For the

Fourth International!

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F.D.R. War Plans Exposed

Britain Seeks 4-Power Pact **Against USSR**

Chamberlain Offers Concessions to Rome and Berlin To Form Anti-Soviet Bloc: Would Free Britain To Face Japan

"PEACE LOVERS" DESERT STALIN Stall are as yet unclarmed. The full are as yet unclarmed are as yet unclarmed. The full are as yet unclarmed are as yet unclarmed are as yet unclarmed are as yet unclarmed. The full are as yet unclarmed are as ye

The four major imperialist powers of Europe, "democ-been made known. & ratic" Britain and France, and Fascist Germany and Italy, there were several plots against took long, swift strides this week toward an understand- Sedoff's life uncovered during the ing designed to iron out or postpone their own conflicts investigation of the G.P.U. with each other by clearing the way for an attack on the Ignace Reiss at Lausanne last Soviet Union.

This was the underlying significance of the spectacular series of events that began with Adolf Hitler's bloodless conquest of Austria on Feb. 14, followed by the resignation of Anthony Eden as British foreign secretary on Feb. 20, Hitler's open challenge for supremacy in Central chance did he escape it. Subse-Europe in his Reichstag speech the same day, and the quently he was kept under the opening of Anglo-Italian negotiations this week.

SOLID BACKING

Prominent Educators,

Liberals, Authors

the 1929 textile strike in Gasto-

nia, is now in prison in Raleigh,

North Carolina, having last week

waived his fight against extra-

order to wage a struggle on the

snot for reversal of his nine-

In a statement issued at the

from Massachusetts was mere-

by my arrest and sentence.

Says Return Inevitable

"It is self-evident," Beal con-

I would not have returned to my

native America and certainly

would not have attracted atten-

tion to my return by expressing

boldly my views on public ques-

broad front of workers and li

Hundred Join Committee

Partisan Committee for the De-

announced by Hugo Pollock, sec-

retary of the Committee. Main-

taining that Beal was innocent

(Continued on page 2)

States.

year-old jail sentence.

FOR HIS FIGHT

"Guarantors" Absent

Hitler assumed control in Austrià after serving an ultimatum on Austrian Chancellor Schuschnigg at Berchtesgaden on Feb. 12. The "guarantors" of Austrian independence were not in evi dence when Schuschnigg appealed for aid and he consequently gave way. Mussolini, who marshalled his battalions at Brenner Pass when Chancellor Dolfuss was assassinated by Nazis in 1934 and thus checkmated the Nazi putsch, now looked on complacently. For him the Rome-Berlin axis is the means of making the Mediterranean an Italian sea and he is willing to give Hitler some rope in the Central Europe upon which he too has cast a covetous eye.

Great Britain-dragging behind it a reluctant but helpless France-made no move to implement its fine pledges to "protect" Austria. It chose rather to accept Hitler's promise that Austrian "independence" would be maintained while the Austrian Nazis-with the new minister of Interior, Arthur Seyss-Inquart the fight against extradition Labor Association) endorsed a at their head-transform the country into a docile appendage. of German Nazi policy.

Britain Seeks "Peace'

This was the outcome because British imperialism, with an anxious eye on its own slowmoving rearmament program, has reconciled itself to the inevitability of an expanding Nazi Reich controlling an ever larger portion of Central Europe. It has also determined to make terms with Italy rather than venture a struggle to see who is master of the Mediterranean at tions. My ultimate return to a time when Japan threatens the strongholds of British Imperial- once I was back in the United

Great Britain has obviously de-Party member, and since his retermined to make "peace" with Germany and Italy, whatever the turn from the Soviet Union a ties, or in raising the workers' cost, in order to turn the sharp points out that he has been deedge of European antagonisms serted by his former allies, the against the U.S.S.R. and to leave Stalinists, and appeals for a British hands freer to cope with Japan's encroachments "upon berals to come to his defense. British interests in China. This, too, Britain hopes to accomplish by turning Japanese attention away from British-dominated South China to the rich fields and mines of maritime Siberia.

U.S.S.R. Not Included

That is why the name of the Soviet Union-invoked once more by Hitler last Sunday as the one nation Germany regards as an enemy-was so notably absent from the hypocritical speeches of of the charge on which he was Neville Chamberlain and Eden convicted, the Committee is seekin the House of Commons last ing his "vindication and release." Monday. The "peace of Europe." Chamberlain said, "must depend powers, Germany, Italy, France, fort to liberate the labor leader dation, unemployment, the comand ourselves." He pointedly are Emanuel Celler of Brooklyn, in the overthrow of the capitalist Trotsky left France for Noromitted the Soviet Union when N. Y., John M. Coffee of Tacoma, system and the establishment of way in June, 1935. Sedoff re-(Continued on page 3) .

Leon Sedoff Dies In Paris Swiss Court Finds G.P.U. Key Leaders Finds G.P.U. Killed Roise Hear Details

Thousands March Behind Bier; Await Results of Autopsy

Leon Sedoff, eldest son and closest collaborator of Leon Trotsky, died in Paris on Feb. 16 after a sudden intestinal oper

The circumstances surrounding the tragic and untimely death of Comrade Sedoff, who was only 32, are as yet unclarified. The formed by Paris municipal medical authorities have not yet

What is definitely known is that

Foul Play Suspected

On one occasion, these arrested agents confessed, a trap had been set for Sedoff. Only by the merest surveillance. A G.P.U agent was found occupying oom opposite his own.

That the French police believed there was some ground for suspicion of foul play wasindicated on February 20 when, according to a dispatch to the New York Times, they withheld permission for cremation of the

"Thousands of Trotsky followers of all nations" marched in

Defense Group Joined By Geller Files For

Facing 20 years in prison on charge, S.W.P. Enters Mayoralty Fred E. Beal, famed leader of Primary In First Campaign

ST. PAUL. - Launching the dition from Massachusetts in first election campaign of the Socialist Workers Party, the St. Paul Branch has filed Jules Geller as candidate for mayor in the municipal primaries.

time of his surrender. Beal de-1 Since the Labor-Progressive clared that his action in dropping association of St. Paul (Farmer member of a capitalist party, a ly a step in "carrying out my Democrat, Geller, a trade union steadfast desire since the days member, recently arrested on the of the Gastonia trial, namely, to Montgomery Ward picket line, is to their Alma Ata exile where in the field.

Critical Support

Critical support will be given tinued, "that had I wished to the Labor-Progressive candidates evade those issues permanently for the city council.

The step taken by the Labor-Progressive association in endors ing a Democrat, not even a member of the Farmer-Labor association, shows clearly the trend toward popular frontism, and is North Carolina was inevitable, the first step in delivering the workers into the hands of a ca- far Russia. pitalist politician who has no in-Beal, formerly a Communist terest in the maintenance of workers organizations, civil libercritic of the Stalin bureaucracy, standard of living.

can occasionally act in the interest of the masses, under proper Americans, among them three dates support, takes no responsliterary men, educators and eco- didates of the party of reform, nomists, have joined the Non- and is conducting an independent campaign, maintaining no orgafense of Fred E. Beal, it has been nizational relation with the Labor Progressive association.

Vote Urged For Geller

Throughout the campaign the S.W.P. is pointing out that the only solution to the problems The three Congressmen who facing the working class, the who have already joined this ef- abolition of poverty and degrabatting of war and fascism, lies other phases of Soviet life. a workers' state.



Leon Trotsky

the procession which hore the body of Comrade Sedoff to Pere Lachaise cemetery, the York Times reported

Red Funeral

The coffin was wrapped in a and me, red flag. At the cemetery the 2) It is not true that he sup-International, the anthem of the posedly suffered heavily during world revolutionary cause to the past few weeks. I have at which he devoted his entire life, hand the letter received by me was sung by the great crowd from him, dated February 4th. that came to pay final honors to There is not a word in this letter, sterling revolutionist.

the world through their years of with the imminent trial in Switz-France, Spain, the United States, Reiss, and was intending to cona Canadian concentration camp, tinue his activity. and returned with them to the triumphs of 1917.

his studies to become a technic- the letter and the death only ian and engineer—a career that eleven days passed. In other did not save him from the venge- words, the sickness fully had the ance and hatred of Stalin-Leon, character of suddenness. growing youth, joined the Young Communist League and for doubting the impartiality of embarked upon a career in the the medico-judicial examination. revolutionary movement.

Assembled Material In 1928 he went with his father

face squarely the issues raised the only working-class candidate he collected and assembled the possibility of poisoning, then we material used by Trotsky in the! writing of his Criticism of the is not one of ordinary poisoning. Draft Program. In February, 1929, he accompanied his father there are very exceptional scient: to Prinkipo. Remaining there ists and technical means which until February, 1931, Leon assum- would make the problem of meed responsibility for the editor- dical examination more than difship of the Bulletin of the Op- ficult. position, a task he continued to fulfill in the years that followed. He was also in charge of the extensive correspondence carried on for some time with Oppositionists exiled in different parts of

He went to Berlin to pick up the interrupted thread of his studies, attending the Technische Hochschule. In the final months of 1932, on the eve of the advent The Labor-Progressive candi- of Hitler, Sedoff had to live an dates, actually Farmer-Laborites, almost illegal existence to protect who at least depend upon the himself from the hatred of the kind of trap? I can only advance organized workers at the polls, Nazi gangs. After Hitler took this postulation. Others must power, he had to flee the country, leaving Berlin in March, 1933, pressure. The Socialist Workers for Paris. He was reunited with Nearly one hundred prominent Party, while giving these candi- his parents in July, 1933, when the latter came to France. He members of Congress, leading ibility for the actions of the can- had seen them only briefly the previous years as they passed through France on their way back his death (see the dispatches dominated by the People's Front relief policy." Copenhagen.

Edited Bulletin

Sedoff remained in Paris, howwas an able organizer and writer.

(Continued on page 3)

Of Foul Play In Death Of His Son

BY LEON TROTSKY

COYOACAN, D. F., Feb. 18-The wound is still too fresh for me to be able to talk yet about Leon Sedoff as of someone dead. He was not only my is one question upon which I am immediately: this question deals allow me to assert that the death of L. Sedoff is the handiwork of the G.P.U.

in Paris there is no more information than that included in the news over the press wires. But should like to give some indirect information which may, however, have great significance for the judicial investigation in

Sickness a Surprise

1) It is not true that my son suffered from a chronic intestinal disease. The announcement about this sickness came as a complete surprise to his mother

Leon was born in Russia 32 about any illness. On the con-

3) The death of L. Sedoff occurred evidently in the night of Unlike Sergei who continued February 15-16. Thus between

> 4) There is, of course, no basis no matter what its conclusions were. Not being a specialist, I permit myself, nevertheless, to point to one important circummust remember that the question At the disposal of the G.P.U

Possibility Exists

5) How could the G.P.U. gain access to my son? Here too I can reply only hypothetically. During the past period there have been several cases of G.P.U. agents breaking with Moscow Naturally all those who broke sought connection with my son and he-with that courage which characterized him in all his actions-always accepted such appointments. In connection with verify this.

