism, "leftism," and all progressive education from the New York City schools.)

This action also serves notice on the Board of Education authorities that the Joint Committee will perform well its function of company union and lead in the attempt to smash the only organization which can serve the interests of the classroom teacher, namely, the Teachers

The Joint Committee of Teachers Organizations, originally the joint Salary Committee, is composed of delegates of some 76 teachers' organizations, the overwhelming majority of which are the dollar-a-year, supervisorfavored, bureaucratically-controlled company union type of organization. While the committee itself contains some 60 per cent classroom teachers, the real control is vested in the self-perpetuating executive committee, where 12 of the 20 members are supervisors, and in the legislative committee, where four of the locals of A.F. of L. affiliates. six members are supervisors.

Demand Reorganization

of the opposition in Local 5 be- ed initiation fees and low monthly candidate for president and prefore the Lefkowitz split was that dues. Such an organization, ac- sent general organizer of the the union demand a reorganiza- cording to Fred Struble, pres- N.M.U. Curran, who in the past tion of the Joint Committee to ident of the local, will enable has exemplified the worst asgive more democratic representation to the classroom teachers whose dollars are collected each year. The Union had previously adopted a policy of militant campaigning for democratization of tions. the Joint Committee. Under the pressure of the opposition, the committee had already made some slight concessions.

But just at this time, a change took place in the "Rank-and-File" group, now the majority group in the union. Instead of following through on its campaign, and reinforcing the demands of the classroom teachers for democratic representation in the committee, there was a sudden switch to conciliation and friendliness. Nothing must be said or done to antagonize the Joint Committee. The union would win them over by the sweetness and light of People's Frontism. Union teachers in the schools, left without directives, docilely supported the Joint Committee requests for funds, even while it was attacking union bills. The present "Rank-and-File" admi- of police are patrolling New nistration, under the guise of York's fur district as the general others to have betrayed the inthe old administration.

Oppose False Policy

The Independent Group has been organized as a strong and growing opposition within the as to the policy of turning the Workers Union, has placed his lin or discredited fakers. union into a pro-war organiza. | police force at the disposal of tion behind the slogans of "col- the fur manufacturers. A special lective security" and support of detachment of 75 officers are on President Roosevelt's "peace policy." Proposals for a militant campaign against the Joint Committee made by representatives slightest sign of militancy from of the Independents within the union committees, were turned down by the administration as recently as two week ago, but closed. Well-organized squads now, when its leaders can no roam the district, picket lines longer defend their policies before the membership, they hast- ings keep alive the spirit of the en to adopt measures they should have carried out long ago, although some of these leaders still ers of the furriers, who would continue to mouth empty phrases about "unity."

It is highly significant of the administration's attitude toward continue to attempt using the company unionism among teach- mayor's offices for settling the ers that they have placed before strike.

ST. LOUIS, Mo.—A large and stirring anti-war rally was held here by the Socialist Workers Party on April 6, the 21st an-

niversary of America's entry into the world war. The audience, including 10 rank-and-file members of the Stalinist party, greeted with

rialist war and fascism. "Not since I had 15 rank-andfile members of the Stalinist party at the Indiana Harbor antiwar rally have I seen such a large a meeting," Widick told the aud-

tionary struggle against impe-

executive board to be held next file violated Communist Party meetings. militant action as opposed to

playing around with Democratic NMU OPPOSITION SHOWS LACK OF paign for its reorganization, op-**CLARITY IN POLL** sound democratic union administration in the interests of all the

Various Elements Mixed In 'Rank and File Pilot' Group

NEW YORK-As the first union-wide election in the National Maritime Union began last week, an opposition slate, issued by the group around the Rank and File Pilot, anti-Stalinist weekly newspaper edited by Octave Loones, was circulated on the New York waterfront.

Reprinting the ballot, using red ink and the hammer and sickle emblem to identify the Stalinists and their stooges, the leaflet called on the members to elect "sea-going rank and file seamen' to various posts.

Fly Progressive Colors

While the sponsors call themselves the "progressive, seagoing rank and file" the slate actually tional Laborers Union, A.F. of L. represents an amalgam of all the affiliate, it was announced here various oppositional elements stirred up by the bureaucratic Council, local lodges of the Rail- and progressives on the slate, way Brotherhoods, and several the candidates present no clear cut program nor do they represent a genuinely progressive

group that stands by itself. This is shown clearly by the The new charter, first granted One of the important demands in this area, provides for reduc- support offered Joseph Curran, the revolutionists. union workers who become un- pects of Stalinism, receives the employed and are forced to drop endorsement of this anti-Com- morning the Stalinists here gro speaker for May Day, the a mighty step forward is no their regular union affiliation, to munist group on the basis of his staged their annual clown-play Stalinists voted solidly for Lett continue to have their welfare lefthanded slap against the of "kicking out the Trotskyites" of the reactionary Urban League guarded through union connec- Communist Party, delivered at a from their private May Day con- as against Plaskett, militant meeting of the deck department ference. The group instrumental in some weeks ago.

gaining the charter were the founders of the Workers Alliance which stands for the policy of unionists. Although some of them in this section, who have since conciliating and kow-towing to are sincere militants, they neveresigned because of the disrupt- the government and the shipive activities of the Stalinists. owners alike, is in strange con-The Workers Alliance, at one trast to the names of genuine time 1,500 strong, has dwindled militants, such as Arthur Thomuntil a scant 40 members remain. as and Charles Torres of the The Stalinists, following on a Gulf, or Jerome King of the New local scale their national line, York District. Nor is the name have consistently slandered and of Jesse Nohoikaiu, a Hawaiian attacked all militants in the sailor and certainly a real rankunemployed field, and have re- and-filer, completely in harmony duced the Rochester Workers with some of the former I.S.U. Alliance to an impotent Com- office-holders backed in the slate.

Militant Group Weakened

The position of the real militants and progressives with the N. M. U. is made less tenable, rather than strengthened, by the support of this group. The tactics of the group, attacking their opponents simply as "Communists" and avoiding a presentation "Progressivism," has proved it- strike of fur workers nears the of a genuine program for defendself in this respect as well as end of its second week. Efforts ing the interests of the seamen, of scabs to continue work have opens the door to all sorts of terests of the teachers to the already met with stern resistance shady elements. The time may same extent as Lefkowitz did in from the strikers, and street come when the real militants skirmishes have resulted in se- will find it difficult to explain veral arrests by cops busily en- their association with this group.

gaged in protecting the strike-' The struggle against the "Communists" must be tied up Mayor LaGuardia, who only with the struggle against oplast year received the enthusi- portunists of all stripes, whether ly last week. union to such policies, as well astic endorsement of the Fur they be the henchmen of Sta-

> The ranks of the real progresoutright company men only by speed to the district at the following, in action, a program against the shipowners, against the government boards, and Despite the police, the work- all who would stand in the way carrying out such a program.

> > HOW TO FIGHT WAR

Isolation 9 Collective Security Relentless Class Struggle

JAMES BURNHAM

Socielist Workers Party 116 University Place New York City

inists Turn Out For St. Louis Rally C.P. Seeks To Prevent United May Day Parades

Strait-jacketed Committees Exclude Militants From Meetings In Boston, Lynn, Newark To Prevent Unity

excluded from the United May Day Conference called by the Communist and Socialist parties of Boston last Sunday, when representatives of the Socialists and Lovestoneites bowed to the demand of the Stalinists to deny seats to representatives of the Socialist Workers Party and the group of awakening Stalinists at Young Peoples Socialist League.

