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Anti-Moscow Pact Shows War Peril

Coming Conflict Will Take Place Not to Defend 'Democracy' But to Protect the Imperialist Plunder of Big World Powers

The past week witnessed two deeply significant and interrelated events which command the closest attention of every worker: the conclusion of the "Anti-Communist" Pact between Fascist Italy, Germany and Japan, and the virtual recognition granted the Spanish Fascist government by "democratic" England.

These two developments in international affairs are most revealing for anyone who really wants to understand the true character of the new world war in preparation, so that he may be able to clarify his attitude towards it.

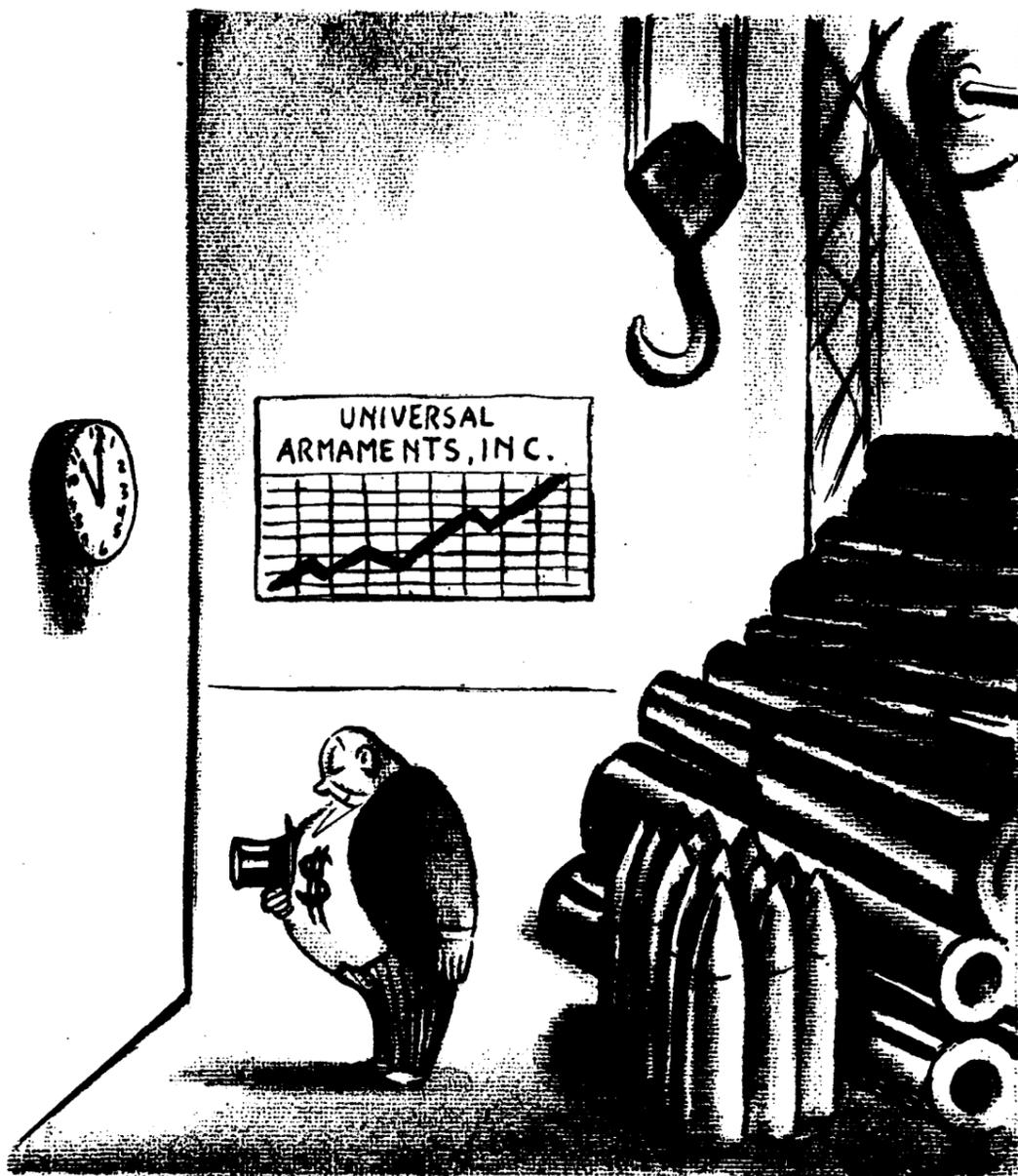
On paper, the "Pact Against Communism" does not seem to be a particularly war-like document. It declares that the signatories—Italy, Germany and Japan—obligate themselves "to keep each other informed concerning the activities of the Comintern and to confer on necessary measures of defense to carry out such measures of cooperation".

Pact Is Imperialist Smoke-Screen

But the words of the Pact, which apparently do nothing more than create a clearing house for information, are merely a smoke-screen behind which more serious purposes are at work.

In the first place, the main purpose of the pact is not the cementing of a world Fascist alliance to combat the revolutionary activities of the Communist International. Neither Hitler, Mussolini nor the Mikado are complete idiots. They know as well as the next man that far from constituting a threat to capitalism, the present day Comintern is a zealous defender of the existing social order. They also know that the Stalinist International and its G.P.U. have been in the front line of the counter-revolution in Spain, crushing with an iron hand every attempt of the workers in Loyalist ter-

Armistice Day Pause, 1937



ritory to establish the rule of labor.

The real aims of the Pact are different from its ostensible aims. More precisely, each of the signatories to the Pact is pursuing specific and different interests, which are all equally reactionary to the core.

Japan achieved its main objective when it allied itself with Germany in the original "anti-Communist" Pact a year ago. The Japanese ruling class has never ceased yearning for the conquest of Siberia, with its

rich mineral resources. But it could not even think of separating Siberia from the powerful Soviet Union in a solitary duel with the latter. Its chances are vastly enhanced if it has an agreement with Germany to keep the Soviets occupied on the Western front while Japan attacks in the Far East.

Similarly with Germany. It has always been an integral part of the program of Hitlerism to conquer the big granary represented by the Ukraine, a part of the Soviet Union. The prospect of a

successful rape of the Ukraine is easier to visualize if the Soviets are simultaneously engaged in a war on two fronts separated by thousands of miles.

Italy Signs the Pact

The broadening of the scope of the Pact to include Italy introduces another element that has developed more fully since the original Pact was signed.

Italy is not directly interested in the conquest of Soviet territory. Nor is she directly interested at pres-

ent in territorial expansion in China. She is interested in more colonies. She is interested especially in gaining more ground in Africa. She is interested in becoming a decisive power in the Mediterranean Sea.

In the past few years, she has been hostile rather than friendly towards Germany. There is not only the standing dispute between the two countries over the German-inhabited Tyrol which Italy took from Austria as war spoils, but also the struggle between the two Fascist powers for hegemony over Austria and Balkan states.

More recently, however, these conflicts have yielded in importance to the new conjunction of imperialist interests between Germany and Italy.

Italy has come into direct conflict with England, first during the war against Ethiopia, which threatened British imperial interests in Northeastern Africa and along the route to India, and latterly, during the Civil War in Spain, when Italian support of Franco and the strengthening of the Italian base in the Mediterranean, increased the threat to the principal life-line of English world power.

At the same time, Germany, having grown more arrogant and powerful with the re-occupation of the Rhine, the restoration of a large army in defiance of the Versailles Treaty, and the enormous armaments program she has undertaken, is coming out openly for the restoration of her lost colonies, for support in her reactionary crusade against the Soviet Union, and for the extension of her influence in Central Europe.

Germany's Lost Colonies

With her defeat in the war, Germany was stripped of all her colonial possessions. Before the war these possessions covered 1,134,239 square miles, an area

(Continued on page 7)

Labor's Great Political Power Must Be Used for Independent Action, Election Vote Shows

By B. J. Widick

An analysis of the municipal campaigns and elections recently finished gives strong indications that the C.I.O. leadership will try to continue its policy of bartering with capitalist parties and that reaction is growing stronger in the industrial centers.

Without question, industrial workers in key cities were largely united behind the program of the C.I.O., dominated by Labor's Non-Partisan League in the municipal campaigns.

Aid Old Party Men

In New York City, labor's vote was corralled by the American Labor Party behind its endorsement of the Republican faker, F. H. La Guardia, running for re-election as mayor. Both the Socialist Party (Right Wing) and the Stalinist Party aided in winning workers' support for La Guardia.

The C.I.O. furnished a powerful base in Detroit for its democratic candidate, O'Brien, when the Auto Workers union endorsed and campaigned for him. The S.P. and C.P. were also active in supporting this capitalist politician.

In Akron, the United Rubber Workers union, spent much time and thousands of dollars urging the election of G. L. Patterson, a democrat, who was chosen as "democratic-labor" mayoralty candidate. In Canton, Ohio, a C.I.O. supported politician ran for mayor.

All the steel and mining areas in Western Pennsylvania were the scene of an intense political campaign conducted by the Steel Workers' union which endorsed and in some cases, nominated its own choices for municipal office, either on the democratic or republican ballot.

The program of the C.I.O. was a simple one. It revived Labor's Non-Partisan Leagues, which had been created in 1936 to help reelect Roosevelt, to act as the political guide of the working class vote. This was its answer to the growing realization of the workers that political action must supplement economic struggle. The C.I.O. top leadership wanted the developing class consciousness, especially of the mass production workers, directed into the safe channels of class-collaborationism, under the slogan of "New Dealism."

Surrender Labor Program

Once the unions voted support of the League, little pretense was made that this was independent working class political action. Quite the contrary. The whole movement was consciously carried into the bosom of the Democratic party. "We've got the labor vote, we must woo the regular democrats!" the League officials said. This meant giving up any parcel of the labor program left and becoming democrats, body and soul. (This accounts for the fact that in few industrial centers did the workers vote as a unit. In Akron, only 60 per cent of the union movement voted for Patterson. In Detroit, Homer Martin, Auto Workers president, admitted the union membership didn't support the League's candidate).

