

## Czechoslovakia - Another

### "Poor Little Belgium"

The entire liberal and labor press drools with chauvinistic enthusiasm at the very mention of the name of Czechoslovakia. The "socialist" *New Leader* and the "communist" *Daily Worker*—to say nothing of their brethren of *The Nation* and the *New Republic*—outshout the capitalist press in acclaiming "brave little Czechoslovakia" and the resistance she is prepared to offer any Hitlerite intervention.

All the editorial writers are, of course, devout adherents of Peace. Like Roosevelt, they hate war. Whatever conflicts they may have among themselves, each puts forward his policy with the assurance that its acceptance will guarantee both peace and democracy.

Yet the case of Czechoslovakia shows that all of them are prepared for war. Not only that, but they have already made up their minds as to which side of the coming war they will call upon the workers to lay down their lives for.

As in 1914, the trenches are to be piled high with corpses for the loftiest—oh, the very loftiest!—ideals: for Democracy, for the Independence of the Small Nations.

This time, however, it is not Little Serbia, or Little Belgium, but Little Czechoslovakia. But while the country involved is different, the trick is not.

#### Issue Is Not Self-Determination

The conflict between Hitlerite Germany is *not* over the right of self-determination of national minorities or of small peoples. It is *not* democracy that is at stake. Whoever says it is, is deliberately lying.

When Hitler seeks to incorporate the 3,000,000 Sudeten Germans into Greater Germany, it is not because he is animated by the great principle of allowing all peoples to determine their own governmental forms and allegiances. If he were, he would not simultaneously demand that millions of Negro peoples in England's African colonies be turned over to the control, oppression and exploitation of Germany regardless of the wishes of the natives.

On the other side, there is absolutely nothing democratic about compelling the Sudeten minority to remain under the rule of the Czech bourgeoisie, especially when this minority has made amply clear its desire to join Germany. Under present circumstances, no revolutionist would advocate the incorporation of the Sudeten territory into the Third Reich, any more than he advocated the swallowing up of the Saar by Hitler. But the *fact* remains that the Czechs are holding the German minority against its will.

Similarly, there is no regard for democracy or the right of self-determination by the Czech ruling class when it keeps artificially and forcibly under its domination the millions of Hungarians, Poles, Slovaks, Ruthenians and other national minorities whom the Allied victors of 1918 arbitrarily compelled to submit to Masaryk, Benes and Co.

Furthermore, Hitler doesn't give a hoot in hell about the democratic or racial feelings of his Sudeten blood-brothers. If he intervenes in Czechoslovakia, it will not be to "liberate" the Sudeten Germans (God help them!), but to take over the vast and powerful Skoda munitions works, and to complete his domination of Central and Southern Europe.

#### French Imperialism Decisive Factor

The Czech bourgeoisie, however, will resist Hitler not for the sake of democracy or self-determination, but in its capacity of faithful vassal of French imperialism, of the French munitions magnates, Schneider and Creuzot, who control the Skoda works and other industries and financial enterprises of Czechoslovakia.

The Czech bourgeoisie are not fighting to retain the independence of the country, for the simple reason that Czechoslovakia, from its inception, has been nothing but a pawn of imperialist France and anything but independent.

In the general world war that would follow instantly upon a German-Czech conflict, the question of "independence" would disappear as completely as did the question of "Belgian independence" in the last world war.

The workers of Czechoslovakia would march to war against Hitlerite Germany in a just cause only on one condition: that the workers were masters of the country! To give an ounce of support now to Benes and Hodza means to sacrifice the life and independence of the labor movement, and of the workers and peasants in uniform, for the greater glory of French imperialism—nothing more.

The latter could wish for nothing better than to mobilize cannon fodder behind it on the basis of the war-cry of national independence, democracy, freedom of the small nations. The Second and Third Internationals are cold-bloodedly throwing their meat-hooks into the working class to provide France with her cannon fodder. That is the significance of the social-democratic and Stalinist campaign for Poor Little Czechoslovakia!

## Minnesota Socialists Reject Party Of Norman Thomas, Join the S.W.P.

The following letter, sent to Roy E. Burt, executive secretary of Norman Thomas' Socialist Party, speaks for itself. We hail the action of the Golden Valley (Minnesota) militants in repudiating the moribund Socialist Party and warmly welcome them into the revolutionary fighting ranks of the Socialist Workers Party.—Ed.)

Roy E. Burt, Executive Secretary, Socialist Party,

Dear Sir:

Your letters of June 15 and 16 inform the Golden Valley Local that the Socialist Party has canceled its charter, and you ask that we at once return all records, files, papers, monies of any kind in our possession to the national office of the Socialist Party.

Your request amazes us. I don't have to remind you of the way in which yourself and the other "democracy-loving" leaders of the

Socialist Party expelled the revolutionary socialists from your party, and then instituted a vicious gag law in the party.

The Golden Valley local, to a comrade, has taken its stand with the Socialist Workers Party, the only upholder and defender of revolutionary Marxism in the United States today. The Socialist Party, such as it is, has no claim on our records or funds. We are functioning as a unit of the Socialist Workers Party, and all our efforts and money are devoted to that party.

We wish also to strongly protest your sending a person who belongs neither to your party nor to ours—Mrs. Erickson—to Golden Valley to inquire as to our status, records, etc.

I hope this makes the position of the Golden Valley Local crystal clear. Fraternally, William Englebretson, Secretary, Golden Valley Local, S.W.P.

## Stalin Murders Foreign Communists Who Sought Refuge In The U.S.S.R.

### Writer Gives Grim List of Victims Shot or Imprisoned by G. P. U. Without Semblance of a Trial

**EDITORIAL NOTE**—The recent imprisonment in Moscow of the head of the Hungarian Communist Party, Bela Kun, lifted a small corner of the curtain behind which hundreds of Hungarian, German, Polish, Greek, Rumanian, Estonian, Latvian and other communists sojourning in Russia, have been murdered or imprisoned by the G.P.U., without even the semblance of a trial. We print below a sensational list of some of the leaders of the German and Polish communist parties who have been shot or jailed by Stalin in recent times. The article, by comrade "X," is translated from the May-June, 1938, issue of the "Bulletin of the Opposition," organ of the Russian Bolshevik-Leninists abroad.