A minority report from the credentials committee, submitted In both instances the rank-and- by Socialist and Lovestoneite delegates, asking that the credenorders to boycott the S.W.P. tials of the S.W.P. and Y.P.S.L. delegates be recognized, was voted down, 40 to 11, by a conference packed with Stalinists and their stooges.

A motion by one of the delegates that the floor be given to a representative of the S.W.P. for five minutes was also voted

Revolutionists Barred

During the debate, the delegates under discussion were barred from the hall and given no opportunity to reply to the slanderous accusations of the Stalinists. Philip Frankfeld, state secretary of the Massachusetts Communist Party, denounced the Trotskyites as fascists and enemies of the working class, basing his charges on criticism of the conduct of the Communist Party made by members of the S.W.P. during the red-baiting hearing at the State House.

Delegates representing the Socialists and Lovestoneites took the floor to defend the right of the Fourth Internationalists to May Day, but finally capitulated the Stalinist disrupters.

That the Socialists and Lovestoncites may still withdraw front" is not impossible, especialmay yet have a real united front on May Day, a united front that will permit the participation of

Same Tactics In Lynn

LYNN, Mass,-Last Saturday

theless represented only themorganizations sympathetic to it.

Crash Conference

Nevertheless, delegates from ference. the S.W.P., Local 134 of the Workers Alliance, and the Workers Defense League, crashed the 'Pre - May Day Conference," which met in the hall of the fake 'American Comittee for Aid to Armenia.'

and Democracy and other Sta- inviting all trade unionists.

BOSTON.—"Trotskyites" were linist puppet set-ups. The only bona fide union which had responded to the call, the Lasters Local of the United Shoe Workers of America, was unfortunately represented by two dyed-inthe-wool Stalinists.

No sooner had the meeting opened than the assembled Stainists moved to the task of 'kicking out the Trotskyites." They started out by claiming that the uninvited organizations "did not exist" and therefore could not be represented. Jack Green moved they be requested to leave and the question was immediately called. Our comrades vigorously protested these tactics and Green thereupon delivered a lynch speech, calling upon his followers to throw out "these stinking elements."

Stalinists Isolated

Our comrades departed amid chorus of epithets. It appears probable that the Lasters will repudiate the report of their delegates and withdraw from the conference, thus leaving the Stalinists high and dry in People's Front isolation.

The wrecking tactics of the C.P. have so disgusted union labor in Lynn that the workers are apathetic toward any kind of May Day celebration. The S.W.P., however, will hold its own May Day meeting and endeavor to make it a genuine working class celebration.

Barred In Newark

NEWARK, N. J. - Socialist participate in a united front on Workers Party delegates to the Newark May Day conference are to the majority decision of the to be denied credentials for Stalinist - dominated body. A further participation in the precourageous refusal to abide by paration of the May Day celeany such outrageous proposition brations. Our party is also to be would have forced the hand of debarred from the celebrations themselves.

Decision to exclude our dele-The plan has received the full rule of the Stalinist cloque in from such a farce of a "united session thoroughly packed by Stalinists and their stooges and Central Trades and Labor the presence of real militants by as their organizations in New noted for the almost total ab-York have rejected the high-handed proposals of the Stalin-trade unions which at a previous san League and by the Stalinists ists. It is possible that Boston session had voted to seat the S.W.P. delegates.

Regimented Vote

The vote at the session was almost identical on practically every question, approximately 64 votes for the Stalinist proposal to about six against.

Workers Alliance fighter.

None of the Steel Workers Orthe Greater Newark area, embracing a membership of some 6.000, had delegates present. Nor did the Amalgamated Clothing selves. It goes without saying Workers and the International class action by relying on the ings to the Socialist Appeal for that invitations were not sent to Ladies Garment Workers Union. good will of Lewis, Kennedy, the special may bay culture. All have withdrawn — the S.W.O.C. because it could not by the Stalinist-controlled con- in a very thorough manner.

Contact Unions

The S.W.P., in a letter to the the trade unions of the Greater Newark area, has re-emphasized its desire to demonstrate with labor and pointed out the reasons A dozen delegates were pre- for its exclusion from the consent from the International ference, namely, its class struggle Workers Order, the Russian Club, program. The S.W.P. plans a the American League for Peace May Day meeting to which it is

American League Fails To Get Response In Yorkville

NEW YORK .- In the heart of | ing, of course, "international co mocracy, foundered ignominious-

Despite the fact that goodly sums had been spent for advertising and that at least 75 organisives can be kept free of pie-card zations had been contacted for artists, disgruntled fakers and a meeting to establish a Yorkville branch of the "Keep America Out of War" movement, only four delegates and one observer attended.

The Representation

Two of the delegates represented the Socialist Party, one was from the S.P.-controlled National Lawyers Guild, while a third represented "Canada" (!) The "observer" was sent by the German Anti-Fascist Club.

The program as outlined by John Lewine, chairman, consisted in propagation of the six-point platform of the "Keep America Out of Wer" movement, includ-

proletarian Yorkville a Socialist operation of nations," and ad-Party pacifist maneuver, conceiv- vocacy of a "democratic declaraed in the best style of the Ame- tion of war along the lines of rican League for Peace and De- the Ludlow Amendment." The program is to be realized by sending petitions to Congress and building a membership organization similar to the old American League Against War and Fascism-now the League for Peace and Democracy.

Speakers at the meeting expressed their dismay and amazement at the hopeless flop in attendance and proceeded to decide that if the workers would not involve themselves the gospel neddlers should.

The committee therefore resolved to contact personally every church in Yorkville, the War Resisters, World Peaceways, New History and similar organiza-

SUBSCRIBE NOW TO THE SOCIALIST APPEAL

Newark Union Adopts Anti-War Resolution

NEWARK, N. J.-The Verona Bronze Powder Workers Union, Local 425, International Union of Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers, C.I.O., voted at its membership meeting last week the unanimous adoption of the militant anti-war resolution passed by the Central Labor Union of Minneapolis and published in the Socialist Appeal of April 2.

Adoption of the resolution was voted after a full and lively discussion of the war policies of the Roosevelt administration and of certain forces within the labor move-

The local is preparing to demand, when the present contract expires, even better conditions than those obtained as a result of their 100 per cent effective sit-down last Fall in the plants of the American Bronze Powder Company. Delegates to the Newark May Day Committee were instructed to maintain a firm anti-war, anti-collective security stand.

LABOR PLAYING **PENNSYLVANIA BOSS POLITICS**

Lewis Sets Out To Take Over Democratic Party Machine

(Continued from page 1) chine-politicians. The presence of Kennedy on one of the slates and its backing by Labor's Non-Partisan League no more alters this fact than would the selecrent U.S. regime into a work- explained. ers' government.

Stalinists Back Democrats

It goes without saying that the Stalinists, who have given up even the pretense of independent working class politics, are among the most active Degates was taken at a conference mocratic party hacks in the primary fight.

The A.F. of L. condemnation of the Kennedy slate has been as an act of "treachery." True enough; and true also that the condemnation sprung from thoroughly reactionary motives. But the action of L.N.P.L. and the Stalinists in ham-stringing the workers and keeping them bound to the Democratic machine at just the time when the work-On a proposal to invite a Ne- ers themselves are ready to take treachery.

to take things into their own which promises to be as popular hands if L.N.P.L. is not to The presence of Curran's name, was signed by several trade ganizing Committee lodges in prove merely and exclusively one more additional yoke around their necks. It will never become in any sense an instrument of and Browder. The Pennsylvania meet the tax voted on the unions experience is proving this much Every employed party member

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ASTORIA BRANCH. Grand Social and shindig next Saturday night, April 23, 41-22 Forty-Second St (Apt. 3-K), Sunnyside, Queens, Take Flushing train to Lowery St. Station. Admission 25 cents.