Mass production workers were looking for independent political action against the capitalists. They didn't and won't get it, through present C.I.O. policies.

Outside of New York City,

where the trade union bureaucracy is highly skilled through years of practice in the art of misleading the workers, the entrance of the unions into politics was viewed with uncertainty and as an experiment by the C.I.O. leaders. Opportunists to the core, John L. Lewis and his associates, wanted to find out by experience how they could proceed to control the votes of the workers.

The purpose of the C.I.O. in politics was clear to its leadership. They think, falsely and to the detriment of the workers' interests, that capitalism can be reformed. Lewis and company hope to achieve some reforms of capitalism by gaining control of municipal, state and federal legislators, so that reform laws can be passed. What puzzled the C.I.O. leadership was the method by which they could become a greater political power.

National F. L. P.?

Should the C.I.O., with its 3,000,000 members, sponsor a national Farmer-Labor Party? Should it proceed along the People's Front idea, vehemently advocated by the Stalinists as part of their complete rejection and betrayal of all revolutionary principles? Should the unions seek to capture the Democratic party? The recent elections were to furnish the significant straws in the wind to answer these questions.

It hardly need be added that the furthest thought in the minds of the C.I.O. leaders was the idea of doing anything which might, directly or indirectly, promote the class struggle in the political field and thus prepare the workers to achieve revolutionary socialism.

What were the election results? In New York City, LaGuardia—to the cheers of the capitalist anti-labor press—won decisively. The 489,000 American Labor Party votes turned the trick.

In Detroit, Akron, and Canton, the League's candidates lost. The Akron defeat, incidentally, was a real shock to the C.I.O. Even the Republicans thought the C.I.O. would win.

A mixture of victories and defeats of the C.I.O. candidates resulted in the Pennsylvania elections.

How did the results of the elections affect the political ideas of the C.I.O. leaders—whose policies will continue to predominate in the labor movement during the next period?

"Balance of Power"

"To us, the election has demonstrated beyond doubt that in a national election between democrats and republicans labor will hold the balance of power," an official C.I.O. spokesman declared. "Now our job is to consolidate those gains, and make good that belief."

The labor bureaucrats have reasoned in this fashion: In Detroit, we took a beating because our inexperienced union leaders made the issue too much

of a labor versus capital dispute. In Akron, they made the same mistake. But in New York City, our policy of not having an independent candidate, or one that appeared to be, brought real success.

It is significant too, that the C.I.O. leaders pose the question of the next national election as a race between the Democrats and Republicans, with the labor vote holding a balance of power.

The writer well remembers a conversation with some top C.I.O. leaders on labor going into politics, a few remarks from which are pertinent. "If we saw some more Farmer-Labor party victories, we'd begin to press for a national party. If we don't see that, we'll act as a buffer force between the Democrats and Republicans," one of them said.

The defeat of the Farmer-Labor party by a Republican candidate in the Minneapolis elections, along with its evident weaknesses elsewhere, threw cold water—at least for the coming period—on any ideas the C.I.O. leaders had in that direction. They'll be satisfied with supporting "progressive" Democrats or Republicans.

A Fatal Faith

In other words, they are prepared to have repeated the experience with Roosevelt during the "Little Steel" strike, over again, on a thousand fronts. All they received from the White House during the massacre at Chicago, the shootings of workers in Canton and Youngstown, was the bluff, "A plague on both your Houses." Roosevelt betrayed the workers in the steel strike. He caused thousands of relief workers to face starvation because of the WPA slashes. Yet the C.I.O. leaders again have affirmed their faith in capitalist politicians. The Stalinists shout to the house-tops that they second those policies, which betray the workers.

Revolutionary socialists must point out the utter futility of the political policies of the C.I.O. A return to the militant and progressive policies which built the vast industrial unions is necessary. The reaction in the middle-

Appeals Court 'Exonerates' Sacramento Defendants

Norman Mini and the seven other defendants in the famous Sacramento criminal syndicalism case have been "exonerated," by the reversal of the conviction recently handed down by the appeals court. But the hypocritical capitalist court saw to it that the victory of the National Sacramento Appeal Committee was whittled down to the irreducible minimum.

Norman Mini himself had already served his term, and even his period of parole had expired before the court acted. The same was true for other defendants.

In its lengthy decision, a copy of which has just arrived, the court limited the reversal to a single point. It left inviolate the validity of the vicious criminal

syndicalism statute, the vague indictment under which the workers were arrested, and the outrageous conduct of the court and the prosecution. The reversal was given solely on the ground that the jury, having declared the defendants not guilty on another count based on the same facts, had by implication exonerated the defendants from the charge under which it simultaneously convicted them.

We congratulate Norman Mini and the other defendants, who at least will not have this conviction used to speed them again to jail for class struggle activities. But the struggle of the California labor movement against the criminal syndicalism statute has yet to be won.

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west developed out of the smashing of the Little Steel strike. It can be blocked from growing only by pursuing a class struggle program against the bosses. Ford's dynasty in Detroit is the strong-hold of reaction. Organization of Ford workers into a powerful, militant industrial union, would break the backbone of the anti-labor sentiment. The C.I.O. must make this its major task immediately.

The road into the Democratic party or any other party based on reform of capitalism is a blind alley for the workers. Not until the workers take the path of revolutionary struggle against the bosses will they be able to find a fundamental solution to their pressing problems.

Just as the workers smashed the open shop and the company unions by fighting independently to form industrial unions in the economic field, they must smash the chains that bind them to the capitalists in the political field.

The immediate and the historic interests of the working class were defended in the municipal elections only by the revolutionary socialists who ran independent candidates in the New York, Minneapolis, Akron and Cleveland elections.

These things the C.I.O. leadership does not understand or understands only too well. But the rank and file workers, through their own experience and our propaganda, will understand, and will act accordingly.

Sam Baron Arrested in Spain

Sam Baron, sent to Spain by the National Executive Committee of the Right Wing of the Socialist Party for the purpose of investigating the arrests of the leaders of the POUM, has himself been arrested by the agents of the G.P.U. in Spain.

A message in code, received by his friends in Paris, read: "Sam Baron under arrest in Valencia. Communist agents accuse him as Trotskyist. He is in trouble."

As in the case of Erwin Wolf, Mark Rein, Kurt Landau and what now amount to thousands of others revolutionarists and labor militants, we protest with the greatest energy and indignation this latest act of political banditry committed by the Stalinist Secret Police.

The Stalinists in Spain, as well as anybody who

has had occasion to come into political contact with Sam Baron, knows how utterly ridiculous it is to charge him with the "crime" of Trotskyism.

The only "crime" of which Baron is indubitably guilty is having made an attempt to look into the hideous frame-up against a working class political party which the Stalinist-Republican regime in Spain, aided by the G.P.U., has perpetrated against the Workers Party of Marxian Unification (POUM). Anyone who refuses to accept on mere say-so the Stalinist charge that any and every one of its political opponents or critics is automatically an agent of the Gestapo and in the service of Hitler, Mussolini and or the Mikado himself becomes such an agent.

The entire labor movement must exclaim with a single loud voice against the loathsome method and record of the Stalinist G.P.U. and demand the immediate release of all working class prisoners now held in its dungeons—and not only in Spain but in the U.S.S.R. itself.

CIO-AFL Meet Shows Prospects of Unity In Labor Movement

Washington, D. C.—Powerful economic and political forces are driving the leaders of the C.I.O. and the A. F. of L. in the direction of establishing unity of the labor movement, it was revealed as the so-called peace conference of the two warring groups met here this week.

The C.I.O. had received set-backs in its political campaigns, as shown by the defeats of its endorsed candidates in the municipal elections in middle-western industrial centers. It faces the serious possibility of a real fight with General Motors and U. S. Steel, in seeking renewal of the present contracts.

The C.I.O. will need the entire united strength of the American labor movement to win its battle to organize the huge Ford plants in Detroit.

Feel Business Recession

Above all, and this applies to the A. F. of L. also, the C.I.O. unions are feeling the effects of the current business recession through the lay-offs of thousands of union men in the mass production industries, and the unions are declining in membership and strength. The A. F. of L. leaders are considerably worried about the effects on its membership of the present down-swing in business activity.

The wave of reaction which developed in this country since the defeat of the "Little Steel" strike has gained impetus because the A. F. of L. executive council policy of splitting the labor movement weakened the workers' opposition to and encouraged the reactionary forces.

But this cut both ways. It injured not only the C.I.O., but also the A. F. of L., whose members felt the added pressure of the bosses more strongly than before. It is because the rank and file of the C.I.O. and the A. F. of L. directly suffer the bad effects of the split that they are pressing so vigorously for unity of the labor movement. Conversely, it is the fact that the labor bureaucrats on both sides feel the blows of the split only indirectly, that they permit many other minor considerations to block the path to unity.

The coming session of Congress accentuates the need for labor unity, and acts as an accelerating force in the progress of peace in labor's ranks. It will be too bad for both the C.I.O. and the A. F. of L. if the capitalist politicians play them against one another and thereby avoid passing any legislation which might block the drive towards reaction.

Roosevelt's Position

Roosevelt has publicly stated that he desires labor unity, not, to be sure, because he wants labor solidarity against capitalism, but because he can better put over his own treacherous program, if he receives the united support of the C.I.O. - A. F. of L. lobbies.

Besides, Roosevelt and the entire administration have grown tired of being in the middle during the entire dispute between the two labor factions. And not the least of his reasons is Roosevelt's desire to have a united labor movement behind his pro-war policies which are due to be developed further by huge armament appropriations by Congress.

In other words, the pressure of the economic and political forces,

and the needs of the Roosevelt administration, are currently submerging the differences and pushing forward the common needs of the C.I.O. and the A. F. of L.