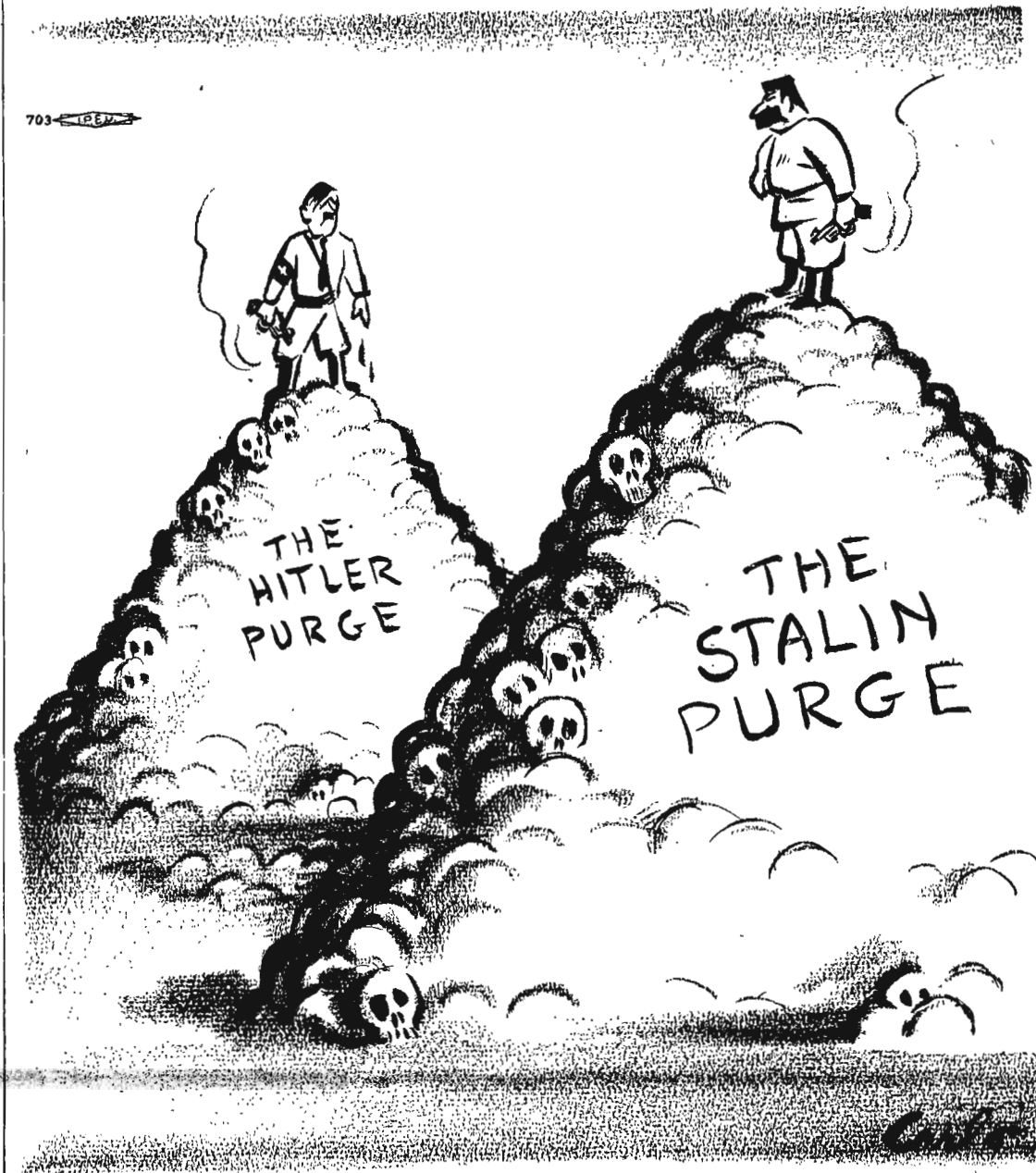
#### I—Poland

Arrests and shootings of Polish communists began in the year 1933, after many Ukrainian and White Russian communists had already been arrested and executed. Even prior to the mass arrests, in 1929, the Comintern, with the assistance of the G.P.U., "adjudged" the controversy between the Right grouping in the Central Committee of the Polish C. P. (Varsky, Kostreza and others) and the Left grouping (of Lensky) by sending the majority of the Rights into exile. Lensky's group—the partisans of the general line—remained in leadership up to the end of 1937.

In 1938 arrests among the Rights began, and in 1938 they made arrests among Lensky's group.

**The Rights Accused**—The Rights were accused of assisting agents of Pilsudski to worm their way into the leadership of the party, and of maintaining contacts with the nationalist elements in Polish Ukraine and White Russia, and of having supported Trotsky in 1923-24.

A beginning was made with the execution of Zharsky and his wife, Matseyevskaya. Zharsky was a member of the party from 1920 on (prior to that time he was a member of the left wing of the Polish Socialist Party); he participated in the party leader-



Catching Up And Outstripping...

ship and was elected by the Communist Party to the Sejm. Both of them "confessed" that in 1919 they had wormed their way into the party on the instructions of the Polish counter-espionage system and the P.O.V. (Pilsudski's

Polish military organization). Together with them, Sokhatsky (Bratkovsky—Communist deputy in the Sejm—and Vovevudsky—leader of the revolutionary peasant movement in Poland (organizer of the Independent Peasant

Party, N.P.K.)—had joined the party. All of them also confessed that they gave false information to the Polish C. P. concerning internal relations within Pilsudski's camp, as a consequence of which (Continued on page 3)

## STALIN FOUND GUILTY OF FRAME-UPS

### DEWEY COMMISSION ISSUES EXHAUSTIVE REPORT OF ITS INVESTIGATION INTO THE MOSCOW TRIALS, FINDS CRIMINALS IN THE KREMLIN

#### NOT GUILTY!

That is the verdict reached in the report of the Commission of Inquiry into the Charges against Leon Trotsky at the Moscow Trials, which has just been made public in an impressive volume issued under the imprint of Harpers' Brothers, and already briefly reviewed in our last issue.

From the very beginning, the composition of the Commission was a guarantee that the Moscow Trials would be examined with the thoroughness, the intellectual integrity, and the determination to get at the truth behind the official charges, which was made so essential by the confusion and doubt aroused by the trials throughout the world.

#### The Composition of the Commission

Every one of the Commission members has been associated prominently with the radical, labor or progressive movements for years. John Dewey, philosopher, educator, and progressive, long known for his sympathy with the Soviet Union, was chairman of the Commission. Suzanne LaFollette, former editor of *The Freeman*, and mainly responsible for the actual writing of the magnificent final report, was the Commission's secretary.

Its members included the well-known labor journalist, Ben Stolberg; the anarchist leader, Carlo Tresca; the critic, John Chamberlain; the famous attorney of Tom Mooney (and Earl Browder!), who acted in a legal capacity for the Commission, John Finerty; and such distinguished personalities of the labor and revolutionary movements abroad as the former communist Reichstag deputy and biographer of Kary Marx, Otto Ruehle; the former member of the Executive Committees of the Communist International and the Red International of Labor Unions, Alfred Rosmer; the leader of the conservative wing of Italian socialism, Modigliani; the noted Mexican revolutionist, Zamora; and many others.

#### They Only Shrieked Insults

No wonder the Stalinist press and Ambassador Troyanovsky covered the Commission with abuse and insults from the very moment of its creation! They knew only too well that it would adhere rigorously to its task of penetrating the lies and frame-ups of the Stalinist murder gang and getting down to the truth. That is why Troyanovsky, and the Communist Party and its best-known lawyer, Brodsky, refused the invitation extended them by the Commission to appear before it to argue for the findings of the Moscow courts.