PHILADELPHIA ANTI-WAR MEETING, Friday, April 22, 8:20 P. M. 431 Pine Street, Speaker: Maurice Spector. Auspices: Socialist Work-

ers Party. Admission 20 cents LOS ANGELES

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WAA Meet Sedulously Skirts Vital Problems

(Continued from page 1)

the C.P. than the Stalinists turn-the price paid to his office for ed the convention into a hog- dues stamps from 10 to 12 cents. calling contest, with the female He finally went down to defeat Stalinists having the edge. In after fighting valiantly for the the midst of the bedlam, Wise- two cents. Harrison made a deman appealed to the chair to rule termined effort to have the dues Rhoda Pearson out of order. changes referred to a referendum Chairman Willis Morgan prompt- vote of the membership but was ly obliged:

Stalinists Run Riot

Appealing the decision of the gressives pointed out that a pretalitarian conception of demoand booed.

Lusing all the "indignation." Trotskyists, is attacked — that's the speaker is stopped."

Charge Retracted

charges to the Rules Committee David Cowles for the Progreswas carried by the Stalinist-sives, was of course voted down. packed convention. Harrison then moved to refer the charges of Trotskyist disruption to the same committee. This caused a little panic among the red-baiters and Campbell, one of the Harlem delegates, a Stalinist, took the ed by the Stalinists although floor and admitted that they including four S.P. nominees. A actually knew of no Trotskyist minority of the committee nomition of a labor bureaucrat as disruption in their local. "It was Secretary of Labor turn the cur- just a slip of the tongue," he rison, who was voted on and de-

matter from the convention floor en bloc. and to have an "impartial committee" investigate Stalinist discrimination on W.P.A. proiects. Finances took up a large part

of the convention's time. It was here that the only division in the monolithic Stalinist caucus appeared. Membership cards were increased to 30 cents and dues stamps "standardized" at 25 ment of class collaborationism cents for unemployed. The battle and collective security warwas fought over a matter of two mongering. The lesson for the cents. Sam Wiseman, as city unemployed - Break the Stalintreasurer, led a fight to increase ist stranglehold!

voted down.

S. P. Delegates Switch

A number of resolutions, chair, Neil Harrison for the Pro- though none dealing with the immediate and vital problems of vious speaker had attacked the the unemployed, were reported Trotskyists and had not been out by the resolutions committee. ruled out of order. In scathing On the question of the attitude terms he lashed the Stalinist to- of the Alliance toward the American Labor Party, the commiteracy while the Stalinists howled tee was divided. The two Socialist Party members on the com-Lasser took over the chair and mittee brought in a resolution gave the floor to Rhoda Pearson, opposing the People's Front line who pointed out that it was the of the Stalinists. But at the last truth of her remarks which was minute, they withdrew their own resolution and united with the She declared: "If any other party, Stalinists to carry a weaselfrom the Republicans to the worded People's Front type of resolution which called, inter okay. But once the Communist alia, for cooperation with the Party clique comes under fire American League for Peace and Democracy.

The militant anti-war resolution of the Minneapolis Central A motion to refer Pearson's Labor Council, presented by

C. P. Slate Elected

The rules committee, which included two S. P. members, brought in a slate for the new joint board, completely dominatnated and spoke for Neil Harfeated. Other nominees from the At a meeting of the rules com- floor met the same fate and then mittee next day, arrangements the combined C.P.-S.P. slate were made to withdraw the entire was put to the vote and elected

The convention, taken as a whole, presented a perfect picture of a Stalinist-controlled organization and as such quite incapable of advancing the true interests of the unemployed workers. As long as the control of the Stalinists lasts, the Alliance will continue to be an instru-

Appeal Army

It is not too late to place your won't be able to turn papers out orders for extra copies of the fast enough. The workers are going to have May 1st issue of the Appeal as the anti-war issue. Let's not repeat the mistake of failing to order in time. Our press run depends upon all locals getting their orders in at once.

Nor is it too late to send greet notified of the scale of prices. and sympathizer should be able to take at least one column inch. Send Your Greetings in at Once.

It is gratifying to see locals that have been comparatively inactive in the past as far as the Appeal is concerned, taking hold and going to work. Allentown, Pennsylvania, has appointed a new literature agent, Ruth Querio, who, with the cooperation of the Allentown comrades, has started putting the local on the map by increasing the bundle order and straightening out accounts. Joseph Almansburger, litera-

past month.

for the Appeal. The present one an initial step."

Montrose, Calif. Chicago, Ill,

vere received this past week: Los Angeles Indianapolis Newark, N. J Peekskill, N. Y. NEW YORK CITY Total

The following subscriptions

One more week of the subscription drive has still to go and New York is far in the lead. We realize that awarding the prizes to comrades in New York is not entirely fair to other locals. But there will be another drive in the near future and we'll figure out a more equitable method of making awards.

But the end of the drive does not mean relaxation in sub-getting. Subscriptions still support the Appeal and this support must come from you who read it.

Los Angeles Local of the ture agent in Rochester, New S.W.P. has sent us, by air mail, York, is also doing good work a special donation of \$10 with for the Appeal. He has increased the accompanying comment: his bundle order twice in the "The eight-page paper on April 2 sold out almost immediately. And of course Karl Shier in We need more. All the comrades Chicago must be mentioned in and sympathizers in Los Angeles this column. He has more than have received it enthusiastically doubled Chidago's bundle order and are anxious to see an eightsince the drive started, brought page Appeal continue with the the local out of debt, and still same high caliber as the April 2 issue. With an eight-page paper If Abe Miller in New York we can immediately double our puts all of his ideas into practice, order. To facilitate this, we are we'll have to find new presses donating \$10 to the Appeal as

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Mink, Notorious G.P.U. Agent, En Route To Mexico

STALIN'S HIRELINGS AIM FOR TROTSKY

(Continued from page 1)

and known in Paris as an employee of the G.P.U., had arrived in

Mexico on an obscure mission.

Subsequent to his arrival, there came to Mexico a well-known Stalinist spokesman, recently returned from Spain, where he fought the Spanish Civil War from a comfortable hotel room in Barcelona, "Captain" Ralph Bates.

Only a few days ago, finally, we learned of the order given by the Communist Party in New York to a prominent fanatical party member who served as Agitational-Propaganda Director for the party in New Jersey and prior to that in Pittsburgh, that she leave immediately for "work" in Mexico.

Why Is Mink Going To Mexico?

Why this "concentration" on Mexico? Above all, why the dispatch of the international assassin of the G.P.U., George

He can have but one mission: to murder Leon Trotsky. It has already been established officially by the Swiss police that one of the escaped murderers of Ignace Reiss, who went under the alias of Rossi, or Rous, but whose real name was Roland Abbiatte, had in his room when it was raided a map of Mexico City and its suburbs and a duplicate of his application for a visa to visit Mexico. The purpose of his visit was unmistakable.

So is the purpose of Mink's visit!

The Stalin regime has cold-bloodedly framed-up and shot down the whole generation of Bolsheviks who made the October Revolution possible. The veriest handful of them are still alive in the Soviet Union and their days are numbered by the Borgias in power. Only Leon Trotsky has thus far been out of Stalin's

Now the long, blood-stained arm of the G. P. U. is stretching out across continent and sea to put an assassin's bullet through the heart of the great survivor of the October generation. Let Stalin's skulking gunmen bear this in mind:

We know their methods; we know their purpose; we know their names.

And let them-and above all, their chief-bear this in mind,

The international proletariat has already fixed the responsibility for any harm that will befall Leon Trotsky. The assassins are known in advance. They will be judged accordingly.