Quite contrary to the popular impression, the question of industrial vs. craft unionism is not the major stumbling block between the two factions. Every union man recognizes the absolute correctness and success of industrial unionism in the mass production industries.

One of the most bitter opponents of the C.I.O., Wharton, president of the Machinists unions, has been organizing his Local Unions on an industrial basis for a long time. And many of the newly-chartered A. F. of L. federal unions are industrial in character.

Formula Found

A formula has already been found at the peace conference which can serve to settle amicably the industrial union question with sufficient face-saving for both leaderships. It is the resolution on industrial unionism adopted in the 1934 San Francisco national convention of the A. F. of L.

The San Francisco resolution directed the A. F. of L. executive council to issue charters for national industrial unions in the automotive, cement, aluminum and such other mass production and miscellaneous industries as in the judgment of the council might be necessary to meet the situation.

Preliminary discussions between the A. F. of L. and C.I.O. negotiating committees at the conference indicate that serious jurisdictional disputes involving the major C.I.O. unions can be avoided. Harrison of the A. F. of L. committee mentioned directly the auto, rubber, electrical and radio, newspaper, mine and maritime industries where he thought the problem could easily be settled. (The C.I.O. dare not compromise here).

What is important is that the

basic issue of industrial versus craft unionism has been settled by the organizational successes of the C.I.O., and both leaderships know it.

It should be remembered, too, that while John L. Lewis on the C.I.O. side and Hutcheson, of the Carpenters, on the A. F. of L. side, are bitter opponents and can provide stubborn opposition to peace, strong forces exist in both camps for peace.

David Dubinsky, of the Garment Workers, for example, has never agreed with all the C.I.O. policies as outlined by Lewis and has continually sought means to compromise the differences and rejoin the A. F. of L. even though it might have meant giving serious concessions.

Nothing illustrates more clearly that whatever peace is reached will be one favorable first to both trade union bureaucracies than the fact that neither side mentions democracy for the rank and file as a condition for the new united labor movement. John L. Lewis and William Hutcheson see eye to eye on this question.

Unity of the labor movement might not come immediately. There are many possible monkey wrenches that can stop the machinery towards peace, and it is obvious that some of the bureaucrats on both sides will seriously threaten any progress made at the present conference.

Unity Needed

Continued rank and file pressure on both the C.I.O. and the A. F. of L. leaders is the best guarantee that the misleaders will be defeated. The present cry for unity with full rights for industrial unionism must swell into a thunderous chorus whose power will prove invincible.

Combined with a struggle for democracy within the unions (A. F. of L. and C.I.O.) and the adoption of militant class struggle policies against the bosses, the fight for unity can serve as a tremendous step forward in preparing the workers for their ultimate struggle—the revolutionary overthrow of capitalism.

Push The Appeal

It is a sad commentary on the American comrades and sympathizers that letters like the following do not come from them—but must come from outside the country. Toronto is coming through. Not only do the comrades there send in contributions—but their subscriptions are increasing and their bundle orders are paid for promptly. Toronto alone cannot keep the Appeal going. The following letter is typical of what should be coming from American comrades:

"Dear Comrades:
Greetings to the Socialist Appeal as you step out to defend revolutionary Marxism. It is indeed a pleasure to see once again

a revolutionary organ of the American working class. The Appeal is meeting with such a fine response in Toronto and we are certainly pleased with its contents and calibre of its articles.

"Enclosed you will find a slight contribution of \$13.50, a gesture of solidarity to your movement in the U. S. from a group of Toronto 4th Internationalists.

"With comradely greetings, A Group of Toronto Trotskyists."
Now is the time to start subscription drives. If the Appeal could realize its increase in subscriptions it would not be necessary to make these weekly appeals for contributions.

Pleading With Fur Bosses Is Fatal to Labor

When the Stalinists wrested control of the apparatus of the Furriers Union, it became apparent that in their march to People's Frontism away from the class struggle they would stop at nothing to establish collaboration with the bosses. We can best understand the depth of this class collaboration policy by investigating the course of the administration in serving the stipulations of the agreement.

Mass Action Ended

According to the agreement signed with the bosses, overtime and contracting out of town is strictly forbidden. Since the beginning of 1937 only one employer was to be permitted to work in a shop. No floor boy was to engage in productive work. Further, old time furriers who could not keep up with the speed-up system were to be placed on jobs. Concerning overtime, instead of organizing workers' committees to patrol the furriers shops to guarantee that there would be no extra labor, especially on Saturday and Sunday, the union officials were deliberately indifferent.

By preventing the widespread overtime the administration could have created jobs for its unemployed workers. Now and then the union did pay men to visit shops and stop overtime but by no means did they cover the multitude of overtime factories. The refusal of the C. P. officials to organize large, effective furriers committees against overtime is explained when we realize how anxious they are to gain the good will and friendship of the bosses. The fact is that since the Stalinists gained control of the administration there has been no real mass action whatsoever. Everything is conducted with an eye to "law and order."

Instead of carefully fulfilling the terms of the union agreement, which entitles only one boss to work in a shop, the furrier officials have so compromised the union that today in all shops two bosses are permitted to work.

This part of the agreement was to be enforced in January 1937. At that time the Stalinists conducted a series of conferences with the association which were stretched into months. Finally, a shady agreement was made which gives two bosses the right to work and at the same time provides two extra months of equal division of work in the year for the furriers. The big gainers from this deal are the bosses. Thanks to this arrangement the unemployed unionists who had hoped to secure work remain standing in the streets of the fur market.

It is indeed ironical that the Stalinists have found the gall to tell furriers that this state of affairs is a victory of the workers. This is the fruit of class collaboration.

In the last few years, the problem of the floor boys replacing regular furriers spread to a majority of shops particularly in the cheap line. The chief victims of this were the nailers. Semi-skilled floor boys were given union books by the Stalinists and permitted to do the work of skilled men—literally rendering large sections of nailers jobless. To protect their reactionary machine in the union from the growing ranks of dis-

contented furriers, the Stalinists imported large numbers of YCL's who serve as "floor boys."

The union has virtually done nothing to rid the industry of large-scale contracting which takes the bread from the mouths of furriers. No effort is made to secure work for the old furriers as provided in the agreement.

Another critical problem has developed in the industry. Despite the expectations of the furriers for a good season in 1937, it was already clear in July, normally the height of the season, that there was a sharp lull. By the end of August, 10,000 of the 14,000 furriers were unemployed and condemned to go without work until May 1938. At the same time the furriers must face a new conference with the association for a new agreement which may necessitate a general strike and a further loss of work.

The Stalinists, understanding the seriousness of the present crisis, and to quiet the dissatisfied furriers, called a conference of all shop chairmen to discuss the situation. At the conference, Ben Gold and Manager Potash did their utmost to prove that the responsibility of the present crisis rests with the capitalist system. Therefore, the furriers should not expect too much. However, explained Gold, the union will hold a conference with the bosses to get whatever they can to improve their conditions.

Such arguments poison the minds of workers and educate them to be satisfied with the crumbs that capitalism hands them. Is it not a fact that because of capitalism and its repressions workers organized into unions? Is it not also true that whatever gains the workers made were won despite the boss system and in struggle against it by the organized force of the unions?

From the above mentioned arguments of the Stalinists and their supporters the furriers could see the lack of integrity with which they would go to negotiate with bosses.

The Four Points

The chairmen's meeting adopted the following four points which were recommended by Ben Gold and the Manager of the union.

1. That the discharged workers shall be reinstated.
2. That the work be distributed in 20-hour a week periods.
3. That bosses shall not be allowed to work in the shops.
4. To maintain the level of seasonal wages.

The result of the reformist policy of the Stalinists of begging the bosses to concede these four points, brought them a nose-thumbing as an answer.

In place of taking action against the bosses, the Stalinists turned over the whole problem to the so-called impartial chairman of the fur trade. Meanwhile thousands of furriers are unemployed and the Stalinists adopted a policy of waiting.

The furriers can expect no more. Even if the bosses accept the agreement offered, the season is over.

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A Hero of the People's Front

The re-opening of the People's Front Cortes in Valencia on October 1, marked the re-appearance in its sessions of the former Prime Minister of the Spanish government, Portela Valladares, who returned from France together with other bourgeois leaders, such as former Minister of the Interior, Miguel Maura. Valladares is respectfully received in Valencia by the Stalinists and Socialists in the People's Front. Unlike the infamous "Trotskyists," he is, you see, a hero in the struggle against Fascism.

Nevertheless, the same Senor Valladares addressed a letter from Nice, France, on October 8, 1936—that is, in the midst of the civil war—to General Franco.

"To His Excellency Sr. Francisco Franco,
"Illustrious General and Distinguished Friend:

"At the moment when you are invested with the supreme titles of Chief of the New State and Generalissimo of the Armies of Spain, I desire to send you the deepest and sincerest felicitations which the entire nation feels, and to assure you of my fervent wishes for your immense work which should give to our country a future of order, of justice, and of peace, of prosperity and of strength, capable of restoring to it the high place that it must occupy in the

world.

"Upon you has fallen the providential mission of realizing a second 're-conquest' of Spain, of saving it from the barbarism, crime and destruction, that has been erected into a system by the Government. One can never invoke against the Fatherland political ideas or the origin of the power; these factors must be subordinated to the position of a means for serving it better. In this terrible hour, I think only of Spain and of you who, by virtue of your exceptional state of intelligence, of calmness, of strength of character and a professional value which finds a precedent only in the finest pages of our history, must transform it.

"My age, which I regret today, does not permit me to solicit the honor of being a soldier under your orders; I have no resources for I have been despoiled of everything; by a miracle, I have saved a life which is worth nothing but which hopes for the welfare of the Fatherland which I have served as well as I knew how and could, by maintaining authority and by fighting, without concern for the risk, against disorder and anarchy. Even the most partisan must acknowledge it.

