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Sit-Down Strikes Sweeping France

"Robinson-Rubens" Frameup Prepared For U.S. Spy Scare

The psychological preparation of the American people for war goes on alongside the swift speed-up of the Roosevelt military and naval program designed for the ultimate showdown with Japan for imperialist domination of the Pacific.

The country has been treated to its first spy-scare in the form of a spectacular search on a Japanese ship. Destroyers of the Pacific fleet engage in mysterious "maneuvers" along the West coast. President Roosevelt announces that he will ask an enlargement of the already stupendous naval building program which now calls for the expenditure of more than half a billion dollars.

"No Peace at Any Price"

This followed Roosevelt's plain intimation that his government was not prepared to continue enjoying "peace at any price" and the studiously frigid "acceptance" of Japan's apology for the sinking of the gunboat Panay in the Yangtze River. The extension of Japan's robber war of conquest in China will provide more than ample opportunity for new incidents, new friction, new "accidents" which can at any time considered propitious be made the pretext for starting the conflict.

This week the Stalinists did their bit for the cause by getting the American Student Union to repudiate the Oxford Pledge and to adopt an openly jingoistic platform promising in advance the students' support to American imperialism in the coming war. At the same time the Daily Worker, more loudly, more shrilly than Hearst dares, lashes up the spy mania and calls upon the government at Washington to emulate Stalin's methods in dealing with "spies" and "traitors" i. e., all those who oppose Roosevelt's and Stalin's war aims, and most especially those who steadfastly dedicate themselves to the revolutionary struggle against capitalism.

The 'Robinson' Case

Developments in the mysterious "Robinson-Rubens" case during the past week indicate more and more clearly that the couple now sitting in a GPU cell in

Moscow are the center of a complex conspiracy with roots both in Moscow and the United States, designed to feed the spy-scare in this country. At one with Alf Landon in the sentiment that all

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Algic Trial Hits Labor

Ship Strikers Condemned As Mutineers For Solidarity Move

BALTIMORE, Md.—The Roosevelt regime struck a heavy blow against the Organized Labor movement when it obtained the conviction here of 14 seamen of the S.S. Algic on charges of "mutiny" because they participated in a sit-down strike.

The case of the Algic seamen is of nation-wide importance because the convictions were an attempt to curb the militancy of the maritime workers and to "outlaw" the sit-down strike weapon.

The basic motive behind the arrest and trials of the Algic seamen was the desire of the Roosevelt war-mongering administration to smash the international solidarity displayed by the seamen when they pulled a

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Paris Utilities Paralyzed By New Strikes

Paris transport facilities and public services were paralyzed by a general strike beginning at dawn on Dec. 29. This was the answer to the attempts of Camille Chautemps' People's Front Government to break the new wave of sit-in strikes sweeping over France.

Faced with rising prices which have wiped out the gains made by the great strikes of June, 1936, and new decree laws virtually abolishing the 40-hour week won at that time, the French workers are rising to the struggle.

The movement is only beginning but its general characteristics are already clear.

1. The character of the strikes is not episodic, but, on the contrary, reveals a determined mass upsurge on the part of the workers. The occupation of the factories is widespread. Although centered in Paris and its "red"

belt, with the Goodrich tire plant as a focal point, it has rapidly spread to include telephone workers, steel workers, chemical workers, department stores, movies, food warehouses, bakeries, river boatmen and all forms of transportation, especially the truck drivers. Thus the provinces, from Lille to Marseille, are involved.

2. The reaction of the workers reveals their revolutionary nature and aspirations. The Goodrich factory flies the red flag. With the experiences of the tremendous strike wave of June, 1936 under their belts, there can be no doubt that the workers have established factory committees. Sympathy strikes develop instantaneously and intuitively as the workers learn that the People's Front Government has sent mobile guards to evacuate the workers forcibly from the occupied factories. The N. Y. Times dispatch of December 26 proves the seriousness of the situation, when it says:

"Government arbitrators predicted the 'beginning of the end' of the strike movement which threatened to approach proportions of the wave of strikes in 1936, under the government of Leon Blum."

Government Intervenes

3. The strikes, although economic in origin, immediately become political in every respect. "Premier Chautemps, after conferences with Interior Minister Marx Dormoy and Air Minister Pierre Cot, insisted that the

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Cooperation-With Whom?-Why?

An Editorial

"Parallel" moves are being made in Washington and in London to harmonize the policies of the world's two leading imperialist powers in the Far Eastern crisis, which is daily becoming more acute as the invading armies of Japanese imperialism continue their devastating march through China. These moves are the first fruits of the Japanese sinking of the U. S. gunboat Panay and their attacks on British warships in the Yangtze River.

What is the meaning of this Anglo-American entente? What bearing does it have on China's struggle against the barbarous invasion of the Japanese imperialists? What is its significance for the American and international working class?

In a considered editorial on December 24—an editorial having all the earmarks of a statement of policy approved by the State Department in Washington—the New York Times warns the Japanese imperialists:

"Those Japanese statesmen who are reported from Tokio as fearing joint action only would discover their error if, unhappily and unthinkably, their military forces were permitted to continue their cruel and illicit warfare against friendly nations."

This staid and respectable organ of American imperialism favors the widening of the Anglo-American entente:

"A concurrent policy of the United States and Great Britain needs only to be followed, to im-

press with its logical force and sincerity other democracies with great stakes for peace in the Far East. The interests of France and the Netherlands, in the Pacific as well as in European waters, cannot be preserved in a world where the Yangtze attacks are tolerated or repeated. They must proceed along the same parallels if international banditry is to be brought to the halt which their sister democracies now seek to impose."

Who are these champions of justice and right who seek to end the "international banditry" of the Japanese imperialists?

The very mention of Britain evokes living memories of imperialist freebooting and plunder, of savage exploitation and oppression of weaker peoples. British imperial grandeur is the story of a vast empire of colonial slaves, an empire which spreads over two continents and embraces numerous insular territories as well. India—of Amritsar massacre fame, land of public floggings, of mass pauperism, where the Royal Air Force periodically bombs villages of lowly Northwest frontier tribesmen. Africa—land of forced labor and wretched poverty, where millions of Negroes are ground down in helotry. Palestine—where currently the Arabs are being subjected to naked military terror.

France—"democratic" France of the Third Republic and the Popular Front—and "democratic"

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Red Flag Flies Over New French Stay-Ins

(Continued from page 1)

Goodrich factory must be evacuated before negotiations could start." (N. Y. Times, December 25). It is necessary to recall that compulsory arbitration is the law of the land and that all strikes are therefore "illegal" under the People's Front. The government is forced to intervene to save its prestige. Besides, for some time now the bosses have been on an open offensive to break the unions, abolish the 40 hour week and to pave the way for the counter-revolution.

Needless to say, throughout all this, the lackeys of the French bourgeoisie—the Stalinist, reformist and trade union bureaucrats—have been quiet. They certainly don't want any strikes. But the workers are becoming more and more incensed.

4. While truces are reported, the fall of the Chautemps government is imminent. "The widespread labor troubles threatened a split in the Popular Front, supporting the Chautemps government." (N. Y. Times, Dec. 25). Even more revealing, is the article on the financial page of the Times (Dec. 27). "This recrudescence of labor unrest has for its ostensible motive demands for higher wages to meet the increase in cost of living, but financial observers wonder if it was not engineered by extreme Left politicians with a view to creating difficulties for the present government and thus preparing a return to power of a Cabinet dominated by Socialists and Communists."

Two Alternatives Before Bourgeoisie

Obviously, if the strike wave gathers momentum for as long as a week, the French revolution, whose tempo has been extremely slow, will enter a new stage. The French bourgeoisie must then choose one of two alternatives. Either they will decide to crush the workers by force, using the army and the fascists; or, they will drift along for a while with the current, make a few concessions, and then call upon their agents in the labor movement to swindle the workers out of their gains. This would mean the formation of a Blum-Thorez government, where the Stalinists would bear the brunt of the dirty work, i.e., the execution of the orders of the French bourgeoisie. In the event of a protracted strike movement, the latter is indubitably the more likely alternative. For one thing, the fascist movement is by no means ready to take power; and, even more important, the French capitalists, and their British and American brethren, cannot afford, in view of the international situation, civil war in France at the moment.

Possible Truce Only Temporary

There is a third possibility. That the government will be able to force through sufficient truces to break the momentum of the strike movement. This would enable it to stay in office for some weeks, but would in no way change the basic analysis that we have made. The strike wave can be temporarily postponed or diverted into so-called "peaceful and orderly" channels, but it is inherent in the entire economic

and political situation of France. No wave of the magic wand of class collaboration (People's Frontism) can change this basic fact. Moreover, the Chautemps government is doomed, because it has accomplished its basic task and therefore can no longer serve the bourgeoisie.

5. The formation of the Chautemps government signified politically the assumption of the offensive in the class war by the capitalists. The People's Front was shunted onto more respectable and conservative rails. The budget was to be balanced, or at least the reforms of the Blum government were to be completely vitiated. In general, internally and externally, France was to be made safe for the capitalists and their profits and equipped to conduct the coming imperialist world war. This meant, above all, that the armaments had to be taken care of.