6) The French Communist press paid a great deal of attention, hostile of course, to Leon Sedoff. However, not a single so much as printed a line about and the Workers Alliance, was from Paris). It was exactly like this after the murder of Ignace slogan being "Down with the 60 teness by closing down the relief Great Britain will jointly employ Reiss in Lausanne. Such kind of 'cautiousness" becomes of espe-His pseudonym, N. Markin, ap- cow the French press of the Coing studies of the Red Army, tion from the G.P.U. through the Stakhanovist movement, and the old agent of the G.P.U., Jacques Duclos, and others.

question,

Killed Reiss

Facts Uncover Moscow Guilt In Murder

at Lausanne

At the conclusion of an investigation occupying almost five months, court authorities in son but my best friend. But there Switzerland have issued a finding to the effect that Ignace duty bound to make myself heard Reiss, whose bullet-riddled body was found on September 4, 1937 with the causes of his death. I near Lausanne, was murdered by must say from the very begin- agents of Stalin's G.P.U., acting ning that I do not have direct on direct orders from the Kremdata at my command which would lin in Moscow. Reiss, himself an agent of the G.P.U. for many years, had broken with the bloody In the telegrams that my wife proclaimed his revolutionary adand I have received from friends herence to the movement for the Fourth International.

Commenting on this newest development, the Bulletin of the Russian Opposition (No. 62-63) points out that the significance of the Swiss finding lies in this: that it is a factual confirmation of conclusions already arrived at on the basis of the political considerations involved in the Reiss

Four Agents Involved

The Swiss authorities have definitely established the complicity made for war. of four G.P.U. agents: Beletsky, Sokolov, Grosovsky, and the latter's wife, Lydia Grosovskaya. They had all posed as employees of the Soviet trade organization in Paris. All of them, with the sole exception of Lydia Grosovswhich is very optimistic in tone, kaya had succeeded in making their get-away.

father and mother across half active, especially in connection from France. She was finally placture of full newspaper. ed under arrest on Dec. 17. But Austria, Switzerland, erland about the murderers of the Stalin machine mobilized all on her extradition was held secrethistory: The judge reserved decision on the extradition demand of Department, to play up each inthe Swiss authorities, and allowed ternational incident involving the Grosovskaya to be set free on a United States and to do this along bond of 50,000 francs, which was the lines suggested by the recent furnished by the Soviet trade re- sinking of the U.S. gunboat presentation. She was "bound" not to leave the Seine department. Freed on Dec. 20, Grosovskaya sojourned for a time, in the quarters of a Stalinist "diplomat" and stance: if we are to admit the then "disappeared" on Jan. 24. It character: First, appeal will be was not until a week later, that made to patriotic sentiment—the those understood to have been the border authorities received a description of the fugitive, with abroad. The second and supplean order to apprehend her.

Plot Trotsky's Death

Rather than run the risk of hav- of treaties.' ing Grosovkava face the Swiss courts, the G.P.U. either abducted attending the conference that labor organizations to the Ludlow her, or "ordered" her to escape. forces vigorously opposing the Amendment and pointed to the This latest cynical action of the war drive must be silenced as need for labor unity "in view of G.P.U. has aroused French public quickly as possible.

(Continued on page 2) Thousands Parade In Rain

Parading in a steady downpour heavy rain. of rain, several thousand trade

line of the Stalinists, the main families, we want jobs."

cially great significance if we the W.A.A. raised the slogan, four days. No arrangements were ever, editing the Bulletin. He take into consideration that in "All war funds to the unemployquestions that are acute for Mos- ed" — and Stalinist marshalls were kept busy seeing that this rans of Foreign Wars, who ap- iliary vessels and Britain six. The peared over brilliant and search- mintern receives direct instruc- slogan was not taken up by the parently did not suffer from joint naval array would then, in marchers.

> The size of the crowd was estimated at from five to ten I do not affirm anything. I only thousand. The size of the demon- cialist Appeal distributed at the Entering the general picture of announce the fact and pose the stration would undoubtedly been demonstration were well received active war preparations, is, of greater had it not been for the by the marchers.

enabling the government atself to employ the threat of war as an instrument of national policy Those present agreed to launch in the Far East. its resources and applied "diplom- a campaign of "education" to preatic pressure." The court hearing pare the American people for "At Drop of a Hat the "use of war as an instrument "This nation used to be ready ly, and the decision arrived at was of national policy." To impleto fight at the drop of a hat, and we must get it that way again,'

unprecedented in French judicial ment the plan it was decided, with the cooperation of the State

To Silence Opposition

need to protect American "rights"

It was emphasized by those against the support accorded by

Another corner of the pacifist The editors of the Russian curtain hiding the war prepara-

the C.I.O.

For Relief Demonstration

union Workers Alliance members in the vicinity of City Hall, great against Japan. The arrangement, demonstrated, in the deserted care was taken by the Stalinist entered into by Captain R. In-Wall Street section of New York, leaders to make sure that no hos- gersoll, head of the war plans last Saturday afternoon, against stile word should penetrate its division of the U.S. Navy Delay-offs and for increased relief. sacred portals. A delegation of partment, during his recent three The demonstration, sponsored five sent to call on the Mayor was weeks' conference with heads of by the Trade Union Committee received by one of his secretaries the British Navy, provides that one of the Communist papers has for Unemployment Insurance and left polite suggestions for in the event of Japan extending

> The City Hall repaid this polibureaus on Monday thus giving their warships to break the bloc-Several progressive locals of a continuous shutting down of kade. made for skeleton staffs to to the agreement, will furnish handle the applicants. The Vete- fifteen fighting craft and aux-People's Front inhibitions, pro- Roosevelt's own words, try to

tested the Monday closing. About 2,000 copies of the So- way up the China coast.'

Of Campaign

Parleys With Army and Navy Chiefs, Financial. Industrial, and Newspaper Barons Prepare Way For War Propaganda Drive

PLANS LAID AT SECRET MEETING

The swift pace at which the ruling class is preparing to plunge this country into war with Japan in order to establish American domination of the Pacific was revealed this week in startling information which, due to a leakage Bonapartist regime of Stalin and from high and reliable government sources, fell into the hands of the Socialist Appeal.

This information describes a series of meetings recently held by President Roosevelt with key leaders in the worlds of finance, industry, journalism, labor, and, of course, the army and navy. The purpose of all of them was to prime the pumps of the propaganda machine already at work to prepare the American masses for war.

Details, which the Appeal has every reason to regard as completely authentic, and which fit in neatly with the known orientation of American imperialism, tear the false pacifist mask from the face of the Roosevelt administration and expose the conscious preparations being

sevelt lately conferred with four

leading newspaper publishers. To

these manufacturers of public

opinion, the president drew at,

tention to the need for encom-

passing national unity by playing

up alleged threats of war direct-

ed against the United States, thus

Roosevelt, in thoroughly cha-

racteristic language, is reported

to have told the newspaper ba-

A move to line up the forces

of labor for the coming war has

been uncovered through informa-

tion emanating from the same-

sources regarding a conference

which took place recently bet-

ween Roosevelt and the labor

lieutenants of capitalism. Among

present were President Wm.

Green of the A.F. of L. and a

person close to John L. Lewis of

Roosevelt, it is stated, challeng-

ed and offered vigorous protest

possible police action in the Far

Deliberate War Preparation . ffrom the same sources that Roo

The information reveals that meeting recently took place in New York, attended by army generals, naval officers with the rank of admiral, Wall Street lawyers representing powerful St. Paul Election | years ago. As a lad, he and his trary, the letter shows that at brother Sergei followed their that time he had become very the extradition of Grosovskaya the State Department, and a representative of a "certain power-

The campaign to whip up the war spirit will be two-fold in mentary line of attack will be 'idealistic," stressing the desirability of "defending the sanctity

tions was lifted by revelation

East." It is necessary to "scare" the pants off Japan," the president is reported as saying. Action Against Japan Even more startling than these

revelations is the information, vouched for as absolutely reliable, that a definite agreement has been reached for joint Ame-Though the demonstration was rican and British naval action "corrections in some phases of her naval blockade of the China coast to the British colony of Hongkong, the United States and

The United States, according "roll the Japanese navy all the

(Continued on page 3)

On Midwestern **Lecture Tour**

To Organize Party Union Activities During Two Months on Road

of the Socialist Workers Party, for nearly two days, February began a lecture and organiza- 14-15, was one of the most magtion tour last Monday, Feb. 21, nificent demonstrations of labor at Boston. The Tour will carry strength which the Northwest him as far west as Minneapolis has seen. and Omaha and keep him on the

road for two months. Comrade Widick will address mass meetings, meet with party committees and fractions of active trade unionists, and in general aid in the organization work of the Party. Provision has been made for him to remain several days in the most important centers, in order to combine his party organization work with gathered a group of militants, public mass meetings.

Union Work Stressed

Comrade Widick will devote special time and attention to the problem of organizing the party's trade union activities in the various localities.

Manifesto, has come from the waukee to end the strike. press. It is planned to print and anti-war campaign.

Tour Schedule

The schedule of Comrade Widick's tour is as follows: Boston, Feb. 21, 22; Lynn, Feb. 23, 24, 25; Boston, Feb. 26, 27;

New York City, Feb. 28. Philadelphia, March 1, 2, 3, 4, 5; New York City, March 6, 7; without sleep since Sunday morn-Akron, March 8, 9; Youngstown, ing, were beaten down by Tues-March 10; Akron, March 11, 12; day afternoon. An agreement was but was guilty of irresponsible ledo, March 16; Detroit, March which gave the men nothing ex- wey's position. 17, 18; Chicago, March 19, 20, cept 30-day notice before one-21, 22; Indiana Harbor, March man cars replace the regular 23, 24; Chicago, March 25, 26; cars, and the empty right to ne- marks in the Washington Post Minneapolis, St. Paul and vicinit gotiate before and after the cars ty, March 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, are thus replaced.

Omaha, April 2; Kansas City, April 3, 4; Joplin, April, 5; St. Louis, April 6, 7; Indianapolis. April 9, 10; Louisville, April 11; Columbus, April 12;; Newcastle, April 13; Reading, April 14; Allentown, April 15, 16; Quakertown, April 17.

Denver Teachers

By Stalinists Cause Threat of Bolt

DENVER-Local 203, American Federation of Teachers, faces a crisis that may result in nearly half the members, including twenty-two founders of the local, leaving the union. After more than a year's effort to work with a Stalinist majority in control of the local, this large minority has decided to demand from the national headquarters a charter for a local separate from the Stalinist majority, threatening to leave the Federation if this is denied. Local 203 was founded about seven years ago by teachers of trades and mechanical arts in the Denver public school system. on under progressive leaders. roading as soon as the Stalinists Mexico City; a map of Mexico; Practically all the union members 450 cab drivers have the town feel strong enough to get away a number of American addresses, at that time, and for several years shut tight, holding out for a \$24 with it. subsequent, were members of the weekly guaranteed wage minimunions in the trades in which um instead of the purely com- for Heywood Broun to ask to the Mexican consulate for a they had worked before entering mission system. The Clark Wood- whether Professor Dewey "se- visa to Mexico.