"It is with these sentiments that I shall follow, full of emotion, as I have up to now, your magnificent undertaking. I am always at your complete service, your admirer and friend.

"Portela Valladares.

"P.S.—I have not to this day, October 22, had the opportunity of sending this letter across the frontier by a sure way because of the irregularity of the postal connections with Spain."

A photographic copy of this instructive epistle was printed first in the Basque Fascist daily at San Sebastian, *Diario Vasco*, and on October 8, 1937, and in the Fascist "Bulletin d'Information Espagnole" of the same date printed in Paris.

May we ask the attorneys and apologists of the People's Front to answer the indicated question: Why is this Fascist scum received with honor by the Valencia regime and its Cortes while irreproachable revolutionists in Spain are murdered and imprisoned every day by the G.P.U.?

A Study in Contrasts

How the Chinese "Soviets" Were Liquidated

Yesterday

"What is the content of our general political line at the present stage of development of the Chinese Revolution? The struggle for every possible timely combination of the revolutionary mass movement in Soviet and non-Soviet China under the uniform leadership of the proletariat to overthrow the rule of the imperialists and their lackeys, the Kuomintang, and establish the power of the revolutionary democratic dictatorship of the working class and the peasantry in the form of Soviets throughout all China."—From the Report of Wang Ming, Chinese representative, to the Thirteenth Plenum of E. C. C. I., December, 1933.

"Our Party is succeeding step by step in converting its slogans that 'the overthrow of the Kuomintang regime is a condition of the successful prosecution of the national-revolutionary war against Japanese and other imperialisms' and that 'the Soviet government and the Red Army of China are the only consistent fighters of the national-revolutionary war' from Party slogans into slogans of the masses."—Wang Ming at the Thirteenth Plenum of the E. C. C. I.

"We know from the history of the struggle of the Communist Party of China that when the opportunists in its leadership, headed by Chen Tu-hsiu, counterposed the tactics of the united national front to the task of the class struggle at the critical moment of the revolutionary movement in 1927, when for the sake of retaining a united national front with a part of the national bourgeoisie these opportunists renounced the revolutionary struggle of the working class in defense of their vital interests, renounced the agrarian revolution of the peasantry, renounced the struggle for winning over national-revolutionary armies and for arming the workers and peasants and, finally, rejected an independent policy in regard to our temporary allies... they brought the 1927 revolution to defeat."—Wang Ming at VII World Congress of the C.I., August, 1935.

Today

"...it is an absolutely false and unfounded legend spread by pro-Japanese elements that the slogan regarding the creation of an all-Chinese government of national defense means the overthrow of the existing Nanking Central government and the establishment in its place of an entirely new government. It is slander, provocation! At the present time only the Japanese aggressors and their agents are interested in overthrowing the Nanking government. We, Chinese Communists, openly declare that we support the Kuomintang and the Nanking government, and will fight shoulder to shoulder with them against Japanese imperialism."—Wang Ming, writing in the *Communist International*, Vol. 4, No. 10, Oct. 1937.

"The 'Government of the Soviet Republic of China' dissolved itself today and ordered its armies, large forces that have disturbed China's internal affairs for ten years, to serve Generalissimo Chiang Kais-shek of the Nanking Central Government. In a manifesto the Central Executive Committee of the Chinese Communist Party announced support of and unity with the present Chinese administration. Reorganization of the Communist army as a Nationalist revolutionary army under General Chiang's military affairs commission was announced..."—Associated Press dispatch from Nanking, *New York Times*, September 22, 1937.

"...for the building of an anti-Japanese national united front the Chinese Communist Party in their telegram to the Kuomintang offered four guarantees: 1. The Soviet Government is re-named the Government of the Special District of China, and the Red Army is renamed the National Revolutionary Army, to be directed by the Nanking Central Government and its Military Affairs Commission; 2. A thorough democratic system is to be practised in the Soviet districts; 3. The plans for the overthrow of the Kuomintang by force of arms are suspended; 4. The confiscation of the land of the landlord is suspended... To say this is the surrender of the Communist Party is... a wilful slander."—From a speech delivered by Mao Tsetung, chairman of the Chinese Soviet Government, published in *China Today*, September, 1937.

Roosevelt Makes a Little Gift to New York

By Sam Marcy

The "peace-loving" President has presented to New York City a gift of \$62,000,000—in the form of an appropriation for the construction of the largest and most powerful super-dreadnaught ever built on this side of the Atlantic.

The occasion for this modest gift was the annual celebration of the "Navy Day", celebrated this year in the Brooklyn Navy Yard.

For the first time in many years the yard held "open house" to some 15,000 visitors, while rabid militarists, professional patriots and munition mongers, from the Assistant Secretary of the Navy down to K.K.K. Harvey vied with each other in showers of praise for our "navy conscious" administration and its President.

A Symbolic Occasion

Ass't. Sec'y. of the Navy, Edison, opened the keel-laying ceremonies with the significant remark: "This occasion is symbolic of a new chapter in naval history." And indeed, it is. For the facts surrounding the launching of this sea monster deserve the attention of all militant workers.

The beginning of the construction was originally scheduled for last spring, but was postponed. Among the reasons given, that of "labor trouble" is extremely telling.

It is well known that not every ship-yard is as well adapted technically and geographically for naval construction as is the Brooklyn Navy Yard. But the "man-power" to do the work is not quite as desirable, because it is recruited from a center which is a "hot-bed of radicalism." For, was it not in the New York shipyards that the first repercussions in this country of the French "sit-down" strikes were echoed? Although spontaneous in character and quickly suppressed, it was enough to give the jitters to the officers in charge of the third naval district.

The constant tirades of Rear Admiral Yates Sterling (formerly in charge of the Yard) against "Communism" were not mere rantings. Here was a reactionary who saw in every shipyard worker a potential enemy to this imperialist stronghold. The mil-

itancy and steadfastness of the shipyard workers displayed in their recent strike testifies to this. Nor was the ruthless and bloody crushing of this magnificent strike accidental. Once again, the workers were administered a cruel object lesson in the intimate connection between the police, the courts and the extra-legal terrorist apparatus of the employers. Not until the last worker had been beaten back to work was word again heard of the keeling of the battleship, the North Carolina.

The "New Chapter"

A cursory glance at the blue print of the battleship itself, shows why it marks a "new chapter in naval history". The mere fact that it cost \$62,000,000, 30 times the amount of relief given to students throughout the country, is not very significant when compared to its other features. It will take 4 years of steady, uninterrupted activity, and when completed will need 1,500 sailors and only about 80 or 90 officers. It will have nine 16-inch guns, in three turrets, 8 or 10 heavy anti-aircraft guns, machine guns, multiple barreled 11 inch pom-poms, and will have a power plant to produce a speed of from 20 to 30 knots an hour. It will also have the strongest armor ever provided. The North Carolina, when completed, will be nothing but a gigantic "plant afloat". Its 1,500 "workers in uniform" will be a hundred times more exploited and oppressed, than on any conveyor belt or steel furnace. Anyone even casually observing the relations between officers and sailors even in times of peace, knows with what terrible effects the class character of capitalist society is impressed upon the naval structure.

In its October 23 number *The Army and Navy Journal* we find in an obscure corner that, "while the administration's efforts to reduce expenses—have not curtailed any essential naval activities, the economy axe has hit many places in the navy", notably orders "affecting personnel". Perhaps the officers? But Rep. Costilla's Bill now pending in Congress calls for increases in their pay. Evidently, even in times of "peace" they are after the hides of the sailors.

Committee Urges All Branches To Help In Sales Campaign of 'Case of Leon Trotsky'

The National Action Committee reminds all comrades and friends of its recent decision to mobilize our entire membership for a concerted, special campaign to popularize "The Case of Leon Trotsky," the record of the Mexican hearings.

The verbatim record of the Mexican hearings is a mighty weapon of revolutionary truth. Not only does it reveal the monstrous frame-up of the Stalinist murder machine in all its ugly nakedness. No less important, it is an annihilating reply to the whole chorus of reactionary bourgeois opponents and disillusioned parlor radicals who identify Bolshevism and the Russian Revolution with the bloody regime of Stalinism.

In addition, "The Case of Leon Trotsky" is a veritable handbook

of revolutionary history, theory, strategy and tactics. All the great problems of revolutionary policy involved in the Russian revolution, bourgeois democracy and proletarian dictatorship, the Spanish Civil War, the Chinese Revolution, the struggle against fascism, bureaucratism in the labor movement and the Soviet state, the defense of the Soviet Union, workers' democracy, the thirteen years' struggle of the Left Opposition, the tactics of revolutionists in the coming war—all these great questions and many others were posed in question form by the Commissioners and answered illuminatingly by Trotsky. Every party member without exception and every sympathizer should have this book in his library for study and reference.

How Shall We Support China

It Is the Duty of Every Worker to Support the Struggle of the Chinese People Against Japanese Imperialism, But the War for Liberation Can Be Won Only by Placing No Confidence at All in the Chinese Bourgeoisie and Placing All Emphasis on the Independent Class Action of the Masses.

By V. R.

Every trade unionist and worker in America and throughout the world must support the struggle for national liberation in China. The defeat of Japanese imperialist aggression will be a decisive step in the struggle against world imperialism, "democratic" and fascist, and the social system from which it stems, the system of capitalist exploitation. For this reason the international working class has as its duty, not only to the Chinese workers and peasants but also to itself, to send material aid to China, to refuse to load transport war materials to Japan, to supplement and make effective the consumers' boycott against Japanese goods by refusing to load, transport, or sell any products of Japan, and to show solidarity with the workers and peasants of Japan who are being ground under the heel of the Japanese military machine.

Smash Japan

Japanese imperialism must be smashed. The question is: will it be smashed as a result of imperialist war which will only plunge the whole world into barbarism, or will it be smashed by revolutionary forces aiming to build a new Workers' World?