#### Watch for Spain Article Next Week

Next week marks the second anniversary of the outbreak of the civil war in Spain. The significance of the struggle, the lessons to be derived from it, and an analysis of the present position of the war and the prospects of its termination, will be dealt with in a detailed study in our next issue to mark the anniversary. The article will be written by Max Shachtman. Watch for it!

## First Year of China War Shows Japanese Imperialism Doomed

### Army Victories Not Effective Beyond Soldiers' Bayonet Points; Japan Plunges Toward Bankruptcy

#### CHINA'S STRUGGLE SHOWS WEAKNESS

By LO SEN

To attempt to strike a balance of the Sino-Japanese war as its first year draws to a close is like trying to pass judgment on a play after viewing the prologue.

Titanic struggles have been fought on Chinese battlefields. Nearly one million men have lost their lives. Millions of men, women, and children have been plunged into the direst misery.

As in Spain, only on an infinitely larger scale, the world has been treated to a ghastly advance showing of the horrors of the coming imperialist war. For that is what this war has been, for all its magnitude, for all its cost—a prelude, the curtain-raising scene of a drama that has still to be played out. Its theme is the fate and the future of civilization.

Japan's attempt to establish its imperialist domination over China by force of arms has already been proved, in this first year, to be an adventure hopelessly doomed to defeat. China's vastness, Japan's frailty, and the struggle for power among the great imperialist nations of the world, belatedly, to imitate his older imperialist brothers in the game of conquest.

Not even from the military point of view can Japan boast of any important achievement in this year of warfare, especially when we consider the inferiority of Chinese military equipment and the even more important fact that the present bourgeois leadership in China has not dared to draw on the real resources that lie in the Chinese masses for resistance and counter-attack. Superficially regarded, Japan has scored an impressive series of triumphs. It has occupied most of seven provinces, or nearly a third of China proper. It controls all but one or two ports and all but one of the important railroads.

## SIT-IN STAGED BY STRIKERS IN N.Y. PLANT

### Workers Hailed to Court After Cops Evict Them

NEW YORK—When trucks arrived to move machinery of the Seagram Metal Goods Corporation from Long Island to Middletown, N. J., last week, 24 workers, on strike for ten weeks, barricaded themselves behind steel fireproof doors in a desperate attempt to prevent the concern from moving.

More than 300 employees, members of the United Electrical Radio and Machine Workers Union, have been striking for a union contract and a 20 per cent wage increase. The company planned the move to a new plant in New Jersey as a means of evading the demands of the strikers.

#### Police Force Doors

Jacob Morrison, president of the corporation, and three office workers were forced to remain in the plant as the 24 men held off the trucking crews. An emergency squad of police used crow bars to pry open the heavy steel doors and then forced their way through the improvised barricades.

Retaliation by the courts against the bold efforts of the strikers to save their jobs and livelihood appeared imminent as the 24 were arraigned in Felony Court on charges of unlawful entry, damage to property, and detaining the corporation's president and his three clerks against their will.

Meanwhile, trucks carried the plant's machinery across the Hudson to New Jersey, enabling the company to permanently displace the striking 300.

But its control over this vast area is of the most tenuous kind. All kinds of correspondents, including even the notoriously pro-Japanese Hallett Abend of the *New York Times*, have testified that Japan's control extends little farther than the points of its bayonets in the occupied areas. Should the present drive along the Yangtze River result in the capture of Hankow, the provisional Chinese capital, this fundamental fact will not be changed. Across every Japanese "victory" falls the shadow of ultimate defeat.

#### Already Crumbling

This is true, in the first place, because with the greater part of its task still lying ahead, Japanese imperialism is already crumbling at home. Japan's capital resources are already seriously depleted. At the end of its fiscal year in April the national debt had swelled to 13,000,000,000 yen, a huge sum for small Japan, and in the current year this debt is scheduled to increase by 50 per cent. A country already so heavily drained has been unable to meet the new demands placed upon it. Tax returns in some of the newly-imposed categories have proved to be less than half those expected and counted upon. In 1937, some 60 per cent of new (Continued on page 3)

## Omaha Drivers Reply to Police Attack On Union; Appeal Sentence

OMAHA, Nebraska.—The campaign of the Omaha police against the organized teamsters met with vigorous opposition when General Drivers Local 554 challenged the cops' illegal seizure of the personal property and correspondence of Alfred Russell, 554 organizer.

Dewey Hanson, an Omaha attorney, was retained by the union, and a suit for a writ of replevin was filed to force the police to return Russell's property, seized in a raid on his apartment. The suit was filed on the ground that Russell's constitutional rights have been violated, thus leaving the way open to carry the case to the highest courts.

#### Appeal Vagrancy Sentence

The union also filed notice of an appeal against the 90-day sentence by police court, which found Russell guilty of vagrancy, although he is employed by the union and was working in the union office at the time of his arrest.

In passing the sentence against Russell, the police and the court

have plainly implied that even a working driver is guilty of vagrancy, for Russell, by a vote of the membership at a regular meeting, was given a salary approximating the wage of a working driver. If the cops and their courts can sentence a paid union organizer as a vagrant, what can the average employed worker expect, let alone the unemployed?

The material found in Russell's apartment was used by the police to promote a "red scare", with the intent of splitting the union. This failed dismally when the membership voted overwhelmingly to support the union leadership and to carry the fight to the police.

Another test on this issue came last week when reactionaries attempted to bar Russell as a delegate to the central labor body, on the grounds that he is a "Communist." The rest of the delegates from Local 554, to a man, backed Russell's right to sit as a delegate, and the right of Local 554 to pick its own union officials without interference.

#### Truth Is On the March!

But the voice of the apologists for mass murder is growing feebler as the voice of condemnation rings out louder and more firmly than ever before. Truth is on the march and nothing can stop it! The Dewey Commission report is proof of this. It is a big part of the dramatic history of our times. It is a big contribution to the making of that history. It is a mighty weapon in the hands of the revolutionists who are working to cleanse the system of the labor movement from that most insidious and corrosive of all poisons—Stalinism.

Without this weapon, every worker will find himself but half-equipped. Hence our job: to get a copy of this remarkable document into the hands of every man and woman in the labor movement!

# LA GUARDIA POLICE CRACK DOWN ON NEW YORK JOBLESS

## Arrest 22 Members Of W.A.A. For Demanding Bigger Relief Checks

NEW YORK.—The City Administration of Mayor F. H. LaGuardia, re-elected to office last year as a "democrat," a "progressive" and a "friend of the unemployed" with the aid of the Stalinist and Socialist parties, cracked down hard on this city's jobless last week. Twenty-two unemployed victims of capitalism, demanding higher relief standards were taken into custody by LaGuardia's police. Seven of them were arrested at a demonstration staged by more than 200 unemployed at the West 53rd Street relief bureau.

Refusing to meet the demands of the jobless, the City Administration, besides instituting phony "investigations" to determine whether some wretched victim of unemployment is getting something which he is not legally entitled to, is now resorting to mass arrests of the discontented and a general attack on the Workers Alliance.