War Budget Voted Unanimously

6. The debates of the Parliament on the war budget are very revealing on this score. Not only was the war budget voted unanimously, 603-0, in the Chamber of Deputies, but it was the largest in French history—the record sum of 12,934,000,000 francs, an increase of 17½% over the 1937 war budget. The total armaments budget, which includes the navy, the air and colonial defense, runs to well over 30,000,000,000 francs—i.e., over 1 billion dollars, about the size of the American armaments budget. And when one considers the size and population of France, the figure is staggering. It would correspond to considerably over 5 billion dollars on the part of American imperialism, which even our jingoists haven't begun to reach.

In the debates, none (no "Socialist" or "Communist") even dreamed of questioning the need for strengthening to the utmost the national defense of French imperialism. When Daladier, the War Minister, declared: "The eyes of the army are fixed on the frontiers and not on political strife," he was cheered on all benches. No, the only question was why so much money had to be spent on armaments, so that the balancing of the budget was being threatened.

Here, the summary of the debates printed in the Paris *Le Temps*, of December 4, is amazingly clear and most revealing. "The chief factor in the increase of the credits demanded by the Minister of War and National Defense for the 1938 budget as compared with that of 1937 is the rise of prices.... The price of a day's food (for a soldier) is being increased from 5 fr. 11 to 7 fr. (you can just imagine what kind of slops the conscripts will get, when you consider that this is less than 25c per day for the average soldier—F.L.D.) for 1938.... The coefficients of increase are 62 per cent for meat, 100 per cent for wine, 140 per cent for uniforms (cloth), 165 per cent for boots. There is something still more serious.... the increase in prices for shells and bombs has gone up 109 per cent...." And if the army has to pay such increases for basic necessities, imagine what the economic situation of the average worker is, and you have the real cause of the strike wave!!

Stalinist Maneuvers in the Labor Movement

7. Finally, it would be a mistake to ignore the labor movement, and especially its most important section, both numerically and politically—the Stalinists. For months the Stalinists have been clamoring for the achievement of organic unity with the Social Democrats. Following the conclusion of the pact between the Russian trade unions and the Amsterdam Federation of the Second International, the French C.P. took it for granted that now Blum & Co. would come along into the folds of the united party of the "proletariat and the people." Imagine their surprise and consternation, when the S.P. bureaucracy abruptly broke off negotiations at the end of November, using a speech of Dimitrov's as pretext, claiming that this proves the C. P. is dominated by a foreign government.

Immediately, the Political Bureau of the French C.P. adopted a resolution (published in *L'Humanité* on December 7) which is noteworthy not only for what it omits, but also for what it says. Placing the onus for the rupture on the S.P., the Stalinists delve into history to prove that the C.P. has always been for the unity of the proletariat. Going back to the Congress of Tours in 1920 when the French C.P. was formed as the result of the adhesion of a majority to the Third International, the resolution goes on to say: "The working class of France has thus known the hard proof of the split, which the C. P., for its part, has never considered as definitive." This is the clearest expression of the Stalinist line that the Third International should never have been formed and thus there should be organic unity with the Second International—naturally, on a reformist program.

Role of C. P. in Strike Wave

Reports on the strike wave indicate that the Stalinists are supporting it; or, at least, not opposing it. There are two important reasons for this: (1) the membership of the C.P. is basically revolutionary in France. They are the ones on strike. In order not to lose the support of its following, and also to counteract the exposures of Barmine, etc., the C.P. is forced to go along now—the better to strangle the movement in the end, as Blum did in 1936.

(2) There has been a veritable campaign in the bourgeois press against continuing the Franco-Soviet Pact. "It is only a scrap of paper.... Russia is a dubious ally at best, etc." Thus, Stalin can very well use the French labor movement as blackmail against the French capitalists. He will sell it out—yes, but for a price! Namely, the continuation of the French-Soviet alliance.

The entirely new feature of the situation, therefore, is that the Stalinists appear likely to play a dominant role. They will no longer be able to escape the responsibility for their treacherous policies. The rank and file of the French proletariat is face to face with its most crucial experience. Inevitably, they will be forced to the conclusion that only on the road of the Fourth International lies their salvation.

Latin-American Notes

By Bernard Ross

Chile

The bankruptcy of Popular Frontism and Stalinism becomes more evident with each passing day. Recently, the reactionary general Carlos Ibanez del Campo who only a few years ago was driven out of power by the Chilean masses, returned to Chile. The Nacista Party, headed by Jorge Gonzales von Maree, promptly decided to support the candidacy of Ibanez in the coming presidential elections. And then... the popular front coalition also decided to support Ibanez.

The Communist party issued a manifesto declaring itself behind General Ibanez and urged all leftist organizations to support that candidate against the openly reactionary, former Minister of Finance, Gustavo Ross.

In that same manifesto the Communist party criticizes the Socialist Party for having its own independent candidate, Colonel Grove, and foams against Trotskyite tendencies in the Socialist party....

Mexico

Evilio Bandillo, former member of the Central Committee of the Mexican Communist Party was sent last summer by his party to study in Soviet schools. He mysteriously disappeared and rumours are afoot that he was apprehended as a "Trotskyist." Evilio Bandillo never was a Trotskyist but, on the contrary, his record was that of an outspoken supporter of Stalinism. But the G.P.U. assassinated and persecutes not only revolutionaries, but its own lackeys when it suspects that the latter are not sincere in their protestations of servility to Stalin.

The insolence of American and British oil interests in Mexico reached new heights when they announced that they will not accept any government decision granting the workers more than 13 million pesos in wage increases. This in spite of the fact that a government commission investigating the financial status of

the company reported that the enterprise could easily grant 26,000,000 pesos annually in wage increase. The workers originally demanded 16,000,000 pesos.

The "anti-imperialist" Cardenas government which recently granted large concessions to the British Royal Dutch Shell, hesitates before the handing down of a decision. Incapable of fighting against imperialism and threatened by feudal reaction, the liberal bourgeoisie headed by Cardenas cannot afford to alienate working class support. The most likely result will be a compromise decision.

The American Smelting Co., largest imperialist mining interest in Mexico, bringing its American investors \$25,000,000 annually, refuses to come to terms with the Miners Union.

The conditions of the miners are deplorable. Working more than eight hours a day, under terrible hygienic conditions, their legs knee-deep in mud, inhaling poisonous vapors, the miners barely receive a subsistence wage.

To date the Cardenas government using dilatory tactics has succeeded in warding off a strike, urging the miners' leaders to arbitrate the issues involved.

Cuba

The Cuban military dictator, Colonel Fulgencio Batista is an apt pupil of Gestapo methods. Not satisfied with the reign of terror he has established on the island, his government sends agent provocateurs and professional gunmen among Cuban emigre circles.

All this was established by the Mexican police investigating the assassination of an emigre named Torrado. One of the suspects apprehended was classified as "a well-known Cuban gunman with very bad antecedents." The police discovered on his person credentials from the Batista government. One other suspect testified that the Cuban government, through the national Chief of Police, Pedaza, was responsible for the murders of Torrada and a number of other exiles.

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Local 544 Victory Over Wholesale Grocers Hailed by Minneapolis Labor

MINNEAPOLIS.—Local 544's victory over the wholesale grocery bosses, sealed by an agreement unanimously accepted by the strikers at their meeting of December 13, has been hailed by the whole labor movement here.

"Drivers 544 Victory Marks Big Advance. Blueblood Aristocracy of Citizens Alliance Loses in Short, Effective Strike." These headlines from the Minneapolis Labor Review, organ of the Central Labor Union and by no means too friendly to the Teamsters' Progressive leadership, testify to the universal recognition of the importance of this victory.

"Labor Review's" Estimate of "C. I. O." Stalinists

The December 17 issue of the Minneapolis Labor Review also marked the acceptance by that organ for the first time of the progressives' estimate of the Stalinist-controlled CIO office here: "Tactics of the CIO in the Twin Cities are not helping the CIO and it is a certainty that they are not helping the labor movement in general," declared the Review in its leading editorial. "It does not seem possible national CIO leaders are aware of 'Twin City CIO policies.'" Thus officially the entire labor movement here stands opposed to the union wrecking and frame-up policy of the Stalinist machine. The Minnesota State Electrical Workers Council, composed of all the electrical workers' unions of Minnesota, last week adopted a resolution declaring that the boss-Stalinist slanders against Pat Corcoran "constitute a foul slander on the bona-fide labor movement and its martyred officer and shield the real perpetrators of this dastardly crime."

An Act of Despair

As the whole labor movement moved to isolate and condemn the Stalinist frame-up artists, the Stalinists resorted to a desperate measure to keep their forces together. A special Minnesota edition of the Daily Worker dated December 16 devoted more than two solid pages to the most insanely slanderous attack on the Teamsters' leadership which has yet appeared.

The Stalinist stuff is on about the intellectual level of a shot of dope. Apparently the stuff is really written for people outside of this area who might not know any of the facts. A few examples will suffice:

1. Faked pictures: Pat Corcoran with a sinister scar drawn across his face; Bill Brown with hard lines put on his face, and a leering Vincent Dunne.

2. A big picture of a sign of the Northern States Power Co. under the heading "A Power Behind Leach," under which is written: "Public utilities in Minneapolis were the main backers of Mayor Leach's campaign, but the Dunne brothers, Trotskyists, had their hands in it too." All that is wrong with this amalgam is that the Northern States Power Co. was licked in a strike and its employees organized 100 per cent by the same progressive leadership which the Stalinists are attacking!

