

BRITAIN AND ITALY SIGN ROBBER PACT

Open Road For Bloc Of "Democratic" and Fascist States

Outstanding among the recent moves on the chessboard of imperialist politics was the signature in Rome last Saturday of an agreement between Great Britain and Italy which, for the time being at least, ends the acute state of tension that has prevailed between the two robber states since 1935, when Mussolini threatened vital British interests by his conquest of Ethiopia, last independent native state in Africa.

Not the least significant aspect of the agreement was the obvious haste with which it was concluded. Little more than one month elapsed between the opening of negotiations and signature of the pact. Chamberlain's government was anxious for a settlement with Italy so that British imperialism, its hands untied in the Mediterranean, in the Near East and in East Africa, would be free to conclude a satisfactory agreement with Hitler and—of equal if not greater importance—to handle the Japanese threat to Britain's imperial interests in the Far East.

Both Sides Keen

Mussolini, alarmed by Hitler's bold stroke in Austria which brought German troops to the Brenner Pass, was as anxious for an agreement as was Chamberlain, for this agreement now strengthens his hands in dealing with his partner in the Rome-Berlin axis who is due to visit Rome in the near future.

By the terms of the accord, Italy disclaims territorial or political ambitions in Spain and the Spanish colonies, declares that she seeks no privileged economic position there, and agrees to withdraw all Italian forces and war materials from Spanish territory at the end of the present civil war if their withdrawal has not been completed earlier in accordance with conditions to be laid down by the Non-Intervention Committee.

Britain, on the other hand, pledges herself to work through the League of Nations for recognition of the Italian conquest of Ethiopia, while the two powers "reconcile" their interests in the Mediterranean, East Africa and Arabia, agreeing at the same time to refrain from propaganda injurious to each other's interests.

Stalinist "Theory" Upset

The Anglo-Italian agreement has been concluded in rude disregard of the Stalinist "theory" that insurmountable "ideological" differences separate the "peace-loving" imperialist states from the "aggressor" states and that the working-class, basing itself on these differences and supporting the "democratic" imperialists, can preserve peace and protect weaker nations from the piratical aggressors.

By its virtual agreement to recognize the Italian conquest of Ethiopia "democratic" Britain has confounded the Stalinist theoreticians and shown that what British imperialism is interested in is the protection from Mussolini's imperialist banditry—not of poor little Ethiopia, but of British imperialism's robber interests in northeast Africa.

When Mussolini started his Ethiopian campaign and the British imperialists started belittling their protests and applying economic sanctions against the "aggressor," the Marxists pointed out precisely what was involved. "Democratic" Britain had not hesitated to embark on robber wars against native peoples in Africa and Asia in order to subjugate and enslave them. Even while the British imperialists were uttering their pious protests against Italian atrocities in Ethiopia the Royal Air Force was showering bombs on the villages of Indian tribesmen.

British Interests Threatened

What alarmed the hypocritical British imperialists was the Ita-

(Continued on page 3)

Took the Pot



MUSSOLINI

FRENCH SIT-IN STRIKERS TOLD TO END FIGHT

Difficult Choice Now Faces Centrists In The S. F. I. O.

More than 150,000 workers in automobile, motor, and airplane factories around Paris have been ordered by the bureaucratic controllers of their trade unions to return to work immediately. Thus the spontaneous efforts of the striking workers to realize in practice the verbal threats of Jouhaux and Thorez to fight by "their own means" the dissolution of the Popular Front government has been given a temporary setback.

Without the united aid of the reformists and Stalinists Dalaudier would never have succeeded in halting the strike wave. His threats to curb the striking workers in the nationalized armament factories by mobilizing them for military service met with scant success. The workers refused to betray their solidarity with their comrades in the Renault and Citroen plants. Thus the only course left open was to smash the strikes from the left, that is, with the aid of the unions.

S. F. I. O. Split

Blum, meanwhile, has completed his record of cowardly capitulation before the bourgeoisie by "strong man" action in his own party. The Seine Federation (Paris district) of the Socialist Party (S.F.I.O.)

(Continued on page 3)

Workers Challenge Midwest Boss Drive Against Labor

MINNEAPOLIS.—Two thousand workers filled the Minneapolis municipal auditorium last week in a stirring demonstration of labor's militant determination to fight the developing boss attack on the labor movement of the Northwest.

John Boscoe, representing the Allied Printing Trades Council and Chairman of the meeting, declared one of the aims of the meeting was to smash the contemplated open-shop drive by the employers of this city and state.

Roy Weir, organizer of the Central Labor Union, painted a vivid picture of the rise of the Minneapolis union movement since the 1934 drivers' strikes, and exposed the latest maneuvers of the bosses under the guise of the "Minneapolis Civic Council," an enlarged version of the union-baiting Citizens Alliance.

False Rumors

Weir warned the audience against giving credence to false rumors of "gangsterism and racketeering" in the local labor movement, rumors being circulated by the employers and enemies of labor.

Speaking for the Building Trades Council, Walter Frank demanded the six-hour day, union wages for the unemployed and a \$15,000,000 housing program.

CIO Decision To Form National Body Brings Unity Issue Forward

Six-Month Interval Provided To Give Hillman Chance To Make New Peace Overtures; Leaders Fed Up With C. P.

By JAMES P. CANNON

The conference attended by the chief officers of 38 international unions affiliated with the Committee for Industrial Organization in Washington, April 13, announced the decision to form a permanent organization of the C. I. O. at a general convention to be held next September or October.

Julius Hochman, representing the powerful International Ladies Garment Workers Union, abstained from voting, pending the further action of the executive board of his organization. Otherwise, the decision was reported as unanimous. It is known that there is strong opposition in the leading circles of the I. L. G. W. U. to any further aggressive action tending to deepen the split with the A. F. of L. Informed circles predict with more and more assurance that the Dubinsky organization will not go along if the C. I. O. formally constitutes itself as a rival organization.

Unity Still On Agenda

The decision of the Washington conference of the C. I. O. heads does not, as it may appear at first glance, take the question of unity with the A. F. of L. off the agenda. It simply brings the question of unity or of a deeper and more formally organized split closer to a showdown.

On the surface, the decision to call a general convention of the C. I. O. may appear to close the door to unity for a long time to come. But this, in our opinion, is not really the case. The formal announcement of the calling of the C. I. O. convention is more likely designed to force the hand of the A. F. of L. and to lay the ground for new negotiations.

This is borne out both by the unnecessarily long period of time allowed for the preparation of the convention—five or six months—and by the subsequent unofficial announcement in the usually well-informed column of Edward Levinson in the New York Post of April 14, that Sidney Hillman, president of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, had been authorized to reopen negotiations with the A. F. of L.

Hillman and Conciliation

This appointment is significant. Hillman, a pseudo-statesman of the conservative give-away school, is far more qualified to lead a policy of conciliation than die-hard fighting. He is also known to be most uncritically subservient to the Roosevelt administration, which, as has been made clear already, thinks labor can be best regimented for support of the coming war in a united federation.

Contradictory forces are at work inside the C. I. O. After the stormy success which accrued from the great labor upsurge of early 1937, the developing economic crisis naturally brought the recruiting campaign to an abrupt halt. Along with this, internal difficulties have come more and more to the fore.

First, is the conflict of outlook and policy, and to a certain extent of interest, between the

older and more firmly established unions and the new mushroom giants of the mass production industries. Running a close second, is the increasing malevolence of the Stalinist abcesses and ulcers plaguing the C. I. O. draining its strength and halting its stride every way it turns. These internal difficulties are reflected in the double decision of the Washington conference to call a constitutional convention five or six months hence and, at the same time, to begin new unity negotiations, under the aegis of the conservative Hillman.

Unions Want Democracy

On the one hand, many of the new unions are pressing for an extension of democracy in the selection of officers by constitutional means; the dictatorial authority of the self-appointed and hand-picked chiefs, national, regional and local, is becoming somewhat irksome to the rank-and-file of these unions.

On the other hand, many of the older and more stable unions, having had a good dose of Stalinist manipulation and domination, packing, flogging and maneuvering in the newly constituted local and state C. I. O. councils, look with apprehension to an extension of this nightmarish business on a general national scale. Fear of a permanent head-on conflict with the A. F. of L. is no doubt secondary to their panic at the prospect of further permeation by the Stalinist manipulators and expert disrupters.

The Stalinists, already well entrenched in the apparatus from top to bottom, have become the Achilles heel of the C. I. O. Lewis and his chief-of-staff, drunk with conceit and dazzled by monetary success, thought they could use everybody and outfit everybody, including the Stalinist bearers of Greek gifts to the C. I. O. The results up to date have been rather sad for these super-statesmen, and especially for the unions which have been receiving the "help" of the Stalinist highbinders.

Deal With Browder

Lewis paralled out the Pacific Coast to the Stalinists like so much mandated territory, as a part of the national deal with Browder & Co. Besides being a cynical double-cross of the progressive elements of Pacific Coast labor, this turned out to be a bad piece of business for Mr. Lewis and the C. I. O.

The bulk of the Pacific Coast labor movement, including its most progressive and militant sections, turned definitely away from the C. I. O. and its appointed pro-consul, the garrulous Harry Bridges, otherwise known as the Pacific coast false alarm. Meantime, the Stalinist plants and stooges, caucus men, payroll bandits and delegates of paper organizations, have been running wild in the local and state councils of the C. I. O.

The result is truly devastating. In Los Angeles, for example, the older and more stable organizations, and the bona-fide unions generally, have simply quit participating. Other cities and states tell the same story, with slight variations. C. I. O. councils having been "captured," are being transformed into caucuses of the Communist Party, its stooges, hangers-on and hired men.

Situation in New York

The situation in New York, where the C. I. O. locals, expelled many months ago from the A. F. of L. central body, have

(Continued on page 3)

Takes Long Step



JOHN L. LEWIS

ILLINOIS C. P. BACKS KELLY'S MANFORSENATE

Apes Labor Non-Partisan League In Democratic Primary Fight

By ALBERT GATES

CHICAGO.—The Democratic Party put on another show in the Chicago and Illinois primaries which were completed April 12, holding the stage from the first day of the campaign to the last—much to the discomfiture of the Republicans who sought to recoup their losses as a result of the sharp inner-party struggle that invaded the Democratic organization.

No one paid much attention to the campaign of the Republicans. The real circus was elsewhere.

Democrats Split

Just as in the 1936 presidential elections, the Democratic Party was split between the down-state machine, with Governor Henry Horner at its head, and the Chicago machine directed by those two notorious political gangsters, Mayor Edward Kelly and National Committeeman Nash.

The struggle between these factions, originating in the Cermak area, came to a head following Cermak's death, when the Chicago machine sought unsuccessfully to eliminate Horner, running for a second term as governor in 1936. But when the elections took place, the two machines united to defeat the Republicans. The struggle soon began to revive, however, and the old line-ups were reestablished. The Kelly-Nash machine was determined to avenge its defeat in 1936 and Horner and his down-state machine were equally determined to take over control of the Democratic Party.