Abuses and Violations

tical program and to advance the ers. activities of the Communist Par-

ty. Foisting their politics on the which, they set up innumerable Teachers Union by this time practically charging them with investigators be called together of the union from causing its nor worship at the shrine of San Pedro Branch, February 1 consider he were becoming highly incensed complicity in the assassination to consider he were becoming highly incensed complicity in the assassination to consider he with the I.L.W.U. empty 'Principle.' Control of 1938. gair a foot-hold in labor assem- and rebellious. Dissatisfied with of Patrick Corcoran, on the Party works for unity in the la- or from using union funds to hiring is control of the Union. hes by electing only their own the results of negotiations with ground of their alleged Trotsky- bor movement. Things have come assist the organization of the When control of your hiring hall Harry Bridges' leadership is at members as delegates from the the national office, they now ist sympathies. Teachers' Union.

Selinists succeeded in securing the Stallnists. They insist that Lewis, A.F. of L. representative, shooter, crying "red-baiting." for their members and stooges der a different charter, or they had hired R. J. Bell to kill Harry If the Stalinists are red, then for the cessation of all work in and for the interest of sailors, of their own dominant position in dersed and supported by the union. It is extremely unthe union. It is extremely unthe union. It is extremely unthe director of the C.I.O., warning hue and cry of the Communist agreed to call a strike if the reberray our trust! Denver Trades and Labor As- and domineering course of the senbly. As a result of carrying Stalinist majority has brought good."

The longshoremen pro their methods into the Labor about a situation of split and college, they found themselves weakness at the very time when ors Union of the Pacific, condemnors Union of the Pacific, condemninternal affairs of the union and declared that rather than subincomplete their methods into the Labor about a situation of split and ors Union of the Sailors Union of the Pacific, condemninternal affairs of the union and declared that rather than subincomplete their methods into the Labor about a situation of split and ors Union of the Pacific, condemninternal affairs of the union and declared that rather than subincomplete their methods into the Labor about a situation of split and ors Union of the Pacific, condemninternal affairs of the union and declared that rather than subincomplete their methods into the Labor about a situation of split and ors Union of the Pacific, condemninternal affairs of the union and declared that rather than subincomplete their methods into the Labor about a situation of split and ors Union of the Sailauthentic evidence, the machinainternal affairs of the union and declared that rather than subincomplete their methods into the Labor about a situation of split and internal affairs of the union and declared that rather than subincomplete their methods into the Labor about a situation of split and internal affairs of the union and declared that rather than subincomplete the courts and the courts are considered to the courts and the courts are considered to the courts and the courts are considered to the courts are c

Widick Leaves Progressives Lead Car Strike In Minneapolis

Unsatisfactory Terms Forced Through By **Union Officers**

MINNEAPOLIS. — The first effective street car strike in the history of the Twin Cities, completely tying up bus and trolley B. J. Widick, Labor Secretary lines in Minneapolis and St. Paul

Nor was the present strike called by the Executive Board of the local. One lone progressive on the Board, Howard Carlson, initiated the strike. The men have many grievances, but the immediate issue was the dismissal of some men when their cars were replaced by one-man cars. The news reached Carlson Sunday night, and through the night he who succeeded in tying up one car barn, then sent delegations to close the others. By Monday morning the tie-up was complete!

Fakers On The Job

Wigstrom, the business agent, and Coles, the president, attempt-At the same time, the Na- ed without success to induce the tional Office has announced that men to return to work. Sam Berthe first order of 50,000 leaflets, rong, international vice-president, containing the party's Anti-War was hastily summoned from Mil-

Berrong, able and smooth, did distribute a million copies of this a neat job. The Lake Street manifesto in the course of the strike committee led by Carlson (formally representing the first barn that went out but actually leading the strike) was divided in two, one half shut up in the union office while the other half was locked up with Berrong and the company officials.

In exhausting negotiations lasting fourteen hours, the progres- John Dewey in the columns of sives on the strike committee. accepted by the Executive Board, misstatement of Professor De-

No Meeting Called

men, if called together in a strike by a direct reference to the use meeting to discuss issues, would which the Communist Party and formulate a strike program, the press were making of the Cor-Executive Board had successfully coran case in Minneapolis. prevented the men from getting together. Now, with the backing of Berrong, they decided not to submit the strike settlement to that Communist Party members

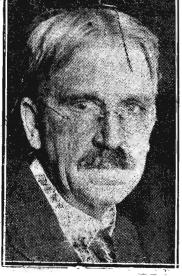
Face Union Split for this body of inexperienced of their relator union because stifle their militancy by imbuing of their body of inexperienced of their relator union because stifle their militancy by imbuing of their relationships of the first time feeting lines and the stifle their militancy by imbuing the stifle their militance and the stifle t men, striking for the first time factionalism and against the fa- in business. in their lives, most of them only miliar Moscow tactics of frame- 5. United action by employed Political Issues Injected recently in the union. Berrong's up and slander as deadly to the for adequate relief, including orders to return to work were unity of the labor movement. disobeyed; the few cars that went out were ordered back by other are striving whole-heartedly for barns. The city was tied up the unity of labor, Heywood again Tuesday evening.

the extent of convoking a mem- Professor Dewey. Part of the bership meeting. But what a public oath which all members meeting! In a hall seating only of the Communist Party are repart of the men, with speakers quired to take is "to drive the limited only to those who support- Lovestoneites out of the labor ed the agreement, with Berrong movement" and "to drive the himself speaking twice and using Trotskyites out of the labor moall the authority of the international union to ram it down their throats, the agreement went through 754-167.

Two Other Strikes

men how strikes can be carried ber, or leader is slated for rail- its suburbs; a street directory of enware Manufacturing Company riously means to contend that tried to hire strikebreakers among certain workers should be barthe national guardsmen, but red from union membership be-A few years ago the Stalinists quick action by Furniture Work- cause of their political or ecobegan to throw all the strength ers Local 1859 exposed the secret nomic views." This is precisely they could muster into Local 203, preparations. The plant is shut the view of the Communist Party, and then by virtue of their nu- tight, and will stay so until Clark as the above-cited slogans prove. merical majority began a long provides a 5-cent hourly increase Before Heywood Broun underseries of abuses and violations for all workers and a 50-cent takes to whitewash the role of of all sane principles of trade hourly minimum for beginners. the Stalinists in the labor moveunionism. They used their major- Firm leadership has carried these ment, let him explain the followity to appropriate all the offices workers to victory in previous ing: of the union. At every opportu- strikes and will undoubtedly do tilly they used the union as a so again. Here is a lesson and front to carry forward the poli- example for the street-car strik-

Attacked by Broun



JOHN DEWEY

Hook Answers Broun Attack On John Dewey

Slanderous Article

The following letter was sent by Sidney Hock, wellknown Marxist scholar, to the New Republic, which published only a small portion of it.

The Editors, New Republic. In his attack upon Professor the New Republic (Jan. 12, 1938). Heywood Broun not only exceed-

Anyone who has examined the context of Professor Dewey's re---which Broun admittedly has not done-will see that they bore upon the implications of the Trotsky Commission report for Correctly fearing that the America. They were illustrated

Dewey's Warning

Professor Dewey did not say In asserting that the Stalinists

Broun shows that it is he who Whereupon Berrong yielded to is behind in his homework, not vement.

Stalinists' Real Aim

opposes the Communist Party on Two strikes still going on are Trotskyite, this means that every were discovered the following living evidence to the street car independent-thinking union mem- items: a map of Mexico city and

Explain All This

seem determined to stand firm in (2) The use of phony affidavits to expose the nefarious tactics By their maneuvering, the their demand for a break with by West Coast Stalinists in the of the Communist Party without the Stalinists. They insist that C.I.O. to prove that Meyer Broun, its unofficial troublewill withdraw completely from Bridges, despite the wire sent Roosevelt it a Trotskyist. If Hey- the harbor as a protest and held but, also, for the interest of all

school, at which leading officials is a drive to educate the vast sertions of gangsterism against the Communist Party and not to small minority, assisted by a ditions resulted from such solid-imperative. The revival of military tracks and authorizing legal labor? the new Stalinish limit in classes mentary necessity of trude union action for criminal libel against variously designated. The Western Werker.

Rubber Unions Confronted By Fight For Life

Lay-offs and Attacks On Party. Organizations Open Critical Period

BY BLAKE LEAR

AKRON .- The present inevitable and deep-going crisis of U. S. capitalism has placed the rubber workers face to face with the most grave situation since the early precarious organization days. With the unions it is now very close to a situation of make or break.

. For really the first time, the rubber worker has been confronted with the dilemma of capitalism. The unions, fighting the employers tooth and nail in a manly and courageous struggle, established themselves in the seemingly impregnable rubber shops. The fruits of victory seemed within their grasp. Then came the recession-and the lay-offs.

Unions Fall Back

Before the lay-offs, the unions virtually stood with their hands at their sides. Now the membership is dwindling, confusion and discouragement are spreading, Asks Pointed Questions while the leadership counsels pa-In Reply To Columnist's tience. The howl of the Greater Akron Association sharpens. The demand for the lowering of wages, the speed-up, and the lengthening of hours becomes more insistent. Lay-offs, according to the United Rubber Workers, amount to 25 per cent; most of the other factory employees are working one, two, or perhaps three days. Everywhere the question is raised: What is the answer to lay-offs?

Increasing numbers of the leading militants are coming to understand that the union can survive only if every member fights for:

1. Absolute retention of the ix-hour day.

.2. Rejection of a proposal by Goodyear Local for "impartial" arbitration boards to act in the event of the management and the union failing to agree in negotiations-a proposal which would rule out strike action of any sort. 3. Strict plant-wide seniority in lay-offs and rehiring.

4. Stabilization of work at not less than 18 hours for those still employed, since to go lower will shift discontent from the company to the union as the cause of the trouble, prevent (at least for the time being) those "workshould be barred from the C.I.O. ing" from getting relief, and But this was too much even or any other labor union because stifle their militancy by imbuing

Swiss Tribunal Convicts GPU

(Continued from page 1)

Bulletin reveal that they have at their disposal proof that Rossi (alias Rous), the actual assassin of Reiss, had also been chosen to murder Trotsky. For the time Since in effect anybody who being, the editors confine themselves merely to pointing out important measures is labelled a that among Rossi's belongings and, most important of all, a It requires considerable cheek duplicate of Rossi's application

> Reiss murder see "Soviet Union Notes" by John G. Wright on

> 4) The resolution of the Central Labor Council of San Francampaign against Homer Martin Auto Workers Union.

to such a pass that it is impossible I.L.W.U.

SIDIMEY LOOK,

Party Resolutions

ON THE NATURE OF THE PARTY

Following is the full text of the resolution on "The Internal Situation and the Character of the Party" adopted by the founding convention of the Socialist Workers

The Socialist Workers Party is a revolutionary Marxian party, based on a definite program, whose aim is the organization of the working class in the struggle for power and the transformation of the existing social order. All of its activities, its methods and its internal regime are subordinated to this aim and are designed to serve it.