### Local Four Takes Lead

About a month ago, Local 4 of the Alliance started and carried through a series of militant actions, including picketing. This culminated in last week's demonstration in which six other locals joined.

Aroused by the failure of the relief bureau administrators to do anything for relief applicants kept waiting around for months, about 100 unemployed stormed the 53rd Street relief bureau to hear reports of the grievance committees. Hardly had the reporting begun than police arrived and immediately went into action.

Administrator Becker and Supervisor LaBella, two avowed liberals (Becker was until recently a Lovestonite, while both are members of the Stalinist-controlled State, County and Municipal Workers Union), actually summoned the police.

### Those Arrested

Among those arrested at the 53rd St. Bureau, was Rhoda Pearson, Chairman of Local 4, and secretary of the Progressive Group of the Alliance. Speaking for the West Side (Manhattan) Committee of the Alliance, which arranged the July 8 demonstration, Pearson said in part:

"Is the Administration of the 53rd St. relief bureau afraid to have conditions in the bureau exposed? Are Administrator Becker and Supervisor LaBella determined to keep the public from finding out that they are continually refusing relief to men who are in need?"

"Here are the conditions prevailing in the Single Men's Relief Bureau on 53rd Street: 'When men come for help they are told to come back in 10 or 15 days regardless of how badly they need immediate help.'

"If men are rejected for some small reason, they have to fill out a new application and wait another 10 to 15 days for interviews. This may keep up until the man either starves or is evicted from his room. When a man is evicted, he is no longer eligible for home relief and the bureau refers him to the flop houses.

### Interminable Waiting

"If a man who applies for relief is lucky enough to get by the first set of questionnaires, he then has to sit home for weeks to wait for an investigation. The whole procedure of this bureau is one of red tape, run around, and delay that forces men to actual starvation.

"When the Workers' Alliance came to this Bureau to expose these conditions and help men get relief, Becker and LaBella ordered the police to arrest seven people. These needy single men want relief, not arrests!" Pearson concluded.

The trial of the seven is scheduled for July 14. All progressive and militant members of the Alliance have been urged to attend the hearing.

In contrast to the militant leadership of Local 4, the Stalinist leadership of the New York Workers Alliance called off a scheduled city-wide "sit-in." Faced with this retreat on the part of the Alliance leaders, the Welfare Department have now begun a more vigorous attack on the unemployed, resulting in the mass arrests.

### Mass Action Needed

"This gang-up on the unemployed, must be fought back, and with those weapons which the unemployed have displayed in the past—mass action and increased militancy. This is no time for retreats. As for us, we've just begun to fight!" a spokesman for Local 4 said.

Plans are now being laid for a larger demonstration at the W. 53rd St. Bureau. Already the West Side of Manhattan has been flooded with thousands of leaflets issued by the West Side Coordinating Committee of the W.A., denouncing the arrests. Dozens of protest meetings have been held nightly throughout the West Side, and with the added publicity given to the arrests by the capitalist press, increased indignation by the workers, both employed and unemployed, has been voiced.

## H.O.L.C. BUSY EVICTING N.Y. WORKERS

### New Deal Concern Boasts Eviction Successes

A tragic story of the depression, a story of working-class homeowners pitilessly evicted, is written across the face of almost every one of the million mortgages held by the Home Owners' Loan Corporation. Every day the New Deal writes a tragedy, every day sets a family on the street. From 1933 to the end of May, 1938, there have been some 30,000 evictions in the New York region alone. Now the New Deal is "liquidating" 4,890 more families, of whom 3,309 are "unemployment cases." According to the capitalist press, H.O.L.C. officials feel "proud" of this record.

In 1933 the H.O.L.C. took over \$3,091,000,000 worth of mortgages from banks and trust companies, building and loan associations, finance and mortgage companies, life insurance companies, estates and individuals. The law creating the corporation stated explicitly that the only borrowers eligible for assistance were those "in urgent need of funds for the protection and preservation of their homes, and . . . unable to procure the needed financing through the normal channels." At present the government has more than \$600,000,000 invested in 127,000 desperate home-owners in the New York region (New York, New Jersey, Connecticut) alone.

### Bondholders Protected

Looking over the entire balance sheet one sees that in direct contrast to the wording of the law, it is the government and the H.O.L.C. bondholders that are protected, whereas the homeowner "in urgent need of funds" is made to feel the toe of the sheriff's boot, which is not any the softer for having the "New Deal" imprimatur on it. The government is piling up tidy sums at five per cent interest on its original \$3,091,000,000 investment, plus what it has loaned since 1933, which losses on resales of foreclosed homes cannot begin to offset. These sums are augmented by federal taxes and mortgage fees. That business is good may be gathered from the fact that the average price for short-term H.O.L.C. bonds is 101.25 and the average rate of interest 1.75, and that for long-term bonds the average price is 104.28 with an average interest rate of 2.67.

This "good" business means for the worker that he is being evicted ruthlessly. Already the H.O.L.C. has expropriated hundreds of thousands of families. On its hands it has at present 87,000 homes throughout the United States, 10,167 of which are in New York State. Some 6,000 of these homes are in the New York City area. H.O.L.C. experts predict that, not counting resales, they will some time in 1939 be the "proud" expropriators of 150,000 homes throughout the country.

### The Poor Evicted

The bourgeois press gives touching pictures of the dispossessed. One was an old man of 61 with nine children. He had owned the house for 17 years, but had been unemployed for the last ten. Only two children were employed. All they could give toward the support of the family was \$17 per week between them. Some months after the H.O.L.C. took over the mortgage, their home was liquidated. Another family consisted of a man unemployed for two years, with a wife and four minor children. After getting a \$20-a-week job, he mortgaged his home for \$2,667. Amortization and interest payments were so high that they meant starvation. He defaulted and his home was liquidated by the H.O.L.C. So the story goes. But business is good and H.O.L.C. bonds are up.

Workers everywhere must stop evictions by the New Deal loan sharks! Home-owners must strike against interest, tax and fee payments and demand cancellation of all arrears! Make the government and the bondholders pay!

ASK FOR THE APPEAL AT YOUR NEWSSTAND

## C.I.O. SUMMONS STRIKE IN C.P. SUMMER CAMP

### Stalinists Slave Girls 12 Hours for \$7 a Week

NEW YORK. — Between 15 and 20 waitresses employed by Browder's Communist Party at its Camp Kinderland, Hopewell, N. Y., were called out on strike by the C.I.O. this week in an effort to force the Stalinist moguls to pay these workers wages equal to, and conditions not worse than, those they would get in private industry.

C. I. O. pickets were parading around the Stalinist pleasure resort, which has become notorious in union circles for the sweated conditions to which its subjects its employees. The waitresses, according to all available information, have been receiving the miserly wage of \$7 per week for a 12-hour working day, while the Stalinist Party, alleged champion of labor's rights, has been waxing rich on their exploitation.

The Communist Party claims it makes a net profit on its Camp Kinderland of some \$23,000 per season. The season lasts only ten weeks.