U.S. Puts Off Freedom For Philippine Islands

(Continued from page 1)

ese influence in the islands was as the essential significance of growing.

Promise of Independence

ago when H. M. S. Hood, largest battleship of the British fleet, just succeeded in passing through the Roosevelt-Quezon move the fact that "for another 22 years"

ago when H. M. S. Hood, largest battleship of the British fleet, just succeeded in passing through the Roosevelt-Quezon move the fact that "for another 22 years"

Trained as the activities of spies and wreckers, disguised as faction in inflated materials regarding the state and wreckers, disguised as faction leaders.

Epstein was seen in New York in the locks with a clearance of only in the locks with a clearan

vond Hawaii.

Against All Imperialisms

SUBSCRIBE NOW TO

Promise of Independence

the native ruling class of the Islands would side with Ame- April.) rican and not Japanese impe-

that although the agreement myth. When the Tydings-McDuf- deep to accommodate vessels of between Roosevelt and Quezon fie Act was passed, the Marxists widest beam and deepest draft, ubility with which the Stalinists Pilsudski. leaves unchanged the date for proclaimed it a myth, a political Philippine political independence stratagem of the imperialist It was never pretended that the -July 4, 1946—that date, too, overlords of the Islands which may eventually be affected.

sooner was it passed than pro- that estimate. pagandists for American impe- The colonial slaves of the im- more costly Nicaragua project. rialism began warning of the dire perialist robber states can never economic consequences to the gain their freedom as a result Philippines which would result of "deals" between their native they were able to point out that alists) and the bigger robbers in the United States for the be gobbled up by the Japanese pines-sugar, hemp, cocoanut relinquished its hold over them. oil-would bring utter ruin to the This is the inescapable fate of Islands, since there would be weaker peoples in the presentlittle possibility of placing them day world of imperialist freein the free, competitive markets booting. of the world.

Bourgeoisie Crawls

This propaganda worked. The the Philippines does not lie in Filipino bourgeoisie, with Quezon the direction of preferring the as their spokesman, came crawl- American imperialists to the ing to Washington on all-fours to ask for guarantees of a con-system of capitalist imperialism tinued market in the United is the only road and the only States after independence be- hope. came effective. The exploited workers and

peasants of the Philippines, how-schedule (July 4, 1946), the exever, take independence seriousploited masses of the Islands ly. It is they who have supplied would be no freer, no more in-Quezon with his mass following. dependent in reality than are the These downtrodden masses know 300,000,000 Indian slaves of the economic deprivation and the British imperialism under the oppression which have been much-vaunted India Constitution. for the Army ridiculed the nocaused them by American impe- The Tydings-McDuffie Act, like tion that the armed forces of the the piratical nature of his expe- the incitement of factional strugrialism since its seizure of the the India Constitution, was de- United States either could or Islands from Spain forty years signed to enlist the native bourago. Quezon could not, therefore, geoisie to the side of imperialask for cancellation of the inde- ism, by giving the latter a greater pendence act without sacrificing share in the oppression and exhis own following. Nor could ploitation of the downtrodden Roosevelt cancel the act without masses. Nothing more. risking an upheaval in the Islands. Hence the stratagem of postponing only "economic" independence.

Warning to Japan

The Washington observers see

Arthur Sharfin and Ossip Garber, New York Stalinists indicted recently by a Federal Jury on a charge of aiding in obtainby Mr. and Mrs. A. A. Rubens, G.P.U. agents now in prison in Moscow, are at liberty under \$1,000 bail. No date has been set for trial, as the Federal officials are waiting to arrest other persons named in a sealed indictment returned by the same jury which indicted the two Stalinist associates of the Robinson-

Rubens ring. Rumors are circulating in New York that Rubens, before leaving for Moscow, made attempts to contact liberal members of the American Committee for the Defense of Leon Trotsky.

In this connection it was recalpress, a Hearst reporter interquainted with Rubens because of der's Communist Party. Kallen's membership on the American Committee:

Kallen, as the Appeal stated at the time, failed to identify the Rubens photographs of Robinson-Rubens, and denied all knowledge of him. Efforts to trace the new rumors to their source have thus far proved unsuccessful.

Will Improve For War

(Continued from page 1)

For War Vessels

These vessels would not be able at present, a fact which was amply demonstrated a few years

the United States will have a a few inches on either side. Roosevelt, viewing the rar direct interest in the Philippines the fact that the new construction of the various parties of actually these movements were threat to American imperialist and responsibility for them. Con- tion work on the canal is regard- stein and Poyntz together at the the Communist International. led by honest rank-and-file Cominterests, considered it good sequently, they pointed out, the ed primarily as a war measure. end of that month, one week bepolicy to grant the Philippines United States policy will be The Washington bureau of the fore Poyntz vanished. Epstein munist International contains and tired of the factional strugat least a promise of independence in order to ensure that when the showdown of war came when th (New York Post, the announced intention of the Roosevelt has, in effect, serv- Roosevelt administration to lay

ington "observers." They believe United States, is an exploded 000-a canal sufficiently wide and vessels in the battleship category. facilities of the Panama Canal were inadequate for commercial would never become independence The Tydings-McDuffie Act was in fact. Only two short years shipping. The decision to im-The Tydings-McDuine Act was in fact. Unly two short years snipping. The decision to improve the prove the Panama Canal is now student of war strategy. The lits history, particularly from have been required to confirm prove the Panama Canal is now announced as a substitute for the

Offensive Aims Revealed

As the war plans of the imfrom independence. In particular, exploiters (the bourgeois nation-perialist government at Washington take on ever wider scope, the abolition of tariff preferences across the seas. It is probably their offensive aims become which insure a duty-free market true that the Philippines would clearer. The lie that the vast imperialism are to be used, principal products of the Philip- imperialists if the United States in the air will be used only for be used for imperialist robber exploded myth. But the road of freedom for

Secretary of State Cordell Hull's opposition to a "stay-athome" policy for the U.S. Navy, or the establishment of a "naval Japanese. Overthrow of the world frontier" beyond which American New York Times, April 9, said warships should not operate, as he had used up 15 years while Even if Philippine independence should go into effect on Major R. Ernest Dupuy of the Oil tins." He added that he had

Army General Staff. Speaking in the Hotel War-Phoebe Apperson Hearst Memo- the interest of Wall Street. rial Post of the American Legion on April 5, this spokesman would be employed invariably in a strictly "defensive" manner.

A. B. C. of War Strategy

ported to have said, involves "not only the ability to defend ourthe defensive, necessity requires ever-increasing speed.

SHARFIN, GARBER RELEASED ON BAIL Where Is Juliet Poyntz, Missing Now For A Year?

ing the fraudulent passports used Tresca Links Disappearance To Agents Of G.P.U.; Stalinists Maintain Tight-lipped Silence

protest about most anything.

Juliet Povntz's own attorney

who may or may not have G.P.U.

connections, concealed the fact

first broke into the news with

All the facts in the case, that

is, all such facts as are known

by Carlo Tresca before a Federal

counted for.

Where is Juliet Stuart Poyntz? Carlo Tresca, the well-known anarchist leader, asks this question in the March issue of the Modern Monthly. We have ask- months. A newspaper in New ed it before and intend to keep on asking it until an answer is while running down facts in the forthcoming to clear up the mys- Robinson-Rubens-G.P.U. "mystery of her sudden disappearance last year.