Only a self-acting and critical-minded membership is capable of forging and consolidating such a party and of solving its problems by collective thought, discussion and experience.

From this follows the need of assuring the widest party democracy in the ranks of the organization.

The struggle for power organized and led by the revolutionary party is the most ruthless and irreconciliable struggle in all history. A loosely-knit, heterogeneous, undisciplined, untrained organization is utterly incapable of accomplishing such worldhistorical tasks as the proletariat and the revolutionary party are confronted with in the present era. This is all the more emphatically true in the light of the singularly difficult position of our party and the extraordinary persecution to which it is subjected. From this follows the party's unconditional demand upon all its members for complete discipline in all the public activities and actions of the organization.

Principle of Democratic Centralism

Leadership and centralized direction are indispensable prerequisites for any sustained and disciplined action, especially in the party that sets itself the aim of leading the collective efforts of the proletariat in its struggle against capitalism. Without a strong and firm Central Committee, having the power to act promptly and effectively in the name of the party and to supervise, coordinate and direct all its activities without exception, the very idea of a revolutionary party is a meaningless jest.

It is from these considerations, based upon the whole of the experience of working class struggle throughout the world in the last century, that we derive the Leninist principle of organization, namely, democratic centralism. The same experience has demonstrated that there are no absolute guarantees for the preservation of the principle of democratic centralism, and no rigid formula that can be set down in advance, a priori, for the application of it under any and all circumstances. Proceeding from certain fundamental conceptions, the problem of applying the principle of democratic centralism differently under different conditions and stages of development of the struggle, can be solved only in relation to the concrete situation, in the course of the tests and experience through which the movement passes, and on the basis of the most fruitful and healthy inter-relationship of the leading bodies of the party and its rank and file.

The leadership of the party must be under the control of the membership, its policies must always be open to criticism, discussion and rectification by the rank and file within properly established forms and limits, and the leading bodies themselves subject to formal recall or alteration. The membership of the party has the right to demand and expect the greatest responsibility from the leaders, precisely because of the position they occupy in the movement. The selection of comrades to the positions of leadership means the conferring of an extraordinary responsibility. The warrant for this position must be proved, not once, but continuously by the leadership itself.

Responsibilities of Leadership

It is under obligation to set the highest example of responsibility, devotion, sacrifice and complete identification with the party itself and its daily life and action. It must display the ability to defend its policies before the membership of the party, and to defend the line of the party and the party as a whole before the working class in general. Sustained party activity, not broken or disrupted by abrupt and disorienting changes, presupposes not only a continuity of tradition and a systematic development of party policy, but also the continuity of leadership. It is an important sign of a serious and firmly constituted party, of a party really engaged in productive work in the class struggle, that it throws up, out of its ranks, cadres of more cr less able leading comrades, tested for their qualities of endurance and trustworthiness, and that it thus insures a certain stability and continuity of leadership by such a cadre.

Continuity of leadership does not, however, signify the automatic self-perpetuation of leadership. Constant renewal of its ranks by means of additions and, when necessary, replacements, is the only assurance that the party has, that its leadership will not succumb to the effects of dry-rot, that it will not be burdened with deadwood, that it will avoid the corrosion of conservatism and dilettantism, that it will not be the object of conflict basic cadre will be refreshed by new blood, that the leadership as a whole will not become purely bureaucratic "committee men" with a life that is remote from the real life of the party and the activities of the rank and file. Like leadership, membership itself in the party implies certain definite rights.

Party membership confers the fullest freedom of discussion, debate, and criticism inside the ranks of the party, limited only by such decisions and provisions as are made by the party itself or by bodies to which it assigns this function. Affiliation to the party confers upon each member the right of being democratically represented at all policy-making assemblies of the party (from branch to national and international convention), and the right of the final and decisive vote in determining the program, policies and leadership of the party.

Responsibilities of Membership

With party rights, the membership has also certain definite obligations. The theoretical and political character of the party is determined by its program, which forms the lines delimiting the revolutionary party from all other parties, groups, and tendencies in the working class. The first obligation of party membership is loyal acceptance of the program of the party and regular affiliation to one of the basic units of the party. The party requires of every member the acceptance of its discipline and the carrying on of his activity in accordance with the program of the party, with the decisions adopted by its conventions, and with the policies formulated and directed by the party leadership. Party membership implies the obligation of one hundred percent loyalty to the organization, the rejection of all agents of other, hostile groups in its ranks, and intolerance of divided loyalties in general. Membership in the party necessitates a minimum of activity in the organization, as established by the proper unit, and under the direction of the party; it necessitates the fulfilment of all the tasks which the party assigns to each member. Party membership implies the obligation upon every member to contribute materially to the support of the organization in accordance with his means.

From the foregoing it follows that the party seeks to include in its ranks all the revolutionary, class conscious and militant workers who stand on its program and are active in building the movement in a disciplined manner. The revolutionary Marxian party rejects not only the arbitrariness and bureaucratism of the C.P., but also the spurious and deceptive "all-inclusiveness" of the Thomas-Tyler-Hoan party, which is a sham and a fraud. Experience has proved conclusively that this "allinclusiveness" paralyzes the party in general and the revolutionary left wing in particular, suppressing and bureaucratically hounding the latter while giving free rein to the right wing to commit the greatest crimes in the name of socialism and the party. The S.W.P. seeks to be inclusive only in this sense: that it accepts into its ranks those who accept its program and rejects from membership those who reject its program:

Inner Party Discussion

The rights of each individual member, as set forth above, do not imply that the membership, as a whole, namely, the party itself, does not possess rights of its own. The party as a whole has the right to demand that its work be not disrupted and disorganized, and has the right to take all the measures which it finds necessary to assure its regular and normal functioning. The rights of any individual member are distinctly secondary to the rights of the party membership as a whole. Party democracy means not only the most scrupulous protection of the rule of the majority. The party is therefore entitled to organize the discussion and to determine its forms and limits.

All inner-party discussion must be organized from the point of view that the party is not a discussion club, which debates interminably on any and all questions at any and all times, without arriving at a binding decision that enables the organization to act, but from the point of view that we are a disciplined party of revolutionary action. The party in general not only has the right, therefore, to organize the discussion in accordance with the requirements of the situation, but the lower units of the party must be given the right, in the interests of the struggle against the disruption and disorganization of the party's work, to call irresponsible elements to order and, if need be, to eject them from the ranks.

The decisions of the national party convention are binding on all party members without exception and they conclude the discussion on all those disputed questions upon which a decision has been taken. Any party member violating the decisions of the convention, or attempting to revive discussion in regard to them without formal authorization of the party, puts himself thereby in opposition to the party and forfeits his right to membership. All party organizations are authorized and instructed to take any measures necessary to enforce this rule.

San Pedro Longshoremen Fight To Keep Hiring Hall

the support of most of the mari- were read from a number of time unions on the Pacific Coast, unions, including one by V. J. San Pedro longshoremen are Malone, recently elected officer Eveleth, Minn. threatening a stoppage of work of the Marine Firemen's union. if a receiver recently appointed voicing solidarity with the long-(For further details on the by Judge Reubin Schmidt of the shoremen. Los Angeles Superior Court is ordered to take control of the union hiring hall.

members of the International sued a leaflet declaring: Longshoremen Association 38cisco, condemning the Stalinists 82 Inc. (A. F. of L.), who are ly passed motion, the Sailor's for attempted frame-up tactics. endeavoring to prevent the major- Union last night declared their Howard, John Dos Passos, James (5) The Communist Party ity of members of the union from support of bona-fide San Pedro T. Farrell, Rose Wilder Lane, and the "Lovestoneites" in the shoremen and Warehousemen's Union (C.I.O.), Judge Schmidt your hiring hall as the majority and James Rorty. These are only some of the rendered a decision appointing a of you see fit, regardless of (1) The attempt of the Daily more outstanding incidents. I, for receiver to take control of the whether you choose the A.F. of ance active in the defense include Worker to smear Minneapolis one, am in favor of Broun's sug- incorporated union and its hiring L., C.I.O., or independence. We Prof. Paul H. Douglas of Chi The older members of the trade unionists of Local 544 by gestion that a neutral group of hall and enjoining the officers do not make a fetish of name,

Protest Meeting Held

SAN PEDRO, Cal.-Securing | Telegrams and communications

S. U. P. Backs Dockers

In an action brought by a few Sailor's Union of the Pacific is-"Longshoremen! By unanimous-

port fully your right to conduct | Helen Woodward, Ludwig Lore is to be imposed from outside and against the wishes of the rank-and-file, your interest will Upon announcement of this de- not be served. The Sailor's Union

Solidarity Stressed

court receiver, to rule their job arity. Our rantful fut us depends ancy among longs notemen can right fut with strike.

Beal Defense Wins Strong Supporters

(Continued from page 1)

Wash., and John T. Bernard o Among the outstanding writers

now in the defense group are Ferdinand Lundberg, author of America's Sixty Families"; Edmund Wilson, one of the leading The San Pedro Local of the literary critics; Hendrik Willem Van Loon, author of "The Arts" John Chamberlain, author and critic; Eugene Lyons, author of "Assignment in Utopia"; Sidney joining the International Long-longshoremen. We intend to sup-M. R. Werner, Lincoln Colcord,

Educators of national import

In this critical situation the tempting to turn about face and adopt a "militant" policy. It must be made clear that for them the stake is not the issue of workcision, the Longshoremen called of the Pacific not only stands by ers' control of their unions, but the I.L.W.U. The whole Stalin ist line in the past period of creating a lock-out scare every time the longshoremen had to act in support of workers in other removed as teachers, and in rethe crying need of the organizaing the Western Worker and the tions of those Stalinists in the declared that rather than subagainst the common enemy in a victory against the courts and
Communist Party for libelous asC.I.O. whose first loyalty is to mit to a decision permitting a many battles. Our bettered conthe shipowners, militant action is

cago University; Alvin Johnson, head of the New School for Social Research; Sidney Hook of New York University; and Paul Brissenden of Columbia Univer-

Among other members of the Non-Partisan Committee for the Defense of Fred E. Beal are Alfred M. Bingham, Marion P. Burroughs, Abraham Cahan, V. F. Calverton, Richard T. Cox, Zara DuPont, Abraham Epstein, Morris Feinstone, Bejamin Gitlow, Rubin Guskin, Elizabeth Gilman, Jed Harris, Hazel Hawthorne, John Herling, Frank M. Hill, Jacob Hillquit, Gail Hillson, John Haynes Holmes, Harry W. Laidler, Lucy Robbins Lang, Suzanne LaFollette, Pierre Loving, Bertha M. Mailly, Charles Malamuth, A. J. Muste, Liston Oak, Meyer Schapiro, Anna Shapiro, Samuel Shore, Clara G. Stillman, Benjamin Stollberg, Norman Thomas, Carlo Tresca, Harry Weinberger and others.

ANNOUNCEMENTS

Insertions in this column are 25 cents for five lines. Copy must be in at the APPEAL office before six o'clock Monday evening.