Those who, like the Communist Party, advocate what they call "collective security," those who gave their enthusiastic support to President Roosevelt's war speech at Chicago, those who want to invoke the Nine-Power Pact, originally drafted to safeguard the post-War division of spoils among the Powers in the Pacific, are advocating a policy which leads directly to imperialist war. They say, in effect, that Japanese imperialism will have to be fought by Britain and the United States and they go even further: they declare in advance that they will support these imperialist powers in such a war fought purely for imperialist interests. They rely on these powers, in other words on capitalist governments, to stop Japanese aggression just as they relied on the powers in the Non-intervention Committee to stop the fascist robbers from aiding Franco.

Britain and the U. S.

There is, to be sure, a chance that Britain and the United States will give more active aid to the Nanking government than they did to the loyalist government in Spain. They will do this for one reason, and one reason only: to preserve the rights of British and American imperialism to exploit Chinese markets and Chinese workers. Britain will not so easily give up her valuable investments in Central China to the upstart in the family of imperialist nations who has been so apt a pupil of imperialist methods. The strong stand taken in Washington against Japan indicates that the United States intends to preserve, by force of arms if necessary, her right to exploit the Chinese workers, (either directly through the ownership of industry or indirectly through capital investment.) To substitute for the direct exploitation of Japanese imperialism the indirect, but no less thorough, exploitation by British and American imperialism is to

deliver China from one master to another, not to fight for national liberation.

When the automobile workers are fighting against Mr. Ford, do we advocate that they call upon Mr. Knudsen of General Motors to help in that struggle? Yet that is precisely what we do when we advocate that British and American imperialism take over the task of fighting Japan. Just as in a strike we do not depend upon capitalist competitors of the particular boss we are fighting against but rely upon the militant and independent action of the workers, so in the fight against Japanese imperialism we must place our full faith in and give our full support to the workers and peasants of China, and the working class throughout the world.

No reliance on capitalist government! Independent action of the working class! These must be our slogans.

Low Living Standards

These, too, must be the slogans of the Chinese masses, for they cannot depend on their own bourgeois government to carry through to its successful conclusion the struggle for national liberation, for the struggle against all forms of exploitation. Let us not forget that in China there are native capitalists who try to compete with the foreigners by sweating their profits out of the backs of the workers. Let us not forget that the Chinese workers, living perpetually on the brink of starvation, are perhaps the most brutally exploited in the world. Let us not forget that the Chinese landlord is able to live luxuriously in the towns and cities only because he takes from 30 to 70 per cent of the peasants' produce as his rent. Let us not forget that even in good years the Chinese peasant has barely enough food to see him through from one harvest to the other.

On the other hand, because of the semi-colonial character of Chinese economy, the interests of the Chinese bourgeoisie are inextricably bound up with the interests of foreign capital. The Chinese bourgeoisie functions essentially as the agent for foreign capital in both Chinese and market industry. Economically, the Chinese ruling classes are infinitely closer to the foreign exploiters than they are to workers and peasants. Between the worker boss, between the peasant and the landlord, there is the basic conflict between those who have not and those who have, the exploited and the exploiters. Between the Chinese capitalist and landlord and the imperialist exploiters there is only the quarrel over the division of the spoils. When the Chinese bourgeoisie fights against imperialism it is in order to gain a larger share in the exploitation of the country. When the workers and peasants fight against imperialism, they fight for the possibility of a better life, for freedom from all exploitation, native and foreign alike. This has been amply demonstrated by the history of the past fifteen years.

The present government of Chiang-Kai-shek came to power on the wave of a tremendous anti-imperialist mass movement. At that time, not thousands and tens of thousands but millions

and tens of millions of workers and peasants were united in fighting against imperialism. Chiang Kai-shek was at the head of that movement. The organizations that should have expressed the demands of the workers and peasants instead gave their complete and unconditional political support to Chiang Kai-shek and to his party, the Kuomintang, on the grounds that all classes must unite and forget their special interests in order to defeat imperialism. At the point when the mass movement had swept him to a position from which he could command greater concessions from the imperialists for the Chinese bourgeoisie, Chiang Kai-shek turned without compunction and established his counter-revolutionary military dictatorship at Nanking.

That regime has been in power for ten years. During all that time, it has inflicted upon the workers and peasants the most ghastly terror. Mere membership in a trade union not certified and controlled by the gangsters of the Kuomintang, leadership of a strike or even mere participation in one, possession of radical literature, and, between the years 1931-1935, any attempt to organize resistance to the Japanese invasion, were sufficient warrant for imprisonment, torture, and execution. During these ten years, and most of all after 1931 (the year of the Japanese invasion), Chiang Kai-shek mobilized his millions of soldiers trained by the German Fascist General von Seeckt, to wage a pitiless war of extermination against the revolting peasants of Central China. Today Japanese airplanes and artillery are committing atrocities against Chinese civilians which have aroused the horror of the whole world. But only yesterday Chiang Kai-shek's airplanes, imported from the United States, Britain, and Italy, and Chiang Kai-shek's artillery, manned by German fascist military experts, were wiping out whole villages and whole districts in Central China. Beginning in 1934, Chiang organized a semi-Fascist terror squad, the Blue-shirts, to help in the suppression of all anti-Chiang tendencies in China. (Today Chen Li-fu, the organizer of these "Blue-shirts," has been placed in charge of mass propaganda for the fight against Japan!)

Why Chiang Fights

Because he succeeded in crushing the revolutionary movement by means of this ruthless terror — thus achieving the kind of "national unity" needed by the Chinese bosses and landlords — and because Japanese imperialism now threatens the very citadels of his own personal power, and, finally, because he now thinks that at long last British and American imperialism will come

actively to his aid, Chiang Kai-shek dares not take the chance of really mobilizing the masses whose strength alone could guarantee victory. By placing Chen Li-fu, the organizer of the "Blue shirts," at the head of "mass work," Chiang ensures continued rigid control over the mass movement.

The heroism of the Chinese soldiers is being exploited for the sake of showing Anglo-American imperialism that the Nanking government is worthy of its aid. But those soldiers are being sacrificed in a purely military struggle and no political steps are being taken which would swing behind the army the real organized support of the workers and peasants, whose strength in 1927 swept the Northern militarists like so much chaff from path of the Kuomintang armies.

To this day Chiang Kai-shek has left every door open to a compromise with Japan. At the very height of the battle in August, his government paid Japan its regular installment of the Boxer Indemnity fund. It would seem elementary that in the launching of a war against Japanese imperialism that was really meant to be the finish that such measures as the rupture of diplomatic relations, unilateral abrogation of all the robber treaties imposed upon China by Japan, confiscation of Japanese property, repudiation of Chinese debts to Japan, would all be taken as part of the mobilization for the war. But Chiang has done none of these things.

Coming Compromises

This tells us, more eloquently than anything else, that Chiang is burning no bridges and hopes ultimately to come to terms with Japan if aid from Britain and America is not forthcoming quickly enough. The premature revelation of secret, although inconclusive, dickerings with Hitler by Chiang Kai-shek's personal representative in Berlin, General Chang Po-li, is only a foretaste of what is likely to come in the future. At the moment, the threat to use Hitler would seem to be designed mainly to bring pressure on the other powers. There is undoubtedly a lick of flame beneath all the smoke of denials. Let us not forget that Chiang trained his army with fascist aid and is surrounded to this day by German fascist military advisers.

The struggle for China's liberation cannot rest on this thin reed. Chiang Kai-shek is fighting Japanese imperialism today. We say support that fight. But we also say to the workers and peasants in China: Watch out for tomorrow. Chiang Kai-shek betrayed you before. Until yesterday he was murdering your best brothers and sisters. You must organize your own unions, build your own party, put forward your own demands. You must demand that you be armed and you must arm yourselves. While fighting loyally and in the front ranks against the invaders, you must demand complete freedom of speech, press, organization, and assembly. You must agitate for a genuinely democratic national assembly elected by universal suffrage. By mobilizing your own forces in this way, you

will create the best guarantee that when tomorrow Chiang Kai-shek seeks to betray, he will be swept aside and the fight against Japanese and all other imperialisms will go on to its victorious conclusion!

The exact opposite of this is being done by the ex-Red Armies which have become nothing but military pawns in Chiang Kai-shek's game. Their heroic fight against the Japanese in Shansi will come to nothing so long as they remain without a political program of their own that corresponds to the real interests of the masses of the Chinese people. They had a program of confiscation of the land which for half a decade won them the active support of the peasantry and enabled them to perform legendary feats of valor in withstanding the repeated assaults of Chiang Kai-shek's armies. Now they no longer are the vanguard of the peasant revolt. They have renounced their program of land confiscation and all forms of political struggle against the ruling class. By so doing, they foredoom themselves to defeat. A victory over Japan in these circumstances would not mean the liberation of the masses but the victory of British and American imperialism.

The real victory will be won in China by the workers and peasants fighting for their own interests. Yet already those who raise their voices in defense of those interests are being denounced as "agents of Japan," just as the revolutionary workers in Spain are denounced as "agents of Franco" because they insist that the real defeat of fascism lies only in the victory of the workers' revolution. Such slanders are not new in Chinese history. In 1927, when Chiang Kai-shek sought to smash the workers' organizations, he deliberately spread the rumor that the Communist and trade union leaders were conspiring with the northern militarists and were acting as their agents to break the "united front" of the Kuomintang. The slanders of today are just as false and serve the same ends. For the sake of "unity" with the bourgeoisie, they shatter the unity of the working class.

For Independent Action

For our part, in this country, we can help the victory of the Chinese and Japanese workers through independent action by working class organizations. We will not help that victory by supporting the aims of American imperialism, by giving ourselves up in advance to its war plans which are designed not to win real national liberation for China but to substitute the American for the Japanese yoke on the shoulders of the Chinese masses. American imperialism is driving straight and evermore swiftly toward a war to ensure its domination of the Pacific. All the well-oiled machinery of war propaganda is already at work. Our future, like the future of our brothers and sisters in all countries, is bound up in our successful resistance to this new wave of jingoism, to the impending imperialist war. Our best service to ourselves and to those we support in China will be not to forget that our enemy is in our own country.