Juliet Poyntz was for a full the arrest of the Rubens couple 15 years and more a prominent in Moscow late last year. public figure in the activities of the Communist Party of this led that when the Robinson-country. In May, 1937, in con-outside of Communist Party and Rubens case first broke in the versation with Carlo Tresca, G.P.U. circles, have been placed whose personal friend she had viewed Dr. Horace Kallen, pro- been for 20 years despite their Grand Jury. But Juliet Stuart fessor at the New School for political differences, she confes-Social Research, suggesting that sed disgust with the Stalin re-Dr. Kallen might have been ac- gime in Russia and with Brow-

Had Reason to Fear

The Stalinists in this country knew of her attitude and had reason to fear her because she might disclose some of their secret nefarious doings. For Juliet Poyntz had quit public activity in the Communist Party in 1934 to become an agent of Stalin's G.P.U. According to Carlo Tresca, witnesses are available who knew her through her work as a G.P.U. agent. As late as 1936 she was seen in Moscow in the company of George Mink, a well-known agent of the G.P.U. and an equally well-known member of Browder's Communist tinguished the last Moscow Trial Party. Mink served a jail senfrom its predecessors was the struction of super-battleships of directed and participated in the Bukharinists during the period in Barcelona on May 6, 1937.

seph Berson, who for a time was and all blunders and failures ex-

The linking of Epstein with rialism.

Now comes the announcement that "economic" independence is the territorial possessions in the Far territorial possessions in the Far a new canal across Nicaragua at a new canal acr gests guilty knowledge, especially when one considers the vol-

> that an offensive be launched.' first things to be learned by a raised during certain periods of of the robber aims of their ex- fenziva, to present the Polish ploiters.

That the armaments of U. S. armaments on land, on sea, and can only be used, and will only defending the shores of the Unit- wars and not for any idealistic ed States and that U.S. impe- ends such as preserving "demorialism retains only the most cracy" or protecting the rights "peaceful" of intentions with re- of weak nations, was made clear gard to its rivals—especially its by Major-General Smedley D. great rival in the Pacific, Japan Butler in testimony last week beis becoming more and more an fore the Senate Naval Affairs Committee.

All for Wall Street

This enfant terrible of the leathernecks, as reported in the reported in last week's Socialist in active service as an officer of Appeal, has been followed by the the U.S. Marines "going about equally revealing remarks of the world guarding Standard participated in twelve expeditions, outside the United States, wick. New York City, before the which were missions largely in

The gallant general never thought to enlighten the people ditions while he was engaged in gle inside the Communist Party blow off steam to the discomfi- va' had its agents in both facmen, who, in concert with the in the 'minority.' Adequate defense, he was re- Wall Street financiers and the selves but the strength to counter make the country war-minded, of the Comintern in Poland in either singly or in groups, to C.P. attack.... the theory of ade, to dupe the masses into supportquate defense, per se, is just a ing the next piratical war expetheory and no more. To be on dition which is being prepared at day by the Stalinist "historians,"



Poyntz is still missing, unacwho kidnapped her and where is she now? If she is dead, who Where is Juliet Stuart Poyntz, killed her?

American G.P.U. agent and These questions cry aloud for onetime prominent member of answer. We shall keep on ask-Browder's Communist Party? Is ing them until answers are forthshe alive or dead? If she is alive, coming.

History Of Polish C. P. **Undergoes Refurbishing**

Falsifiers Essay Task of Explaining Away All Past Blunders and Failures of Party Leadership

By ERNEST ERBER

One of the features that disber of Browder's Communist tinguished the last Moscow Trial tence in Denmark as a Soviet attempt of Stalin-Vyshinskyspy and then went to Spain, Yezhov to explain the programs where, according to Tresca, he of the Left Opposition and the assassination of Camillo Berneri of the open factional struggles as having been merely a cover Disappearance of Juliet Poyntz for counter-revolutionary aims.

In an article called "Provocathe secret police organized by

These "spies of Pilsudski" are now blamed for the idiotic ultra-This, of course, is one of the left slogans which the Comintern workers of this country must 1929 to 1934. The author of the learn it, too-if they are not to article says that "they (the be caught up in the toils of the spies) systematically distorted the imperialist war machine and line of the party in the attempt, made the unresisting instrument on the instructions of the 'De-Communist movement in such a politically ugly light as to shake the confidence of the masses in Communism, and to enable the Polish 'Defenziva' and Polish fascism to say that the Communthat the agents-provocateurs nut forward all kinds of 'extreme slogans' like those imposed upon the soldiers of the Warsaw their officers."

Factionalism a Crime The Polish C. P., like the

gles under the international lead- the C.P., either drifting away, Party are attributed to 'Defenzi- rests. va' agents. "A most important method resorted to by the Pilsudski clique in disorganizing

The Left Opposition severely coup. This is also explained to- C.P. who declare that "during Pilsud- distributing "An Open Letter to League in the New York District with them."

ski's May coup d'etat in 1926 the leaders of both factions did not take up an independent class attitude, but supported Pilsud-

How They Lied

Most humorous "explanation" of all is the following: "In addition, leading members of both is linked in some quarters with By this method the whole history ity,' acting on the instructions to negotiate the canal as it is the activities in New York of of the Communist Party of the of the 'Defenziva,' made a wide one Schachno Epstein, alias Jo- Soviet Union can be re-written practice of deceiving the Communist International. They fab ago when H. M. S. Hood, largest editor of the Stalinist Daily plained as the activities of spies ricated data regarding the state

in May, 1937, shortly before Ju- is just as applicable to the prob- role of their respective factions No attempt is made to hide liet Poyntz disappeared, by sev-lems of explaining the past his- in these movements, whereas The writer would be much

nearer the truth if he confessed the disappearance of Juliet teurs at work," one of the present order to make their jobs secure and that the mass movement did

> secret agents of the "Defenziva," We can expect an article most any day now describing how Lovestone and Cannon were sent into the Communist Party of America by the Department of Justice to stir up a faction fight to demoralize the membership Smith and the Liberty League and how, thanks to the eternal vigilance of Comrade Browder the party was saved for Roosevelt and the Democratic Party.

SOVIET UNION NOTES

Red Army and Navy Feel Effects Of Purge— New Party Elections To be Held To Fill Vacant Posts By JOHN G. WRIGHT

Crisis in the Soviet Armed Forces

An extensive article on the critical condition of the Soviet armed forces resulting from Stalin's decimation of the commanding personnel, is contained in the Sotsialisticheski Vestnik, Menshevik organ published in Paris, of March 8, 1938. The general staff of the Red Army has been wiped out. Marshal Tukhachevsky and seven members of the general staff were doomed by a tribunal of eight men: Alksnis, one of Voroshilov's four deputies, head of the Air Corps; Shaposhnikov, head of the general staff; five commanders of military districts: Budenny, Bluecher, Belov, Dybenko and Kashirin and the commander of the Cossack cavalry corps, Goriachev. What has been the fate of the "judges"?

All of them-with the sole exception of Kashirin-were designated as candidates to the Supreme Council. All of them, with the exception of Alksnis, were "elected" deputies, and almost all of them have already been liquidated. Kashirin disappeared last autumn. Alksnis was removed on the eve of the elections. Dybenko, commander of the Leningrad District, and Belov, commander of the White Russian district, both disappeared after the elections, together with Kuibyshev, commander of the Trans-Caucasian district. Budenny and Bluecher have been under a cloud. Their names were not even mentioned in the dispatches issued in connection with the twentieth anniversary of the Red Army. To the above names should be added that of Velikanov, commander of the Trans-Baikal district who was removed after the elections. The same fate was suffered by Mezis, member of the White Russian Military Council, Ozolin (Kharkov), and Apse (Trans-Caucasia). Marshal Yegorov, Tukhachevsky's successor who was elected deputy to the Supreme Council, has disappeared, together with thousands of other army

Admirals Given Liquidation Order

The top personnel of the Navy has been even more seriously affected. Orlov, one of the four vice-commissars of defense and head of the navy, was removed last fall. His successor, Victorov, elected deputy to the Supreme Council, likewise disappeared. Ludri, head of the naval academy, and Sivkov, commander of the Baltic fleet since January, 1937, have also turned out to be "fascist hirelings." Kireyev, appointed to command the Pacific fleet, was nominated as deputy to the Supreme Council but never elected. Kozhanov, commander of the Baltic fleet, disappeared last October and was replaced by Smirnov-Sverlovsky, who did not last long even though he was "elected" deputy. The same fate was suffered by Dushenov, head of the Northern fleet. Out of 22 high ranking officers in the army and navy who were elected last December to the Supreme Council, eight have already turned out to be "enemies of the people."