POLISH WORKERS CLUB dance and entertainment at their new headquerters, 78 St. Marks Pl., Saturday, Feb. 26, 8:30 P. M., 25 cents.

WILLIAMSBURG SOCIAL, at the new headquarters, 158 Lewis Avenue, Brooklyn, Famous Red Dancers and Refreshments, Sat. February 26.

WANT ADS

ROOM WANTED, Young man would like to share rooth atternate to share rooth atternate to share rooth atternate to the share of The Swildler APPEAL.

Fresh Light Is Cast On Poyntz Case

Tresca Links Mystery Of Missing Woman To Rubens Affair

By JUNIUS

The week's developments in the widening expose of the activities in this country of Stalin's G.P.U .- an expose set in motion by the Robinson-Rubens arrests in Moscow last December-threw new light on Stalin st connections with the mysterious A. A. Rubens and heightened the significance of the charge made by Carlo Tresca, anti-fascist leader, that the mysterious disappearance of Juliet Stuart Poyntz, once a prominent Communist Party leader, is linked with the Rubens case.

Tresca, summoned before a Federal Grand Jury in New York, is reported to have given the names of more than fifteen witnesses who could support his charge that Miss Poyntz was "lured or kidnapped" to the Soviet Union by the G.P.U. "because she knew too much" about the G.P.U's activities, including the mysterious Rubens affair.

Daily Finds It Too Hot

The Stalinist Daily Worker continued to curse Tresca, but has not dared to refer to its erstwhile outstanding woman leader otherwise than by cautiously describing her as "an American woman"—as if she had never been for years on end a comrade and close confidante of Earl Browder and company in the Central Committee of the Communist Party!

On Feb. 22, Hearst's New cials as saying that Rubens "was healthy. On Rubens and a man calling himself "Mr. Weston," who posed as an under-secretary of state and was taken into custody last week after he had applied for 25 passport application blanks, "has been proved.

stood to have established the ex- in permanent crisis and the Labor Administrator, has istence of friendly connections between Mrs. A. A. Rubens, who but still untested element in a packed with employers and mi- and restrictions may well be susis being held incommunicado in situation that can be completely litary men. This council is to a Stalin prison cell in Moscow, transformed overnight should the solve the problem of how to enand Christian Rudewitz of Wis- French workers take the path of sure that there are no strikes to whose naturalization papers Rubens (her supposed husband) was earlier said to

about Stalin's plot to stir up a reactionary, war-inspiring spy scare in the United States. The department's behavior, it is learned, may shortly become a subject for discussion on the floor of Congress.

VANGUARD GROUP FORUM Public Lecture JAMES RORTY well-known author SUBJECT: What Price Machiavellianism? A discussion of the policies of Stalinist-liberal journalism Sunday, Feb. 27, at 8.30 p. m. Vanguard Hall, 22 W. 17th St., New York City

Admission: 15 cents.

Where Is She?



JULIET POYNTZ

Britain Seeking Four-Power Pact Against U.S.S.R

Deal With Mussolini and Hitler Aims To Isolate Soviet Union

(Continued from page 1)

he spoke of a "final settlement among these powers and pleaded for "an understanding of one another's aims and objects." The peace" which Chamberlain seeks will confine itself, he hopes, to Western Europe alone. To get this he will offer Hitler Eastern Europe, to pluck there what he

Eden resigned not because he opposed this course but because ne thinks Chamberlain is proceeding with too much haste and activities so as to insure that York Journal and American too little finesse, and fears he the purposes, views, and progress quoted State Department offi- will concede more than is of the government in prosecution in reality an O.G.P.U. agent," Eden assured the Commons, there quately presented to the people France Will Follow

France, unable to pursue an extent in behalf thereof. Investigators are also under- taken for certain, for France is them. The head of it, the War nation or the workers. In a narevolution.

Their reaction will be condi-The State Department conti- of its "democratic" friends in those of non-union men, and nues to maintain silence, despite London and Paris, who bought where and how women and childincreasing demands that it open it cheap from Moscow. Whether the Robinson-Rubens-G.P.U. dos- the still-vital forces of the Spansier and reveal the full facts ish proletariat will permit themselves to be crushed as the victims of Chamberlain's "final settlement" is another imponderable that remains to be weighed in the scale of events.

Washington, concerned first of all with mobilizing this hemisphere-talk of a "Pan-American mutual assistance pact" started to circulate this week as six great "flying fortresses" made a spectacular flight to Buenos Aires-can afford to look on warily at the developments in Europe. American imperialism is preparing itself to be not only the chief participant in the coming war, but also the arbiter.

Virtual Fascist Regime For Labor

War Mobilization Plans Provide

BY DAVE COWLES

The danger of imperialist war now confronts American workers. It is they who are to fight. It is they who are to die. They must know what war means to them and what they mean to do about war when it breaks out.

War will involve millions of workers at the front, bringing with it the wholesale destruction of workers' lives. However, there are some, unemployed and old people, who think that war will mean jobs and high wages for them in the rear.

They are fooling themselves and deluding others.

What war will mean at home has already been decided by the War Department in its Industrial Mobilization Plan. This plan has been developed since 1921; it was discovered accidentally by a Senate Committee investigating munitions. After seeing the plan, the committee announced that the price of a war may be actual operating dictatorship, under military control, in this country.'

To Conscript Labor

The purpose of the plan is to conscript industry and labor for war purposes. Actually, it would establish a military-fascist dictatorship in the United States. The plan calls for the establishment of an Army and Navy Munitions Board, made up of military men and assistant secretaries of war and the navy. The board will have power to promote "orderly mobilization of industry" for war, and there is specific provision that "approval of action taken by the Munitions Board is not required.

In short, the board has supreme power over the life of the country. This includes complete control of the press, since another provision gives it power "to co-ordinate and direct the national publicity "fundamentals," of the war are properly and adeand that a connection between was and still is complete accord. and that the aid of public opinion is enlisted to the fullest possible

independent policy, will have to In the plan for a militaryorient itself now on the new fascist dictatorship there are course Britain has charted. That plenty of provisions for workers this will not take place without at the rear. A War Labor Adnew internal convulsions may be ministration is set up to handle working class remains a gigantic Council to advise him which is stop war production. It will also figure out wages, hours, and contioned in part by what happens ditions of work, how to make the in Spain, now the helpless pawn wages of union men the same as ren should be put to work

nate committee remarked that more, agencies "may be estab-"the attitude of military men lished for the purpose of recruitmay be hostile to strikes even ing women.... for duty with the in peace." Those workers who armed forces. have got tear gas instead of wage increases from employers, and martial law from the National Guard called out to break a strike in time of peace, can picture what will happen to wages and conditions in time of war.

Lynn Workers Protest Hill-Sheppard Bill

LYNN, Mass.—By unanimous vote, the 245 members of the United Restaurant, Beverage, and Allied Food Workers, L. I. Union No. 701, adopted a resolution opposing the Hill-Sheppard Bill (H.R. 6704,) which provides for industrial mobilization for the coming war. The text of the resolution, as follows, was forwarded to Massachusetts Senators David L. Walsh and H. C. Lodge, Jr., Congressman Lawrence J. Connery, 7th Congressional District, and the House Military Affairs

"Whereas, Bill H.R. 6704 pretends merely to regulate production and prevent war profiteering, but is in essence an attempt to subject American labor to a fascist regime in the event of

"Whereas, The fascist nature of this bill is revealed by the extraordinary powers it gives the president to fix wages and other conditions of employment and by the penalties, provided for in this bill, of \$1,000, or a year's imprisonment, or both, imposed on anyone who attempts to change conditions otherwise than is provided in the bill, so that in effect the right to strike and other collective action of mutual aid and protection by the American workers is prohibited: and

"Whereas, Bill H.R. 6704 is supported by those militarist and reactionary interests which have sought in the past to introduce measures expressly providing for drafted labor during a war, and when said measures were defeated are now attempting by means of Bill H.R. 6704, which in substance would provide for drafted labor, to legalize their reactionary intent; now, there-

"Resolved, that we record our absolute opposition to H.R. 6704 as a menace to organized labor, and that we throw our full weight into the effort to defeat this reactionary and militarist Hill-Sheppard Bill H.R. 6704."

worker." Those between eighteen labor would be intolerable." and forty-five years of age are, of course, conscripted. Children under sixteen may be exploited ditions will be dealt with quickly whenever the Administration either by martial law or by terthinks it necessarv.

Women and Children Too

Women are also included: "The tatutes of the various states prescribe certain restrictions in the hours and conditions of employment of women and minors in industry. Other restrictions are brought about through regulations issued by various authorized Federal and State agencies, by agreements with trade unions, and in other ways. Many of these regulations and restrictions are expedient rather than necessary to the well-being of either the tional emergency... the operapended.

To complete the picture of exreme exploitation and oppression that will be carried on in the country, the plan provides for a Legal Council which is to brush asidé the sham of reform and capitalist legality by recommendin part of such restrictions" on the exploitation of women and children as the state laws and About these provisions; the Se- union contracts provide. Further-

Wages Attacked

The effects of war on the living standards of the workers at home will be disastrous. The cost of living will skyrocket, but the workers will not be able to Workers who are dissatisfied get higher wages. The same Sewith wages and conditions will nate committee reported that "a not be able to strike. They will determined effort to keep wages not be able to move to another down is possible in the next war. city or plant to get a better pay- | For instance, Bernard Baruch ing job. They will be bound like speaking for financial interests, serfs to the jobs that they have. | "has specifically recommended Under the plan, it is the duty of the fixing of all wages." The job

the War Labor Administrator, of fixing wages would be in the "in cooperation with industry"... hands of a commission made up to determine labor require- mainly of representatives of big ments." Also, it is his job "to business. It is this situation that keep together, so far as condi- compels the senate committee to tions will permit, the job and the conclude that "the position of

Any labor leaders who fight against these "intolerable" conmination of exemption from military service. The plan provides that he "who.... shall fail or neglect fully to perform any duty required of him. . shall be tried by martial law." Any worker who refuses to act as a strike-breaker when so ordered will be tried for treason.

The plan also provides for postponing active army service for a worker who is needed at his This is called deferment. However, the Senate committee points out that "the Government authorities could break any strike simply by cancelling the deferments of the strike leaders and as many of their men as necessary and drafting them into the army." In short, fighting for decent wages and living conditions will be punished either by death at "home" or death at the

May Be Extended

The military dictatorship which will not disappear at the end of it will "remain in full force and effect for the duration of such war and thereafter until Congress shall declare the emergency created by such war to be at an end." The dictatorship, by not permitting Congress to meet, or packing Congress so that it does not "declare the emergency creat ed by such war to be at an end,

can continue in power.

The Communist Party has taken its stand on war and fascism. It backs Roosevelt's war plans. Whatever doubts may have remained should have been dispel led when Earl Browder wrote in the New Republic: "In our

sident's policy leads to war and the naval appropriations? war to fascism.