Scene of Struggle

Thus the 1938 Democratic primaries became a scene of violent struggle. Kelly-Walsh sought the removal of the incumbent County Judge Jarecki in order to insure elections in the future by controlling the ballot boxes and at the same time retain their leadership of the party. They nominated Judge John Prystalski against Jarecki, principally because his Polish name would run well against Jarecki, also a Pole. For the United States Senate, the Kelly-Nash machine nominated Michael L. Igoe, the U. S. District Attorney. Horner nominated Scott Lucas, Legionnaire and down-stater. Lesser posts were also divided between the two factions, but not so sharply, and in many respects there was complete agreement as to candidates.

The show was on! Igoe, identifying himself with the Kelly-Nash machine lost his opportunity of nomination. He stood well in the party, down-state and in Chicago. He had what is generally considered a good labor record. Lucas was a down-stater, an organizer of the American Legion, not always certain in his support of Roosevelt, a small-time rah-rah boy. But he was not a Kelly-Nash man, and the Kelly-Nash machine is a discredited machine.

Mud-slinging Match

Both sides entered the campaign with the slogans: Against Bossism! For Roosevelt! They heaped insults upon each other. They accused each other of the vilest sins, of graft, bureaucracy, bossism, machinism. They deliv-

(Continued on page 2)

Roosevelt Seeking Fresh Panaceas To Check Depression

Proclaims U.S. Primacy In Western Hemisphere

Roosevelt Warns Off All Foreign Interests From Latin America; LaGuardia Gives Forthright Expression to Imperialist Aims

Tying in closely with the war plans of American imperialism which are proceeding at an ever more accelerated pace, President ("I hate war") Roosevelt last week delivered a pointed warning to rival powers to keep their hands off continental America.

This warning, in effect a reaffirmation (in modernized form) of the Monroe Doctrine which proclaimed the hegemony of dollar imperialism in the Western Hemisphere, was contained in an address before the governing board of the Pan-American Union on April 14.

Warning to All

Roosevelt spoke behind closed doors to the chiefs of diplomatic missions of twenty American republics represented in Washington and Secretary Hull, chairman of the governing board. His address was broadcast in this country and carried by short wave to Latin America, later being rebroadcast in Spanish and Portuguese.

"We will not permit it (the Western Hemisphere) to be endangered from aggression coming from outside our hemisphere," Roosevelt told his auditors, thereafter proceeding to reiterate his "good neighbor" policy with regard to Central and South America. Behind such pacific utterances, however, there lurked threats to fight for the maintenance of American hegemony in the Americas.

The New York Times reported the speech under the caption, "Roosevelt Warns Alien Aggressors." However, his remarks were not only a challenge to "alien aggressors," but also a warning to all the Latin American vassals not to abandon their "community of interests" with American imperialism.

Have-Nots At Work

For long years the Latin American republics were a field for competition between British and American investors. This situation has fundamentally changed. The have-nots among the imperialists—Germany, Japan and Italy—are tenaciously at work spreading their tentacles over the countries between Cape Horn and the Rio Grande.

Exhausted by their armament program and lacking capital for investment, they are concentrating their efforts in a drive to

gain a foothold in the field of commerce. Cotton, sugar, coffee and metals, which Latin America possesses in abundance, are important elements in their war economy.

In exchange Italy furnishes war vessels and airplanes; Germany, guns and machines. Cheap consumers' goods from Japan flood the South American markets. Political ambitions follow closely on the heels of the increasing trade.

The Latin American bourgeoisie not unskillfully exploits this courtship of new imperialist competitors to reinforce their own positions in relation to their old masters.

Playing Two Sides

After Vargas' fascist putsch, Brazil was well rewarded for the maintenance of "good neighborly" relations with the United States. Nevertheless Brazil did not refrain from again increasing her trade with Germany through a recent exchange agreement with the Krupp armament factories.

Argentina, still largely under British domination, was able, after declaring a moratorium on its foreign debts, to repurchase for a song, valuable bonds in British and American possession. Having in reserve possible agreements with Germany and Japan, it did not encounter any serious resistance.

In the same way, Ecuador recently multiplied its taxes on American corporations.

Washington's retreat in the Mexican oil conflict was dictated by similar considerations. Fearing a reverse in American-Mexican relations, Secretary of the Treasury Morgenthau, after having suspended official silver

(Continued on page 4)

But His Spending Cure— All Is Just Another Quack Remedy

Workers Will Pay

Eight months of unrelieved depression, whose sharpness is unprecedented in the history of American capitalism, plus the growing demands of the labor movement and the unemployed, have finally forced Roosevelt to action. Last week he sent a message to Congress asking for \$3,000,000,000 in direct appropriations and in Treasury loans to be applied to "recovery" projects. In addition he announced that about \$2,000,000,000 more would be made available for money and credit.

Immediately thereafter, Roosevelt broadcast his plans to the country. He realized that the workers' faith in capitalism was weakening with the depression. At the very opening of his speech he tried to dispel their feeling of insecurity and to rekindle their faith. He ended up with an appeal for "united national will" to get behind him and his program.

Against the Tide

The Roosevelt program is intended to stem the economic decline which is spreading destruction everywhere—destruction of whole industries, destruction of employment, destruction of purchasing power, destruction of the living standards of American workers and farmers. It is intended also to turn economic decline into economic recovery.

The "recovery" aimed at by the program will not benefit the workers substantially. In the words of Roosevelt himself, the cause of the depression is the lag of consumption behind production, resulting from inadequate purchasing power. Explaining the depression of 1929-33 he says "supplies so over-ran demand which would pay that production was compelled to stop." Likewise in explaining the depression of 1937, he says: "By the Autumn of 1937 the nation had stocks on hand which the consuming public could not buy because the purchasing power of the consuming public had not kept pace with the production." A program that would benefit the workers and bring economic recovery would have to increase the purchasing power of the workers and unemployed. But Roosevelt says outright in his message to Congress that his program "will not put more money in the hands of the consuming public."

Will Benefit Capitalists

First of all, and most of all, the Roosevelt program will benefit the capitalists. Of the \$3,000,000,000 which it asks from Congress, over two-thirds will go into public works and housing. The more than \$2,000,000,000 which the government is prepared to release consists of two items: the desterilization of \$1,400,000,000 in gold which will mean an equal increase in the circulation of money, and the reduction in the reserve ratio, which will increase bank reserves by \$750,000,000 and lending power by over five times as much. In addition, the Reconstruction Finance Corporation is authorized to make gifts and loans totalling up to \$1,500,000,000 which are to go to "businesses which are in grave danger of shutting down."

At best, the program will bring a feverish recovery that will be short in duration, precipitate in decline, and at all times will press-down the living standards of the workers and farmers. The public works will employ a portion of those displaced from private industry by the current de-

(Continued on page 3)

Fruit Growers Open Parley After Workers Vote Strike

LOS ANGELES.—On Friday April 8, the Venice local of the Mexican Union of Agricultural Workers in Southern California, (C.U.C.O.M.) voted unanimously to strike if their demands for closed shop and a wage increase were not met by the Palm-Venice Growers Association within eight days.

The union meeting was attended by 150 workers who represented a large section of the harvesters of the local lettuce crop.

Score First Gain

The militant and determined stand of the workers netted an immediate gain. The Growers Association had refused to meet union representatives to discuss conditions since the termination of the old agreement in December, 1937. The day following the strike vote, a communication was received from the growers requesting negotiations with the union and desiring to hear its proposals.

The union presented its demands for a closed shop in the fields, the right of a field delegate to visit the fields, and an increase in wages from 35 to 45 cents per hour. So far no agreement has been reached, but negotiations are continuing.

The contract proposed by the workers is presented jointly in the name of the Cucum and the Filipino Federated Workers Union. Both organizations have

developed plans for cooperation in obtaining their demands. This marks an important step towards amalgamation of all workers in one agricultural union in Southern California. Frank Almar, leader of the Filipino workers, has declared support for the amalgamation of all workers in one union. A number of Mexican progressives are pressing for this necessary development, recognizing this must be accomplished before there can be any real defense to the wage-cutting campaign instituted by the growers.

Determined to Strike

Since December, 1937, the agricultural unions have been unable to secure contracts with the growers. The employers, considering the unions to be incapable of struggle, have begun to slash wages, in some cases to 17 cents per hour. The Venice local has been the best organized group of agricultural workers in the county and, faced with a return to the miserable wages of 1932 and 1933, has determined to take strike action to defend previous gains.

Because of the permanent poverty of these workers, the use of race prejudice against them, the extreme brutality of police action in all of their strike struggles, it is necessary to ask workers everywhere to be prepared to come to their assistance. Both organizations have

Militants In Phila. Fight Red-Baiting

Leaders of ILGWU Local Try To Cover Their Own Bankruptcy

PHILADELPHIA.—Seeking to cover up the bankruptcy of their own leadership, the Stalinists in Local 15 of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union have opened one of their typical red-baiting campaigns with attacks on the Trotskyist members of the local, whom they accuse of hindering the efforts of union officials to maintain the workers' standards and conditions in face of the advancing economic depression.

This accusation is made in an article which appeared in the Stalinist Daily Freiheit of April 4, which deals with the alleged activities of three Trotskyists and one of their sympathizers in the Philadelphia local.

Conditions Grow Worse

For a long time the Stalinists and their stooges have been spreading lies in Local 15 to keep the workers from realizing the true role of the people whom they elected to office. This local, numbering over 3,000 members, has been completely in the hands of the Stalinists since the last election. As a result of their misrule, conditions in the shops have grown worse. In some cases, wages and working conditions are comparable to the period prior to the great general strike of garment workers in 1933.

Work flows out of the inside shops to contractors, union and non-union, where it is made up cheaper, not only further endangering union standards but increasing the idle period. The manager and the Stalinist business agent, when reporting at membership meetings, hand out to the few workers who now attend the same stuff about enforcing the agreement and keeping up union standards. But nothing is being done about it.

Members Wake Up

At the last meeting, the Stalinist business agent added to her report a warning against certain elements who are trying to take advantage of the crisis to break up the union. All these efforts on the part of the officials to shift the blame to someone else, however, are ceasing to work. The workers' eyes are being opened and they are becoming restless.

Although the Trotskyists are few, and were defeated by the Lovestone-Stalinist combination in the last election, they were able, together with other trade unionists who combined for the campaign, to get a good portion of the votes. The class-peace Stalinists in the leadership have stifled the militant, fighting spirit that was so characteristic of the young workers who make up the majority of the Local's membership, but the Stalinists have not forgotten that many workers had the courage to vote for the opposition. They know that the Trotskyists are not afraid to speak. They still remember a meeting last fall when the Trotskyists took the floor, after discouraging reports by the officers, and proceeded to expose them to the membership. So great was the response of the rank-and-file that even some Stalinists, caught off guard, joined in the applause.

Another Falseness

The Freiheit writer falsely reports that a "sea of hands" went up for the collective security resolution as against two hands for the Ludlow amendment. About 65 members were present, of whom a little more than half voted for collective security. The rest did not vote at all. A worker who attempted to propose more discussion on the resolution was howled down by the Stalinists.