So grave is the situation that, as Vestnik points out, no troops were permitted to parade on the twentieth anniversary of the

Recent Developments in the Soviet Union

On March 30, the Central Committee issued instructions for the re-election of all the leading organs of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. The elections are to be held in the period between April 1 and June 15. They will be "secret"—except for the posts of secretaries and the highest bodies such as presidiums of locals and districts. When the "returns" come in, the full scope of this latest purge in the party, camouflaged as an election, will become evident.

Pravda of March 23 comes out in favor of restoring corporal punishment in schools.

The term "ukase," notorious under the Czars, has been restored to good standing by Stalin. The Supreme Council is now issuing "ukases." The regime still eschews the use of the title

The appointment of new deputies indicates purges in the following departments: Soviet Control Commission, State Planning Commission, Commissariat of Water Transport, Commissariat of Justice and the Northern Sea Route administration. (Pravda, March 28 and 29.)

Dispatch from Gorki: "In the Molotov automotive plant, 1,777 machines are awaiting shipment owing to the failure of the railroad..... A considerable number of the machines are standing in a vard flooded with water. In the next few days it will be impossible to pull them out of the mud." (Pravda, March 28.)

Workers Beginning To Drift, Disgusted, From Communist Party Ranks Everywhere

ist movement is alien to the the ranks of the Communist Party," a reprint from the So- imately one-third are directly Polish people. Hence, the fact Party, accentuated by the most cialist Appeal of March 19, to from the Young Communist recent Moscow trial and a grow- | C.P. members and sympathizers | League. embodied in support to Roosegarrison by provocateur Panitz in of "collective security" is re- to snatch copies of the leaflet of Larry W., a member of the calling upon them to murder vealed by reports of desertions from the distributors and dis-Y.C.L. for over four years and country.

Every locality where Stalinother parties of the Comintern, ism has a base among workers ism. was beset with factional strug- has its story of workers leaving ership of Stalin-Zinoviev, and disillusioned and disgusted, or after 1926, of Stalin-Bukharin. breaking away, rebelling against regarded as crimes in the Stalin-linist leadership and its brazen ed on reading the leaflet. tern, the fights in the Polish betrayal of working-class inte-

Kick Over Traces

Comrade B. J. Widick, labor secretary of the Socialist Workers Party, who has just complet-1926 when the Polish C.P. sup- use S.W.P. meetings as a forum ported Pilsudski in his military to announce their break with the is most evident among the youth. paign of the C.P. against the

ing realization of the betrayal attending a money-raising concert held by the Stalinists. A revolutionary youth breaking velt's war plans under the guise number of Stalinists attempted from Stalinism is the statement from the Stalinist camp coming covered, to their surprise, that formerly educational director for to the Appeal from all over the many of their sympathizers dis-the Y.C.L. at City College. approved such methods, while a few denounced such hooligan-

Open Letter" snatched from his misses contemptuously the Stahands by an ardent Stalinist, linist charge that he is an "enemy roundly rebuked the Stalinist for of the working class," and pro-Since factional struggles are now the cynical hypocrisy of the Sta- his lack of tolerance and insist-

Defy C.P. "Discipline"

incurred the wrath of the Stalin- Imperialism. ed a tour of the Eastern and ists, to speak at a mass meeting. them. Today, retired, he can of Poland. The Polish 'Defenzi- Middle Western states, reports The officials, all members of the that C.P. members now openly | C.P., were taken to task by the terring factor which hinders me ture of the big army and navy tions, both in the 'majority' and violate party strictures forbid- state organizer of the party and from carrying on a struggle ding attendance at "Trotskyist" instructed to keep Rasmussen out against capitalism and war. To meetings, and that it is a com- of their meetings. They refused carry out this task it becomes capitalist press, are conspiring to condemned the criminal policies mon occurrence for Stalinists, to obey and have since left the necessary to unite with those

In Boston our comrades were the Young Peoples Socialist deter me from acting jointly

Increasing dissension within | Members of the Communist | in the past four weeks approx-

Typical of the attitude of the

Attacks C.P. Policies

Citing his record in the One individual, who had the Y.C.L., this young student disceeds to analyze the fundamental policies of the Y.C.L. Exposing the real aims of "collective security," he tells his former com-Out in Mishawaka, Indiana, rades that "our support of this officials of the local Workers slogan can only mean lining up Alliance invited Hugo Rasmus- the workers on the side of the sen, well-known militant who had war machine to defend American

"My expulsion," he concludes, 'actually removes the last deforces that are today in this In New York City, the ferment struggle. The 'red-baiting' cam-Of the 40 members recruited by so-called Trotskystes does not

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The Eleventh Hour

It would be self-deception—the grossest form of stupidity—to conceal the seriousness of the crisis in the civil war in Spain. It would be a crime to be silent about the fact that the leaders of the Popular Front in Spain, in France, in Moscow—Stalinists and social democrats alike—have brought the working class of Spain and its cause to the brink of the fascist abyss.

The black gangs of reaction are marching straight for the sea. For the first time, their rifles are pointed at the very heart of proletarian Barcelona. From abroad the imperialist vultures are hovering over the battlefield for their share of the prostrated booty.

Yet, it is not too late for the Spanish working class to turn the mounting tide of defeat into a victory that would shake the whole world. That can be accomplished only if it is realized that contrary to the philosophy and practice of the People's Fronters who know only how to pile disaster upon disaster, the fascist reaction can be smashed not by purely military means, but above all by political means.

The collaboration with the bourgeoisie at home and reliance upon the "democratic" bandit governments abroad, have only paralyzed the working class and robbed it of its striking power. The abandonment of the class struggle policy made it impossible to win the Moors by granting Morocco the independence which the bourgeois masters of the People's Front deny it; made it impossible to arouse the peasants, not only in Loyalist but also in Franco territory to the side of the workers by proclaiming the right of the peasants to seize and hold the land; made it increasingly difficult to sustain the feelings of the laboring masses because no social change was offered them or allowed them, and what they had themselves undertaken to change was forcibly torn from them and restored to its old status.

In the crucial 11th hour, only the return to the militant class struggle, to proletarian self-reliance, to genuine working class internationalism, can assure the victory. Here is a problem not only for the Spanish workers, but for labor everywhere, and primarily in France. Arms? Yes, a thousand times. But not from Blum, Chamberlain and Co., who have deceived the Spanish masses time and again and who cannot be expected to change their spots now. Direct aid to Spain's proletariat, but only by means of militant working class pressure and militant working class control.

But again, the prerequisite for this imperatively needed turn is a remorseless break from Popular Frontist treachery and the restoration of the simple, time-tested principles of the class struggle.

Blessed Are The Peace-Makers

One of the main-if not the maintasks of a party calling itself Socialist, is to mobilize the working class in struggle against war now so that it may be better able to fight war once it has be-

Accordingly, such a party is unworthy of the name if it capitulates in advance to the war-mongers and patriots, if it seeks to make "peace" with the latter instead of warning the workers against them and separating itself from them.