Opposition to war and fascism, sincerely meant and carried into action, means a fight against capitalism in its peace-time war preparations. Opposition to war, vernment is conscripting all into the armed forces, means nothing mission which found Trotsky and if it consists of words alone. Op-Sedoff both innocent of the position must take specific action. charges levelled against them by We must use the weapons, not against the workers of other countries but against "our own' government, which has flung us

dungeons. In her absence, Zinaida him! He's poison! and her son, Vsevelod, were deprived of their citizenship and refused permission to return to Russia.

She went to Berlin, continuing her efforts to return to Russia, but in vain. At the end of 1932, the German government ordered her expelled. Ill, with nowhere to turn, and seared by the calumnies heaped upon her father, Zinaida on January 5, 1933, com-

Sergei, the younger son, was arrested by Stalin in 1934 to-

behind in Russia when he went to Prinkipo. Their fate has never been learned.

The only survivor is Vsevelod, a great part of the voluminous Alexandra Lvovna, the child, and the 12-year old son of Zinaida, scription provisions, which re- Leon Trotsky. evidence, the facts and deposi- Zinaida's husband, is unknown who has been under Leon's care main incomorated, although distions which played so great a All have disappear chin to Sittlinis in Brain, where he still remain pauseuit general terms.

Detroit Scene Of Jingo Orgy By Stalinists

Panay Bombing Pictures Shown At Convention "Discussion"

DETROIT .- "The Communist Party Annual Convention (in Wards 2, 4, 6, 8) invites you to its pre-convention discussions which are open to the public... The pre-convention discussions will be on: (1.) For the right to work, for a decent American standard of living.... (2) How to prevent war-why we must fight for economic sanctions and collective security.... Additional feature will be the showing of the famous movie 'Sinking of the Panay'.... Admission free... You are welcome." (C.P. leaf-

So a couple of benighted Trotskyites" ambled up in search of enlightenment, thinking they might participate in the ' pre - convention discussion. Some 100-150 of the faithful had gathered.

Audience Yawns

One William Allen was haranguing them on details of the Economic Royalists' plot to emparrass "Our President" and how "decent American standard of living" could be had under the shoulder to shoulder with F. D. R. "People of Wards 2, 4, 6, 8 go forth and do your duty." The. exhilarated audience vawned a few times and the lights went out for a little Stalinist culture-The Sinking of the Panay."

The good ship "Panay" was depicted on an "errand of mercy when along came the horrible Jap and sent it to Davey Jones' locker. True, the film did not show the actual bombing. What of it? Any good Stalinist can supply the details. But it did "Old Glory" fluttering proudly in the breeze-three or four times. And each time, the patriotic claque vigorously applauded. Somehow, the applause did not spread, and even the claque became less enthusiastic. Soon it was over. Instead of the Stalinists marching out in serried ranks to join the Marines, they yawned again.

Feature Mickey Mouse

In a minute, the apathy was gone. Applause rang out, and exclamations of delight filled the hall. The next item on the preconvention discussion was to be a showing of "Mickey Mouse!"

The speaker following "Mickey Mouse" was to have been Willie will take power during the war Weinstone. But he was ill (well ie might be!) so a Mary Himoff batted for him. The usual blahblah about "collective security, only done up in the most approv ed kindergarten manner.

Then came the "discussion"! "Is the Communist Party for in their own locals. or against Roosevelt's billiondollar navy budget?" asks a

"No," lies the speaker, shout ing, "and besides turn around and get a good look at him. He is an enemy of the people and a disrupter of the peace move-

Sauce For the Goose

"But," asks another, "If the country the task is to organize French C.P. voted for the militeffective support behind the ary budget, what's wrong with President's policy." But the Pre- the American C.P. supporting "It's a lie," shouts the speak-

at another enemy of the people... why not have a big navy to back

Y.M.C.A. manner, "You don't inderstand, comrade....

Secret Meetings

SOVIET UNION NOTES

French Newspaper Investigates Activities of G.P.U. Murder Agents—Tells Of Schemes To Encompass Death Of Ignace Reiss By JOHN G. WRIGHT

The French press has reflected the great indignation and resentment that has been aroused by the action of the French judicial authorities in allowing a G.P.U. agent, implicated in the murder of Ignace Reiss, to escape. The newspaper le Jour undertook an independent investigation into the case, and on February 2 appeared with the following headlines:

SPIEGELGLASS, HEAD OF G.P.U. ORDERED REISS' MURDER IN PARIS.

FOR THE FIRST TIME SOVIET AGENTS HAVE OVER-STEPPED THEIR CUSTOMARY CAUTION.

After recounting the details surrounding the murder of Reiss, le Jour charges that Spiegelglass had been sent to Paris on a special mission to effect a "purge" among the secret agents there. When the Grosovsky couple, to whom Reiss had entrusted his letter to the Kremlin, which was to be forwarded with the diplomatic mail, handed over the letter to Spiegelglass, the latter immediately ordered the assassination of Reiss.

Murder Operatives Summoned

Two G.P.U. agents were summoned. We cite from the article: "One of these Russian agents was resident in Paris, the other, according to our information, was merely passing through. But it so happened that these two men chosen for the task found different excuses for evading it. One pleaded an urgent mission, the second found some other excuse. But one of these two agents, the non-resident in Paris, was amicably inclined toward Reiss. He wished to warn him of the terrible danger that threatened. Tell it to Reiss personally? That would compromise him beyond repair. He hit upon an ingerious method to do so without revealing his identity. He phoned Reiss, who was in a cafe, and said: 'This is X speaking....' Then he hung up. He repeated this procedure three times.'

According to the further account, Reiss, who was an experienced man, immediately gathered what was up, and on the next day departed for Holland, where he visited a friend, leaving with him a copy of his famous letter. Then he departed for Switzerland-where he was murdered. According to le Jour. the G.P.U. agent who left for Russia has not been heard of since. The other agent received instructions to come to Moscow immediately, and had even bought his ticket, but at the last moment decided not to go. He remains in Paris under the protection of the French

Makes Complaint Of Double - Cross

As for Grosovskaya, the article implies that she might not have left France voluntarily. Le Jour reports a conversation she is alleged to have had with Soviet diplomats in which she complained that they had not kept their promise to her-not to have her involved in the case. They reassured her. She is also reported to have been considerably disturbed over the fact that she had received no word from her husband, who had fled to Moscow several weeks before.

The editors of the Russian Bulletin (No. 62-63) cite the following facts relating to the activities of one Beletsky, G.P.U. agent masquerading as Soviet trade representative in Paris: It was Beletsky who issued instructions to Gertrude Schildach, one of Reiss's assassins. Not trusting her fully, he had her shadowed. He not only instructed Schildach to take an appartment with Rossi, the actual killer, in a hotel, but visited them there a few days prior to the assassination. It was he who gave Schildach and Rossi a box of poisoned candy intended for Reiss, his wife and child. The editors further declare that there are any number of witnesses available to testify concerning Beletsky's activity. For example, a German emigre F., a woman, broke with Beletsky and Co. after the murder of Reiss. Beletsky came to her rooms and threatened that unless she immediately left for Moscow she would suffer the same fate as Reiss.

Appeal Drive On

The drive is on. Comrades are have spontaneously started drives | following books: Carmen Mikosz of Toledo,

Ohio, writes in and says, "Cheers for the Appeal! Each succeeding sky. issue has more and more keenly expressed and reflected the progress of the class-struggle of the American worker.... We are planning a drive for subs. Please send us some Appeal blanks... (We know you'll use the blanks, comrade Mikosz-you have used

a lot of them in the past.)

Akron can do much better.)

The APPEAL Drive

Edward Dean of Berkeley, Cali-

fornia says, "We are glad to see

that the Appeal is becoming a

newspaper." (How about doub-

ling your bundle order again,

Prizes are being offered to

comrades obtaining the greatest

month in the course of the Drive,

1st Prize-a choice of one of

1. Lundeberg's Sixty Fa-

comrade Dean?)

the following books:

milies.

R. Alames).

Akron Spurts Forward And Akron comes through with letter from Charles Martell: bundle order to 40. We have re-

er, "and besides get a good look cently been having much better subs (and decreases, if ther's "If it's O.K. to support the heretofore. This is partly due quarantine-the-aggressor policy, to the improvement of the Appeal and partly due to more intense once the war is on and the go- it up?" queries a puzzled work- activity on our part. We hope continually to increase our order The speaker purrs in the best right up to.... Der Tag." (Good

The pre-convention is over.

Karl Shier of Chicago thanks A worker approaches one of us for the build-up we gave him the Trotskyites and asks him a a couple of weeks ago but says question, when a loud shriek he doesn't deserve it. He says pierces the hall, "Stay away from that when Chicago does organize a sub drive twice as many subs will be flowing into the Appeal

Hear War Plans

(Continued from page 1)

course, the American Legion. The Legion, the Appeal's sources of information disclose, by agreement with the authorities was to number of Appeal subs each oppose the war referendum proiect and back the Sheppard-Hill which opens officially on Mongether with his wife. Their fate industrial mobilization and labor day, February 21: conscription bill.

> Representative May, who is in charge of this legislation, has categorically denied that the bill has been shorn of its labor con-

2nd Prize (to the comrade get already taking advantage of the ting the second highest number improvement in the Appeal and of subs) a choice of one of the

> 1. Modern Library Edition of the 1st volume of Capital. 2. The Case of Leon Trol-

3. Stalin School of Falsile ation (Leon Trotsky). 4. Russia—Twenty Years

After (Victor Serge). 5. The Third International After Lenin (Leon Trotsky). In case of a tie, the prizes will

be awarded to both contestants. Figures to be Given

From this week until the encl of the drive, figures will be pub. lished as to the standing of locals Please increase Akron's throughout the country. In créases in bundle orders and sales at union meetings, etc. than are any) will be made known to everyone.

At the moment, Chicago has shown the most activity—but has possibilities of going much 111 ther and admits it.

How about California? Go afwork, comrade Martell, but ter those Labor Action subscrib-

Minneapolis pays but it should be a small job to double the Ap peal bundle order at once.

Here in New York, Abe Miller, who has taken over the willow literature set-up, promises that the Appeal bundle will be increased by hundreds in the near future.

John Boulds in Plenty Wood Montana, told us a few weeks ago that he was snowed in-put sent in a couple of subs anywith. Don't let anyone tell you that the Appeal doesn't have a circuit ion among the farmers.

Six Pages Needed

We hope that we'll be able to say something about Philadelphila next week. Comrade Sol Thomas has had many difficulties to comtend with, but we are expectives some action from him in the ne ar future.

2. History of the Russian We need a six-page paper to Revolution (3 volumes in 1)-by make more room for a full report. Push this drive and mal 3. World Revolution (C. L. it possible to enlarge the Appreal by the time he drive is own.

Memorial Meeting IN HONOR OF Leon Sedoff

devoted fighter in the cause of the international working class who died in Paris, Feb. 16, 1938.

SPEAKERS:

Max Shachtman Editor, Socialist Appeal

Maurice Spector
Editorial Board, New International

Ernest Erber National Chairman, Young People's Socialist League

SUNDAY EVENING, FEB. 27, at 8 P. M.

MANHATTAN PLAZA, 66 E. 4th Street

New York City Auspices, Socialist Warkers Party, Local New York

Sedoff Dies in Paris After Sudden Illness

Stalin's court.