A similar occurrence took place during a symposium on war arranged by the educational department of the union with four speakers—two Stalinists, a Lovestoneite and a Socialist (Clarity). The Socialist Party speaker, forced into taking a revolutionary position by the reactionary arguments of the Stalinists, was not permitted to continue by the lovers of "peace and democracy" although the workers insisted that he go on.

In spite of the Stalinists' exposure of themselves before the workers by their own actions and policies, the opposition is handicapped in following any constructive plan to organize the restless and discontented rank-and-file in order to bring pressure on the leadership and put up a fight to regain better working conditions. Groups are illegal in

HOODLUMS ATTACK CLEVELAND SWPERS

CLEVELAND.—Stalinist hoodlums, following out their established routine, attacked members of the Socialist Workers Party who were distributing the "Open Letter to the Communist Party" at a meeting at Public Hall on April 13 at which Earl Browder was speaking.

Led by one Ben Gray, erstwhile leader of the local Workers' Alliance, squads of Stalinists descended on S.W.P. leaflet passers, many of them girls, and proceeded to tear as many leaflets as they could to shreds. One young girl comrade had her arm painfully twisted when she resisted Gray's attempts to separate her from the leaflets.

Despite the hoodlum tactics of the C.P. the meeting was well covered by leaflets which disappeared into the pockets of many rank-and-filers.

STEEL WORKERS NET GAINS IN JERSEY STRIKE

Crucible Strikers Win Concessions After Militant Fight

HARRISON, N. J.—Workers of the Crucible Steel began to return to work last Monday after the end of a hard-fought strike that began March 14 when the company locked out several hundred workers in the Harrison Atha plant and the Jersey City Spauldings and Jennings plant and refused to adjust grievances of the workers.

The strikers, numbering 1,800 in Harrison and 450 in Jersey City, maintained for over a month 24-hour picket lines in both cities and not a single foreman entered either plant without permission of the strike committee. Despite rumors and slanders against the strike leadership, spread by both company stooges and Stalinists, the solidarity of the workers was evidenced by the largest picket line on the last day of the strike.

No Strike Concession

For three days, the management, advised by Desvernine, Liberty League attorney, attempted to get the union to promise not to strike after an agreement was reached. The workers, aware that the threat of immediate strike action is the best guarantee against a chiseling management, refused to sign any such statement and made no concession that would weaken them in the coming struggles.

No contract was signed, the union insisting that the strike be settled on a day-to-day basis, with both sides submitting signed statements. The union chose to wait for a more favorable moment before signing a regular contract.

Concessions won from the company included the reinstatement of all locked-out workers, more equitable distribution of work, adjustment of rates in both plants, with no reductions in pay for any worker and a guarantee of four hours work for workers not notified the day before that there was to be no work. In addition, the union reported the satisfactory settlement of all grievances pending up to the date of the strike.

Improved Situation

This strike showed a marked improvement from every point of view over the strike a few months ago. Organization of the Jersey City plant is now 100 per cent and the Harrison plant well over 90 percent. With the help of the Workers Alliance, hundreds of workers were quickly placed on relief in Hudson and Essex counties.

The antagonism between Negro and white workers, between native and foreign-born workers, worked up in the past by the bosses, has completely disappeared. Negro workers played a leading role on the picket lines at all times.

During this strike the company did what it had refused to do before; the management met with E. H. Kaempff, militant organizer for the S.W.O.C. The union did not win everything it set out for, but it won almost all its immediately important demands, and now the men go back with renewed determination to strengthen their forces, to keep a strict eye on the bosses and to guard their rights as union men.

The I.L.G.W.U. The paralyzing hand of Stalinism is fastened on Local 15. It must be shaken off if the union is to march forward.

Stalinists and Labor League In Illinois Democratic Swamp

Back Igoe and Other Machine Primary Candidates

(Continued from page 1)

ed into each others' personal history and went into the field of psychoanalysis.

Sectionalism played a strong part in the campaign. Chicago already had a senator and it was wrong to have two senators from Chicago, said Horner. It was a matter of ability, pointed out the Kelly-Nash adherents. Courtney, the labor-hater, wanted to insure an "honest" election, but Kelly's police commissioner took Courtney's personal police from him because they were needed to "guard" the ballot boxes! Jarecki declared that he was rejected by Kelly-Nash because he would not resort to stealing elections. Prystalski, his opponent, called Jarecki dishonest and charged him with cheating the local government out of well-earned property tax monies.

In the midst of this great battle inside the Democratic Party, there entered two outside forces. They arrived late on the scene, but not too late to do their filthy bit in deluding the voters of the state that in this struggle over spoils within the Democratic Party, a rehearsal of the struggle between fascism and democracy, progress and reaction was being fought.

The Communist Party and Labor's Non-Partisan League entered into the campaign with great vigor. The old Gompers practice of "rewarding your friends and punishing your enemies," by which means the American Federation of Labor confused its members and tied them to the tails of both capitalist parties, was here changed only in words. Now, the candidates supported by Labor's Non-Partisan League and the Communist Party were labor's choice based upon the support of progressive candidates as against reactionaries!

Only One Dilemma

Labor's Non-Partisan League came out in support of Igoe as senator, on the theory that he was and is a friend of a labor, a progressive candidate. There was only one dilemma to be explained away: He was the candidate of the Kelly-Nash machine which distinguished itself in the massacre of the steel strikers last Memorial Day. On the other side, they supported Jarecki because he was "honest and clean" and opposed the Kelly-Nash machine. They picked various "progressives" for other state and local posts, notwithstanding their machine affiliations. By and large, the majority of the candidates were old-time ward heelers, party hacks, professional job-holders, whose prime interest in politics is the spoils to be gained.

But Labor's Non-Partisan League was outdone by the Communist Party. If ever a party pretending to be a revolutionary party, a workers' party, played a foul and traitorous role, it was the Communist Party. It entered into the primaries as if the candidates were nominated at a C.P. convention. And well they might have been. The Mid-West Daily Record, one of the three sectional newspapers of the C.P., issued to help propagate its new reformist and anti-revolutionary

Jersey WAA Rejects May Day Stooze Role

NEWARK.—Less than a week after a motion passed in the Newark Labor's Committee for May Day by the Stalinist stooze organizations to give credentials only to the Communist and Socialist Parties, organizations in the vicinity have begun to show their determination not to be used as labor fronts for the splitting, social-patriotic policies of the Stalinists.

Already three units of the Workers Alliance, comprising over 60 percent of the membership in the county organization, have withdrawn from the committee. Three trade unions, about to send delegates to the committee, upon learning what had happened, dropped the matter or made motions to table. It is expected that others of the few trade unions in the committee will also withdraw. Efforts are being made to organize another demonstration in the city.

LOS ANGELES.—The Socialist Workers Party and Young Peoples' Socialist League will celebrate May Day with a mass rally and entertainment on April 30 at the Music Arts Auditorium. The film record of the October revolution, "From Tsar to Lenin," will be shown and the Y.P.S.L. chorus of 100 will be heard.

S.W.P. Alone Boycotted Boss Party Primaries In Chicago

Long-standing Tradition in Labor Movement Borne Forward By Revolutionists In Party Call

CHICAGO.—Despite the fact that it has been a long-standing radical practice here to boycott the primaries, only the Socialist Workers Party issued a boycott call this year. None but the two big capitalist parties are listed in the primaries; minority parties can only get on the ballot by filling out an enormous number of petitions, which may not be signed by any one who is registered for the primaries.

The S.W.P. boycott call points out the nature of a capitalist party as a "political company union" and the necessity for smashing capitalism and its political arms. However, it declares, "we do not say that the immediate demands of the workers and their allies are unimportant, even in themselves. But in this respect, too, the building of an independent, revolutionary party is the best guarantee of success. "Though it elect nobody, a true working class vote, like a working class mass meeting, is a demonstration of militancy and determination, as well as a threat for the future, which can always wrest more concessions from the capitalist legislatures than can any compromises with their party system of oppression."

ideas became the mouthpiece for Igoe, Jarecki, and a host of others. Sympathizers (it is rumored even members) of the C.P. entered the primaries to help make the fight a political one and to elect progressive candidates. The Record carried a daily box indicating "labor's choice"! But the C.P. was also in a quandary. Igoe, the "progressive" candidate, the true Rooseveltian, was taken in by Kelly-Nash. The only thing wrong with Igoe was that he ran on the Kelly-Nash ticket. They supported him, nevertheless. They supported Jarecki and the other "anti-Kelly progressives." But they also supported the Kelly-Nash judiciary candidates! But, you see, only "the most progressive"

Divided Victory

Aside from the leading posts, the victors were equally divided between Horner and Kelly men. L.N.P.L. and the C.P. supported indiscriminately the machine men of both camps.

With the primaries concluded, everyone points to the elections in the Fall. Already, Big Jim Farley is coming to Illinois to unite the party for the Fall elections. "Party unity" may be achieved. Although the elections marked the decline of the Kelly-Nash machine, they are not out by a long shot. There is plenty of life in a machine that controls almost a million voters in the Chicago area. Unity will be achieved to put over the entire Democratic slate against the Republicans.

What will the C.P. and L.N.P.L. do in the Fall? It is not hard to guess. They will support the "reactionaries" on the ticket along with the "progressives," in order to "defeat the forces of fascism in the guise of the Republican Party." Unless, of course, the C.P. suffers another change of line, which seems hardly likely. Its course is charted ever more to the right.

Regarding the parties which had hitherto called for primaries boycotts, the statement continues: "Not so long ago many of you under the influence of the Socialist and Communist Parties would have disdained to enroll yourselves as Democrats. Today, with a new war in the offing, the labor fakery are stampeding onto the liberal bandwagon, just as they fled to the 'safe ground' of Wilson liberalism when faced by the test of the last war. That is what is happening to the 'Socialists' and 'Communists' today. "As is usual in such a period, the revolutionary party has become the only one upholding working class independence even in immediate economic and political struggles."

Two members of the Young Peoples Socialist League distributing the statement at a Democratic rally were assaulted and one of them was knocked to the pavement, but they beat off the attack and continued the distribution. This time the Democrats did not have to use any of the paid strong-arm men they usually turn loose on radical distributors, since they found they had new, volunteer assistance. The slugging was Stalinist work.

hailed their victories, with one exception. The C.P. deplored the defeat of Igoe and alibied it on the grounds of his association with the Kelly-Nash machine. In its editorial of April 14, entitled "Ballots vs. Bosses," the Record rejoiced over the defeat of Kelly-Nash and the great achievement of L.N.P.L. in supporting so many winning candidates.

C.P. Opposes Lucas

The C.P. carried on a vigorous campaign against Scott Lucas, as senator, on the ground that he was an "isolationist" candidate, and not a genuine Roosevelt supporter. He was opposed, at least so he declared, to any foreign war, and would not vote to budget a single penny to send our boys to a foreign country to engage in war! In an editorial on April 9, the Record declared:

"If you are for President Roosevelt's progressive policies, you will vote for Michael L. Igoe. "If you are against the progressive features of the Roosevelt program, you will vote for Scott W. Lucas. . . . On Tuesday, the Democratic voters have no cause to be deceived as to how they should cast their ballot for the senatorship."