The Firotto-Bellini Amalgam

3. The Stalinist amalgam has as its link Ed and Al Firotto and Joe Bellini, all of whom long ago separated from Local 544—they were part of the Local 500 offi-

cialists who came over as part of the agreement from which resulted the present Local 544. By unanimous decision the Executive Board of the Union discharged the Firottos. Bellini was also gotten rid of and came into sharp conflict with Local 544 when it took jurisdiction over all the gasoline drivers. Previously these drivers had been divided among a weak CIO local, Bellini's gasoline station workers' local, and no union at all.

How get around these facts and justify the amalgam between the Firottos, Bellini, and the Dunnes? Very simple for the Stalinist lie factory. They simply ignore the facts and state the opposite. "After the merger (by which 544 was established) Ed and Al Firotto, now awaiting trial for assaulting another union man with a gun, and another alleged Chicago mobster, Joe Bellini, became firmly entrenched in Local 544 as 'organizers' and part of the Trotskyist machine." Not a single mention of the ousting of the Firottos and Bellini!

4. The screaming absurdity of the article signed by "A Truck Driver" which obviously was written by Harry Raymond in New York. The "Truck Driver" proves his thorough familiarity with the internal mechanisms of Local 544 by saying, "They control Local 544 without democratic procedure. The Executive Board appoints the stewards; the stewards elect the Executive Board." Imagine handing this stuff out to Minneapolis workers at the moment when the election campaign is in full blast in the union, the membership meeting having made nominations last week!

Queer Allies

5. Having no friends in the labor movement, the Stalinists find like-minded allies among the preachers. It is almost impossible to convey to outsiders how mad the Stalinists are when they publish an article quoting at length the Reverend George Mecklenberg as supporting their proposal for a judicial investigation of the trade union movement. Mecklenberg is perhaps the most no-

torious enemy of decent workers' standards of relief in this community.

6. "A Truck Driver" says: "We say emphatically that the Trotskyite Dunnes are agents of the Citizens' Alliance and the forces of reaction in Minnesota. This can be supported by a mass of evidence with which every working man in Minneapolis is familiar." On the ground here in Minneapolis people rub their eyes to read such ravings. It is a matter of public record that the Teamsters' leadership drove the Citizens Alliance underground. The wholesale grocery bosses who were beaten last week were the bluebloods of the Citizens Alliance.

7. Hard put to build up any kind of an amalgam, even a putrid one, the Stalinists again dig up the notorious letter sent by the late Mayor Latimer to the Department of Justice, asking for aid in smashing the Teamsters' union. That letter was the most flagrant strike breaking action ever taken by Latimer—but the Stalinists vouch for its accuracy!

"Explaining" Thugs

8. The Stalinist conception of the united front: "the public, labor, civic organizations, church people, merchants"—class treachery!

9. The Stalinists can't quite make up their minds how to explain the fact that, despite three years of systematic slander and attempted frame-ups, the Trotskyites remain the leadership of the Teamsters. On the same page they give three different explanations: (a) gangster terrorism; (b) wildest demagogy and radical talk; (c) undemocratic regime in the union. The one thing they can't even mention, however, is the enormous growth of the union and the five-state North Central District Drivers Council and the perfect record of winning strikes.

This will give a picture of the new Stalinist frame-up here. Needless to say, the Daily Worker did not publish a single word about the wholesale grocery strike.

WAA Workers Fight Ousting of N. Harrison

Three Hundred Workers Storm Alliance Office And Demand Open Hearing; Force Lasser To Adjourn Session

NEW YORK.—Over three-hundred workers, militant members of the Workers' Alliance, who will not tolerate the Stalinist expulsion and disrupting squad heading the Alliance, stormed the City Office at 781 Broadway last Tuesday, demanding an open hearing on the case of Neil Harrison, Chairman of Local 15.

Seeing an aroused rank and file, the leadership, all the way up to Benjamin and Lasser, who were called in from Washington, found that they were treading on very thin ice and backed down momentarily on their rule or ruin policy.

Lasser's Offers

The local bureaucrats were completely cowed. Lasser, national Chairman of the Alliance was put forward as the spokesman. Evidently, not wishing a repetition in New York City of what has occurred elsewhere in the country, with rank and file members dropping out by the thousands, and major splits occurring against the bureaucratic domination of the Alliance by the Stalinist purges, Lasser offered what he thought was a compromise.

First he offered that the frame-up charges against Harrison be heard before the entire City Central Committee, which was shouted down by the rank and file present as being unconstitutional. He offered another proposal to be taken back and considered by the group concerned, the Progressive Group of the Alliance and Local 15, to the effect that Brother Harrison and those (the rank and file) supporting him choose 50 and those (the bureaucrats) bringing the charges, choose another 50, and the trial be held before these combined 100 representatives. Again this was shouted down by the militants present, who demanded an open hearing at which no rank and filer would be excluded.

With this, Lasser demanded that Harrison clear the hall, since he (Lasser) obviously had no influence over the unemployed assembled, and he then declared the session over.

Accusers as Judges!

The Adjustment Committee which is to hear the charges, is composed exclusively of Stalinists since the resignation of Brother Charles Mack, who recently resigned from that committee in protest against the frame-up and expulsion campaign being conducted against the mi-

litants. This Adjustment Committee is composed of members on the Executive Committee who themselves preferred the charges.

"No Moscow Trials Here!"

The "charges" are not based on fact at all, but are mere blanket accusations with no bill of particulars attached to any one of them. Thus the ire of those present at this so-called hearing can readily be understood when they shouted "No Moscow Trials here!"

The demands of the rank and file are simple:

1. An open hearing.

2. A Bill of Particulars, itemizing in detail, what, when, where, how these things, with which Harrison is charged, occurred.

3. An adjustment committee that is not stacked. That excludes people who have themselves brought the charges, which is elementary working class procedure.

These demands are what the Progressive Group is fighting for, for all who are facing and have faced the bureaucratic fist of the Stalinists of the Alliance, in so far as expulsions are concerned.

Disregards Needs of Jobless

With thousands and thousands of unemployed recently removed from industry because of the new business "recession," with thousands waiting weeks on end to get on relief; with mass misery facing the unemployed, the leadership is more concerned with disrupting the organization, with expelling militant elements, than fighting against the administration at the relief bureau, who hold the life and death of the unemployed in their hands. They, the bureaucrats, are more concerned with not embarrassing LaGuardia, than with seeing that the unemployed are properly fed, housed and clothed.

Only an aroused and vigilant membership can stem the shameful and disruptive activities of the leadership. The record of these misleaders must be made known to every unemployed worker in the United States. A record of constant ruin of every movement which they head. A record of playing political football at the expense of the unemployed.

RUSSIA

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by Victor Serge

Translated by Max Shachtman

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COOPERATION — WITH WHOM?

(Continued from page 1)

Holland! What are the "great stakes for peace" which they hold in the Far East? These stakes are the colonial territories of French Indo-China and the Dutch colonies in Indonesia, where horrible oppression and exploitation of the native peoples prevails and where agitation against the imperialist overlords is punished with ruthless savagery. The French imperialists have, too, an unenviable record of oppression and plunder in Morocco, in Equatorial Africa and in Syria, where the bombing plane is no stranger. It was only a few short years ago that France fought a predatory war in Morocco, a war accompanied by all the frightfulness with which Japanese imperialism is now scourging China.

And our own very "peaceful" American imperialists? Can we forget the rape of the Philippines, of Haiti, Nicaragua and other Caribbean and Latin American countries, including Mexico? What, too, of the predatory activities of the Firestone Rubber Company in the little African "colony" of Liberia?

There is no need to go so far afield in order to expose the blatant hypocrisy of those "democratic" imperialist powers which now come forward to champion "peace" against the Japanese imperialist plunderers. Has not the entire history of China during the past century been a story of the despoliation of a great country by these very powers, of the oppression and terrorization of the Chinese peoples?

Can we forget the Opium Wars in the first half of the nineteenth century, the suppression of the Taipings by the "ever-victorious army" of the American General Ward, the shameful international military expedition which ravaged Peking at the beginning of the present century? Coming down to more modern times, we might recall the Nanking Road massacre in Shanghai on May 30, 1925, when British imperialist police mowed down demonstrating students and workers, followed by a similar massacre at Shameen in Canton.

Should we forget the British naval bombardment of Wahhsien, Yangtze River port, in 1926? Or the bombardment of Nanking by British, American, Italian and Japanese warships in the following year?

It is the imperialist authors of all these unspeakable crimes against weaker peoples who now don the cap of righteousness and come forward to castigate the Japanese imperialist bandits!

They have no desire whatever to save China from Japan for China's sake and they say so. Their concern is over Japan's "cruel and illicit warfare against friendly nations"—meaning them-

selves and their robber interests in the Far East, which are essentially similar to those of Japan.

They want to stop the Japanese imperialist robbers from bagging China, so that they will be able to bag China themselves.

The struggle, now confined to the diplomatic field, but moving rapidly in the direction of war, is a struggle between rival camps of imperialist robbers.

The workers of America, of Britain, France, Japan, Holland and the entire world have nothing to gain from this tussle between the imperialist bandits. Whichever camp is victorious, the workers lose.

Every class conscious worker desires to aid China's struggle against Japan, since every blow struck at imperialism advances the cause of the exploited and oppressed everywhere.

But the only entente which can effectively aid China's struggle and at the same time serve the interests of the proletariat is an entente of the international working class directed against the entire world system of imperialism.

The bourgeois press in this country deceives the workers by proclaiming the "peaceful" role of American imperialism, thus preparing them for recruitment in the coming war.