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Britain Takes Steps to 'Solve' Spanish Crisis By Recognizing Franco

By Felix Morrow

England took another long step last week in "solving" the Spanish question. Prime Minister Chamberlain announced establishment of formal relations with Franco. As small coin to "anti-fascist" sentiment, the diplomatic and consular officials were designated merely as "agents", but observers recalled the identical step was taken prior to British recognition of Soviet Russia. At the same time, Eden assured Parliament that a Franco victory would not mean a regime hostile to Britain. Thus the masters of the Anglo-French bloc prepared themselves for a Franco victory, or a "compromise".

Britain's Policy

The fact is that the "democratic" imperialists never wanted a loyalist victory. They permitted a trickle of aid to the loyalists from the Soviet Union, because they did not want a victory for Franco while his Italo-German allies dominated his regime. British interests profitably employed the interim to arrange with Burgos for joint exploitation of the British-owned Bilbao region.

The main preoccupation of Anglo-French imperialists from the first was: how postpone the war, maintain the democratic myth, and yet begin to edge Hitler and Mussolini out of Spain? The answer was also obvious: a compromise between the loyalist and fascist camps. As early as December 17, 1936, the "unofficial" voice of the British Foreign office, "August" stated that English agents were working for a local armistice in the North, while French agents were doing likewise in Catalonia. Even the social-patriot, Zyromski, stated in Blum's paper, *Populaire*, March 3, 1937: "Moves can be seen that are aiming at concluding a peace which would signify not only the end of the Spanish revolution, but also the total loss of the social victories already achieved."

All this is scarcely news. Even the official apology for Stalin's endorsement of the non-intervention committee, Harry Gannes' "How the Soviet Union Helps Spain," published in November 1936, admitted: "The Baldwin cabinet gauged its international action to retain the good will of the prospective fascist dictators of Spain [and] to prevent a victory by the People's Front. Sufficient has appeared to make positive the assertion that Britain has come to its own agreement with General Franco."

Joined Union of Bandits

But what mattered the fate of Spain, the future of the European revolution? All that weighed as nothing in Stalin's scales, as against the tenuous friendship of imperialist France. Said Gannes: "The Soviet could not come to an open clash with Blum on the non-intervention pact, because that would have played into the hands of Hitler and the pro-Nazi faction in the London Tory cabinet which was trying to provoke just such a state of affairs." Therefore? The Stalinists joined the bandits to prevent the clash!

Nor could Stalin join the London committee without white-washing it by pretending that it had its uses. Again we quote Gannes: "Rather than to allow collusion between Nazis and the Tory ministers to confront Spain, the Soviet Union strove to do all it could within the non-intervention committee to stop fascist arms from being shipped to Spain."

Likewise, we have no doubt, Stalin will strive to do all he can within the committee of compromise to get an "equitable" arrangement for the participation of the loyalists in the joint regime with the fascists. For that is England's next step: a compromise superintended by the imperialist powers.

That the loyalist government has already agreed to support a compromise with the fascists is attested to by a Stalinist source: Louis Fischer, in the *Nation* of September 4, 1937:

"A Spanish government representative who attended King George VI's coronation outlined, to Foreign Minister Eden, Valencia's plan for ending the civil war. A truce was to be declared. All foreign troops and volunteers serving on both sides would then be immediately withdrawn from Spain. During the truce no battle lines would be shifted. Non-Spaniards having been eliminated, Great Britain, France, Germany, Italy, and the Soviet Union were to devise a scheme, which the Spanish government pledged itself in advance to accept, whereby the will of the Spanish nation regarding its political and social future might be authoritatively ascertained."

Meaning of Plebiscite

At the best, such an arrangement would mean a plebiscite under the supervision of the European powers. With Franco in possession of territory including more than half the Spanish people, and with the Italo-German and Anglo-French blocs competing for Franco's friendship, one can easily foretell the outcome of the plebiscite: unity of the bourgeois elements in both Spanish camps in a Bonapartist regime, decked out at the beginning with formal democratic

rights, but actually ruling the masses through the armed might of Franco's armies. Such is the end of the road pointed out by the Anglo-French imperialists, and already accepted by the Negrin government. There are still objective difficulties in the way Franco hopes to win everything and is encouraged by Italy and Germany to fight on. But this much is clear. If not a complete Franco victory, then the best that can come from Anglo-French "aid" is a joint regime with the fascists.

Stalin will find this a bitter pill to swallow. However, a compromise with the fascists would be dressed up, it would nevertheless be a terrible blow to Stalinist prestige throughout the world. But rather than break with the main objective of Soviet policy today, the winning of an alliance with Anglo-French imperialism, Stalin will inevitably submit to a settlement dictated by them. He will "find a formula." The same arguments which were used to justify Soviet entry into the London committee, if accepted, would justify the final act of treachery against the Spanish people.

A New Alibi

Precisely in these last months, when the Anglo-French scheme was taking final shape, Stalin found a new alibi to supplement those provided by the Franco-Soviet pact and "collective security", with which to push the loyalists into still greater dependence on the Anglo-French bloc. Louis Fischer gave it crudely enough: "The Spanish war has assumed such large dimensions and is lasting so long that Russia alone, especially if it must help China also, cannot bear the burden. Some other nation or nations must contribute... If

New Struggles on Horizon As French Standards Fall

By Herman Stern

Since the glorious strike wave of May-June 1936, the French workers have experienced every conceivable attempt on the part of the People's Front government to rob them of their wage and hour victories.

Capitalism has two basic methods for intensifying the exploitation and oppression of the masses.

First, there is the more brutal and difficult system of Fascism. Fascism imposes a wage, hour and diet "standard" upon the workers and proceeds to enforce this with bullets and terror. The second is the more cleverly disguised, oftentimes equally as brutal, method practised by the bourgeois "democratic" and People's Front regimes.

Roosevelt and Blum "democracy", confronted with unmistakable manifestations of mass discontent, begin with the time-worn trick of deception, by championing the cause of higher wages and shorter hours. Then by skillfully constructed legislative measures, (inflation—the decrease of purchasing power) and by "peacefully" raising prices and increasing the cost of living, the living standard of the workers is systematically reduced. When the workers, understanding the true nature of bourgeois democracy, act to improve their condition the more naked form of boss-rule, fascism is introduced.

Let us recall that almost immediately following the gains wrested from the French bosses by the workers, inflation was an-

nounced by the Popular Front. By this the few dollars increase in wages gained through heroic strike sacrifice, and much more was quickly returned to the bosses. The Socialist and Communist Parties of France supported inflation as a means of saving French capitalism.

The communiqué of the French Government (Oct. 2), again wholeheartedly endorsed by the bourgeois-socialist Blum and by the Communists, spells a crushing blow at the living standard of the working class. Among other reactionary stipulations it provides that, "production will be accelerated—" (commonly known as the speed-up) and that the People's Front government will undertake "the alteration of the labor regime in the conditions foreseen by the law of June 21, 1936, on the forty-hour week." Then, as though in anticipation of how the French workers will welcome these new "laws" the People's Front forbids and illegalizes, "violation of collective contracts" (any strike can be designated illegal) and "occupations of the factories".

If French capitalism is not yet sufficiently secure, the People's Front will execute "the indispensable repression of all foreign agitators, whoever they may be". The militant French workers will never submit to this infamous sell-out without a fight. The next months will undoubtedly witness strong resistance on the part of the workers.

England would save Spain from Franco, Russia would perhaps be ready and able to save China from Japan." (*Nation*, October 16). Thus China becomes an alibi for not decisively aiding Spain, while Spain remains an alibi for not saving China!! "If England would save Spain from Franco!"

The face of the Negrin government is turned not to the battle fronts but to London and Paris. After the fall of Gijon, Negrin broadcast. Not Gijon, but London, was what troubled him.

"Once more our foreign enemies are trying to take advantage of the ingenuous candor of European democracies by fine subtleties... Spain will accept any means of reducing the anguish of this country, but let the

democracies not be seduced by the Machiavelianism of their worst enemies and let them not again be the victim of a base decision."

Were not the consequences of this policy so tragic, one would roar with laughter at the picture of the "ingenuous candor" of perfidious Albion and the Quai d'Orsay. Fearing that he was to be abandoned altogether, Negrin was thus begging his imperialist mentors to remember that he "will accept any means of reducing the anguish of this country." Had he not already proved that, by his repressions of the workers?

Perfidious Albion calls the tune, and Stalin dances after him...

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Anti-Moscow Pact of Fascist Powers Shows Line-up in War Peril

(Continued from page 1)

five times greater than Germany herself. Most of this territory went to England and by demanding its return, Germany comes into direct clash with England, even if not so sharply as does Italy.

The real significance of the Italo-German alliance does not lie in its permanence, for the simple reason that it is not even calculated to be permanent. Each of the two partners has divergent and separate imperialist interests to pursue, and there is no lack of points of conflict between them. For both of them, however, the alliance is a means of pressure upon England to shift her past course.

The British ruling class has come reluctantly to the conclusion that Germany must be given the opportunity to expand in one direction or another. She must either be given some colonial power—which means a slice off the present possessions of England—or she must be allowed to expand to the East—that is, to invade the Soviet Union.

But would not the latter mean an assault by the "Fascist powers" against one of the "democratic powers", and would England, herself a "democratic power", fight tooth and nail against a strengthening of Fascism at the expense of "democracy"?

Nonsense! England is as much interested in preserving "democracy" or "defending" the Soviet Union as Japan is in preserving "civilization" in Asia. All she is concerned with is maintaining her world imperialist power. The propaganda of the Communist Party that England, like France and America, is one of the "democratic" and "peace-loving" countries, is one of the most misleading frauds of our time.