When this editorial appeared, Lucas charged that Igoe was being supported by the Communist Party and that Browder so declared in a Chicago speech. The C.P. denied that Browder made such a statement. Budenz declared that the Record had incorrectly reported Browder's speech. Morris Childs, the state secretary of the C.P. made similar denials.

However, on April 9, the Record carried an interview with Childs, in which he gave the reasons for supporting, together with Labor's Non-Partisan League, Igoe and Jarecki. He termed Lucas the arch enemy, and went on to say:

"Real revolutionists (!) must take the lead in influencing people, in organizing them and leading them in the fight against the camp of reaction, keeping in mind that the chief task is to defeat fascism. In line with the policy of our party, we are already fully entered in the election campaign, supporting and endorsing candidates who stand for democracy and peace, who will fight for the needs of the people, in cooperation with other progressive forces and groups in the state."

In the Illinois Workers Alliance motion to support Igoe-Jarecki and other Democratic candidates was introduced by the C.P. leader Foley. This motion was defeated due to the fact that the I.W.A. is affiliated with the Labor Party of Illinois.

Following the primaries in which Lucas and Jarecki, along with the majority of Horner candidates won out, the Record

ST. PAUL UNIONISTS OPPOSE WAR PLANS

ST. PAUL.—Local 459 of the International Association of Machinists was the first St. Paul union to adopt a militant resolution against the war plans of the Federal government.

The resolution, adopted by the last membership meeting, charged the government was preparing for war, placing the union "unalterably in the ranks of the opposition to war and the war makers," denounced the Sheppard - May Bill, demanded the withdrawal of American forces from foreign soil, and the allocation of war funds to relief purposes, and declared that only a government dominated by workers will bring peace and security.

PROGRESSIVES LOSE IN FOOD UNION BALLOT

Stalinists Unite With Racketeers In Election

NEW YORK.—Stalinists and racketeers, united in a "fusion" slate, delivered a blow to the progressive forces in Waiters Union, Local 16, when they won a closely contested election of union officials last week at Palm Garden.

David Siegel, a leader of the progressives and candidate for president, was defeated by Harry Lee, the fusion candidate, by 112 votes. The whole fusion slate went into office.

The Progressive Group presented a clear-cut program, calling for one industrial union for all food workers in New York and opposing the undemocratic domination of the union by the Communist Party. Especially the group opposed all racketeer elements in the union. The militants and honest trade unionists remembered well the days when Local 16 was little more than a tool in the hands of Coulicher and Reteik, gangsters now in jail.

The Stalinists, discredited in the eyes of the progressive workers, made a deal with the remnants of the Coulicher gang, resulting in the Stalinist-racketeer fusion slate. The votes that former associates of the gangsters were able to swing to the Communist Party resulted in the victory for the fusion ticket.

Lynn Foodworkers In Second Strike

LYNN, Mass.—The strike of Foodworkers Local 701, C.I.O., against Sharaf's Restaurant is now in its third week and militant picket lines have cut patronage to about five percent of normal. Systematic violation of an agreement reached after a strike last January forced the foodworkers to call this strike, the second in three months.

The effectiveness of the picket line has forced Sharaf's to resort to ridiculous antics in attempts to counteract the pickets. Amplifiers blare out popular music and parrot-like contradictions of the pickets' slogans. Two stooges, posing as "loyal" workers and attired in white uniforms and chef's hats, parade up and down beside Local 701 pickets in an attempt to provoke a brawl.

One of the by-products of this militant strike which has greatly increased the prestige of Local 701 is the cracking of the city ordinance forbidding leaflet distribution. Over 5,000 strike leaflets have been distributed on the streets of Lynn.

CORRECTION

The report of the Workers Alliance New York convention in the SOCIALIST APPEAL of last week erroneously stated that the Socialist Party members of the Resolutions Committee had withdrawn their resolution on the American Labor Party. On this issue the Socialists did maintain their opposition. It was their resolution on war which was withdrawn in favor of a compromise document which supported the People's Front position and endorsed the war-mongering American League for Peace and Democracy.

30, 8 P. M. Admission 35 cents. Tickets at Modern Book Shop, 509 1/2 West 5th Street, Phone MI. 4551. Auspices, Socialist Workers Party and Young Peoples' Socialist League of Los Angeles.

WORKERS IN AMERICAN HISTORY by James O Neal. 35 cents extra for postage. Modern Book Shop, 509 1/2 W 5th St., Los Angeles

Dunne Raps Bernard For Quitting Beal Defense

Minneapolis Union Leader Rips Congressman's Arguments To Pieces On Issue Of Defending Class-War Prisoner

MINNEAPOLIS.—Miles B. Dunne, secretary of the Teamsters' Joint Council and editor of the council organ, Northwest Organizer, last week sharply rapped Congressman John J. Bernard, Minnesota Farmer-Laborite, for withdrawing from the Non-Partisan Committee for the Defense of Fred E. Beal, 1929 Gastonia strike leader now in a North Carolina prison serving a 17-20 year sentence on a frame-up murder charge.

Dunne had written to Bernard asking him to explain his withdrawal. Bernard replied that he had acted "after having received factual information from friends of mine relative to the past actions of this individual." He then went on to retail a series of charges against Beal, including that of being a stooge for the National Civic Federation, an agent of Hearst and a "Benedict Arnold in the Labor movement." Dunne's reply, was as follows:

For or Against?

"Your letter of the 7th is nothing short of amazing. Apparently you live in a world of 'information from friends' which has no relation to the real world. Here are the real facts.

"Fred Beal is now serving a 17-20 year sentence for the 'crime' of having led the famous Gastonia textile strike of 1929. Are you for or against his release? That is the sole issue. By withdrawing from his defense you have apparently signified that you are against his release. Unlike you, the authoritative spokesmen for organized labor have endorsed the defense of this class-war prisoner.

"Scores of labor leaders of both the C. I. O. and the A. F. of L. are publicly supporting the defense of Fred E. Beal. Among them are Homer Martin, president of the United Auto Workers; William Green, president of the A. F. of L.; David Dubinsky, president of the International Ladies' Garment Workers; Alex Rose, secretary of the American Labor Party. These labor leaders had known of the vicious slanders peddled by the Communist Party against Beal, which are repeated in your letter as 'information from friends.' They investigated, and learned that the 'factual information' was pure slander, invented by the Communist Party.

Where Truth Lies

"The only semblance of truth in all these slanders is the fact that the Hearst press published some articles of Fred Beal in

which Beal denounced the reactionary acts of the Stalin government, doing so explicitly on the basis that he, Beal, remained true to the working class while Stalin has betrayed it. American labor history is full of incidents where progressive sections of the labor movement criticize reactionary union officials and the capitalist press tries to take advantage of it. Who is responsible for that situation? Not those who criticize the wrongs done by degenerate labor officials! The responsibility for that situation lies at the door of those who commit the crimes which must be criticized.

"Benedict Arnold was rewarded by the Tories. Fred Beal is persecuted by the reactionaries. That shows which side he belongs to. Did it not occur to you that it was very strange that one joining 'in Hearst's attack against the labor and progressive movement,' a 'stooge openly acknowledged by the National Civic Federation' should nevertheless be seized by the State of North Carolina for the 'crime' of leading the Gastonia strike? No! Only those who remain loyal to labor are thus persecuted. You would have known that, if you still thought like the worker you once were.

Demands Investigation

"The least you can do now to atone for having deserted the defense of Fred Beal is to investigate the 'information from friends' and you will discover that it is a typical Moscow frame-up. And while you're investigating, you should check up on those 'friends.' That will provide you, if you really want it, with the key to the intolerable situation they have gotten you into. "Very truly yours, Miles B. Dunne, Editor, Northwest Organizer."

Appeal for Funds

NEW YORK.—The Non-Partisan Committee for the Defense of Fred E. Beal issued an appeal here last week for funds to help organize the legal aspects of the Beal defense. The appeal was addressed to all branches of the American Labor Party whose secretary, Alex Rose, has endorsed the Beal defense movement and authorized circularization of the party branches and affiliated unions.

The appeal enclosed contribution lists. Funds are to be sent to the Non-Partisan Committee for the Defense of Fred E. Beal, 19 West 44 Street, New York City.

Appeal Army

Next week's issue of the Socialist Appeal will be the Special May Day Edition. Orders for extra copies have come in—but it is still not too late for those who have not ordered. Don't delay any longer because we expect to be sold out and you won't be able to get extra copies once the press run is set.

New subscriptions for the week ended April 15 are as follows:

Los Angeles	3
Mishawaka, Indiana	2
South Bend, Indiana	2
Ann Arbor, Mich.	1
Dedham, Mass.	1
St. Louis, Mo.	1
Billings, Montana	3
New York	8
Pittsburgh, Pa.	1
San Antonio, Tex.	1
Allardt, Tenn.	2
Total	25

Bundle orders have been increased by: Los Angeles, Calif. 50; Clancy, Montana 10; Great Lakes, Montana 2; Johannesburg, So. Africa 12; Saskatoon, Canada 5; NEW YORK 100

Total increase: 179 For the eight week period ending April 15 there has been an increase in bundle orders of 877

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BRITAIN AND ITALY SIGN ROBBER PACT

(Continued from page 1)

lian threat to their interests in northeast Africa. Lake Tsana is in Ethiopia. This lake supplies the headwaters of the Blue Nile. The waters of the Blue Nile irrigate the vast cotton fields of the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan. A powerful foreign master of Ethiopia would be able to paralyze a vital British interest. Italian possession of Ethiopia, moreover, represented a dangerous triple-headed spear pointed at the British territories of Kenya and Uganda as well as at the Sudan.

Now that Mussolini has disavowed aggressive aims against British imperialist interests, the "democratic" pirate and the fascist pirate have been able to get together. The Stalinists, who in these recent years have rested their policies on supposed fundamental differences of an ideological character between the fascist and democratic imperialist states, will have a bitter pill to swallow when the League of Nations gathers in Geneva under "democratic" auspices to legalize and sanctify Mussolini's East African land-grab. For was not the League, according to Stalin-Litvinov, precisely that little "pebble" in the path of the "aggressors" which would cause them to stumble in their tracks?

Await Franco Victory

It is no different in the case of Spain. The "democratic" powers have evinced not the slightest concern for the preservation of Spanish "democracy." Today, with scarcely concealed impatience, both Britain and France await the rapid and complete victory of Franco. All they ever felt alarmed about was the possibility that Franco would be submerged by his German and Italian allies and that Spain, at the conclusion of the civil war, would become a sphere of German and Italian influence (or of both) and as such a threat to their trade and capital interests in that country and to their dominance in the Mediterranean.

Mussolini's assurances on this score have calmed the fears of the British lion. All that is needed now is corresponding assurances from Hitler. Spanish "democracy" is damned! A quick victory for Franco is desired because protracted civil war carries with it the threat of social revolution. Britain does not want a Spain dominated by Italy or Germany. But a Soviet Spain would be a positive disaster.