Pacifists of every stripe help in the deception by creating the illusion that war can be avoided under capitalism. They sponsor such enterprises as the Ludlow amendment, which, by making a war declaration a popular decision through a referendum, seeks to insure American participation only in "just" wars.

The Stalinists brazenly line up behind the imperialist government at Washington and call upon Roosevelt "to move boldly forward, as the American people desire it, to join hands with the peaceful nations of the world..." for war against Japan.

We, too, wish to castigate the Japanese imperialists, to help drive them out of China, thus aiding the Chinese masses in the struggle for the independence of their country and for their social emancipation. This task cannot be entrusted to the American imperialists, who pursue exclusively their own robber aims in China.

Can we consider entrusting the struggle for peace to the imperialist government at Washington, when we know that war is inseparable from capitalism?

Can we for a moment dream of entrusting the defense of the interests of the American workers to the Roosevelt administration?

How, then, can it be argued, as the Stalinists do, that the working class of this country should support Roosevelt in a war against Japan on the ground that Roosevelt would be defending "peace" and at the same time serving the Chinese struggle for liberation?

The cause of peace in general, and the cause of China in particular, can be served only by the methods of the revolutionary class struggle, by uniting the workers against imperialism in all countries.

The American workers can aid China's cause only with their own forces, by stopping shipments of munitions and supplies to Japan, by preventing the landing of Japanese goods in this country.

Against the imperialists we raise the revolutionary battle cry: "Down with imperialist war!"

Against the social patriotic lackeys of the imperialists we proclaim: "No confidence in the imperialist government at Washington! Only workers' action can preserve peace and aid China!"

Kuomintang Decrees Death For Strikers

By Lo Sen

Cut off from North China and the rich coastal provinces and threatened with early loss of the Canton-Hankow railway which is now his chief source of munitions supply from abroad, Chiang Kai-shek is making a new bid for more effective military aid from the Soviet Union.

The Kuomintang leadership has already proved that it can organize only defeats. It has proceeded from the beginning with the expectation of defeat, with the hope of putting up enough of a show of resistance to win Anglo-American intervention or, that failing, to elicit from the imperialist invaders "reasonable" terms for peace.

These calculations have fallen through. The heroic soldiers who gave an indication at Shanghai for three months of what might be done in self-defense if properly led and supplied and if animated by national revolutionary determination, have been abandoned and betrayed.

Policies of Defeat

The collapse of the defenses, the strewing of helpless masses of soldiery in the path of the Japanese troops, have had their result. Carrying out wholesale massacres in town after town, the Japanese have swiftly extended their sway over the entire Yangtze delta and with the imminent completion of the occupation of Shantung province they will hold all of the north and the coast from Shanhaikwan to beyond Shanghai.

These easy victories have made it increasingly impossible for Chiang Kai-shek to sue for terms now. He will seek instead the cover of Moscow and the Chinese Communist leaders for his treacherous misleadership of the Chinese defense against the invaders. The latter, instead of relentlessly exposing him and offering the masses a banner of their own around which they can rally, will rally to Chiang and enable him to strengthen his grip on the power that remains to him.

A "Left Turn"

For this, however, Chiang will have to make a "left" turn. The first steps in this direction have already been taken. Sun Fo, son of Sun Yat-sen and one of the most unscrupulous politicians in the Kuomintang hierarchy, has been reported sent to Moscow to see Stalin himself in an effort to strike a new bargain.

Wang Ching-wei and Chang Chun, two of his aides most closely identified with pro-Japanism in the Kuomintang apparatus, are being dropped. Chu Teh, Mao Tse-tung and Chow En-lai, leading Stalinists, are to be given posts in Chiang Kai-shek's government. Wang Min, a leading Communist Party spokesman, told an interviewer in Hankow this week: "We are satisfied with the present policy of stubborn resistance."

But Chiang is making his "left" turn in characteristic manner. He will lengthen the leash by which he now holds the Chinese Stalinists at his heels. But at the same time he has already served advance notice that definite limits remain.

Death For Strikers

A decree militarizing Chinese industry was adopted last week by Chiang's government. Its key provision is imposition of the death penalty for workers who strike or agitate for strikes. In other words, Chiang hopes to

utilize the strength of the masses through guerrilla warfare, the only effective tactic that can now be pursued. But he also intends to see to it that the movement is kept within the limits of military action alone.

Chiang remembers that ten years ago the weapon of mass power placed him in a position to command terms from the imperialists. He wants to make equally limited use of that weapon again. And we know in advance that the Chinese Stalinists, having already abandoned their agrarian program and pledged themselves not to mobilize the workers in their own interests, will become once again his tools.

Yet the struggle against Japanese imperialism can and will become effective only when the masses are mobilized, not under the banners of the Chinese bourgeoisie, but under the banner of their own struggle in their own interest. The present situation offers incomparable opportunities for the revival of a revolutionary mass movement and the emergence of a revolutionary party which will know how to break the grip of the foreign exploiters by driving the native exploiters to the wall at the same time.

Road to Victory

The Chinese bourgeoisie is resisting the Japanese invasion because it realizes that Japanese imperialism will leave it no shred of its nominal sovereignty and no corner to participate in the exploitation of the Chinese masses. Mme. Chiang Kai-shek made this quite plain recently when she wrote that Japan "wants to make coolies of us all." But the events of the last six months, certainly, if not the entire history of the last 15 years, have proved the incapacity of the Chinese bourgeoisie to wage an effective struggle against imperialism, even in its own behalf.

The revolutionary party in China today will collaborate in the military struggle with Chiang Kai-shek or anybody else but it will not abdicate for a single instant its complete political independence and its right to propagate its own ideas and its own political program and to subject the military and political leadership of the bourgeois Kuomintang to pitiless exposure before the masses. This road and this road alone can lead to the defeat of Japanese imperialism.

For Democratic Rights

In China the workers have to fight back against decrees that condemn them to death if they try to prevent the bosses from loading the cost of the war on their shoulders. They have to fight for the broadest democratic rights. They have to organize their own ranks solidly enough to fight against the inevitable betrayal by those who now lead them. They have to be inculcated with the sharpest distrust and suspicion of the Kuomintang leaders who for ten years drained them of their life's blood and now, with the help of the Stalinists demand their docile submission under the hammer blows of the Japanese imperialist robbers.

In this country we have to extend the inadequate weapon of a consumers' boycott into a workers' boycott, refusal to load or handle Japanese goods and munitions and supplies going to Japan. This is the most effective way we can help the Chinese masses in their struggle and at the same time advance our own.

Chicago Workers Aid China Fight; Urge Independent Labor Action

CHICAGO, Ill. — The Chicago Office Workers Local of the United Office and Professional Workers Union, C.I.O. affiliate, at its last meeting adopted a resolution on behalf of the Chinese people in their struggle against Japanese aggression. In opposition to the policy of the Stalinists, who advocate following President Roosevelt's "anti-Japanese campaign," the resolution correctly states that labor must, by its own organized strength and independently of the United States government, organize a boycott of producers who will refuse to use in the process of manufacture, to load, ship or unload, war materials destined for Japan, or any Japanese articles used in this country.

For months, the Stalinists have been showing their "sympathy" for China by getting the union

to send delegates to do-nothing conferences like the Conference for Peace and Democracy recently held in Pittsburgh. Confronted by the left-wing Socialists with the first concrete plan for action on the part of organized labor, their only contribution was a proposal to postpone action on this resolution. The union membership, nevertheless, decided to consider the resolution—and acted overwhelmingly for its adoption.

After explaining the situation in China, the resolution proposes the following action:

"Be it hereby resolved:

"1. That we support and actively extend a producers' boycott on Japanese war materials and Japanese goods in general, said boycott to be conducted by the trade unions, and to take the form of refusal to load, transport, unload or use as raw materials

of manufacture any goods coming from or destined for Japan.

"2. That we fight for the extension of this boycott in all countries of Europe, by the trade union movement.

"3. That we support a supplementary militant consumers' boycott, which includes the organization of salespeople not to sell, as well as the organized refusal to buy, Japanese goods.

"4. That we oppose any attempt to stop shipment of war materials and general supplies to China, no matter whence such attempts may originate.

"Copy of this resolution to be sent to the International Office of the UOPWA, to all locals of the UOPWA, to the C.I.O., to its local organizations, as well as to A.F. of L. local organizations. Resolution to be published in the press of our local for general publicity."

C. P. Repudiates Revolutionary Aims

PREFERS TO STRENGTHEN EXISTING SOCIAL ORDER

By Harold Draper

The outstanding result of the hearings was the openness of the C. P. repudiation, not only of a revolutionary position on war and a host of other questions, but on the elementary question of the revolutionary overthrow of capitalism versus the peaceful introduction of Socialism through the ballot. This repudiation itself is certainly not new, but the frankness in stating it is.

The chief witnesses for the CP were Phil Frankfeld and Earl Browder. Right off, both objected to the investigation on the ground that the legislative order really didn't apply to them. They weren't "subversive."

"Strengthen Present Economic Democracy"

"The CP," said Frankfeld, "does not believe that this order—investigating Communist, Nazi and other subversive propaganda within the state—applies to it. We do not wish to overthrow the Government from its foundations, nor to overthrow existing society by force. In fact we seek to strengthen the present economic democracy on a firmer, more equitable foundation..." (Globe, Sept. 30.)

Pressed further, Frankfeld shouted: "I never said I believed in the overthrow of the government by force or otherwise..." (Ibid.)