Under pressure of the left wing, the last convention of the Thomasite Socialist Party adopted the most radical and thoroughgoing-even if not entirely satisfactory—position on the war question in its history. That was on paper, which is, as is known, very patient. Let us see what this position looks like in prac-

At last week's convention of the Workkers' Alliance in New York, the S. P. group introduced an anti-war resolution identical in terms with that adopted by the Executive Board of the United Automobile Workers Union, and submitted it in opposition to the Stalinist document. It was hardly a revolutionary statement, for it wound up with the sentence: "Armament, if any is necessary, should only be on the basis of protection against invasion." An intelligent imperialist would ask for nothing better. To a revolutionary socialist, it is a betrayal of principle, for it implies the legitimacy of defending the capitalist fatherland.

Nevertheless, the resolution was pointed, in other sections, at the Stalinist war-mongers, even if only by indirection. And you would think that the S.P., which has precious little left to lose, would hold on at least to this resolution, feeble though it is.

But no! The Stalinists put on a bit of heat in the resolutions committee. The eminent socialist statesman, David Lasser, also put on a bit of heat. Whereupon, the representative of the S. P. on the resolutions committee, Brendan Sexton, shrivelled up, and the committee presented the convention with a "compromise" resolution which the S.P. fraction adopted along with the Stalinist delegation.

The "compromise"? Better that no resolution had been adopted. The S.P. joins with the Stalinists in a humble appeal to the American capitalist government to boycott rival capitalist governments, like Japan-a policy which the S. P. has condemned on previous occasions. It pleads with the capitalist government to "cooperate with all groups who wish international peace"—another Stalinist policy which the S. P. has previously condemned. It hails the Stalinist "League for Peace and Democracy" -which the S.P. convention last year, and its press since, have attacked as a C.P. pro-war movement.

In a word, the Socialist Party's "struggle against war" and against Stalinist patriotism collapsed like a sucked egg. Nothing was left of it except the signal success obtained in making peace—than which there is nothing more blessedwith the war-mongers.

The thinking person cannot escape the

If this party drops its anti-war position, which is nothing to write home about in the first place, during peace times and merely because of a bit of pressure exerted by a handful of scowling bureaucrats—what will it do in time of real stress, when the pressure is serious and substantial?

If the Thomasites capitulate to a mere Lasser-cum-Bejamin for the sake of a "compromise" with the peace-time patriots, what will they do under the lash of a capitalist war-machine actually in

Japanese Drive Stopped On Central China Front tion at the Congress. None of the resolutions adopted by the

(Continued from page 1)

fighting under the most unfavorable possible political conditions. The liberation of the masses for many-sided participation in the fight against the invaders is still prevented by the Kuomintang dictatorial powers and the title of the 150 on the People's mains the case victories like ation of the title "Tsung Li," munist soldiers continue to make southern Shantung will remain only episodes instead of becoming real turning points in the battle for national liberation and

Congress Seals Dictatorship

congress held in Hankow last week. But enough was cabled by retains full power of veto. correspondents of the capitalist

Chiang Kai-shek, already the undisputed boss of the govern- timated that they might-they of "Tsung Tsai"—a modest var- Council. Meanwhile the Comor Leader, previously held only the heaviest sacrifices while the by Sun Yat-sen, founder of the Stalinist leadership resolutely Chinese Republic.

of the expulsion of the imperial- a variety of sham motions with by covering over the sham "dea view to "democratizing" the regime while leaving Chiang's power intact. A "People's now claims to be introducing. Council" was created. It is to Extremely few details have be composed of 150 bureaucrat- as a result of the victories at the been made available here so far ically-chosen Kuomintang dele- Grand Canal will be transformof the results of the Kuomintang gates whose functions are to be purely advisory. Chiang Kai-shek ed into a real slashing counter-

The Communist Party, which movement is launched to stimupress to indicate that the primary has now subordinated itself com- late the masses.

pletely to the Kuomintang, was apparently a sort of poor rela-Kuomintang overlords even deigned to mention the Stalinist concern of the Congress was to allies. Their existence as "loyal" strengthen and insure the power auxiliaries (Chiang Kai-shek of the Chinese bourgeoisie praised their "loyalty" in an inthrough the Kuomintang dicta-terview with John Gunther) was taken for granted.

After the Congress it was inment, was formally invested with might—be given five seats out prevents those sacrifices from The Congress also went through becoming politically meaningful mocracy" which the Kuomintang

> The episodic military turn made offensive only if the broadest

FRENCH WORKERS DEMONSTRATE THEIR MIGHT



declining capitalism. More than 100,000 workers are occupying plants in the heavy industry. The partisan of the People's Front, workers demonstrating in the courtyard of the Renault auto works-now again occupied-in before the fascists with greater Paris two years ago. Many more scenes such as this will be witnessed as the reactionary Daladier government attempts to saddle the French proletariat with additional costs of the capitalist crisis.

French labor is again on the march against the starvation rations on which it has been placed by new French premier, Edouard Daladier, has promised as one of the first acts of his government the suppression of the rebellious proletariat—as "humanely as possible." This picture shows

150,000 French Workers Strike To Defy Daladier

(Continued from page 1)

and voted confidence in the new slogan: "The communists are the government. With thousands of enemy." The oppression of the striking workers outside strain- colonial peoples is to be handing to embark upon the path of led ably by the reactionary independent class struggle the George Mandel, who distinguish-Socialist and Communist parties ed himself for his persecution of prefer to pursue the futile and the organized postal employes as treacherous policy of the "lesser Minister of Posts and Telegraphs evil"-anything but a revolutionary course for the workers as the only way out of the crisis.

Daladier tried once before to form a government maneuvering wing democracy. between the left and the right, when, in 1933, the Socialist deputies were forced by mass pressure to renounce their collaboration with the Radical Socialists. After his police had fired into the fascist demonstrations of February 6, 1934, this courageous democrat capitulated without further resistance to the reaction. In 1936 he reappeared as a faces a crisis. Is it now his ambition to make good his cowardice At his side stands Albert Sar-

raut, Minister of the Interior in the semi-fascist Doumergue gochamber of deputies on April 12 vernment of 1934, famous for his in Doumergue's cabinet. This is the new "people's front" of Daladier, whom the Stalinists have feted since 1936 as a hero of left-

> Undoubtedly, there are still strong Popular Front illusions among the workers, but they are learning that whatever they conquered was a result of their direct intervention, and that ultimately their own action is the only method of preserving their conquests. Even now their fight is assuming forms and proportions which exceed by far the desires of their leadership.

Daladier's Aims

Daladier's aspiration to insure social peace by a process of slow "audacity" against the workers? gliding toward the right, and to use the Easter vacations of parliament "to deal more freely with the strike situation," was quickly dampened. The slightest attempt to evacuate the 150,000 sit-down strikers by force would bring France to the verge of civil war. The task of the Daladier government is precisely to accomplish the turn toward a right-wing coalition gradually and without disturbance if pos-

The labor bureaucrats continue to use the strikes to enhance their own parliamentary importance. But a return to a People's Front government would be no solution for the bourgeoisie. During the last two years the four People's Front governments have proven incapable of coping with the economic crisis and of bottling up the working class to degree which would grant French capitalism the necessary political stability. It is even less probable that the Daladier government will succeed in this task by purely parliamentary methods. A show - down draws inevitably closer.

Dangerous Weaknesses

The French proletariat approaches this test of strength with admirable spirit but also dangerous weaknesses. Strikes and even armed struggles can vield no solution to the vital problems of the working masses unless they are backed up by an audacious and determined plan for the organization of the proetarian revolution.