England in Spain

Any doubts on this score can be finally dispelled by the latest action of England in the Spanish situation. For more than a year, the apostles of the People's Front have pictured England and France as the benevolent guardians of "democracy" and enemies of Fascism in Spain. But England was not ever and is not now concerned in the slightest with "democracy". She wants only to protect her Mediterranean route to India, and her sources of mineral wealth in Spain. With Franco in increasing control of the latter, and in a decisive position with regard to the former, England is just as ready to deal with him as she was to deal with Valencia up to now. Foreign Secretary Anthony Eden, the paladin of "democracy", declared in the House of Commons that there is no reason to believe that a Franco Government in Spain would be hostile to the interests of Great Britain. That means: England and the Spanish Fascists have already come to a basic agreement! The "defense of democracy" is a good thing to deceive the masses with; the defense of substantial British mining interests in Spain—that is more realistic, more decisive!

England's policy in Spain foreshadows the line-up in the world conflict tomorrow.

Will it be a war between "Fascism and democracy"? Nothing

of the sort. In the first place, the "democratic" bloc not only includes France and England, but countries like Poland, Yugoslavia and Rumania, in which the most savage military dictatorships are in power. In the second place, the present line-up is purely transitory.

The conflict between England and Japan is real and not just a matter that will disappear tomorrow. The conflict for hegemony in Europe between French and German imperialism is real and has been going on for years. Above all, the conflict between world imperialism and the Soviet Union is real, and can end not in a reconciliation but only in the conclusive triumph of the one over the other; the two systems cannot live peacefully side by side with each other indefinitely.

Two Currents

The two main currents in international affairs, therefore, may be reduced to the following: Either a world war of the imperialists among themselves, with the Soviet Union aligned on one side or the other, in which the issue would be the re-division of the capitalist world between the present "haves" and "have-nots". Or, a war of all the imperialist powers, or of a section of them (with the rest standing by as "neutrals"), against the Soviet Union, in which the aim would be the destruction of the Soviet Union, the distribution of its territory into colonies and spheres of influence of the imperialist countries, and the complete restoration of capitalism and private property throughout the Soviet republics.

Since England doesn't give a fig for the abstract cry for "democracy" and "defense of the Soviet Union" made by the Stalinists, she is conscious of the fact that she runs the risk of losing her world empire in an imperialist war. She is no less conscious of the fact that if she lets Germany go full-steam ahead against the Soviet Union with the prospect of conquering the Ukraine, a war between Germany and England over the former's lost colonies would be postponed. Furthermore, —and what is more important— a war between Germany and France, in which Germany might upset the "balance of power" in Europe by extending her influence in Central Europe (Austria, Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia), would also be postponed.

England and Japan

England is also conscious of the fact that she cannot engage right now in a war with Japan. England is still too greatly preoccupied with Spain and the Mediterranean. She is still too far from her goal in rearmaments—above all, on the sea and in the air. She knows that if Japan's expansion can be re-directed—that is, if Japan is not opposed in an invasion of Siberia—she may halt her expansion into China with the seizure of the Northern provinces and not continue into the South of China, where she would come into direct and immediate collision with British imperialist interests.

To sum up: there is a race between a war of the imperialists

among themselves (not for "democracy" but for colonies and power!) and a war of Germany and Japan for the partition of the Soviet Union. The policy of "democratic" England is bringing closer the prospect of the united imperialist war against the Soviets.

So far as France is concerned, the past few years have only served to underscore the fact that she dares not take any decisive step without the support of England. Today, she is aligned with Russia against Germany, out of fear of Germany's advances into Central Europe. But if Germany shifts her attention from Central Europe—from Poland, Rumania, Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia, the allies of France—and turns it exclusively toward Russia, is there any serious reason to believe that "democratic" France, which is imperialistic through and through, will join Russia in a war upon Germany in order to "defend the conquests of the October Revolution"? Only scoundrels and dolts can believe in such a possibility. France would then "defend" the Soviet Union as England has been "defending democracy" in Spain!

There is one other possibility. It is entirely conceivable that England and France would join Russia in a genuine, blood-brother alliance and give it the most serious support in a war between her and Germany-Japan. But only on one basic condition: that the Stalinist regime works towards restoring private property in the Union, that it helps wipe out the nationalization of the means of production and exchange, that it breaks down the monopoly of foreign trade, and that it gives England and France substantial guarantees in the form of industrial concessions and the right of large-scale exploitation in Russia.

Labor's Role

The Stalinist bureaucracy is counter-revolutionary precisely because, among other things, its whole tendency is in that direction: the extirpation of the last of the achievements of the Russian Revolution. The extent to which it succeeds in this depends at bottom upon the world's working class. If the latter builds up its own class organizations, re-establishes its class independence, revives the revolutionary movement, and thereby restores the self-confidence and militancy of the Russian proletariat, the anti-Soviet bureaucracy can be overthrown, its plans thwarted, and the whole caboodle of imperialist war-mongers thrown into the ash-can of history.

Above all in this crucial period the working class faces the task of re-consolidating its ranks. The old Internationals of labor and working class parties—Stalinist and social democratic—are bankrupt. Their only power is that of demoralization and disintegration. The building of the Fourth International, the building of the revolutionary Marxian parties, is on the order of the day—the supreme task of the hour!

INTERNATIONAL NOTES

Japanese Economy Crumbling Under War Strain

During the years of the last world crisis the weak sectors of Japanese economic structure were propped up through the advantages that Japan was able to gain in the world market in the cheapness of raw materials, outlets for its cheap exports and so on. Even at that period, however, the shaky financial position of Japan required a devaluation of the yen. The recent economic upswing and the general European rearmament competition which steeply forced up the prices of the basic raw materials have worked havoc with Japan.

The rise in prices on raw materials it must import has more than annulled the advantage of cheap labor. The cost of its rearmament program that has already imposed a severe strain on the country's resources has been more than doubled. For the past few years Japan's export has barely covered two-thirds of the import. The costly Manchurian conquest, achieved with relative ease, has been followed by the far costlier campaign in North China. The price on rice, the basic foodstuff of the Japanese masses is the highest in a decade, and has been steadily rising. The peasantry long in an intolerable position is on the verge of despair because of the lack of goods and the steeply mounting prices. The budget calls for expenditures of 5½ billion yens while the income is estimated at 1½ billion.

These ever-widening gaps and monstrous disproportions carry with them a threat of ruin for Japan. The foreign imperialist powers, whose interests are being encroached upon by the Japanese onslaught on China, are banking largely on economic difficulties to checkmate Japanese militarism. The European press, especially the British, is filled with speculations as to the possible effects of a lengthy Chinese resistance. The gravity of the situation is recognized and even openly discussed by Japanese newspapers as well.

The Manchester Guardian Weekly in its Oct. 22 issue carries a lengthy article on Japan, in which the main stress is laid precisely on this point. We cite a significant passage from it:

"Financial pages [of Japanese newspapers] contain serious discussions pointing out that the emergency appropriations up to December alone will be far more than the total cost of the Russo-Japanese War, even allowing for price changes, and that this is just a beginning. On the other hand no one is prepared to predict any collapse at present. There are rumors about restrictions on bank withdrawals, but nothing has been put into effect yet. Exchange control is becoming stricter and Japanese capital abroad is being mobilized. Domestic stocks have gone down rather heavily, and the Government is endeavoring to bolster up the market. Outside the munitions field business men are worried about the outlook, especially as regards raw materials."

One of the conclusions that must be drawn from what has been said above is that Japanese militarism, faced with economic collapse, cannot withdraw now, but must plunge on with its plans of conquest, in the hope of thus averting an internal catastrophe.

The campaign against Russia is intensifying. Foreign correspondents report that large bodies of troops are being sent to Manchuria. Some even say that more soldiers are sent there than to Northern China, apparently in preparation for an onslaught on the Maritime Provinces. Says the Manchester Guardian: "The press is full everyday with reports of Russian activities in China, notably the dispatch of aeroplanes."

Russian White Guards on the Class Nature of the Soviet Union

In its August, 1937, issue *Znamya Rossii*, one of the most rabid counter-revolutionary periodicals published abroad, prints theses which attempt to draw the balance of the recent frame-up trials, the purge, and the ever-spreading campaign of terror.

Among other things, the theses state the following:

"Under the inescapable pressure of life itself, of the demands of foreign policy and the threat of war, the communist power was compelled to make numerous and important concessions, shifts, and retreats. All these changes, however, while providing some relief for the country, are inadequate; they are of a maneuvering and opportunist character, and incapable of reconciling the population with the power, and they do not alter the essence of the communist dictatorship."

The conclusion drawn by the White Guards is that the foundations of the workers' state have not been undermined sufficiently by Stalinism to enable the counter-revolution to hope for a peaceful triumph. An insurrection, at least a "palace revolution", is required, in their opinion.

Orlov, head of the Soviet navy, has been "replaced." Ivanov, the commander of the warship "Marat", who was sent to the coronation of George VI, is among the "missing".

Dubnov, one of the few remaining old-timers, has been removed from his post as Commissar of Education, and is now no doubt in jail.

Mugdussi, head of the Armenian G.P.U., who a short time ago was decorated by Yezhov himself with the highest honor, the Order of Lenin, for his "zeal in prosecuting the enemies of the people", has himself been arrested as a "counter-revolutionist".

J. G. W.

Are You Ready for War?

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

You want peace. So do one hundred out of practically any hundred people you might stop on the street. So do we.

You remember the horrors of the last war, if not through personal experience, then through movies, books, pictures, acquaintances. Thousands of well-intentioned people have pledged "Never again," thousands have participated in peace meetings, parades, petitions, etc. Yet the clanking and grinding of the war machine can be heard getting louder and louder.