The senators kept coming back to this time and again, wringing literally dozens of more and more unequivocal statements from the two C. P. leaders. The Herald, October 1, reports:

"Stoutly denying Communists are plotting to overthrow the government by violence, he (Browder) insisted the revolution, which is inevitable in his opinion, will reach its climax with the communists taking over control of the government through the process of elections."

For "Peaceful" Changes

"Frankfeld said the agitation of his party is a peaceful agitation and does not seek the overthrow of the government." (Post, Oct. 1.)

The "Confession" (pamphlet issued by C.P.) states: "We Communists believe in accomplishing great social changes peacefully and through democratic processes." (Page 24.)

Although the Stalinists made no qualifications to these statements, the senators suspected mental reservations. "Rep. Julian asked Frankfeld if he did not believe some 'form of force and violence is unavoidable.' 'No, sir,' was the reply." (Globe, Oct. 5.) Just to make sure, the senators stuck before him a quotation from Browder's old writings that "history does not show a single instance where governmental power has been transferred by peaceful means." Nothing daunted, Frankfeld replied, "We hope that all historical precedents will be broken." (Herald, Oct. 5.)

Skeletons from C. P. Closet

As further evidence of their reading, the senators pulled out another skeleton in the C.P. closet, and rattled it before Frankfeld: "Specifically he denied a passage from a pamphlet by

William Z. Foster, American leader, which gave a vivid but imaginary description of the overthrow of the Government, culminating in the arrest of the President and his cabinet. The passage, Frankfeld said, was written years ago during the infancy of the party. It would not come from the pen of Foster now, the party having reached either adolescence or maturity. Communists, he said, have toned down a bit." (Globe, Sept. 30.) Which puts it mildly.

Browder too said that Foster had changed his mind since letting his third-period imagination run riot; it was "outmoded doctrine, written in the heated infancy of the party," that is, including the time when the movement was led by that enfant terrible, Lenin.

Only Allegiance to American Flag

Browder, in addition, swore by Washington and Jefferson, "that he owed his allegiance only to the American flag." (Post, Oct. 1.)

While Browder said that he expected to achieve socialism through the process of elections, it seemed that this did not necessitate even the election of Communists. "Frankfeld went so far as to say the party only ran its own candidates when it was unable to support a liberal candidate of some other party..." (Globe, Sept. 30.)

One of the legislators was an internationalist. "Rep. Philip Sherman of Somerville asked Browder if Communists advocate world revolution. 'No,' replied the witness." (Post, Oct. 1.)

What if the C.P. and its activities were illegalized by the government? Would they resort to illegal methods? The Commission wanted to know.

A Party Fit for Red-Baiters

The "Confession" had stated that "We have never believed in working as a conspirative organization and never will accept the position of conspirators." In effect the Commission asked, "What, never?" and at the hearings Frankfeld answered...

"He said the Communists would not hesitate to employ 'semi-legal' methods to continue its activities in the event the state government should disregard the constitutional guarantees which now permit the Communist party to function openly and legally. Subsequently he asked that the record be extended to include his denial that the party would employ 'illegal' methods." (Herald, Oct. 5.)

No wonder Frankfeld said to the Commission, after testifying: "Perhaps some of you would like to join the party after hearing the discussion." (Globe, Sept. 30.)

(This is the second of a series of articles by comrade Draper on the Massachusetts Investigation. Another article will appear in a subsequent issue.)

TOWARD THE NEW PARTY!



'Robinson-Rubens' Frameup Part of G P U Spy-Scare Plots In U. S.

(Continued from page 1)

opposition to imperialist foreign policy must be silenced, the Kremlin is apparently busily rigging—not without help from some American newspapers including Hearst—the fanciest of its series of Oppenheim mystery frame-ups.

The chief goat, apparently, is to be the "Trotskyite" movement, but there is no lack of indications that Prosecutor Vishinsky will shortly "prove" in a Moscow court by the usual "confession" method that among the Japanese spies in this country are not only the Marxist opponents of imperialist war, but every opponent of collective security, Christian pacifists, and "objectively" even the two-hundred odd Congressmen who support the utopian Ludlow amendment.

As long ago as two weeks the New York World-Telegram stated that a Federal investigator on the "Robinson-Rubens" case (like the Soviet Embassy, whom this paper also quoted) had suggested that the prisoners in Moscow might very well be Trotskyites. The notion did not catch hold for some days, but early this week the New York Herald-Tribune echoed the allegation, again putting it in a Federal man's mouth. On Dec. 29 the Federal men turned up a Mr. Richard J. Ribbe of Jamaica, a cousin of Mrs. A.

A. Rubens. Interviewed by the Daily News, Ribbe was quoted as follows:

Hearst 'Correction'

"Relatives felt a little disturbed... and blamed Rubens for interesting Ruth in radical movements. I don't know which Communist group—the party in power or the Trotskyites—he was friendly with."

The Hearst reporter was not satisfied with this statement, and "corrected" it in a manner worthy of Hearst's only rival, the Daily Worker. Hearst's Mirror quoted Ribbe as follows: "The family didn't like the idea of her (Ruth) eloping with Rubens, who was thoroughly versed in Trotskyist ideas."

Just to make everything perfect, the Mirror's story on Dec. 29 included the following interesting "revelation":

"The Justice Department agents, it was learned, are probing reports that Rubens received a call to an anti-Stalinist conference in Latvia—a gathering, probably, of Trotskyist forces—and that it was imperative for him to attend."

Authoritative Denial

Interviewed by an Appeal reporter, the New York spokesman of the Department of State of the U. S., declared that neither the Department nor its men had

made or authorized any statements suggesting that they had reason to think that the "Robinson-Rubens" people were Trotskyites. Asked whether he was prepared to make such a statement at this time, the spokesman declared he had no basis for making any such statement and that he would not make it.

The New York press seemed pretty well convinced that the "Robinsons" were, in fact, the Rubens couple, and that they had sailed for Europe on Oct. 16 on the Rex, using the Rubens passport. Then, according to the press, they went to Russia, presumably as Rubens, since the Soviet government denies it issued any visas to Robinsons. When they registered at the Moscow hotel, however, they used the Robinson name and passports.

What has not been explained yet by the New York reporters is why these people, who had two sets of pretty phony passports, chose to use the one in the name of Robinson—a name which as early as July had been labeled in the world press as "wanted by the police" in Moscow. Unless, of course, they were helping Vishinsky in his little arrangements. The official Soviet explanation, given jointly by the prosecutor and the "confessing" prisoners will surely be juicy—unless the surprise edge is taken off by more preliminary announcements in the Hearst press.

G.P.U. Plans Framing French Trotskyists in Secret Fascist Plots

By Pierre Naville

PARIS, France.—The clandestine arming of the French fascist parties has never been a secret for anyone. The participation of the heads of the army in this enterprise has also been quite obvious. As to the complicity of the "People's Front" government in this conspiracy against the working masses, that has been just as patent, if not quite as avowed. Patent, because the arms depots have been exposed many times for more than a year (particularly by the Socialist *Populaire* and the Communist *L'Humanite*) without any government action; because the Surete National (the federal police) has been kept well-informed in the matter, thanks to its stoolpigeons, spies and provocateurs—without any intervention on the part of the ministry; because fascist propaganda and organization have been developing in the army with the support of Daladier, the Minister of Defense.

Government Complicity

Pozzo di Borgo, Duseigneur, La Rocque and the others have been and still are preparing their forces without any restraint behind the backs of Daladier, Blum, Dormoy and Co. just as Franco, Mola and the others prepared themselves under the benevolent eyes of Companys, Azana, Caballero and Co.

All the "revelations" about the conspiracy show that the government, with the knowledge of the Socialist and Communist leaders, has tried to canalize fascist activity in continuing to play off one force against another as a balance for itself, a sort of game which can only result in the worst kind of catastrophe for the working class. At the same time, the Pozzo di Borgo-LaRocque trial has displayed before the eyes of the public some Punch-and-Judy secrets: the Radicals secretly subsidized La Rocque; Blum and Salengro (the Socialist Minister of Interior who committed suicide about a year ago) negotiated with La Rocque regarding the organization of the P.S.F. (French Social Party—the newly formed fascist party of La Rocque) subsequent to the pseudo-dissolution of the Croix de Feu (La Rocque's military organization) etc.

Role of G. P. U.

However, there is one organization which holds that these forced revelations about fascist conspiracy are of interest only if they can be made to compromise the revolutionary organizations of the proletariat: that's the G.P.U. It is obvious that the facts revealed on different occasions by *L'Humanite* were brought to its attention, partially at least, by the G.P.U. But there is only one thing that interests the G.P.U. and its French lackeys: how to compromise the Fourth International.

In spite of all their strong desires, the agents of Stalin have not succeeded in linking the P. O. I. (the French party of the Fourth International) either to the "Etoile" bombings or to the first investigation of the "Cagou-lards," the so-called "Hooded Ones." The provocateurs are now once more taking up the charge in two articles which must be immediately unmasked.

Attempt to Smear 4th International

Their first attempt: In *L'Humanite* of November 21, one of its editors writes: "One finds (in the conspiracy) the Trotskyist provocateurs, headed by Trotsky." This sheet writes thus without the slightest attempt to justify such a statement. Pure calumny! In what role are they found? On what occasion? Under which circumstances?