France under Premier Daladier is hastening to follow Britain's example and come to an agreement with Mussolini, a step made urgently necessary by Hitler's annexation of Austria. The Soviet ally, with its economy ruptured and breaking down and its Red Army commanding staff decimated by the counter-revolutionary Stalin, enters less into the strategic calculations of French imperialism. A French-Italian agreement will be another long nail in the waiting coffin of the Franco-Soviet Pact of Mutual Assistance.

Soviet Union Isolated

If such an agreement should prove to be the precursor of a four-power agreement among Britain, France, Italy and Germany, isolation of the Soviet Union will be complete. There remains only Czechoslovakia and that country is already an unstable factor. At the moment, while conciliating its German neighbor apprehensively, Czechoslovakia continues to move in the

orbit of French imperialism. Its attachment to the Soviet Union depends entirely upon the continuance of the pact between the Kremlin and the Quai d'Orsay. When that is ruptured, the link between Moscow and Prague will be severed—unless, as is entirely possible, Hitler severs it sooner by another bold stroke which would end the feeble fiction of Czechoslovakian independence.

The only real remaining ally of the Soviet Union is the international proletariat. This ally has been confused and disorganized by the criminal policies of Stalinism, repelled by the murderous regime of the Kremlin Bonaparte. Neither Stalin nor his satellites abroad can rally the workers for defense of the Soviet Union. This task now devolves completely upon the revolutionary vanguard of the working class, the parties and organizations of the Fourth International.

FRENCH SIT-IN STRIKERS TOLD TO END FIGHT

(Continued from page 1)

has been dissolved. Re-registration will automatically eliminate all oppositionist elements.

This move has been directed, first of all, against the left-center tendency represented by Marceau Pivert. During the struggle carried on within the S.F.I.O. by the Fourth Internationalists, Pivert leaned for a while, under their pressure, toward revolutionary Marxism. But at the decisive moment, he capitulated in the name of "party unity" and became a docile collaborator of Blum in the latter's first People's Front cabinet.

The death agony of the People's Front has forced Pivert once more to the left. The S.F.I.O. leadership has finally suspended Pivert from all leading posts for three years. But this measure proved insufficient to repress the rank-and-file revolt against the policy of retreat which became permanent during the past three years.

In the demonstration against the Senate which followed the fall of the Blum cabinet, Pivert and his group participated despite a party ban on the demonstration. The party leaders responded by resorting to the time-honored methods of bureaucratic suppression.

By maintaining the myth of unity with the party and international of the social patriots, by rejecting a consistent program of social revolution, the Pivert opposition has been relinquishing the positive aspects of its activity, the struggle against social patriotism and class collaboration.

The Pivert group is now placed before the necessity of making a definitive choice. Left centrism has an international record. In Germany, the former Lovestonites Walcher and Froehlich have succeeded in wrecking the Left Social Democratic Opposition. In Spain, Nin and Maurin transformed the revolutionary workers of the P.O.U.M. into involuntary accomplices of the People's Front. Pivert will be able to escape doing likewise only if he surmounts the ambiguities of his centrist position.

Famous German Actress Is Shot In Moscow Without Public Trial

Execution of Carola Neher, well-known German actress and widow of the famous German poet Klumbund, has been reported in the Scandinavian press from Moscow, according to advices received here last week.

Carola Neher, like countless other victims of Stalin's counter-revolutionary regime, was shot as a Trotskyist without being brought to public trial, although it is generally known that she had earlier been sentenced to 10 years' imprisonment in an "isolator."

Attempted Suicide

It is also known that in prison she attempted suicide by cutting her wrists with the sharp edge of a tin can lid. To fellow prisoners she complained continually that she was innocent and that she had relations of a purely accidental nature with persons later condemned as Trotskyists.

Carola Neher rallied to the Communist cause early in her distinguished career as a dramatic artist in Germany. After

Hitler's seizure of power she escaped to the Soviet Union. Born in Munich, the daughter of a well-known musical composer, she first pursued a successful career as a dancer.

Played Character Roles

Her first appearances on the stage were in character roles in the repertoire of tragedies written by the great pre-Hitlerite playwright Frank Wedekind, which enjoyed great popularity in the Germany of that day.

Through her work she came in contact with the poet Klumbund, whose "Chalk Circle" made an international reputation for its author. They were married soon thereafter.

Carola Neher, whose premature demise at the hands of the sadistic butcher in the Kremlin is being mourned by her comrades throughout Europe, was best known for her great histrionic achievement in the role of Polly, leading feminine part in Bert Brecht's "Beggar's Opera," which likewise became famous the world over.

Mass Meeting In N. Y. Backs Mexico Labor

S.W.P. Delegates Given Greeting On Return From South Trip

NEW YORK.—Solidarity with the Mexican workers in their struggle against Yankee imperialism was the key-note of an enthusiastic mass meeting held under the auspices of the Socialist Workers Party at the Center Hotel on April 14.

After hearing reports on recent events in Mexico by James P. Cannon, national secretary of the S.W.P., and Max Shachtman, both just back from a Mexican tour, the meeting adopted a resolution of greetings to the Mexican workers and sent a message to the government congratulating it upon its action in expropriating British and American oil properties.

International Support Needed

Cannon pointed out that while the expropriation was not what the Fourth Internationalists would like to see realized, since it provided for compensation to the oil companies, a real expropriation of American imperialism could hardly be accomplished by Mexico alone. For that the support of the American workers, in solidarity with those of Latin America, was needed. "The idea of the Fourth International took shape for us there," he stated, "as it never had before. . . . We must take the initiative in setting up a Pan-American section of the Fourth International, and then be in a position to fight for a real expropriation of American imperialism all along the line."

Comrade Shachtman spoke on the question of imperialism and the betrayal of the workers in the struggle against fascism by the People's Front. "While in Mexico," he said, "we gained a sort of physical feeling of the falsity of the idea that a war will be confined to Europe or Asia without the participation of the United States. Guatemala, a spearhead driven into the side of Mexico, is a base for a fascist movement being organized against Mexico by Nazi Germany. Arms and ammunition are being imported from Germany. . . . Conscious of that fact, France, in her imperialist interests, is supplying Mexico with arms."

New Panaceas Have Failed

Analyzing the People's Front policy in the Civil War in Spain and in the Popular Front governments of Leon Blum, he drew the lessons of the defeats of the workers, which have demonstrated that "the bourgeoisie in its most democratic sections prefer fascism to socialism under workers' control." "We were more and more convinced," he stated, "that the old principles stood the test and that the new and old substitutes for them had failed."

Mary Wills, recently returned from Europe, described conditions in Barcelona as she found them in the fall of 1936, when the workers were running industry, and the suppression of the workers' movement by the Prieto-Stalinist government during that winter, culminating in the Barcelona May days of 1937 in which she participated. "The workers know they have been sold out," she said, "but they do not know what to do about it. . . . The government is taking exactly the measures necessary to convince the workers they have nothing to fight for. Spain has proved that only a courageous Bolshevik party with a revolutionary line can fight fascism. The lesson of Spain is to build the Fourth International."

Resolution Adopted

The following resolution, adopted by the meeting, was sent to the workers and government of Mexico:

"The mass meeting at the Hotel Center, under the auspices of the Socialist Workers Party, warmly commends the action of the Mexican Government in expropriating the properties of the British and American oil companies which carried their exploitation of the oil workers to unbearable extremes, and even brazenly defied the laws of the country.

"The bold and courageous action of the Mexican Government in thus defending the economic and political independence of the country inspires and encourages the workers and oppressed people of all countries under the yoke of imperialism.

"The meeting declares its full solidarity with the people of Mexico in their heroic fight and calls upon all American workers to give them full support."

Stalin's Reasons

All I have just stated is easily verifiable. Then why, it will be said, should they lie so stupidly? Why should we be associated, Magdeleine Paz and myself, since we did not work together politically? The explanation is not hard to find.

Magdeleine Paz was one of the first to protest against the "Moscow trials"; above all, she courageously led the battle in search of the truth within the League for the Rights of Man, one of those organizations that Stalinism needs most for its present policy. Magdeleine Paz is dangerous. Therefore, they must try to discredit her, to ruin what influence she might have, by saying that Krestinsky gave her a part of the money he allegedly received from von Seeckt; that is the link.

And through me, they are aiming at the International Commission of Inquiry and seeking to strike it a blow. The Commission made a report that is overwhelming for the accusers. The conscientious and searching in-

By Alfred Rosmer

Enough of Mud! Enough of Blood!

Alfred Rosmer, author of the following article, was a member of the Executive Committee of the Communist International in the days of Lenin and Trotsky. He was also at one time the editor of L'Humanite organ of the French Communist Party. As a member of the International Commission of Inquiry into the Moscow Trials, he had an opportunity of studying closely Stalin's frame-up, methods. In this article he tears a wide rent in the most recent of Stalin's frame-ups, the trial of the twenty-one which ended with the execution of Bukharin, Krestinsky, Rykov and other prominent Russian Bolsheviks.—Ed.

Krestinsky, alone, among the latest batch of men destined by Stalin for death, displayed an outburst of indignation and anger at the beginning of his examination. His resistance had not been completely broken; he could not endure hearing himself described as a spy and traitor. A night passed, and he agreed to "confess," that is to say, to play his role in the lugubrious and nauseating play staged by Stalin-Yezhov. If the correspondent of the Temps is to be believed, Krestinsky was then "very lively" and, speaking "rapidly and with animation," he told, among other things, that he received from von Seeckt an annuity of 250,000 rubles of which he transmitted important sums to Magdeleine Paz and Rosmer in Berlin, at the Hotel Excelsior, in 1928.

These "Moscow Trials are so coarsely fabricated that each time a specific fact is alleged—in the indictment or during the court hearings—it is possible to make a decisive refutation.

Commission Exposes Lies

The International Commission of Inquiry, which met in New York during 1937, definitely established, with an impressive abundance of proof, that the very bases of the indictment in the first two trials (August, 1936, and January, 1937) were nothing but lies.

Stalin answered with a big new trial in every way similar to its predecessors, with the single difference that the inventions are even more delirious. Having shared in the work of the International Commission of Inquiry, I know very well how the Stalinist police plots are manufactured, on what lies and distortions they are erected. Today, I must examine my own case, since Krestinsky alleges he transmitted to me—to Magdeleine Paz and myself—important sums of money intended for Trotskyist propaganda, and he states that this took place in Berlin, at the Excelsior Hotel, in 1928. But:

The Real Facts

I did not go to Berlin at any time during 1928.

I was not in Berlin with Magdeleine Paz nor did I ever meet her there.

I never visited Krestinsky in Berlin.

Moreover, although I resided for an extended period in Moscow between 1920 and 1924 and belonged to leading bodies of the Communist International and the Red Trade Union International, although I directed L'Humanite—when it was communist—and consequently was in contact with many Bolsheviks, it is a fact that I met Krestinsky only once, in 1924, entirely by chance. During this accidental encounter, which lasted only a few minutes, I did not have an opportunity even to speak to him. After that date, I never saw Krestinsky again, either in Berlin or elsewhere.