Governments pile up their armaments, led by our very "own" Roosevelt, who also is a "peace-lover". The Eastern hemisphere is blazing at both ends, in Spain and China. Diplomats maneuver for alliances in preparation for the inevitable war. In Europe the masses seem resigned to a new world slaughter, and know that it is impossible for America to stand aside from a war which will rage over the far-flung empire of American imperialism. The cries of "Peace" seem to be only the dust-clouds raised by this onward march of the war-machine; and they are just as powerless as the dust-clouds.

There Were Peace-Lovers Then Too

This is not the first time this has happened. Before the World War too, there was a tremendous blooming of the peace movement. The year 1917 saw more "peace conferences" than any preceding year. And then too, we had a "peace-loving President" who said he "hated war" and vowed to "keep us out".

But when the war came, all this vanished as if it had never existed. Wilson's peace speeches served only to help the mobilization of the people behind the war, since they had learned to look toward him with confidence. The pacifists of all shades joined in the war drive, utilizing the prestige they had gained by their peace activities to rally confidence in the government's policy. "If these people are for it, it must be a good war!"

And the only organized force that opposed the war were the revolutionary Socialists, like Gene Debs.

Presidential Peace-Lovers Today

Today too there are all kinds of peace-lovers. And leading them again is the President, who shoved his face into the news-reel cameras saying "I hate war!" at the same time that he builds the biggest army and navy in our peace-time history and gets ready to intervene in the Chinese conflict.

With the world tottering on the brink, President Roosevelt choose this moment to announce a reversal in foreign policy. Throwing aside his previous demagogic demands for American neutrality in world conflicts, he calls for American intervention to "quarantine the aggressor", whom his man Hull defines as Japan; that is, he takes the first step toward swinging into action against Japan. Roosevelt throws aside his mask of peace and heads toward imperialist war.

While the memory of the last war is still fresh, a generation is again mobilized for war. How has this come about?

Mobilizing the Consciences

Long ago, it was very easy to mobilize for war. When the Indians went on the war-path, they painted their faces fearsomely, keyed themselves up with war-dances and yells, and were ready. The braves knew why they went to war—to gain neighboring land, hunting rights, etc., for themselves.

Today under capitalism, the war-makers do not tell the masses that war is necessary in order to defend capitalist investments, or gain colonies or markets. John Smith has no investments to defend, and Mrs. Smith would not send her son to the front in order to enslave some colonial people. They are not interested in those things. A new technique is necessary. Today—

The first principle of the war-makers is to mobilize the Smiths and Browns behind war by utilizing their very desire for peace.

It's a political jiu-jitsu trick. In a scrap with a jiu-jitsu expert, the energy which you put into rushing your opponent is turned against you, to knock you off your feet. So today: war propaganda is rigged so as lead the masses to war thru their own search for peace. Wars are not simply imperialist wars; we are told they are "wars to end war".

But the jiu-jitsu trick is possible only when the rash attacker is ignorant of the principles behind it. It is the lack of understanding behind his attack that leads to his self-defeat. So with modern war propaganda; the "peace movement" can only be self-defeating as long as it lacks understanding.

"Wars to End War": Stopping the "Aggressor"

The oldest gag is the cry: "Let us maintain peace—by warring against any nation that breaks the peace. The first nation that dares to attack will be over-awed by the opposition of the rest of the world." And of course, we must support this war to end war!

But what is an aggressor? Is it the nation whose army first crosses the border, which attacks first? Only one who lacks all understanding of the modern world can believe this. The fact is that the aggression that initiates the next war has already taken place.

The war between America and Japan is raging right now, and it started long ago. It is being fought, for example, in Latin America. It is a war between American and Japanese capitalists for foreign trade, for fields of investment, for raw materials. Whenever American and Japanese business collide in pursuit of their imperialist aims, this trade war rages.

This imperialist trade war is fought with weapons. At first, the weapons are purely business ones. But they do not remain so. As the trade war sharpens, the capitalists call upon their governments for support, and the capitalist governments respond. New weapons come into play, governmental weapons.

Trade treaties, "spheres of influence", trade concessions, tariffs, embargoes, subsidies—these are the big guns the governments bring up at this stage of the struggle. Puppet dictators in the Latin-American countries are taken in tow, like Vargas in Brazil who is the stooge for American interests. Puppet dictator is set against puppet dictator, and small-scale local wars result which are really clashes between the rival imperialist governments pulling the strings behind the scenes. (Such was the Gran Chaco war fought between Bolivia, representing American interests, and Paraguay, representing the British.)

AS THE WAR APPROACHES!

We who are the ghosts of last year's arms, the bullets sunk within our living flesh! the shrapnel—through its eerie flight laced within our youthful chests; the noxious gases stealing through the broken land, among the torn colored flowers lying in the sand! to be the rapturous breath that brings our howling death that this was war— and is said to be no more...

The ghosts that were never laid away— walk through the towns on public days, with stumps for legs and medals on their thighs, their gassed heads held high—for patriotism's sigh, their song spangled on their lips—"Their's is but to do and die."

Be Silent, Go Forth, lie among the guns— from public charities and social un-insurance, you've had but poverty and now you'll get the fun— if unemployment has not worn out your endurance! You're married to this very bewitching nation— and cannot treat it like a public whore, whose pleasures you've promiscuously taken— and whose payment you'll now insure! by your bloody body not to be forsaken, but to be made holy in some national ground, when some other commanded workman shoots against you— and you are quiet! death is but a moaning sound...

But should it be that you'll live to see the day— and understand the quarter of your attack; you'll turn the guns and shoot the other way— the generals, the financiers—are always in the back...

HARRY ROSKOLENKO

'New Int'l' To Appear In 2 Weeks

The first issue of the revived publication of the New International, a monthly organ of revolutionary Marxism, is already being prepared for the press. According to the business manager, it will be ready for the mails in less than two weeks.

Among the material of interest that will appear in the first issue the editors announce the following:

A leading article on the twentieth anniversary of the Russian Revolution. To commemorate further the great historic event, there will appear an article on the Red Army, written by the German revolutionist, Erich Wollenberg, who served as commanding officer in the Soviet armed forces for several years. Maurice Spector has written an omnibus review of the most important recent works on the Soviet Union, subjecting them to a critical analysis; he includes Eugene Lyons, Fred Beal, Victor Serge, Andre Gide, M. Yvon, Albert Rhys Williams and others. In addition, the issue will contain the record of an informal evening of recollections of the Bolshevik insurrection, participated in by a number of the revolutionary leaders who were directly at the head of the job in 1917.

The War of Japan against China is the subject of a thorough-going examination by Li Fu-jen, and Felix Morrow writes about the role of the anarchist movement in the Spanish Civil War.

The American scene is dealt with in an article on Roosevelt and the American Revolution by James Burnham. Articles on the relations between the CIO and the AFL and the future of the American trade union movement, as well as on the coming emergency convention of the Socialist Party called in Chicago by the left wing, will also appear.

A gratifying interest has been shown through the country in the revival of the New International and orders for bundles and individual subscriptions have been coming into the office of the manager from all parts of the country. Those branches that have not yet sent in their orders are urged to do so immediately, because economy dictates the printing of a number of copies limited to the requirements in sight.

All communications and moneys should be sent to the New International at 116 University Place, New York City. The subscription rate has been set at \$2.00 a year. Bundle orders are offered at reduced rates.

Genesis of A. L. P.

"I did not organize the Labor Party. Mr. Mahoney's party organized it"—LaGuardia A. L. P. candidate for mayor.

STALINISM and BOLSHEVISM

10 C by Leon TROTSKY

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Bill's Column

Freedom and Rome

The Roman Catholic Church dominates Montreal. Recently the ban on Communist meetings has been extended to include meetings of the unemployed. Said Cardinal Richelieu, "I congratulate the religious and municipal authorities who have opposed the Montreal meeting and the people who have denounced them... Paganism has many offers, among them are freedom of speech, freedom to insult our traditions, our beliefs and our religion." So in the eyes of the Holy Cardinal, free speech is paganism. And indeed the Cardinal's stand is in accord with the traditions of his church, Browder to the contrary notwithstanding. Mouthings of the agents of Rome in the United States about democracy must be measured against their acts elsewhere. Events in Spain, Austria, Italy, Canada reveal, again and again, that hidden under the priestly robes are not only opium for the people but the policeman's club and the gangster's blackjack as well.

"The Blood of the Lamb"

Mayor LaGuardia, candidate of the Republican, Fusion, Progressive and Labor Parties, endorsee of the Social Democrats, the S.P. and the C.P., speaker for Fascists and anti-Fascists, friend of the employer and the employees spokesman for Father Divine and Holy Rome, addressed the Salvation Army last week. Said, Hizzoner, "Fellow Salvationists. What a man!

The White Man's Burden

"We did not conquer India for the benefit of Indians. We conquered India by the sword and by the sword we shall hold it. We hold it as the finest outlet of British goods in general and Lancashire cotton in particular."—Lord Brentford—in the days when Britain's imperialist spokesmen occasionally spoke the truth.

A Bargain

"For discriminating people: Black broadtail with blended marten collar, only \$4,400." Advertisement in N. Y. Times. Are there any discriminating people in the audience?

"Success"

That the American Labor Party achieved certain "successes" in the last elections must be admitted. They "succeeded" in defeating Democrats and electing Republicans to Albany, in fact they "succeeded" so well that last year's "success" Governor Lehman and his supporters are now in a hopeless minority in the New York legislature. Other "successes" might be mentioned but the greatest "success" of all was to furnish the badly shattered Republican Party with two possible "white hopes" for 1940—LaGuardia and Dewey. The latter, Thomas E. Dewey with his "movie" bodyguards are almost irresistible.

Free Labor

"Under this [the German Nazi] procedure the worker is virtually bound to his job, a situation probably without precedent in the modern capitalist state"—Raymond Clapper in the World-Telegram. Though similar methods of slavery may not be found general in any other capitalist state certainly Clapper would not have to go outside the boundaries of God's Country to find a precedent. The cotton pickers of the Democratic South know no other procedure.