In reality, although no Trotskyists are to be found mixed up in the fascist conspiracies, the agents of the G.P.U., on the other hand, are not, probably, entirely absent from such a framework. It has already been proven that the leaders of the White Russians (Skobline, Kondratiev) and some elements in the Gestapo and Czechoslovakian police, are members of the counter-revolutionary police of Stalin. Why shouldn't it have its men among the French fascists?

Their second attempt: *Ce Soir* (the Stalinist evening paper in Paris) of November 30 writes: "The aim of this military organization (fascist groups in the South-West of France) thus appears to be very clear. It was a matter of provoking an armed

uprising in South-Western France in support of an uprising prepared in Catalonia by the 'Fifth Column' as well as by the P. O. U. M. elements and the anarchists."

For the G.P.U., the P. O. U. M. represents the "Spanish Trotskyists." *Ce Soir* launches forth with this dastardly calumny of the P. O. U. M. at the very moment when the attempt to implicate the P. O. U. M. in an espionage trial in Spain has entirely collapsed. The G.P.U. does not give up its aim very easily. To implicate revolutionists in counter-revolutionary enterprises controlled and fostered by the government—with the classic police technique of the bourgeoisie—there is the aim!

La Rocque Agrees

It must also be remarked that Stalin's agents find themselves in good company with La Rocque, in pursuing this aim. Here is a statement made by the latter at the Lyons Congress of the P.S.F. (*Petit Journal*, November 29): "If the safety of the country and the defense of the republican institutions (!!) demand it, he together with his collaborators will unmask the enterprises of the anarchists and the Trotskyists, associated with others; for the purpose of making France the charnel-house of their savagery."

Once more, by denouncing the enterprises of the provocateurs in advance, their failure will be assured.

A New Stalinist Crime: The Murder of Januola

PARIS, France.—The entire French press has made public the assassination by a Spanish (Negrin-Stalin) frontier guard, of young Sebastian Januola, 18 years old, on French territory, at St. Laurent de Cerdans. Januola stopped bullets destined for Fons, a young Spaniard who accompanied him. The latter escaped assassination. This crime has aroused great indignation among the population and the Negrin government has been forced to arrest Corporal Martinez and two of his men (on December 9) who will be tried in Barcelona.

But who are the real culprits in this crime? The Stalinists designate themselves in this role in a dispatch from Perpignan published in *L'Humanite* on December 7.

L'Humanite writes:

"It is reported from St. Laurent de Cerdans that a young Frenchman, 18 years of age, Sebastian Januola, a farm worker from the Nautilla region, came here last night at 7 o'clock, accompanied by his sister and a cousin from the neighboring village of Coustouges. The cousin, one Fons, a native of Massanet de Yabrenys (Spain) and a militant in the Trotskyist P. O. U. M., whose actions in favor of the rebels are known, had deserted the ranks of the Republican Army some time ago and fled to France. Although they could have

taken another road, the three young people took a mountain road bordering on the frontier and penetrating Spanish territory in part of its course... The three persons suddenly came head-on in front of three government guards who, finding them on Spanish territory, asked them for their papers. Fons being a Spaniard, they ordered him to follow them. Fons refused. Januola began to insult the frontier guards and to follow after Fons who had turned about and jumped over into French territory. Januola was at his side. A shot rang out. He fell, fatally wounded."

The arrest of the murderers gives the lie to the fundamental point of this impudent article: Januola and Fons were on French territory which they had not at all left (as the *Havas* correspondent attests). The Spanish guards, commanded by Stalinist leaders (Pozas, Burillo and their successors) openly draw upon anyone who displeases Mr. Stalin. The will of the Kremlin has become their task. The dispatch in *L'Humanite* is an admission of this fact. Fons and Januola have been reviled because they belonged to the P. O. U. M. Stalin orders: exterminate the Trotskyites! And the guards obey: they shoot. One more crime—one more warning. It is time to organize for self-defense!

INTERNATIONAL NOTES

French Press on Soviet "Election"—"Fathers" of Stalinist Constitution Now "Traitors"—World's Mounting Armaments.

By John G. Wright

Echoes of Stalin's Fake Elections

Stalin's plebiscite met with polite but pointed razzing in the editorial pages of the world capitalist ("democratic") press. The fraud was so brazen and crude that the bourgeois editors stood only to gain by understatement. It goes without saying that they did not let the opportunity slip to cover Marxism in general and Bolshevism in particular with the muck that Stalin pumps out of Moscow.

The noteworthy thing is that the French partners of Stalin in the People's Front treachery have finally unbuttoned their lips. Even *Le Populaire* broke on this occasion its non-aggression policy toward Stalin, dropping its pretext of "diplomatic consideration" to criticize the electoral frame-up. The French social patriots had covered Stalin's judicial frame-ups with silence. Now that it is no longer expedient (or possible) to keep mum, *Populaire* virtuously declares that Stalinism has "succeeded quite convincingly in demonstrating to the populace the grave personal risk every citizen incurs by adhering to the opposition."

They dare even to make reference (somewhat belatedly) to the frame-ups. Says *Populaire*: "The January trial of the so-called 'parallel center' (i.e., Radek-Piatakov trial—J.G.W.); the June execution of Tukhachevsky and seven other generals, the purge in the party, the trade unions, the Komsomol, the Comintern, the administration, the journalistic and literary circles; the havoc wrought in the so-called 'federated' republics—all this nips in the bud the very possibility of an opposition's crystallizing."

Concludes the *Populaire*: "...the system of Soviet (read, Stalinist) elections has nothing in common with democracy despite the fact that the Soviet government has had the gall to declare its electoral law 'the most democratic in the world.'"

Now that they have broken the negotiations for unity with the C.P., the French social-patriots declare that they "cannot but view with disparagement the system of rule which is a complete denial of democratic principles."

Naturally, this cannot but widen the breach between Blum & Co. and Stalin-G.P.U.-Thorez & Co.

100 Per Cent for Stalin

The Stalinski electoral district in which Stalin himself chose to run was in the nature of things destined to set the record in getting out the vote. Nothing less than 100 per cent would do! When the zealous officials completed the count of the ballots, they were slightly embarrassed to discover that Stalin had been elected by more than 100 per cent. The official explanation is that voters in other districts seeking the "great honor" of voting for the beloved butcher flocked to the Stalinski district, where apparently the vote was so secret that ballots could be cast even by those who were not registered there.

Stalinist Constitution Work of "Spies" Etc.

In February 1935 a Constitutional Commission of 29 was appointed to draft the Stalin Constitution. Of these "Founding Fathers," five have been officially reported shot as "enemies of the people;" one (Cherviakov) committed suicide; two are presumably in prison (Radek, tried and sentenced; Bukharin, reported to have been sentenced and probably dead); one is reported a virtual prisoner (Litvinov); one is under a cloud (Petrovsky); nine are "missing"—leaving still to be accounted for, eight others (Molotov, Voroshilov, L. Kaganovich, Zhdanov, Kalinin, Mikoyan, Chibar, and Vishinsky) plus, of course, Stalin.

In other words, the notorious Stalin Constitution was drafted by a Commission composed two-thirds of Germano-Japanese-Fascist-Trotskyite-Bukharinist etc. spies, wreckers, poisoners, restorers of capitalism, etc.—that is, if you believe Stalin.

Fate of Austrian Revolutionists in U. S. S. R.

Early in 1934 the heroic little army of 600 Austrian socialists, members of the Schutzbund, went to the U.S.S.R. In a feature article for December 15, the *Daily Herald* reports that "The men who went to Russia full of enthusiasm are now trickling back in a steady flow anxious to go home to Austria where prison awaits them." They are reported as leaving "of their own choice." The *Daily Herald* also reports that "at least 10 Austrian Socialists are in prison" in the city of Kharkov.

"Cannon Balls, Cannon Balls, Jingle All Around!"

The League of Nations adds to the prevailing spirit of "peace and good will on earth" (hailed so graciously by the *Daily Worker*) by issuing its Armaments Year Book for 1937. The world military expenditure which in 1932 was estimated at 4,300,000,000 gold dollars reached in 1937 the staggering total of 7,100,000,000 gold dollars—with still greater expenditures in store. These figures are based on "official" budgets only, i. e., are far below the actual amounts invested in the impending war. The admitted amount is almost three times as much as the world military expenditure in 1913, on the eve of the first world slaughter. Europe's share is approximately two-thirds of this total. The plans of the imperialists in the sphere of war preparations may be gathered from the armament budget of "democratic" Britain which calls for:

1936-7	£188 million
1937-8	£278 million
1938-9	£340 million

In 1913-14, Britain's war budget was \$77 million.

Browder and Co. strangely forgot to extend the greetings of the season to the greatest beneficiaries of Santa Claus, (and the G.P.U.).