(Continued from page 1)

following August came the Moscow trials and Trotsky's internment in Norway. The task of organizing the defense, of gathered, fell in those first months bearer of Marx and of Lenin has upon the shoulders of Leon Sedoff, who was also named as one those whom his children have of the defendants in the Moscow

Through articles and statenents in the bourgeois press and most of all through his refight which his father, interned, have saved her life. was powerless for the moment

ing all the essential material of their last child, unless Sergei from all corners of Europe, of Trotsky is still alive somewhere challenging the accusers and in a G.P.U. dungeon. The making them take the stand be- savage vendetta with which Stafore world opinion as the accus- lin has pursued the standard

extended unto his children and

His Daughters Nina, his younger daughter, died in Russia in 1928 shortly markable work, Le Livre Rouge, after Trotsky was exiled. She a shattering exposure of the was denied by Stalin the medical frame-ups, Sedoff carried on the attention and care that might

Zinaida, his elder daughter, received special permission in After Trotsky went to Mexico January, 1931, to visit Trotsky at and the movement for an inter- Prinkipo. She left behind a national inquiry took concrete daughter by an earlier marriage form with the creation of the in the care of her mother, Trot-Dewey Commission, Sedoff, still sky's first wife, Alexandra Lyovin Paris, gathered and collated na Bronstein. The fate of both

The death of Leon Sedoff deprives Leon and Natalia Trotsky

mitted suicide.

is still unknown. Leon's wife and son were left

SOCIALIST APPEAL

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> MAX SHACHTMAN Editor.

HAROLD ROBERTS FRANK GRAVES Associate Editors. BOB BROWNE Business Manager.

LEON SEDOFF

We lower our banner over the open grave of Leon Sedoff, stainless soldier in the war for the liberation of the disinherited.

To his grief-stricken parents Leon Trotsky and Natalia Ivanovna Sedoff, whose daughters Nina and Zinaida were hounded to death several years ago by the same unspeakable monsters in the Kremlin who have buried the fourth of their children, Sergei Sedoff, in a prison or a grave—we send a deeply-felt message of condolence, and of continued solidarity from comrades-in-arms who are more determined than ever to remain with them at the front lines of the struggle for which Leon Sedoff gave his

Leon Sedoff was of the younger generation of Russian Bolsheviks who resisted the corrosive effects of Stalinist corruption and disintegration. At the first sign of bureaucratic decay of the Workers' State and the Third International, he joined hands with the older generation of Incorruptibles in the historic fight for revolutionary internationalism. For fifteen of his thirty-two years, he stood steadfastly in the ranks of the Bolshevik-Leninists, taking a leading part in the unremitting campaign they conducted, active in one country after another, finally becoming one of the founders and leaders of the Fourth International.

Selflessness, infinite devotion to the cause, single-minded attention to the struggle, unshakable firmness in principle, boundless courage—these were the characteristics of Leon Sedoff, faultless model of a proletarian revolutionist.

The new generation of revolutionists who pick up his banner will march forward inspired by his unforgettable ex-

The victory of the working class will avenge his untimely death!

Stalin's Letter

The much-publicized letter of Joseph Stalin to the Young Communist League member, Ivan P. Ivanov, has given rise to a good deal of speculation about a new leftward swing of the Stalinist machine. Superficial observers, especially those who have not read the letter, even see in it an abandonment of the hitherto canonized doctrine of "socialism in one country". Among the capitalist press, the New York Post, for example, which the gullible Daily Worker had hitherto praised as a liberal associate in the Popular Front crusade for "Peace and Democracy," interprets the letter in a sense revealed by the sensational headline of its front-page editorial: "Stalin Takes Off the Mask"—that is Stalin always was and still is in favor of international revolution, and current communist utterances in favor of peace and democracy have been calculated only as a cover for incendiary internationalism.

The truth of the matter is that, however significant the debated letter, it represents no alteration whatsoever in the fundamental nationalist policy of Stalin. As the letter itself indicates, Stalin argued a dozen years ago in favor of the following two propositions: (1) a classless socialist society could be established within the confines of one country alone and by the efforts of the people of that country alone, regardless of the course or fate of the working class movement, or the revolution, in the rest of the world; but that (2) the "final victory" of this socialism, that is, guaranteeing it against foreign military intervention, required the victory of the workers "in at least several countries.'

In both these propositions, reiterated in the latest encyclical, is contained a radical break with the theory of revolutionary Marxism, of proletarian internationalism. If anything, Stålin now goes a step further by discarding his 1926 formula of "the victory of the workers in at least several countries"-which at least implied the proletarian revolution in the capitalist countries—and replacing it with the intentionally vague, meaningless formula according to which the 'final victory" requires the "serious assistance of the working class in capitalist countries" (Daily Worker, Feb. 17, 1938). It is no longer the overthrow of

capitalism abroad which the defense of the Soviet Union calls for from the workers, but their "serious" aid, or as he puts it elsewhere in the letter, "the political assistance of the working class in the bourgeois countries.'

It is the old anti-Marxian dogma of Stalin, for it not only repeats the nationalistic formula of a socialist utopia in one country alone, but even emphasizes the conception that the working class abroad is reduced to playing the role, not of revolutionary internationalist adversaries of capitalism, but merely of frontier guards patrolling the borders of the Soviet Union.

No revolutionary "turn" is possible on such a rotten foundation, and Stalin has made none.

Yet, the Stalin letter does represent a revision of the official stand taken in the past—not in 1926, but in 1935. Urozhenko, the local official who removed Ivanov from his post for referring to Stalin's 1926 formula, argued: "Comrade Stalin said this in 1926, but we are now in 1938; at that time we did not have final victory, but now we have it and there is now no need for us to worry at all about intervention and restora-

Whereupon Stalin observes in his reply to Ivanov: "Comrade Urozhenko's assertion can be explained only by his failure to understand the surrounding reality and his ignorance of the elementary propositions of Leninism, or by the empty boastfulness of a conceited young bureaucrat." Bravo! It could not be put more exactly. Only, in this respect, Urozhenko is simply one of the obscure rankand-file followers of the collectivity of august personages, headed by Stalin himself, which, for the past three years, has been teaching him to make the arguments he directed at young Ivanov. For it was no less solemn and responsible a body than Stalin's hand-picked Seventh Congress of the Communist International in 1935 which not only declared that socialism was possible in a single country and that a classless socialist society had already triumphed in the Soviet Union. but decreed that this triumph was already "final and irrevocable." From that moment till the hour of Stalin's letter, the "final and irrevocable victory of socialism" in the Soviet Union was a cardinal article of faith in the Stalinist Church, and woe betide the heretic who questioned it (as Ivanov has testified). Urozhenko, like all other Good Believers, was simply repeating what the Seventh Congress in 1935 told him to repeat. Now, it appears, the formula dictated to the Congress in 1935 by Stalin "can be explained"—in Stalin's own language of 1938—"only by his (Urozhenko's) failure to understand the surrounding reality and his ignorance of the elementary proposition of Leninism, or by the empty boastfulness of a conceited young bur-

Thus, while the Stalin letter does not represent a turn towards revolutionary internationalism—which the Communist International is quite incapable of accomplishing-it does represent a significant abandonment of the "ignorance" and "empty boastfulness" of the Seventh Congress formula.

Why? Why does Stalin, for the first time in years—in three years at the very least-suddenly remind his followers of the existence of such a force as "the working class in the bourgeois countries" and of the Soviet Union's need of the "serious support" of this working class? Why is there not on single syllable devoted to as much as a mention of the famous "peace-loving" countries, of the equally famous "democracies," of the "People's Fronts"— which have been referred to in thousands of official Stalinist documents as the great bulkwark of the Soviet Union, as the effective foe of anti-Soviet interventionist fascism?

There is but one answer, and in it is contained the secret of the Stalin letter: The whole People's Front policy of the Communist International has collapsed like the house of cards it always was! Stalin's course has led not to strengthening the defense of the Soviet Union, but to consolidating world capitalism, to isolating the Soviet Union to a greater extent than has been the case for years, and to enhancing enormously the perils

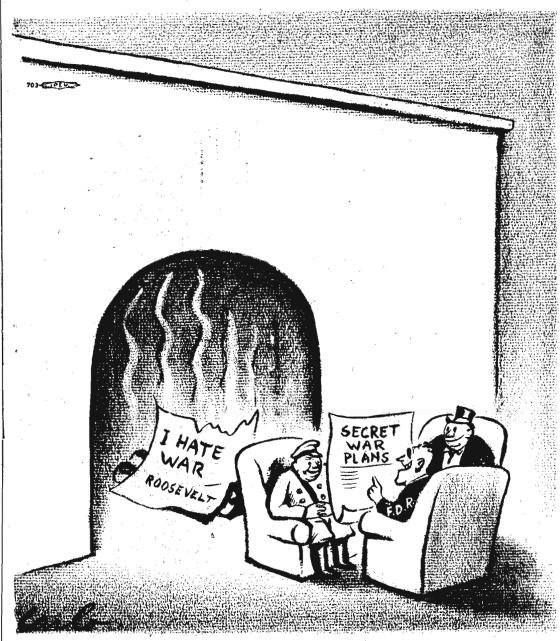
The pipe-dream of a "democratic" capitalist-Soviet bloc against the "warloving" fascist powers, is giving way before the eyes of the world to the rude reality of the movement for a Four-Power Pact of the imperialists from which the Soviet Union will be excluded and by which it will be imminently menaced.

which face the Soviet Union today.

In this international situation, the genuine defenders of the revolutionary conquests represented by the Soviet Union will once more be shown to be not the spurious and flighty "Friends" of the Stalin bureaucracy, but the militant working class of the world, acting independently as a class, and those revolutionary Marxists who have employed socialist science foresightedly and in line with the program of the Fourth Inter-

national. But the new position of the Soviet Union in the changing world political set-up, and its relation to the new "emphasis" in Stalinist policy, deserves and will receive separate treatment in our next issue.

Fireside Chat



Marxism and Collective Security

By JAMES BURNHAM

Browder and Charles A. Beard, it for the war. security' and 'isolation'."

The current hearings on the

Beard and Browder, also, Neither of them makes any menis thereby proved.

TWO POSITIONS FUNDAMENTALLY RELATED licy.'

that the two positions of collect- ONLY TRUTHFUL ANSWER ive security" and of "isolation." n spite of the seeming contradicalike.

the first place, in that neither lusions, or demagogy. analyzes the actual cause of moto the wickedness of individual is not an "accident" or an "exmen, the effect of this or that ceptional event" but an integral oit of diplomacy.

presuppose the continuing exisence of capitalism.

Thirdly, they are alike in that each offers as its solution a pros, each proposes as its answer to the war crisis a set of actions to be performed by an imperial-

ARE PART OF PREPARATION FOR WAR

of the preparation for war.