## UNION BRIEFS

National Labor Relations Board trial examiner Tilford E. Dudley has recommended that the Ford Motor Company reinstate 192 workers and grant sole bargaining rights to the United Automobile Workers of America. He also recommended complete disbanding of the Liberty Legion of America, Inc., Ford's company union, as well as granting 96 workers back pay from date of discharge. **Other workers are to receive remedial wages dating from the company's refusal to reinstate them and another group of 57 are to be put on a preferential employment list.**

1,200 members of the United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers Union, Local 102, C.I.O., on strike since April 29 at the Philadelphia Storage Battery plant (Philco radio), voted unanimously to reject the company's wage cut proposal and resume work. Retail Philco radio dealers will be picketed on a nationwide scale and a boycott urged.

Robert Kirkwood, secretary of the Washing Machine Employees Union, C.I.O., of Newton, Iowa, has been arrested on the charge of criminal syndicalism. For two months 1,500 workers have been on strike against the Maytag Washing Machine Company because of a ten per cent wage cut. Kirkwood is the sixth man to be arrested by the boss government in its aim to break the strike. Intimidated by Governor Kraschel's call for 1,000 deputies to preserve "law and order," the union has withdrawn all but three pickets and is mistakenly placing its hopes in the boss-government boot.

## NEW DEAL CROP PROGRAM BASED ON STARVATION

### Bumper Harvests Promise No Relief for Hungry as Government Maps Plans of Destruction

By J. PYTLAK

In line with Roosevelt's policy of saving capitalism in a "democratic" way, the government is doing everything in its power to cut down the bumper agricultural crops anticipated this summer and thereby, if possible, raise the prices of wheat, corn and cotton. Confronted with the bounteousness of nature, the administration at Washington makes no serious attempt to put bread and clothing into the hands of the unemployed.

Its farm relief program on the other hand, is not directed to benefit tenant farmers and sharecroppers, who comprise half of the farming population, but the wealthy farmers and farm corporations.

### A Great Harvest

According to the May bulletin of the Agricultural Adjustment Administration, the domestic supply of wheat will probably exceed 1,200,000,000 bushels with the completion of the harvest. Of this total, 200,000,000 bushels will represent carry-over from last season. The bulletin states that the "best" estimate for domestic consumption is 650,000,000 bushels. This means, of course, that the home market can absorb that much wheat, not that 650,000,000 bushels will satisfy the needs of American consumers. Foreign sale of 90,000,000 bushels is expected, thus leaving a carry-over of 460,000,000 bushels, the highest since 1923.

This year, the government proposes to reduce the supply of bread by lending the big wheat farmers \$300,000,000 for the "storage" of part of their crops. "Storage" of wheat means not merely withdrawal from the market, but in all probability destruction, unless the government is able to sell it abroad in the form of a loan or loans which will be repayable in cash.

### Big Farmers' Advantage

The government is offering farmers loans against crops at 60 cents per bushel, which would theoretically remove 500,000,000 bushels from sale. This, it is calculated, will more than eliminate any carry-over or surplus for next year. Because of the newness of the lending plan, however, it is expected that the amount of wheat "stored" or destroyed will reach only 200,000,000 bushels. Thus the big farmer with funds on hand to carry him over can make a nice profit if he sells out on a rising market in the future.

In addition to this, the government proposes to help the big farmer by making parity payments. If the farmer conforms to the A. A. A. program in general, he will receive supplementary payments where he loses money due to the low price of

wheat. The money made available for this purpose is \$212,000,000. If this money were spent for the purchase of wheat for the unemployed it would buy some 353,000,000 bushels at 60 cents or about 51,000,000 barrels of flour. As a left-handed concession to what should be done, the government has purchased only 5,000,000 bushels of wheat to be milled into some 1,100,000 barrels of flour for relief purposes, which is less than the proverbial drop in the bucket.

### Crop Insurance Plan

Besides reducing the "surplus" of 460,000,000 bushels by "storage" of 200,000,000 and purchase of 5,000,000 for relief, the government hopes to lighten the market by its crop insurance plan. This plan provides that when the wheat farmer has a surplus he may store it with the government for withdrawal in case of crop failure. The premiums are payable two years in advance and this year they will total between 50,000,000 and 100,000,000 bushels. Under the most "favorable" conditions, therefore, "surplus" wheat will amount to 155,000,000 bushels this year.

A similar situation prevails in cotton growing. Time, June 20, reports that despite the fact that only 28,000,000 acres of cotton were planted this year, as compared with 34,000,000 acres in 1937, a crop of some 13,000,000 bales is expected. The carry-over from last year amounts to almost as much. Cotton prices at 8.60 cents per pound are about four cents lower than last year and well below the 1933-37 levels. Mills have sharply cut production and world consumption is down 13 per cent.

The corn crop is reported to be normal, but by this Fall last year's surplus will amount to 300,000,000 bushels, 30 per cent above normal. As a result future prices have dropped to 57 cents a bushel, 60 cents below last year.

### Prices—Not Needs

That the government's whole program is avowedly anti-social is not difficult to discern. It is interested in prices, not in needs. "Excessive surpluses, such as are indicated for 1938," says the A. A. A. bulletin for May, "will result in lower prices, no matter what policy is followed." In an attempt to remedy this price situation next year, Congress has passed a law still further to reduce the area under cultivation—from 80,000,000 acres to 55,000,000. The government is concerned, not over the wages and living conditions of the agricultural laborer, or the farmer's burden of debt and rent, but over the price that the big farmer will get for his wheat, cotton or corn.

### Labor Must Act

Thus capitalism, even in its most liberal version—the New Deal—spells scarcity in the midst of abundance, deprivation and poverty for the producing masses in town and countryside. The organized labor movement should demand the turning over of all "surplus" crops for relief of the dire distress afflicting the fast-growing army of capitalism's unemployed victims, under a plan of direct government purchase, or in the case of the big farm trusts—expropriation.

Not a single man, woman or child must go hungry while there is an abundance of food! The interests of big capitalists and grain speculators must not prevail over the elementary human needs of the masses! Open the granaries!

Let these be the rallying cries and the fighting program of labor in face of the social debacle created by decaying capitalism!

In Waukegan, Ill., over 200 C.I.O. pickets, who were already under a court injunction against "disorder," marched into the courtroom of Judge Dady and once more expressed their defiance. They passed out handbills which attacked the judge and stated that his orders would not be obeyed. The union has kept the Chicago Hardware Foundry Company plant closed for five weeks to enforce its demands for vacations with pay, a written contract and guarantee against pay cuts.

## C.I.O., A.F. of L. Get Together in Akron

AKRON, Ohio. — A co-ordinating committee to work with a similar committee from the C.I.O. was set up here by the A.F. of L. Trades and Labor Assembly last week. The purpose of the three-man committee, composed of representatives from the teamsters, building trades, and retail clerks, is to work out actual and potential jurisdictional disputes and to preserve harmony in the Akron labor movement.

Through the sane attitude of both houses of labor here, the bitter fights which have characterized A. F. of L. and C.I.O. relations in such places as New Orleans and Seattle have been avoided.