In The California Labor World

San Francisco Labor Council Condemns Stalinist Frauds

SAN FRANCISCO.—Indignation against the despicable attempts of the Stalinists to introduce the "G.P.U. frame-up methods in the American trade union movement is rising ever more loudly in the ranks of organized labor. Following on the heels of the decisive condemnation of the C.P.'s tactics by the official labor movement in Minneapolis, the San Francisco Labor Council struck another powerful blow against the Stalinist disrupters and slanderers in a resolution adopted by it on Friday, December 10, 1937. We reprint the resolution in full below:

Whereas, The brutal murder of P. J. Corcoran, secretary-treasurer of the Teamsters' Joint Council of Minneapolis was a blow at the labor movement of that city, as well as the general labor movement throughout the United States; and

Commend Teamsters' Council

Whereas, the Teamsters' Joint Council of Minneapolis has offered a \$10,000 reward for information leading to the arrest and conviction of the assassin or assassins; and

Whereas, In order to protect the labor movement and its chosen officers from a terroristic murder campaign the most relentless efforts must be made to bring the assassins to deserved punishment; and

Whereas, An attempt is being made to attribute the murder of Corcoran to forces inside the labor movement, and to besmirch trade unions with the accusation that "gangsterism and racketeering" inside labor's ranks is responsible for this murder, and this constitutes a foul slander on the bona-fide labor movement and its martyred officer and shields the real murderers and dark forces behind them; and

Algie Trial Hits Labor

Ship Strikers Condemned As Mutineers For Solidarity Move

(Continued from page 1)

sit-down to help the strike of longshoremen at Montevideo, Uruguay this September.

Nothing would be more fatal to Roosevelt's pro-war policies than a continuation of the feeling of international solidarity among the maritime workers since it will be difficult to drag the trade union movement into an imperialist war to slaughter their union brothers in other countries, if solidarity exists.

Foreshadows War Regime

How ruthless Roosevelt will be against the labor movement during the coming world war was demonstrated by the manner the Algie sit-down was broken.

The captain of this government-owned ship wired Washington for instructions on handling the sit-down. "Put them in irons," replied Joseph Kennedy, then head of the Maritime Commission, "and send them home."

When the Algie returned here,

Whereas, The daily press controlled by the employers and the "Daily Worker" published by the Communist party have joined in a campaign to smear and discredit the martyred Corcoran and the trade union movement, with the charge that his assassination was caused by "racketeering and gangsterism" in the trade unions; and

Whereas, These same forces are active on the Pacific Coast in a like attempt to besmirch the bona fide labor movement, and are joining with the capitalist press in charges of "A.F. of L. and gangster plot" whenever any legitimate conflict arises within the labor movement; and

Warn Against Repetition On West Coast

Whereas, These same forces recently issued public statements attempting to link the Sailor's Union of the Pacific in a plot with the shipowners to throw 35,000 men out of work, and in another statement charged that "A.F. of L. forces within the organized labor movement" were participating in a plot on the life of a well-known West Coast C.I.O. director, and that this plot originated in Minneapolis, and have repeatedly made false charges against the organized labor movement that "gangsters," "goon squads," etc., were ruling the organized labor movement; now, therefore, be it

For Exposing Union Busters

Resolved, that we condemn such tactics by this irresponsible element as splitting and discrediting the labor movement and call for a full concentration of all efforts to expose these anti-labor elements within the labor movement for what they are; union-busting, boss collaborationists who are out to discredit and wreck the bona fide labor movement.

department of justice men arrested the 14 seamen on charges of "mutiny" based on a law passed in 1790! The charges declared that the seamen "were conspiring and endeavoring to revolt against the master of their vessel." The charges are a brazen lie.

Only Crime: Refused To Scab

The only "crime" of the seamen was their refusal to work alongside scabs, and this is an inalienable right of a union man.

Convicted on two counts, the 14 seamen face a maximum punishment of five years imprisonment and \$1,000 fine or both. The trial was held in a federal court.

A national campaign to rally the organized labor movement against the terrible convictions and for the freedom of the seamen had been announced by the National Maritime Union, of which the workers are members.

STALINISM and BOLSHEVISM

by Leon TROTSKY

Pioneer Publishers
160 Fifth Avenue
New York, N. Y.

West Coast Labor Notes

Harry Bridges, West Coast C.I.O. representative and Stalinist stooge number one, is screaming his lungs out here demanding a government investigation of the San Francisco maritime union! Via the press and through his mouthpiece, James O'Neil, C.I.O. publicity man, Bridges is shouting to high heaven that the Frisco unions are seething with provocateurs, stool pigeons and strike breakers. He claims he has proof of this that he is anxious to present to a government hearing. This flagrant betrayal of elementary trade unionism is obviously and openly directed at the rank and file paper of the Marine Firemen, Oilers, Wipers and Watertenders Association which has rallied over a fourth of the membership of that union around a program of amalgamating the three seafaring crafts on the West Coast—the Sailors', Firemen's and Cooks' unions.

The firemen, sailors, cooks and even the longshoremen in his own union are asking Bridges some very embarrassing questions. They especially want to know why he doesn't give his information to the Maritime Federation of the Pacific so the men in the unions can act instead of

calling in the government to pry into their affairs. Many consider his action to be that of the chief stool pigeon of all. If the government is to have access to the union hall and books it won't need to send in stool pigeons, they argue. The Department of Justice can get all the information it wants direct.

Fired out of the C.I.O. office when she disagreed with the Communist Party, Gertrude Wilk took her case to her union—the United Office and Professional Workers Union, C.I.O. Making a pretense of acting on the case the Stalinist dominated dismissal committee of the union investigated it and on their finding sent a protest against the discrimination to Harry Bridges. When the latter refused to consider the case the Stalinist dominated executive committee of the union voted to drop the matter and to strike references to it from their minutes! A group of progressives in the union issued a leaflet exposing the betrayal of their rights to the membership and have succeeded in rallying a large minority of the members against the Stalinists.

S.U.P. Hits Bridges Call for Gov't Inteferece in Unions

SAN FRANCISCO.—The Sailors Union of the Pacific, at a recent membership meeting, overwhelmingly condemned the action of the Stalinist stooge, Harry Bridges, in attempting to get the federal government to interfere in the affairs of the maritime unions on the West Coast. Constantly losing ground among the rank and file membership of the maritime unions here because of their class collaboration policies and disruptive tactics, the Stalinists have, in desperation, sought to obtain the aid of the Washington authorities, in an effort to stem the tide of resentment among seamen and port workers.

The progressive leadership of the Maritime Federation has made serious advances in every union here, including those controlled by the Bridges gang. The appeal of the San Pedro local of the International Longshoremen's Union, still in the grip of the Bridges gang, to the LaFollette Committee represents an act of desperation on the part of the Stalinists which has served only to intensify the resentment of the workers against them. The S.U.P. resolution, adopted at its last meeting, follows in full:

WHEREAS, Local 1-13 San Pedro I.L.W.U. and Harry Bridges, West Coast C.I.O. Director, have seen fit to send the following telegram to the LaFollette Committee of the United States Senate: "Have every reason to believe and evidence to point that our ranks are infested with industrial spies and provocateurs Stop Request that your committee make arrangements to investigate situation in Maritime Unions on this coast."

AND WHEREAS, the Maritime Unions of the Pacific Coast have demonstrated their ability to conduct their own affairs without the assistance or interference of outside government agencies, and

WHEREAS, the function of the

said LaFollette Committee is the investigation of employer spying, thuggery and anti-union activity; the said committee having no right or authority for interference in the internal affairs of labor organizations, and

WHEREAS, this requested investigation is not only an unwarranted insult against all maritime unions on this coast, but would also open the way for a barrage of false and malicious testimony from ship-owners' stool-pigeons, commissar stooges, and every other conceivable type of enemy of the Maritime Unions of the Pacific Coast, and

WHEREAS, this testimony would be planned and calculated to influence unfavorably pending legislation now before Congress,

BE IT THEREFORE RESOLVED: that we, the members of the Sailors Union of the Pacific meeting in headquarters Monday, December the 20th, condemn Harry Bridges and I.L.W.U. 1-13 for this attack on the independence and integrity of the Maritime Unions of the Pacific Coast, and

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED: that we notify the LaFollette Committee of the United States Senate that the Maritime Unions of the Pacific Coast are capable of settling their own problems and determined to resist any interference from unauthorized political agents of interests which are outside of, foreign to, and repeatedly hostile to those of the membership of the Maritime Unions of the Pacific Coast.

Copies of this resolution to be sent to Harry Bridges, all I.L.W.U. locals, the LaFollette Committee, the Maritime Federation of the Pacific Coast and its component organizations, the Voice of the Federation and the West Coast Sailor.

(Passed overwhelmingly by the Sailors Union of the Pacific, Monday, December 20, 1937.)

Left Jabs

"The Land of Cotton"

Romance, beautiful women, southern chivalry and happy singing workers in the fields! Ah yes, let us drop in on them. That's what Owen P. White did and he tells about it in "Collier's"

"My Home in Dixie"

"I went into their two-room cabin, with a small kitchen attached, wherein eleven people live, and was amazed at its emptiness. In the kitchen I saw two wooden benches, a rickety table, a crippled cookstove, and as a total visible supply of food for the family, a part of a sack of corn meal and a small slab of fat-back, or grease meat. In the other two rooms were three old double beds on which were three old, thin cotton mattresses covered with torn, worn, cotton quilts. Also in those two rooms, there was only one chair. No sheets, no pillow-cases, no shoes and no clothing were to be seen anywhere in the house, although, hanging on the line outside I noticed a tiny pair of blue overalls, and two or three towels made from fertilizer bags."

"Say Man, How be you?"

"In 1935 the F.S.I. (Farm Security Administration) had on its books.... in Alabama and Georgia, 26,259 families, averaging six persons each, whose net worth per family, including clothes, food, livestock, chickens, farm equipment and household furniture, was \$3.03. Their health status is so bad as to be almost unbelievable.... Of 121,388 persons examined twenty-eight per cent had hookworm... children, sixty-two per cent. Venereal diseases are common. Malaria and pellagra likewise are very prevalent."