Finally, in 1928, I was on the fringe of the Communist Opposition, but in no way participated in its activity.

Investigation made by the Commission throws full light on the Moscow trials. The French press has kept silent about its work and its conclusions—the press of the right as well as of the left. But this has not been true everywhere. The American press, among others, has reproduced at length and commented on the revelations and decisions of the Commission. The real criminal has appeared: Stalin. And that just at the moment when Stalin is trying to win the leading political circles of Washington and to assure a large base for his propaganda throughout the country.

New Falsehoods Needed

There is no possibility of refuting the report and conclusions of the Commission: its work was too well done and too solid. The only remaining possibility is to try to discredit its members by showing them to be, for instance, the accomplices of those executed. Thus it was necessary to lie again, to mobilize a dead man—von Seeckt—and make the Reichsmarks, the pounds sterling, and the yen circulate. But these new lies will in their turn be denounced and exposed? What of it? The great problem for Stalin is to stifle the truth, to prevent it from being heard.

His press will shout the lie every morning, everywhere. He has considerable means at his disposal; his openly Stalinist press is reinforced by a camouflaged press, the finest sample of which is doubtless Ce Soir, which gives itself out as a "great independent daily," keeps stubbornly silent about its financial backers, and shows only discreetly the snouts of its Stalinist directors.

The first two trials did not, at least in France, arouse great feeling. The voices that rose to denounce these monstrous parades of justice found slight echo.

Friedrich Adler, stigmatizing them as witchcraft trials, had small following among the parties of his own International. Organizations whose first duty should have been to intervene in defense of the accused were evasive, or even went so far as to cover up, without courage or frankness, Soviet "justice." They tried to regard these trials as episodes, disagreeable to be sure, but peculiarly Russian, with which they had no occasion to concern themselves further.

Protests Widening

This time it is different. The circle of protests is widening, refutations come from all sides, resolutions are being voted. The sinister, unending "purge" had already occasioned a growing disquietude, and now there is a new Moscow trial. Too much mud and too much blood! Only the professional Stalinists, with strong stomachs, can still swallow it without wincing. One wonders: Has Stalin gone mad? Has his omnipotence deprived him of reason? Has he lost his head and sunk into a particularly cruel form of sadism? Possibly.

But what is henceforth clear is that his policy, on which everything is dependent, is a dangerous poison for the labor movement, and that its ravages are already great. It degrades Bolshevism, it soils socialism, compromising its growth and its future to an extent that no fascist assassin could even dream of attaining. The most pressing task today is to help the workers—alarmed by this systematic massacre of old Bolsheviks, painfully troubled in their attachment to the Soviet Union and the conquests of the October Revolution—help them to understand that a new society, a socialist society cannot be built on lies, with the blood of its pioneers.

To Hide Decline

All this propaganda, because it serves to hide the decline of American capitalism, is part of the ideological struggle to suppress the workers. Its utter falseness is proved by the statistics of the capitalists themselves.

The appropriate years for comparison are 1929 and 1937. Both were peaks of economic activity, following depression. Both are turning points into depression. In all previous economic history, the latest peak of economic activity was always higher than the previous one. The trend was plainly upward. How does 1937 compare with 1929? What is the trend today?

The most general and comprehensive indices of business activity show that 1937 was much lower than 1929. According to the very comprehensive index of business activity compiled by Business Week, business activity in 1937 was fully 30 per cent less than in 1929. The United States is not "rising" and most certainly not "going forward to better days." The trend is plainly downward.

Production Index

Production is the precondition of consumption and the basic sustaining force of society. Let us see what happened to production. Industrial production as a whole, which includes manufacturing and minerals, declined between 1929 and 1937. The averages according to the Federal Reserve System, are:

Year	Index
1929	119
1937	110

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The present depression, far sharper than that which followed the stock market crash of 1929, has sent the capitalists scurrying to Washington for "relief." And they got it in far

Unit Quits Communist Party Denounces Moscow Frameups

The New York Jewish Daily Forward of April 18 reported that Unit 3, Section 9, of the Pennsylvania Communist Party had issued a declaration protesting the criminal Moscow trials, denouncing the policies of Stalinism as "disastrous for the interests of the working class" and announcing its withdrawal from the party.

In a statement approved by a majority of the unit, the policy of "collective security" was rejected as preparing a new war. The Moscow trials were described as criminal frame-ups which contrasted, like a macabre joke, with harmonious, unanimous decisions of the "freely-elected" Soviet parliament. The internal regime in the party was denounced as being one of insufferable bureaucracy in which all expression of free opinion is stifled by the hurling of epithets of "Trotskyist, wrecker, murderer."

"Therefore we hereby present an official declaration of doubt and disagreement with the Communist Party. We have thoroughly thought over the answers given by the party to these and other problems. We have come to the conclusion that the program and tactics of the party are disastrous for the interests of the working class. Therefore we resign officially from the American Communist Party."

The unit added it was not joining any other party and called upon other party units "who agree with our stand" to join it.

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Roosevelt Looks Vainly For Depression Remedy

(Continued from page 1)

pression. The major portion, however, will still be unemployed. In addition, there will still remain the 9,000,000 who were unemployed at the peak of economic activity in 1937. The housing program, will increase employment in the building industry as well as in the auxiliary capital goods industries. However, all this will fail of its purpose unless private industry joins in the expansion. The Roosevelt administration realizes this. The purpose of destitution of gold and the expansion of credit is to stimulate expansion in private industry by inflation.

New Burdens Loom

The inflation program will cause a spurt in economic activity, causing a further increase in employment, although it will never absorb all the millions of unemployed. However, it will also

increase prices and the cost of living for the workers. Workers now employed will suffer substantial cuts in real wages. The unemployed who are now on relief or getting \$54 a month on works projects, will be even more depressed. Those unemployed only will have temporary relief who get jobs in private industry as a result of the inflation upswing.

But this relief will be short-lived. Inflation will cut the purchasing power of the workers; surplus products will pile up as capitalists prepare themselves against future price rises. Consumption will have lagged again behind production. And the illusion of recovery will crash into the reality of depression.

Roosevelt's program is a counsel of depression. It can no more stop the tide of capitalist decline than King Canute could stop the ocean waves from rolling.

Capitalists Ask For Doles To Bolster Sagging Output Levels

(Continued from page 1)

American capitalism is declining sharply, causing widespread unemployment, smashing living standards, and bringing untold suffering. Mass uncertainty and discontent is growing.

To keep this discontent from becoming directed against capitalism, the New Dealers try to hide the decline beneath promises of abundance. President Roosevelt exclaims at Gainesville, Georgia: "We are going forward to better days. . . . The United States is rising and is rebuilding on sounder lines. We propose to go forward and not back." (N. Y. Times, March 3, 1938.)

The Stalinists long ago anticipated their capitalist masters by insisting: "We are still in the recovery phase. . . ." and "There are still present possibilities for the maintenance of the recovery trends." (Alex Bittelman, Daily Worker, October 28, 1937.)

To Hide Decline

All this propaganda, because it serves to hide the decline of American capitalism, is part of the ideological struggle to suppress the workers. Its utter falseness is proved by the statistics of the capitalists themselves.

The appropriate years for comparison are 1929 and 1937. Both were peaks of economic activity, following depression. Both are turning points into depression. In all previous economic history, the latest peak of economic activity was always higher than the previous one. The trend was plainly upward. How does 1937 compare with 1929? What is the trend today?

The most general and comprehensive indices of business activity show that 1937 was much lower than 1929. According to the very comprehensive index of business activity compiled by Business Week, business activity in 1937 was fully 30 per cent less than in 1929. The United States is not "rising" and most certainly not "going forward to better days." The trend is plainly downward.

Production Index

Production is the precondition of consumption and the basic sustaining force of society. Let us see what happened to production. Industrial production as a whole, which includes manufacturing and minerals, declined between 1929 and 1937. The averages according to the Federal Reserve System, are:

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more generous portions than the unemployed.

First of all, more than \$2,500,000,000 which the Reconstruction Finance Corporation had given out to capitalists as "loans" was wiped off the books by congressional action. But that was past "relief." The Glass bill, designed to enlarge the "lending" activities of the Reconstruction Finance Corporation, will give plenty of "relief" in the present. This bill has administration support.

The bankruptcy of American capitalism will provide plenty of capitalists seeking relief. The railroads have asked \$500,000,000 worth of "relief," twice as much as was given the 4,500,000 workers who were thrown into unemployment by the first five months of the current depression. Roosevelt proposes to loan them \$300,000,000. The banks, too, are looking for "relief." There were more bank failures in '37 than in 1934 and the financial papers report that "Bonds Worry Small Banks; if there is not a change in valuation methods there is a possibility that such banks might again resort to the Reconstruction Finance Corporation for capital funds, as they did a few years ago." (N. Y. Sun, April 2, 1938.)

C.I.O. Step Still Leaves Doors Open To Unity

(Continued from page 1)

not yet constituted their own council, provides the most graphic picture of internal contradiction expressed by indecision and paralysis. The Stalinists, who control a whole flock of C.I.O. unions in New York, real and more or less imaginary, are hellbent for the constitution of a C.I.O. council to romp around in. But the Amalgamated Clothing Workers and the I.L.G.W.U. are holding back; they don't want to play. They would rather, like Hamlet, bear the ills they have than fly to others that they know not of.

The abstention of the I.L.G.W.U. delegates on the vote to call a convention and set up a definite organization, and the increasing indications that the executive board of this union will vote definitely at its May meeting against the proposition, is bound to cast a shadow over the whole project and to strengthen the forces in the C.I.O. which favor a conciliatory unity approach.

Inssofar as the unity movement does not trade away the basic principles of industrial unionism and autonomy for the organizations in the mass production industries, it is progressive and should continue to receive the support of the militant elements of the rank-and-file.

The move of the C.I.O. toward a constitutional convention does not eliminate the question of unity in the next period, but only makes it more acute.

CHINA FUND NEARS ITS GOAL OF \$200

The fund being raised by the Socialist Workers Party to aid the Communist League of China (Fourth Internationalists) has taken further strides forward to the goal of \$200 set as the minimum to be collected. The fund now stands as follows:

- Previously acknowledged \$17.66
- Herbert Weinberger 5.00
- Allentown Branch 2.50
- Lavanburg Corner House 3.50
- Boys 5.50
- A. Friend 5.50
- A. Dane 5.00

TOTAL \$155.16

Socialist Appeal

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The Right of Asylum

The House Committee on Immigration and Naturalization opened up public hearings in the middle of this week on the bill submitted by Representative Emanuel Celler concerning the question of asylum in the United States for political and religious refugees.

The bill is conceived in the same general spirit as the statement made a few weeks ago by Secretary of State Cordell Hull in favor of facilitating the migration to the "democratic" lands of those whose existence in the Fascist countries had become insufferable.