The creation of the co-ordinating committee, following upon the A. F. of L. and C.I.O. unity established after the police attack upon the Goodyear picket lines, is a further great step forward and can well be imitated by labor elsewhere.

In the period to come, the battering of the "recession" will make such co-ordinated effort all the more necessary.

## OHIO TEACHERS SHOW GAINS BY PROGRESSIVES

### Stalinists Defeated in Plan to Capture Federation

AKRON, Ohio. — The recent convention of the Ohio State Federation of Teachers recorded substantial victories for progressives in the organization and was a decisive defeat for the Stalinist union wreckers, who had attempted to pack the meeting.

All important posts were won by progressives. Stalinist amendments to the constitution, which would have cleared the way toward their control of the organization, were defeated.

Among the resolutions passed were the following: A resolution demanding the release of Fred Beal; one calling upon the A. F. of L. to reopen unity negotiations with the C.I.O.; a resolution condemning the exchange of students with Nazi Germany; a resolution demanding that the North-Central Association enforce class load standards; a resolution opposing the priority rule for W.P.A. workers; and a resolution demanding the extension of N.Y.A. among the schools.

The C. P. collective security resolution died in committee. The convention failed, however, to take any stand on war, feeling the subject too "controversial." A resolution supporting a referendum on all wars conducted by the government was tabled by action of the C. P. Then, taking their cue from the C. P., the non-Stalinist patriots tabled a resolution supporting the lifting of the embargo against Spain. The whole approach to the war question showed how easy it will be to work the professional work-ers into a patriotic fervor, and exposed, at the same time, the political immaturity of the Ohio members of the American Federation of Teachers.

10,000 workers at the El Tiente Copper mines near Rancagua, Chile, have gone on strike against the Braden Copper Company, a subsidiary of the Kennecott Copper Corporation of America. The dismissal of several workers on the grounds of economy was the cause.

**ANNOUNCEMENTS**  
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## Ex-Deputy Sheriff Is Killed As Mine Trial Proceeds In Harlan

With the trial of coal operators and former peace officers, charged with bloody suppression of union activities, still in progress at London, Ky., two shootings last week added to Harlan County's reputation for terror and violence.

Frank White, former deputy sheriff and ruthless thug, was shot to death at a tourist camp 12 miles south of London. Chris Patterson, here under government subpoena and a witness before the La Follette Civil Liberties Committee in Washington last year, was held for questioning.

The day before, Lee Fleenor, another former deputy and defendant at the trial, was arrested for shooting and critically wounding Charlie Reno. Fleenor, who was convicted of murder in 1933, but pardoned, claimed self-defense.

Recently a government witness, Lester Smithers, was slain in front of a saloon at Gulston, near Harlan, and John Isom, another government witness, was kidnapped but escaped by a clever ruse. In addition, several instances of intimidation and attempted bribery have been reported to government authorities.

As defense attorneys for the Harlan coal companies argued their case before Judge Ford in the tiny courtroom in London, at least one of the companies was found guilty by the National Labor Relations Board in Washington.

In a decision handed down last week, the Board ordered the Harlan Fuel Company to cease unfair labor practices, to end discrimination against members of the United Mine Workers and to end interference with the right of union representatives to enter Harlan.

Twenty-four union men were ordered reinstated with back pay, and compensation ordered for "employees discriminated against in their working conditions." This verified testimony of witnesses at the London trial, who told of union miners being assigned to places where the coal was so sparse that it was impossible to make a living wage.

Another incident brought out in the London trial is referred to in the Labor Board findings. On July 10, 1937, the decision reads, Elzo Guthrie, president of the company, accompanied by several other persons, "all armed with pistols," entered the Postoffice at Yancey, in which were several U. M. W. organizers, and said to a colored organizer, "Get the hell out of here. I ought to shoot your brains out." Then, the decision adds, "with his hand on his gun, Guthrie ordered all the organizers to leave."

Orders for the August issue should be placed immediately, with the business manager at 116 University Place, New York City.

## August New International To Have Article by Dewey

John Dewey, the distinguished American philosopher and educator, who recently served as chairman of the Commission of Inquiry into the charges made against Leon Trotsky in the Moscow Trials, will appear in the forthcoming (August) issue of the New International with a criticism of the article by Leon Trotsky on "Their Morals and Ours" which created so much stir in the radical movement of this country when it appeared a couple of months ago.

Dewey's criticism, entitled "The Interdependence of Means and Ends," deals with one of the central points made in Trotsky's article and raises the problem of means other than or in addition to the class struggle as the way to attain the liberation of mankind.

It is expected that Trotsky will reply to the criticism of John Dewey.

Other features of the August issue of the New International include an answer by Max Eastman to the criticism made of his latest article on socialism and Russia by James Burnham and a concluding reply by the latter. There will also be articles on the situation in Palestine, the origin of the People's Front policy of the Stalinists, two discussion articles on the Labor party in the United States and the attitude of the revolutionary Marxists, an article on the political aspects of the crisis in the New Deal by Maurice Spector, the "column on columnists" by Dwight MacDonal, which, inaugurated in the July issue, has met with a very favorable reception by all readers; and a good deal of other material.

The following is the list of subs obtained last week:

- MINNEAPOLIS . . . . . 12
- New York City . . . . . 3
- Boston . . . . . 3
- California . . . . . 2
- Syracuse . . . . . 2
- Connecticut . . . . . 2
- Canada . . . . . 2
- Wyoming . . . . . 1
- Missouri . . . . . 1
- St. Paul . . . . . 1
- Miscellaneous . . . . . 2
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It is to our friends all over the world, and especially to those in the United States, that we appeal for aid in our work of continuing uninterrupted publication. We do not clamor or extort. We rely upon our readers who appreciate the review and who know what it would mean to miss an issue.

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# China War Spells Doom For Japanese Imperialism

## CHIANG KAI-SHEK GOV'T WEAKENS CHINA'S FIGHT BY SUPPRESSING MASSES

(Continued from page 1)

capital invested went into war industries and in the first quarter this year this rose to 70 per cent. And these industries are a drain, not a source of revenue.

While in the rest of the world prices are dropping, Japan's price level was 13.8 higher in the first quarter of this year than it was in 1937. Exports, vital to the maintenance of Japan's light industrial plant, have fallen off 20 per cent with no prospects of recovery. Everywhere Japan's rivals are gleefully pouncing on the markets she had gained and which she is now obliged to abandon at a rapid rate. Japan's gold reserves and credit abroad have sagged to the point where cash alone will serve, and in this important commodity Japan is now seriously lacking.

### Growing Stringency

On the home front, these difficulties have been translated into growing stringency, increasingly severe measures of governmental control over industry and trade, the depression of an already low standard of living and corresponding growth first of apathy and soon of outright hostility on the part of a population unwilling for very long to accept propaganda tracts in the place of rice. Japan has already barred the use of cotton domestically and rigid control has been established over the manufacture, trade and use of 17 major commodities including copper, gasoline, oil, pig iron, steel, wool fabrics, leather, rubber, lead, tin, zinc, nickel and antimony.