"Sweet Land of Liberty"

"I saw people who are miserably sick and yet so ignorant that they don't know they are sick. I saw slatternly, barefooted, filthy, tobacco-chewing women; and scabby-headed babies who have never had a bath, except one maybe, since they were born; and adolescent boys and girls; and shifty-eyed, shiftless men, so tired all the time that they'd lie down on the ground to talk to me, all living, eight or ten of both sexes, crowded into one room. Add to this picture child marriage, or not even marriage, with a birth rate three and one half times greater than the national average, and with practically every baby born infected with disease."

"The Gay Southland"

Is it really the same country that the Times says lures the tourists. "Land of cotton fields and share-cropper cabins, of magnolias and vivid moonlight... dogwoods bloom in white clouds over the hills, Cherokee roses... camelias and azaleas bloom riotously in old gardens. Yachting, horse racing, fishing and golf offering diversions. The gayety loving population lives in an atmosphere of festivity, Mardi Gras... garden tours, flower shows, musical events... yellow jessamine, wild honey-suckle etc., etc." Let us be thankful, there are no classes in America.

Trotsky Urges Backing For Pioneer Publishers

Pioneer Publishers has just made public a letter received from Leon Trotsky on the occasion of its seventh anniversary. The letter follows:

Economic Crisis and Ideologies

"According to all indications, the present crisis should bring about tremendous changes in the whole world and perhaps first of all in the U.S.A. The crisis of 1929 has already dealt a serious blow to the traditional ideologies of Americanism and created the necessity for a new orientation.

The economic revival of the past year has, it is true, somewhat damped theoretical searches and social criticism. Hopes arose that the process of economic growth interrupted by the crisis would again be re-established. But sooner than one could have expected the hour of a new crisis struck. It started from a lower level than the crisis of 1929 and is developing at a more rapid tempo. This demonstrates that it not an accidental recession nor even a conjunctural depression but an organic crisis of the whole capitalist system. That is why one can with assurance predict that in all fields of human ideology—in economics, politics, philosophy, literature, art—there will open an epoch of bold criticism, liquidation of old prejudices, searches for new systems, courageous creation.

Revolutionary thought in America, with immeasurably more stability and vigor than hitherto, will begin to study different social doctrines in order to resolve the question of the fate of the United States and of the capitalist system as a whole.

What to Expect from Other Publishers

"On the other hand, one can expect that the bourgeois publishing houses which from time to time printed radical works in the firm belief that the U.S. was immune to the actions of "destructive" ideas will in the coming years become more cautious; i. e., reactionary, and will completely ostracize revolutionary theoretic thought.

"It is impossible to place the slightest hope in this respect in the publishing activity of the so-called Communist Party. With time it becomes ever more hostile to theory. No wonder: every page of the revolutionary classics is an accusation against the present politics of the Comintern. Frame-up and falsification have become its basic method in all fields. It is impossible to trust any book, any article, any quotation issued by the Comintern press. Sooner or later all these works will be placed on a special Index under the general title, "The library of pseudo-Marxism and lies."

"As far as the Socialist Party is concerned one cannot in general speak about it in relation to the problems of theoretic thought. This party lives on vulgar commonplaces. Its leaders are ingrained with an organic aversion to scientific analysis. Concern over revolutionary theory appears to their eyes as an unmistakable sign of sectarianism, if not a form of lunacy.

Serious Task Faces Pioneer Publishers

"Under these conditions the necessity for a revolutionary publishing house, independent both from capital and from the

Soviet bureaucracy is completely evident. Pioneer Publishers from the very beginning set itself the task of bringing out a serious library of revolutionary thought for advanced workers and radical intelligentsia.

"During the last few years the first step along this road have been taken. They have been met with manifest and encouraging sympathy. But there yet remains immeasurably more to be done than has been accomplished. There is weight in the idea that the center of social-revolutionary and revolutionary-philosophical thought will shift in the next period to America. Under the blows of the crisis and social shake-ups there will here arise a generation of revolutionary theoreticians capable of saying a new word. All the more necessary is it to create for this awakening social criticism a stable base in the form of a publishing house not bound by any other considerations and obligations outside of the objective to open to humanity a new road of development. Pioneer Publishers can accomplish a great historic task. Our common duty is to help them.

(Signed) Leon Trotsky.
Nov. 29, 1937, Coyoacan.

As a non-commercial publishing house Pioneer Publishers depends on the support of everyone interested in the development of a genuinely revolutionary publishing house in America.

Among the volumes scheduled for publication are: *Revolution and Counter-Revolution in Spain* by Felix Morrow; *Ten Years of World Politics* by Leon Trotsky; *What is Imperialism?* by G. Zinoviev; *The Year One of the Russian Revolution* by Victor Serge; *Marxism and Philosophy* by Franz Mehring; *Selected Works of Rosa Luxemburg*, etc. etc.

In themselves these works more than warrant the support of those who have profited by earlier Pioneer publications.

Contributions should be sent to Pioneer Publishers, 100 Fifth Avenue, New York.

Union Lawyers Plead Memorial Day Massacre Defendants Guilty

CHICAGO.—Without consulting the workers who were arrested for participation in the mass picketing demonstration staged on Memorial Day before the Republic Steel Co., the lawyers, appointed by the union to defend those arrested, entered into an agreement with the State's Attorney of Cook County to plead all the defendants guilty.

When the case came up in the Criminal Court of Cook County on December 20, the lawyers entered a plea of guilty to charges of unlawful assembly and rioting placed against 61 workers. The judge thereupon fined six of the defendants \$10 and \$10 costs. The remaining got off with a one dollar fine and one dollar costs. The small fines were in return for the plea of guilty.

The meaning of the whole farce was explained to the defendants after they walked out of the court room and most of them, prepared to go on trial and fight it out to the end, were bitterly disappointed and resentful.

Both the Republic Steel Co. and the Chicago police force will naturally use the plea of guilty to justify the murderous attack upon workers exercising their lawful right to picket.

Not all compromises with the enemy are to be condemned. But a compromise which is based upon a plea of guilty in a case that has received world-wide publicity, where the bosses and cops were placed on the defensive in the role of murderers, is nothing short of a betrayal of the interests of the whole working class.

The Daily Worker of December 21, 1937 simply mentioned that the bad judge found the 61 pickets guilty. It carefully concealed the fact that the lawyers, by agreement with the prosecution, pleaded them guilty. The Stalinists, being in control of the Steel Workers Organizing Committee in the Chicago area, are the ones actually responsible for the ma-lodorous deal.

Akron Court Decision Outlaws Closed Shop

By Blake Lear

AKRON, Ohio, Dec. 26.—A ruling which virtually outlaws the closed shop in Akron was handed down here last week by judge E. D. Fritch.

Since the court's decision will be used as precedent, the ruling constitutes a blow not only to the working class of Akron and of Ohio, but to the working class nationally as well. Labor must unitedly fight this decision tooth and nail.

Essentials of Decision

The essential portion of the decision reads: ".....a contract by the employer to employ only union labor is contrary to public policy when it includes an entire industry so as to operate generally in the community, preventing workmen from obtaining employment without joining the union."

"A contract against public policy is void and illegal."

In other words, taxi drivers, light and power employees, cereal workers, fishing tackle workers, building tradesmen, and members of the newspaper guild and the typos are forbidden to have a closed shop, either because their employers have a monopoly in their field in Akron or because where the monopoly is split two ways, as it is in the newspaper field, the typos have a closed shop at both plants. In both cases, you see, a closed shop would mean that it would prevent a workman "from obtaining employment without joining the union."

The breadth of interpretation can be so great this ruling could easily be made to extend not only to the bakery workers, coal drivers, and other trades, but could be applied to the large rubber shops as well, on the basis that there are certain departments in each plant which are unique in the city, and that were a scab denied the right of employment in such a department he would be unable to obtain a job elsewhere in the industry.

Background of Decision

The decision is part of the poisoned fruit of the A. F. of L.-C. I. O. split. Thirteen members of the old A. F. of L. union

for street car operators and bus drivers, who had lost an election with the C. I. O. and who had been denied membership in the C. I. O. local of the Transport Workers of America, were fired, since the transport workers had secured a closed shop. They took their case to court and the decision was the result. The court, ironically enough, did not even recommend that they be taken back on their jobs.

The ruling beautifully exposes the role of the courts as the watchdogs of capitalism. Under the slogans of preserving the right to work, fighting monopoly, and defending the public's interests, which translated means preserving the "right" to work at slave wages, fighting unionism, and defending the interests of the capitalist class, the court has given labor a stiff blow.

Higher Form of Deception

Since by and large the old argument that the workers in a plant do not represent a majority and hence should not be granted recognition seldom holds any longer, the courts have to resort to a higher deception. As the struggle gets sharper they make up new rules. They outlaw the closed shop. They declare the sit-down "illegal, immoral, and revolutionary." They refuse to press laws invoked against the bosses.

That is why a struggle conducted on straight trade union lines alone can only lead up a blind alley. Such a condition has been reached in France, where magnificent struggles have led only to the breaking of contracts by the companies and a discreet averting of the head by the courts. The trade union problem becomes a political problem and can be solved only on the political field. This is the stage at which many unions in the United States, plagued by lay-offs, cursed with the problem of unemployment, beset with a rise in the cost of living, and harassed by the courts, have now reached. For, lacking the revolutionary answer to these problems, many unions, especially those in the mass production industries, are going to be thrown into a severe crisis in the next few months.

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