Mr. Celler not only proposes that the President be empowered to increase the immigration quota for any foreign country in case of an "emergency situation," but also provides that a political or religious refugee who "in his last place of residence outside the United States has been subject to persecution, personal abuse or indignity, economic boycott or social ostracism because of his religious or political beliefs or practices," shall not be excluded from the U.S. as a person likely to become a public charge, provided he is "otherwise admissible."

Like the much-publicized Hull declaration, the Celler Bill is hedged around with just the kind of reservations and weasel words that are characteristic of all the flowery gestures of the "democratic" pretenders. Anxious to increase the patriotic allegiance of the masses to the government by emphasizing the contrast between fascism and democratic capitalism, our statesmen do not, however, fail at any time to puncture their policies with enough holes for most of the democratic content to leak through.

The "generous" American immigration policy of recent times has facilitated the admission of men like Albert Einstein—which is, of course, as it should be—or of bloody tyrants like the Cuban ex-dictator, Gerardo Machado, but has left virtually insurmountable bars against the entry of thousands of nameless soldiers of the labor and revolutionary movements. The new Celler resolution in reality perpetuates one of the oldest bars, when it makes reference to the "otherwise admissible." In the past, this has meant the power of the Washington authorities and their representatives abroad to exclude "undesirable aliens," that is, all those labor militants who have not relented in their views despite the most savage persecutions.

The reference to "his last place of residence outside the United States" is of a piece with the other. It means, concretely, that while a would-be immigrant in Germany has a chance to come to

the United States (if he can ever get out of Germany!), a German or Austrian exile who now happens to be in France, in utter misery, as is the case with most of them, is not eligible for admission to this country.

The bill, in other words, requires drastic revision in the direction of really letting down the bars to the horribly persecuted political and religious protestants against fascism and reaction. Among the best of the democratic traditions of the last century was the unalloyed right of asylum, which brought to the shores of the United States in particular some of the finest fighters for the labor movement. The bars which are maintained by some of our present-day half-baked or decayed "democrats" ought to be torn down without hesitation. And it is the labor movement that should be in the fore in the work of tearing them down.

Whose Morals?

The elections in Local 16 of the Waiters' Union in New York are worth more than a second thought. By a very close vote—a difference of about 150 votes out of a total of more than 3,000 would have changed the results—the Stalinist combination managed to defeat the slate put forward by the progressives. The progressives charge that the C. P. victory is to be explained by the fact that in the fusion of the late "red" union with the present A. F. of L. local, the Stalinists packed the rolls with numerous Party and Young Communist League members whose closest connection with the trade is obtained when they order a meal in a restaurant.

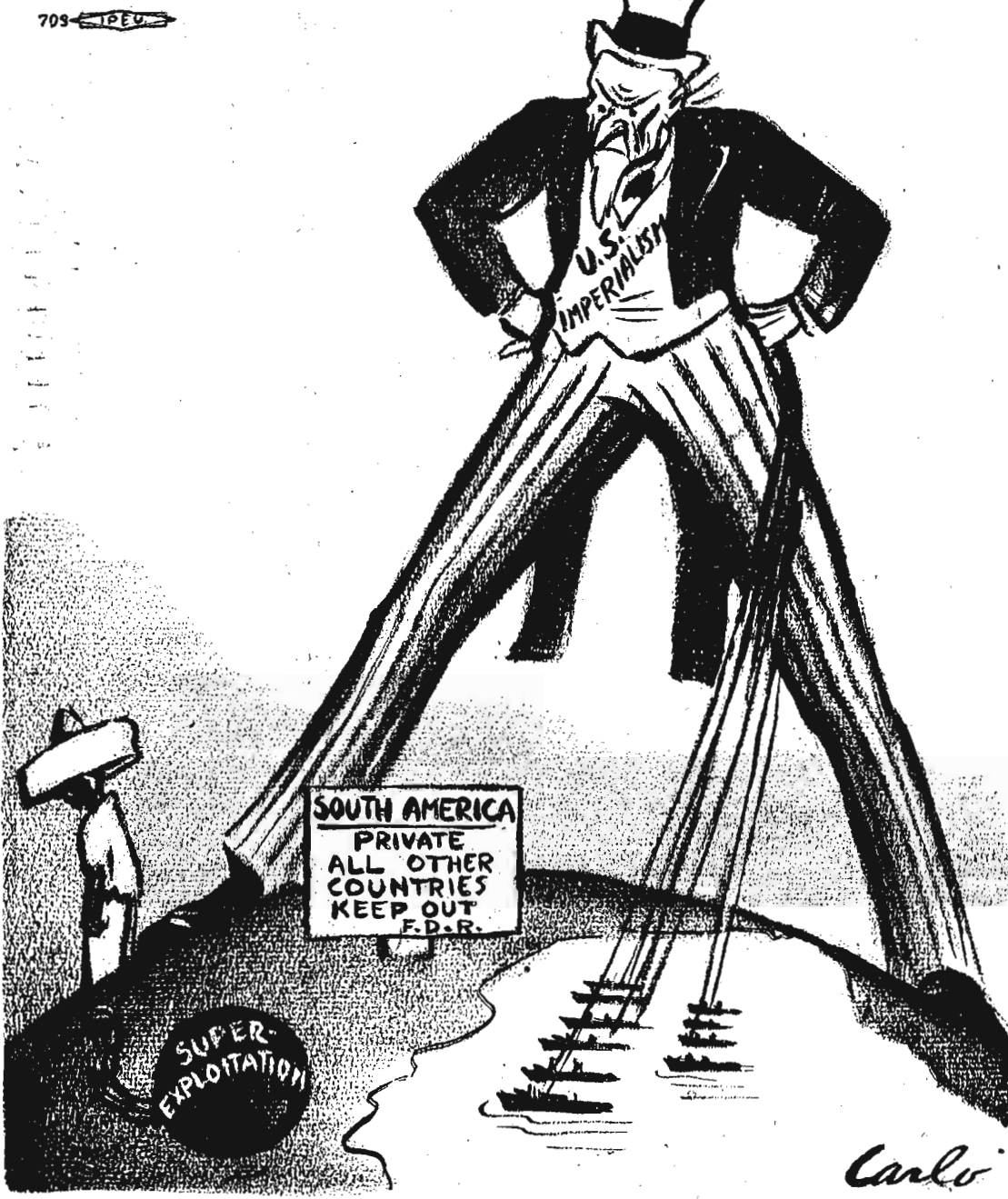
Of decisive significance, however, is the composition of the Stalinist slate. It was made up by a combination between the Communist Party and several gentlemen who served as paid officials in the administration of Messrs. Paul N. Coughler and Aladar Retek, who now have their offices in a penitentiary as Convicted racketeers. These same gangsters and the remnants of their associates were, in the past, vociferously condemned by the very Stalinists who, last week, imperturbably carried through a common election slate with them!

There are those who believe and charge that the Stalinists are immoral in their practices. Strictly speaking, this is not true. They are neither immoral nor amoral. In the remote past, some of the Stalinist leaders learned that the high moral pretensions of the ruling class are a gargantuan fraud, fair words which barely cover up the depravity, cynicism, hypocrisy and chicanery which constitute the reality of bourgeois moral standards.

In part, the communist movement was born in rebellion against these moral standards which had permeated the decadent movements of the Second International—the corrupt old social democracies. That rebellion has been suppressed by the rogues who usurped the leadership of the Communist International and who can live only by virtue of their adoption of the very standards of morality which they originally abhorred.

The barefaced alliance with gangster-racketeer elements is not exceptional to, but part and parcel of Stalinism. Those who, on a grand scale, are capable of palming off the governments of the most ruthless exploiters in history as illustrious democrats, are entirely consistent in presenting underworld characters as worthy co-leaders of a trade union.

The Good Neighbor Policy



Stalin's Trial As A Terrorist Demanded Of League By Trotsky

(The following letter was sent on March 21 by comrade Trotsky to the Judicial Section, Secretariat of the League of Nations):

On October 22, 1936, through my Norwegian attorney, the late Michael Puntervold, I had the honor of appealing to you in a letter receipt of which you were kind enough to acknowledge in your reply No. 3A-15105-15095. I am not informed as to the present status of the question of creating a tribunal against terrorists under the League of Nations. I do not know whether it already exists, or whether it is expected to start working in the near future. In any case, I consider it my duty not only to repeat the considerations which I had the honor of bringing to the attention of your section nearly a year and a half ago, but also to supplement them with a new, fully concrete proposal.

It was the Soviet government which initiated the creation of a tribunal against terrorists under the League of Nations. The People's Commissar of Foreign Affairs for the U.S.S.R., Mr. M. Litvinov, displayed at the League of Nations sessions an especially keen and, as might then have appeared, inexplicable interest in this question. However, to informed people the matter was clear even then. Preparing over a number of years the trial against "Trotskyist terrorists," the G.P.U. was fully convinced that the monstrous "confessions" of the accused would persuade the whole world, including the future tribunal of the League of Nations, as to the correctness of the accusations and offer the possibility of obtaining the legal deliverance of myself and my son, Leon Sedov, into the hands of the G.P.U. This was the immediate and direct aim of Moscow's initiative on the question of an international tribunal.

Right to be Heard

In my letter of October 22, 1936, I expressed the thought that a tribunal dedicated to the defense of governments in various countries from terrorists cannot, on the other hand, refuse defense to private individuals if they, because of purely political motives, are falsely accused of terrorism by an ill-intentioned government. I therefore considered them, and still consider, that I have the right to plead for an examination of my case by the future tribunal under the League of Nations, in spite of the fact that the Soviet government has seemingly definitely renounc-

ed the thought of seeking help in Geneva against my alleged "conspiracies."

The impartial International Commission headed by the well known American philosopher and educator, John Dewey, after almost nine months of work came to a final conclusion in regard to the Moscow trials, declaring them deliberate frame-ups. Armed with numerous and irrefutable proofs which are at the disposal of the above-mentioned Commission, I am ready at any time to appear before the tribunal of the League of Nations in order once more and definitively to convert my accusers into accused.

G. P. U. Terrorism

But I make bold to think that by this time it is already impossible to stop merely at the first step. During the last half year, the world has been witness to a series of actual terrorist acts committed in various countries according to a general plan and with undoubted singleness of purpose. I have in mind not the legal and extra-legal murders in the U.S.S.R., where the question, thus or otherwise, concerns the legalized actions of the state apparatus, but acts of downright banditry on the international arena.

The murder of Ignace Reiss, former agent of the G.P.U., on September 4, 1937, near Lausanne, Switzerland, can in no sense be viewed as a legalized act. The Swiss and French authorities have complete, exhaustive data unmasking the real organizer of this murder: the G.P.U., the secret police in the U.S.S.R.

During the judicial investigation of the murder of Ignace Reiss it was disclosed in passing that this same gang, in conducting systematic espionage upon my son, Leon Sedov, attempted to kill him at Mulhausen in January, 1937. What relationship the G.P.U. had to the sudden death of my son on the 16th of February of this year is still subject to general investigation.