To cope with the multiplying difficulties, the Japanese government is transforming itself, step by step, into an outright military dictatorship. Japan's principal rivals, the United States and Great Britain, will not, certainly, come to her aid. Her friends, Germany and Italy, cannot do so. Unless the international situation alters radically in her favor, Japan is destined in the not too distant future to suffer the most profound internal convulsions.

### The Chinese Bourgeoisie

In continuing to offer resistance to Japan, the Chinese bourgeoisie is gambling on this prospect. From a Japan threatened with internal collapse it hopes to secure the most favorable possible terms. As against this, it counts on holding out until British and/or American imperialism is finally compelled to intervene and save the Chinese bourgeoisie from Japan by yoking it more securely to chariot wheels of the City and/or Wall Street. Which it is to be will be decided, in turn, by the outcome of the struggle between British and American imperialism for world domination. In the meantime the Chinese bourgeoisie will continue to exploit the limitless man power at its disposal—man power which has given a glimpse in the past year of its capacity for heroism and sacrifice—and to depend on the magnitude of the country itself—to tire out the attacker.

Throughout the first year of the war, the Chinese bourgeoisie has dared only to conduct a purely military-defensive struggle. It has succeeded in making the invasion a costly adventure for Japan, as we have seen, but it has also shown that such methods cannot effectively withstand the imperialist attack and will not, certainly, serve the interests of Chinese national liberation. So long as the leadership of China remains in the hands of the bourgeoisie, the outcome will be either a compromise with Japan or the subjection of China to the United States and Great Britain. Neither eventually will free China. Neither will liberate the masses who are bearing the chief burdens of the conflict of which they are also the principal victims.

### A Revolutionary War

The war against Japanese imperialism will be forced to a victorious and liberating conclusion only when it is clearly linked in the minds of the masses with their own struggle in their own behalf. Only in this way will it be possible to galvanize the vast man power of the country. This will require bold social measures that will prevent the merchants, bankers, and landlords from continuing to load the costs of the war on the backs of the exploited. A still bolder revolutionary program, identifying for the peasantry the aims of national liberation from imperialist aggression with their own liberation from thralldom on the land, will bring forth reserves of physical and moral strength against which the Japanese invaders will never be able to prevail. Partisan warfare waged by such forces will make

China as unconquerable as Siberia was when it was overrun by the invading armies of the interventionist powers 20 years ago.

But such a war cannot be made to order. In the years when it was a revolutionary peasant force, the Chinese Red Army was able to withstand the superior forces of the Kuomintang precisely because it unlocked the simple secret of successful partisan warfare. "Because the masses are interested only in the practical solution of their problems of livelihood," Peng Teh-huai, a Red leader once said, "it is possible to develop partisan warfare only by the immediate satisfaction of their most urgent demands. This means that the exploiting class must be promptly disarmed and immobilized."

### Stalinist Capitulation

In other words, the fight could be carried forward against Japan by rousing the masses to the realization, in word and in action, that this fight was identical with the struggle for the land, by intensifying, not by suspending the class struggle. By its complete capitulation to the Kuomintang, the Red Army abandoned this struggle. In return for a bloc with the bourgeoisie—in whom Stalin placed all his hopes for a Chinese foil against Japan—the Red Army surrendered its leadership of the peasants and fore-swear the mobilization of the working class, already long since abandoned by the Communist Party. The Eighth Route Army—the former Red Army—has played a brilliant but limited role in the military events of the past year. It surrendered the opportunity events offered to it to play an infinitely more heroic role on an incomparably higher plane. The bourgeoisie, for its part, was no more willing than it was in the days of the first "anti-imperialist united front" of eleven years ago to abdicate any of its own fundamental economic interests.

With the connivance of the Communist Party, it has set up a fraudulent "People's Council"—an appointed body of docile Kuomintang bureaucrats and a few futile intellectuals plus seven captive Communist Party delegates—as a forerunner of the "democracy" which it promises. In this deception the Stalinists have participated with only the faintest whimper to the general effect that they had hoped for a more democratic body. Actually the bourgeoisie is making just as certain now, as it did in 1927, to keep the workers and peasants yoked to its wheel, to make them bear the cost of the war and to prevent them from rising to struggle in their own interest.

### Death to Strikers

The workers, who had begun in 1935-36—a year of economic recovery—to reassemble their scattered forces and to conduct increasingly bold and militant strikes, were thrust back by the war, which has caused such terrific destruction in the chief industrial centers and which naturally checked the brief economic upturn. To insure itself against any attempt by the workers to reject the new loads now laid upon them, the Kuomintang government has established the death penalty for workers who dare to strike or even agitate for a strike. With these policies in general, the Communist Party, to use Wang Ming's words, has declared itself "fully satisfied."

The further course of the war in China will be determined by many factors, near to and remote from present-day battlefields, but the cause of Chinese national liberation will be served in the coming period only to the degree that the masses cease being as "fully satisfied" with the continuing domination of the bourgeois exploiters. This will in turn depend upon the emergence of a new revolutionary party capable of marshalling the workers and peasants in their own organizations and of embarking with them on the path of revolutionary struggle. Such a party will have to know how to join in the present battles side by side with Chiang Kai-shek or "the devil himself," but it will also have to be ready to continue the fight when the Chiang Kai-sheks abandon it—as they did a decade ago—and to carry on the struggle against all who would seek to bar the way to the victory of the workers and peasants in the Chinese revolution of tomorrow.

ASK FOR THE APPEAL AT YOUR NEWSSTAND

## How Stalin Gov't Aids China War

Writing to a friend in the United States, Madame Chiang Kai-shek, wife of the Chinese dictator, describes the assistance which is being given to China's fight against Japanese imperialism by the Stalin regime in the Soviet Union.

Says Madame Chiang: "Indeed, the Russian attitude toward China is exactly similar to that of the so-called Imperialists. Russia wants no more to make an outward show of helping China than does America. Both seem to be animated by the one idea, to sell equipment for cash—and be sure of getting the cash first. We have to pay for Russian planes as we have to pay for American planes. We have to pay for Russian volunteers to fly them as we have to pay for Americans." ("New York Times," July 10, 1938.)

In its China policy, as in its international policy generally, the counter-revolutionary Stalinist bureaucracy consistently destroys the reputation of the first workers' state as the true and disinterested champion of the nations and peoples oppressed by imperialism—a reputation built up, not under the regime of Stalin, but under the regime of Lenin and Trotsky.

## RADIO IS USED TO GENERATE WAR HYSTERIA

The conscious campaign of American imperialism to whip up the lagging patriotism of the American masses, a campaign initiated at the secret conference between Roosevelt, army and navy heads and representatives of the kings of United States finance capital, proceeds at an ever-growing pace.

A remarkable brazen piece of incitement—brazen, at least, at this stage of the game—was to be heard on the radio the evening of July 7, on a program sponsored by the company selling "Tenderleaf Tea." Here an open appeal was made to encourage every patriot snoper and busy-body to cooperate with the Federal Bureau of Investigation in gathering the names of "trouble-makers."