They act as part of the prepa ration for war in a number of STRUGGLE AGAINST WAR decisive ways. For example, since IS FIGHT FOR SOCIALISM both of them, and their advocates, presuppose support of the imperialist government of the Unit-follows that the struggle against ed States, they aid in building war, the genuine struggle, is up attitudes of loyalty toward simply an aspect of the struggle that government; and thus, when against capitalism and for so-the government goes to war, as cialism. This is the truth of the

ceding the debate between Earl loyalty will keep support behind truth it may seem. If capitalism

write: "No more important sub- of the U.S. government, and of italism. To divorce the struggle ject is before the American imperialism in general, spread against war from the struggle centers of American economy. people today than the question of disastrous illusions among the against capitalism is in reality These workers constitute the organization. The Roosevelt Adforeign policy usually described people, and divert any genuine to give up the struggle against hardest driven and the most exstruggle against imperialist war war, so far as any possible effecby the alternatives of 'collective into a chase after impossible tiveness is concerned. dreams.

fore the House of Representatives against war, serves to give moral their consciences by feeling that unions. The initiation fee is twice perialist conquest. A labor move-Naval Affairs Committee are justification to the war when it they are "working for peace"; that amount. The new unions ment divided into two hostile, similarly being conducted in the comes. This happens partly be- but at the same time they do not were enabled to accomplish their warring sections is a luxury that light of this same alternative: cause, as the last war showed, wish to take the risk of working work and build up the proper or can only be afforded in times collective security" or "isola- the leading spokesmen, known against capitalism. To these ganizational staffs only because of quiet and peace. In the pretion." Every speaker who has approximately as "the leaders of the persons we must say: Deliberatetion." Every speaker who has approximately as "the leaders of the persons we must say: Deliberateof the great number of workers sent volcanic period in American peared before the Committee peared before the Committee open support of the war as soon ing yourselves. Which do you In the very necessity of organized. supports, with whatever personal as it starts. The masses reason: really want—peace or capital-nizing the masses of America, integrated within the machinery law the strength of the C.I.O. of the capitalist state in the event for peace, support the war, then you are unwilling to give up ca- To a certain degree, that very of war. debate, assume that the choice is But these policies themselves war-makers. limited to these two policies. provide moral justification apart from the men who advocate them. tion of any third possibility. Each | The war will be propagandized of them takes for granted that as a lawless breaking of collectif he can refute the position of ive security, or a violation of his opponent, then his own view | neutrality and isolation; and thus the very fight for peace will seem to the masses to demand a war to enforce the "peace po-

This should serve to indicate ANALYSIS OF CAPITALISM

Marxism, therefore, does not tion between them, do in point answer collective security by an of fact share important features appeal for isolation. Marxism, in common. However great the bases its answer to the problem gap between them may appear, of war squarely and bluntly upon they are in fundamental respects a truthful analysis of the nature of war and of capitalism. Any The two positions are alike, in other basis must lead to lies, il-

Marxism points out that so long dern war. Both argue merely on as capitalism endures, wars will the surface, as if war were due come, that war under capitalism law, or the success of some clever part of the very mechanism of capitalism. War is just as much gram. They are alike, secondly, in a part of capitalism as are eco- ANSWER TO WAR proposing a solution for "the nomic crises. You cannot have IS SOCIALIST REVOLUTION problem of war" within the fra capitalism without having pemework of capitalism. Collective Fiodic crises, and you cannot have bring about wars, the inescapable

As a consequence, both of therefore committed to war "as the revolutionary socialists these hese policies, both collective an instrument of national policy" must always be subordinated to security and isolation, are in the by the very fact that it is a ca-the general perspective of the last analysis not programs pitalist government. To ask it to class struggle. against war at all, but are part renounce war is like asking a living man to renounce oxygen.

minating capitalism itself.

From these considerations, it

In their editorial notice pre-|it will, the same attitudes of matter, however unpleasant a necessarily brings about war,

This simple truth is systema-Even more fatal is the fact tically obscured by both the ig- establish low dues and initiation cratic, home grown variety of a naval appropriation measure be- that both of these policies, each norant and the conscious liars. Second fees. One dollar monthly dues People's Front government feverin its own way, impotent to fight So many persons wish to satisfy prevail in all of the C. I. O. ishly preparing for war and imit must be a good war; and, even pitalism, then your pretended strength, has now become a if it is not, we cannot oppose it fight for peace is a fraud, and a weakness. The economic crisis effectively without their help. fraud which alds no one but the has hit first the heavy industries

FEAR OF WORKERS CHECKS WAR MAKERS

of the workers, which by fered a tremendous drop in instrengthening the working class come. The T.W.O.C. and S.W. is implicitly directed against ca- O.C. have reduced their staffs istic means of checking the war original size. The United Autopreparations than all of the pa- mobile Workers of America, largsecurity ever imagined. Fear of unions, has removed every orgawhat the workers may do is the nizer from its payroll. only real hindrance to the way makers. They laugh at, and exploit to their own ends, the propaganda of isolation and collecive security.

In the end, however, the overonly conceivable means for stopping war. Socialism, and it alone, will end war because socialism and it alone will root out the bers out of work and their in- puted leadership of the American causes of war. The program of the socialist revolution, when the The building trades unions—the Many more press statements question is finally and fully under- heart of the A.F. of L. organi- may be flashed across the headstood, is the only anti-war pro- zation-have, in addition, been lines and many more fighting

This does not mean that it is security and isolation equally capitalism without periodically impossible for revolutionary so-presuppose the continuing existing wars. The causes which cialists to unite with others not yet accepting their perspective need for every advanced capital- to further certain specific objectist nation to attempt to expand ives. Both concrete actions, such gram for adoption by the govern- its markets, gain cheaper sources as boycotts and demonstrations. ment of the United States: that of raw materials, find new outlets and even primarily agitational beyond the internal market for measures directed against specapital investment, can none of cific moves of the war-makers them be eliminated without eli- ("Withdraw all U. S. Armed Forces from the Far East," "A-Every capitalist government, gainst the Naval Appropriaabove all every imperialist go- tions," "All War Funds to the vernment-including outstanding- | Unemployed") can legitimately ly the U.S. government — is serve a limited purpose. But for

> To Browder and to Beard, then, as to Roosevelt, the Marxists in the end give one short reply: The answer to war, the only answer, is the socialist revolution.

> > (This is the final article in the series of four by James Burnham on the New Republic debate over collective security between Charles A. Beard and Earl Browder!)

GREEN-LEWIS WAR

Verbal Battle Seen As Jockeying For Position In United Body

By JOHN ADAMSON

United Mine Workers of Ameri- ing program which would ensure ca, every reference to affiliation the return of prosperity. The Adwith the A.F. of L. was strick-ministration is maneuvering the en from the constitution of the A.F. of L. Building Trades Deminers' organization. The Ex- partment into the defensive poecutive Council of the A.F. of L. sition where the Building unions countered by expelling the Mine will be held responsible for the Workers from the Federation, stagnation of building work in The C.I.O. then announced that America. The Administration will it would persuade several A. F. thus be in a position to put an of L. Internationals to affiliate ultimatum to the Building Trades with the C.I.O. body. The Ex- unions to "voluntarily" accept ecutive Council answered with reductions. In addition, all inthe threat that it would launch dustry is poised, waiting breathan organizing campaign among lessly for the signal from any the coal mining, metallurgical one of America's major concerns and flat glass workers. Does this to embark on a general campaign furious exchange signify the end of wage cuts and union busting. of the unity negotiations and the declaration of a new war to the I.O. are entering the new pe-

fratricidal war between the two the local conditions, but the unions in the past two years. launching of a new nation-wide battle between the two unions is practically excluded. Too many factors of major importance mihitate against such a step and, as a matter of fact, are pushing with inexorable force both organizations onto the road of unifi-

Drive Stopped

brought to a halt the great or- jurisdictional war and the battle ganizational drive of the C.I.O. of newspaper statements, and The mass influx of new members preserve the industrial union has stopped for both the C.I.O. and A.F. of L. unions. The industries. strength and progressive character of the C.I.O. over the older and more conservative ween the two warring camps. In unions of the Federation of Labor lay in the fact that the C.I.O. Both policies, moreover, by you obviously cannot get rid of went out and organized the mass the editors of the New Republic hiding the true nature of war, war without getting rid of capproduction workers in steel, automobiles, rubber, textile-the nerve ploited section of American labor. dinary capitalist government, To attract them to unionism, it operating in a normal period of was necessary for the C.I.O. to history. It is rather, a bureau-

> -machinery, steel, automobiles thus felt the full brunt of the present lay-offs in industry. The rifism, isolation and collective est and most powerful of the new

A. F. L. Also Hit

a more favored position, from a bloc of Hillman, Dubinsky and financial point of view, has also Homer Martin within his own not escaped the catastrophic ef- organization that they may shout throw of capitalism itself is the fects of the economic crisis. The as much as they will—he, Lewis, metal trades and several other will not sell until he gets his Internationals already report price. As a matter of fact, his more than a third of their mem- price is rather high—the undiscomes reduced proportionately. trade union movement. singled out by the Roosevelt ad- words spoken. But that is only ministration, as the scapegoat, in the jockeying for position, the the drive to reduce wages. A attempt to win hegemony within campaign is in progress to prove the united organization. In the to the nation that the high labor end the boys will be forced to costs in the building trades are get together.

At the recent convention of the holding back the national build-Both the A.F. of L. and C.

riod with reduced incomes and No, the battle of words bet- with their own hands full, trying ween the C.I.O. and the A.F. to hold together their union of L, will probably never to memberships and preserve the translated into action. A new present conditions in their own industries. Far from spending organizations is extremely un-huge treasuries on jurisdictionlikely. Here and there, in this al raids, both unions fear a conor that particular locality, the certed drive on the part of the present conflict may be mitigat- open shop employers to cut to ed or aggravated according to ribbons the gains won by the

Ranks Want Unitiy

The membership, who feel the effects of the crisis much more directly than the union officialdoms, have grown tired of the jurisdictional squabble. They want unity. And they are becoming less and less interested in the final disposition of the posts, so long as the two organizations First, the economic crisis has get together, put an end to the structure in the mass production

The Roosevelt administration is a staunch supporter of unity beta normal period of history, an ordinary capitalist government would probably play one union against the other one, and show preference, if anything, to the more conservative A.F. of L. ministration, however, is no or-

These important factors almost exclude the possibility toetc. The C. I. O. unions have day of a new feud flaring up anew between the A.F. of L. and the C.I.O. They point, The day-by-day class struggle various Internationals have suf- rather, to the inevitability within the next period of a unification of the two bodies. How the posts and honors will be divided is, of pitalism, is thus a far more real- to less than a quarter of the course, almost impossible to predict. That the basic principle of industrial unionism for the mass production industries will be preerved—that is assured.

The recent bold exchange between the Mine Workers and the Executive Council is merely The A.F. of L. although in Lewis's way of replying to the

MARXIST SCHOOL

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The Progressive Workers School of Newark, New Jersey, opened its 1938 session at the Workers Educational Center, 252 Market Street, on February 18. The following courses are being given:

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- 3. TRADE UNIONISM Tuesdays 8:30 to 9:45 P. M. Instructors: 8 Union Organizers. 8 classes.
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