Since the inception of the People's Front, French capital has conducted a systematic strike against the realization of any reforms favoring the working class. At the same time it has financed fascism and the reactionary press. The peasants. many of whom cast their votes for the workers' parties, especially the Socialists, for the first time in 1936, are beginning again to lean toward the reaction. Only a broad program of economic control and direction by the workers and peasants can insure the working class against defeat and isolation and prepare the revolutionary victory.

By Leon Trotsky

THE PRIESTS OF HALF-TRUTH

(Continued from page 1)

The period when world imperialism subjected the Soviet land to a blockade is now lost in the past. The blockade of the U.S.S.R. today is organized by the Soviet bureaucracy itself. Of the revolution as it understands it, it has preserved only the cult of police violence. It thinks that with the aid of police dogs the course of history can be altered. It fights for its existence with a conservative fury such as has not been displayed by any ruling class in history. Along this road, it has arrived in a short time at the commission of crimes such as not even fascism has yet perpetrated. Of this dialectic of the Thermidor, the democratic oracles have understood nothing, understand nothing now and-let there be no illusions-will not understand anything. Otherwise they would be obliged to shut down immediately the Nation and the New Republic and thus upset the equilibrium of the solar system!

OPPOSITES IDENTIFIED

Since the Thermidorean reaction came out of the revolution, the Nation and the New Republic have sought tirelessly to prove that revolution and reaction are one and the same thing. They have systematically approved or at least kept silent about the work of falsification, of lies, of corruption, which the Stalinist bureaucracy has accomplished throughout the world. They have covered up the repression against the Oppositionists which has been going on now for fifteen years. Yet there has been no lack of warnings. The literature of the Left Opposition is fairly rich, in all languages.

For fifteen years it has showed, step by step, how the methods of the bureaucracy came into increasingly sharp conflict with the requirements of a new society; how the bureaucracy was obliged to screen its own greedy interests, not only by making its own the mechanics of lying of all the ruling classes, but also by investing these mechanics—in view of the acuteness of the situation in a country scarcely emerged from a revolutionwith an unprecedentedly poisonous character. With irrefragable facts and documents we showed how a whole school of falsification came out of the Thermidorian reaction-the school of Stalin-which envenomed every domain of social ideology; we explained how and why it was precisely Stalin ("the cook of peppery dishes," according to Lenin's definition as far back as March, 1921,) who became head of the avid and conservative caste of usurpers of the revolution; we predicted the Moscow trials ten years before they took place and we explained to the most backward that the judicial frame-ups are only convulsions of the Thermidorean agony.

Finally, in 1937, the International Commission of New York, composed of persons of high moral authority and accustomed to critical judgment, subjected the accusations of Stalin and Vyshinsky to a patient and meticulous analysis. In all the accusations, they found nothing but lies, falsifications, frameups. They stated this openly to the entire world. The verdict of the Commission was intended essentially for the "man in the street," the farmer, the small tradesman, the backward worker, in a word, the majority of those whose conditions of existence deprive them of the necessary training and broad

From the editors of the Nation and the New Republic, these breveted teachers of the people, one might, it would seem, have demanded a critical sense of their own. They might, for example, have recalled from what they learned under their old schoolteachers, that the Thermidorean reaction in France proclaimed the Jacobins to be "Royalists" and "agents of Pitt," in order to justify in the eyes of the masses the sanguinary repression against them. From these professional moralists, one might, it would seem, have expected some sense of morality. Does not the moral degeneration of the Soviet bureaucracy stink to high heaven? Alas, the moralists have been found to be devoid even of a simple sense of smell.

PANORAMA OF NARROWNESS

The Moscow trials not only took this circle of people unawares but have destroyed the tranquillity of their souls for a long time to come. A collection of all the articles of the Nation and the New Republic, dealing with the three big trials-what a panorama of narrowness, vanity, hypocrisy and above all of confusion. No, they did not expect them! How could this have happened? Yet, while they lack in perspicacity and a sense of smell, they possess to the highest degree the feeling for selfpreservation of the priestly caste. Thenceforth, their whole behavior was determined by concern with the obliteration of their traces, that is, with seeing to it that the faithful remain unaware of the fact that inside the oracle, all this time, were concealed not very farsighted priests. Theoretically, these Pharisees indignantly reject the principle: "The end justifies the means," failing to understand that a great historical goal automatically discards those means that are unworthy of it. But in order to bolster up traditional petty prejudices and especially their own authority in the eyes of the simpletons, they are always ready to resort to artful dodges, and frame-ups of picayune scope.

OBLIGED TO VEER AGAIN However, they were unsuccessful in keeping to this second

At first, they tried openly to fulfill their duty as "friends,"

that is, attorneys for the G.P.U. But this proved to be too

risky. They speedily shifted to the position of philosophical

agnosticism and diplomatic non-intervention. They declared the

trials to be "puzzling." They refrained from judgment. They

warned against premature conclusions. "We cannot decide any-

thing from the outside." "We must not interfere in the affairs

of Soviet justice." In a word, they sought evasively to reconcile

world public opinion to the abominations that were being con-

cocted in Moscow. These people wanted at all costs to remain

on friendly terms with the executioners of the revolution but not

to assume direct responsibility for the frame-ups of the G.P.U.

line for any length of time. Under the blows of the disclosures they sang at a continually lower pitch: of course, the charges are obviously improbable but.... but there is "something" behind them. "We are not with the Stalinists, but we also do not believe the Trotskvists." Only the soothsayers of the Nation and the New Republic represent the truth. If, yesterday and the day before, they were blind, that is all the greater guarantee that today their sight is flawless. "There is something behind these charges." Indeed! If the ruling clique is executing all who are left of the Bolshevik party, it has imperious reasons for doing so. However, we must look for these reasons in the objective interests of the bureaucracy and not in the speeches of Vyshinsky, nor in the frame-ups of Yezhov. But we already know: the dialectics of the class struggle remain for these empiricists a book sealed with seven seals. What can you ask or expect from philosophers and publicists who foresaw nothing, see nothing and who were caught completely unawares by the trials? There is nothing left for the bankrupt oracles but to divide the guilt in two: Fifty percent is allowed to the executioner, fifty percent to his victim.

The petty bourgeois always stands in the middle and iudges a question by the formula: "on the one hand" and "on the other hand." If the capitalists are unbending, the workers are too exigent. This line of the golden mean, the Nation and the New Republic merely draw to its logical conclusion when they wear out half of their moral lymph on the G.P.U. and the other half on the real or fancied "Trotskyists." And in the end, the liberal American finds out from his teachers that Zinoviev and Kamenev were only half-terrorists; that Pyatakov sabotaged industry only six months out of twelve: that Bukharin and Rykov are spies for only two and not four countries; and that Stalin is merely a halffalsifier and a half-scoundrel. Cain? Perhaps he is Cain, but not more than fifty percent.

THEIR WORLD

Their philosophy reflects their own world. By their social nature they are intellectual semi-bourgeois. They feed upon halfthoughts and half-feelings. They wish to cure society by halfmeasures. Regarding the historical process as too unstable a phenomenon, they refuse to engage themselves more than fifty percent. Thus, these people, living by half-truths, that is to say, the worst form of falsehood, have become a genuine brake upon truly progressive, i.e., revolutionary thought.

A New Masses is simply a garbage can which puts people on their guard by its own odor. The Nation and the New Republic are considerably more "decent" and "nice" and less.... odorous. But they are all the more dangerous. The best part of the new generation of American intellectuals can proceed on the broad historical highway only on the condition of a complete break with the oracles of "democratic" half-truth.

Coyoacan, D.F., March 19, 1938.

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