Attempts in Mexico

Among the documents of the chief murderer of Ignace Reiss, a so-called Rossi who succeeded in fleeing in time, proofs were found of his attempts to enter Mexico for purposes not difficult to determine on the basis of the aforementioned circumstances. The actual name of this professional murderer in the service of the G.P.U. is Roland Abbatte. Witnesses of unimpeachable authority can relate before the

tribunal the preparation by G.P.U. agents of terroristic acts against me during my sojourn in Europe and in Mexico. I can further cite the kidnapping in Spain of my former collaborator, Erwin Wolf, a Czechoslovakian citizen who has disappeared without a trace. The terrorist acts in Spain against the Catalonian revolutionist, Andres Nin; the Austrian emigre, Kurt Landau; the son of a Russian emigre, Mark Rein, and a number of other individuals have received world-wide publicity. Even that part of the legal and extra-legal investigation which has been accessible to public opinion to date is completely sufficient to warrant the interference of an international tribunal against a centralized Mafia of terrorists working on the territory of several states, other than their own.

Stalin at the Head

With the help of documents, testimony of witnesses and irrefutable political considerations I take it upon myself to prove what public opinion has been in no doubt of for some time; that is, that the head of this criminal band is Joseph Stalin, General Secretary of the All-Union Communist Party of the U.S.S.R. Inasmuch as the People's Commissar of Foreign Affairs of the U.S.S.R., Mr. Litvinov, has very eloquently insisted upon the necessity for governments to mutually obligate themselves to extradite terrorists, he, we can hope, will not refuse to employ his influence to place the above-mentioned Joseph Stalin, as head of the international terrorist band, at the disposal of the tribunal under the League of Nations.

For my part, I am ready to place all my energy, information, documents and personal connections at the disposal of the tribunal in order that the truth may be fully disclosed.

Coyoacan, D.F. March 21, 1938.

Proclaims U.S. Primacy In Western Hemisphere

(Continued from page 1)

purchases from Mexico, has declared his readiness to accept Mexican silver on private markets—of course, at much lower prices. But Morgenthau neglected to explain what conditions were attached to this humanitarian attitude.

Full Settlement Sought

However, this tactical turn is part and parcel of the preparations for a wholesale settlement between Yankee imperialism and the Latin American "sister republics." Accentuated imperialist competition in these countries forces Washington to combine cautious maneuvering with preparedness.

Some weeks ago the press carried lively comments on a plan, supposedly originating in Latin American circles, for a Pan-American military alliance against foreign aggressors.

Whence and in what form this idea came remained unclear. The State Department "knew nothing." After these trial balloons were sent up, the foreign ministers of Brazil and Argentina met in Rio de Janeiro to discuss "co-ordination of Latin-American policies." Significantly enough, the American ambassador to Brazil took a very active part in these discussions.

Thus dollar diplomacy is still sufficiently strong, despite all difficulties, to maintain its key positions. And, as the real guarantee of the future, unprecedented naval armaments are being built. In the hearings of the Congressional Naval Committee, defense of the entire continental coast line, from Alaska to Cape Horn, was a subject of frequent discussion.

America for the Exploiters

Strength, and willingness to sacrifice our lives—this was the tenor of Roosevelt's speech. Roosevelt is determined to insure the exclusive rights of the Yankees to exploit the American continent with all the modern instruments of diplomacy, and warfare. America for the Americans? Yes: Latin America for the North American profiteers! What Roosevelt hinted in flowery diplomatic language was broadcast the same day by New York's Mayor LaGuardia in the straightforward words of a practical man.

"America is in deep crisis," he said. "The outlook is far from being cheerful.... The

situation requires daring and courage. This is no time for weaklings...."

LaGuardia Program

Scanning the horizon for wider outlets for American business, LaGuardia points to the markets of Central and South America. The task is not only to protect American investments, but to begin an energetic offensive against all trade competitors of the U.S.: "Countries of Europe and the Orient, particularly those under dictatorships, have invaded Latin-American republics and captured our markets.... It is only a step to political control."

LaGuardia presents a practical program. The twelve million unemployed of the U.S. shall be mobilized for a great enterprise of "planned patriotism." The U.S. must determinedly eliminate "the danger of improper European and Oriental encroachment" in Latin America. With the aid of cheap labor recruited from the ranks of the American industrial reserve army, a vast state-organized dumping on Latin American markets should be started "to maintain the arteries of trade which nourish our own industries."

Towards Real War

LaGuardia boasts that American capital is strong enough to offer Latin American customers the same low prices and economic advantages as do the "aggressors." In advance, he repudiates the idea that his proposal means economic war. There is, as always, only a question of legitimate "self-defense." State-subsidized exports, however, are nothing but dumping. Dumping is nothing but economic war. Economic war ultimately leads to real war. Of course, all this is the only self-defense for a capitalism torn by crisis.

The "planned patriotism" of Roosevelt and LaGuardia means war. The general crisis of capitalism has also clutched the United States. America is forced to go the way of all the other capitalist countries, the way of imperialist aggression. In the coming war for the redivision of the world, American finance capital will participate not merely as an "arbiter" but as a vitally interested party. Having shut the doors of the American continent to all "alien" imperialists in the name of the Monroe Doctrine, it will soon reveal its ambition to organize the rest of the world under the Star Spangled Banner.

A Personal Note

THE POT WITHOUT GOLD

I hope the readers of the Appeal will pardon me for a personal statement, but Mr. Michael Gold's column in the Daily Worker of April 19, 1938, leaves me no other course. The day before it appeared I received a letter from the circulation department of the pictorial weekly, Life, saying that I was going to receive that periodical for a year as a gift from Michael Gold.

The only Michael Gold I know of is the aforementioned columnist, and my reaction to this felicitous token of affection from a political foe may well be imagined. All the more disconcerting was it to have Mr. Gold make public a letter from Anne Bedford, of Life, billing him for the \$4.50 in payment of the subscription. With what is dismayingly like a terror-stricken tone, he adds:

"(1) I never sent in any such order for a subscription; (2) I am so chummy with Max Shachtman, Trotsky's sneaking little stooge in this country, that the only thing I would help him to would be the reward of a Judas; and (3) I am painfully uninterested in Life, and would not subscribe to it for anyone.... So,

Annie, don't bill me for \$4.50, because it will not be paid you." Now if Michael Gold wants to back out of the subscription just on account of a measly four dollars and fifty cents, why, that's all right with me, although everybody knows what a real sporting man thinks of a welcher. An impetuous literary man might be forgiven an act of impulse, but he hadn't ought to get so offensive about it when the time comes for the pay-off. Personally, you see, I had no intention to do any talking about the gift, because I have myself to think of and it wouldn't be so good to have my name coupled with even a penitent Gold. And if the latter hadn't gone shooting off his mouth, no one would have been the wiser.

Perhaps, however, it isn't entirely his fault. May be the prison censor on 13th Street opened Life's letter before passing it into Gold's cell and he got scared that he might have to do another stretch in solitary. Yessir, that may account for Gold's column. But even so I still think he shouldn't have been so infernally dirty about it.

—Max Shachtman.

Street-walkers of the G. P. U.

AN EDITORIAL

A mimeographed circular is making the rounds of liberal and intellectual circles, signed by Messrs. Robert Coates, Stuart Davis, Marc Blitzstein, Paul Strand and the not unknown Malcolm Cowley. It asks recipients to join with the above in underwriting a statement of approval and apologies for the last Moscow frame-up trial, to be published in the name of "progressive forces everywhere."

A more nauseating piece of mendacity is hard to imagine. Its character may be judged by the following quotations from the letter. In face of the universal disbelief in the Stalin-Vyshinsky charges, Cowley and Co. have the bland impudence to write: "The link between Hitler and the Trotsky-Bukharin camp is plain for us to see." It would be more accurate, it seems to us, to say: "The link between Browder and his running dogs dressed up as 'American progressives' is plain for us to see."

For who but running dogs of the G.P.U. murder gang could have the effrontery to put down on black and white, on April 2, of this Year of Our Lord 1938, the following staggering statement: "Most newspapers have discarded the earlier charges of 'frame-up' and now admit the validity of the trials."

Most newspapers! Perhaps Citizen Cowley, who is a man of high moral integrity and a luminary of one of our leading liberal weeklies, the New Republic, will name a few of these newspapers for us? If not a few of them, will he name at least one—apart from the Daily

Worker? Perhaps the New York Times? or the Herald-Tribune? or the New York Post? or the World-Telegram? or the Daily News? or a single other fairly well-known periodical? We doubt it, for not a single one was so glib as to describe the "trial" as anything but a crude and utterly fantastic frame-up.

More than that. The Nation, and Cowley's own New Republic, both of which admitted the "validity" of the first trial and of the second, and sought to jam their despicable conclusions down the throats of their readers, have washed their hands of the third trial and publicly acknowledged that it is too much even for their eager and distended gullets to swallow. Does't Mr. Cowley read the New Republic?

We have always felt sympathy for those unfortunate women who, in their economic distress, are forced by capitalist society to sell themselves to all who approach them. They are victims of a frightful social pressure. But the zealously voluntary prostitution of certain "liberal intellectuals" to the Stalinist machine passeth all understanding. If it is economic need they labor under, it is still beyond understanding why they do not resort to a solution which while far indeed from ideal, is nevertheless something—the relief rolls. At least, they could then bear themselves with a modicum of dignity, with a million times more dignity than they can in their present position, which makes it impossible for them to look even an ordinary decent person straight in the eye.

S.W.P. Dinner Party

To Greet the National Committee, S. W. P.

Saturday, April 23, 7 P. M.

MARINIS RESTAURANT, 9 EAST 22 STREET

Reservation, 75c

Reservations must be made in advance at 116 University Place.

Number limited, will be taken in order of receipt.

Y. C. L. Supports U. S. Imperialism

NEWARK, N. J. — Stalinist support to American imperialism under the slogan of "collective security" was thoroughly exposed last week in Newark when Nathan Gould, national organizer of the Young Peoples Socialist League, engaged in a debate with Bernard Brandschaft of the Newark Young Communist League before an audience of 300.

As the debate progressed the exposure of the obvious falsity and pro-war nature of the Stalinist position deeply impressed the audience. Gould, at the beginning of his presentation, submitted a series of questions to Brandschaft demanding concrete answers to each that would place him on record for support or opposition to the American government in event of war. Brandschaft refused to answer these

questions. Instead he told the audience that the Trotskyists were given to the use of "abstract logic," citing as an example Gould's statement that "the state is the executive committee of the ruling class." Gould denied originating the statement, giving all credit to Karl Marx, well known 19th century "Trotskyist."

After the final rebuttal Gould offered Brandschaft extra time to answer the questions he had put to him. Brandschaft, who throughout the evening had been compelled to use left phraseology to conceal the unpalatable treachery of the Stalinist position, stated flatly, in answer to the final question, that he would not support the United States in a war against Japan. At this point Gould gave Brandschaft

Browder's recent article on Collective Security, asking him to read from it. Brandschaft read to the audience Browder's clear and unequivocal statement that he would support the government of the United States in a war against Japan.

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