The program is one of those everlasting serial plays, known as "One Man's Family," and deals with the experiences of the family of Henry Barbour, a San Francisco stock-broker. Paul, eldest of the Barbour children, at the program's inception some years ago, was a representative of the "lost generation," a philosophical pacifist war veteran who nursed his wounds carefully and wrote books.

With the growth of the program's popularity and achievement of a nation-wide hook-up, Paul has progressed to some sort of a volunteer G-man, and is frequently absent from the family fireside on mysterious journeys. It was the family discussion of one trip that set the stage for last week's bit of propaganda.

To protect "democracy" After praising collective security as the solution of the world's ills, and neatly poking holes in the fallacious theory of "isolation," Paul let it be known that his mysterious expeditions were for the purpose of protecting "democracy" on the home front.

"We on the West Coast," said Paul, "are especially in danger from advocates of alien ideas and trouble-makers of all sorts." And, in reply to a question from his younger brother, Paul told his family—and several millions of eavesdroppers—to gather the names and addresses of these trouble-makers.

"Do you mean that the Federal Bureau of Investigation would like the names of trouble-makers?" another member of the family asked.

"Yes, and all potential trouble-makers," the amateur G-man replied.

It is interesting to note that the West Coast, where one of the most militant and least patriotic labor movements in the United States exists, is singled out for this attack.

The Intended Victims Just who are these "trouble-makers" that the Federal agents are interested in enough to seek information from the vast radio audience of America? Japanese spies? Members of the Nazi Bund?

Not at all, we think. Soon enough will revolutionists be called "Japanese spies" and "agents of Hitler." The Stalinists have already let out that cry.

## Divide and Rule Policy Explains Palestine Riots

The long-smoldering antagonisms in Palestine have again flared into armed fighting between Arab and Jewish groups and between Arab nationalists and British troops. Great Britain has rushed two additional cruisers, close to 2,000 marines, and two battalions of colonial troops from Egypt to assist the 8,500 soldiers already stationed in the mandated territory to quell the Arab general strike and uprising.

More than 100 Jews and Arabs have been slain and over 200 wounded in the fighting that has been raging since July 7. The spark which ignited the present conflagration was the hanging of Ben Yosef, reactionary Revisionist Zionist, by the British authorities. He had been convicted of terrorist activity against the Arabs and his execution immediately set off violent Jewish-Arab battles.

The Issues Stated The Arab movement, like movements for colonial liberation everywhere, endangers imperialism and native landlordism. For this reason, Great Britain and the Arab Effendis (landlords) have for years desperately sought to divert this movement into channels harmless to themselves. The main aim of Great Britain, since it received the Mandate, has been to rule Palestine by fomenting strife between the Arab and Jewish people.

The crassest proposal yet made by Great Britain is the "Partition Plan." England aims to divide Palestine into three parts — an Arab state, a tiny Jewish State with an Arab minority of some 300,000 population, and a British military zone. This policy is designed to intensify still further the friction between Arab and Jew and would allow Britain a free hand over the entire area by unlimited control over the military area. The attempt to put over this plan is at the root of the present conflict. The Arab masses seek to prevent the division of their land by their own armed intervention.

Britain Is Responsible In spite of all London's protestations about the need for British troops to maintain order in Palestine, imperialist Britain bears direct and primary responsibility for the sanguinary fighting between Arab and Jew. Palestine is for Britain a center of the greatest strategic importance, protecting the route to India, defending the Suez Canal, intersecting important railway lines, and serving as the terminus for oil pipe-lines from Iraq, which provide Britain with a necessary refueling base.

To maintain her hold over this Eastern Gibraltar, Mother England seeks to divide the Arab and Jewish masses by stirring up race riots. The explanation for the Jewish-Arab conflict is to be found in this fact. Britain, aided by the Arab landlords, who fear the nationalist movement for their own reasons, has succeeded in imparting to the Arab movement a pogromist character, thus leading it away from its legitimate objective of colonial liberation and threatening it with self-destruction.

The Zionist movement is carefully utilized by Great Britain. This is especially true of its most reactionary section, the Revisionists, who seek to organize terror bands against the Arabs and offer themselves as tools of British imperialism against Arab nationalism. England has hypocritically promised to make Palestine a homeland for the Jews. But this is sheer duplicity. No sympathy for the victims of Anti-semitic persecution stirs in Britain's breast.

Empire Doors Closed As a matter of fact, the doors of the British Empire are closed to the Jews. Even the number admitted to Palestine is a miserable handful. Actually, Britain forbids the Jewish masses to arm themselves, cuts down immigration quotas to the bone, and prevents the building of Jewish industry for fear of the development of an industrial proletariat. Britain is motivated by only one desire in her toleration of Zionism.

She seeks to use the Jews as a buffer against the Arab movement, to lead the Arab nationalists into the false belief that the independence of their land is threatened, not by British imperialism, but by the Jews. Zionism is permitted so that, Hitler fashion, Britain can utilize the Jewish people as a scapegoat for the Arab masses. At the same time Britain encourages Arab agitation against the Jews with the aim of instilling a deep hatred for the Arab people among the Jewish masses.

And for this, the Zionist movement is willing to support and defend British domination of Palestine and to fight against Arab independence!

Danger of Disunity The greatest danger facing the Palestine people, both Arabs and Jews, is disunity. The struggle between Arab and Jew benefits only Great Britain and the imperialist system. The burning need of the moment is a unified movement based on a struggle to overthrow the dominance of British imperialism and for the independence of Palestine. This is no Utopian goal.

Knives Workers

INDALECIO PRIETO

Stalin Murders Foreign Communists In U.S.S.R.

(Continued from page 1)

the Polish C. P. supported Pilsudski's uprising in 1926. (It is not amiss to point out that comrade Trotsky was an uncompromising opponent of this tactic.)

Shot for "Espionage" Simultaneously with the arrest of Sokhatsky and Voyevudsky came the arrest of the following members of the Central Committee: Klonovich, Khrostel, Yulskii-Bukshorn. They were all shot in 1934.

In the same year they shot Vandursky — poet, proponent of proletarian art in Poland, and former head of the Polish theatre in Kiev—and Teshner (Anton Werner), member of the C.C. of the Polish Y.C.L. Both of them were shot in connection with the Sokhatsky case—for espionage.

They were all "exposed" by Lensky and his group. After their execution the Polish party press was filled with articles about the "exposed provocateurs" and about the radiant plans for the future now that the "atmosphere has been purified." Stalin, however, did not rest content with these victims. Additional ones became necessary—and it was now the turn of Lensky and his group.

Lensky Group Purged It began with the arrest (and execution?) of the well-known writer Bruno Jaszcensky, author of the novels "I Set Fire to Paris" and "The Man Who Changed His Skin," which created a sensation. He was accused of ties with Yagoda's tool, Auerbach, and the "Polish spy" Domskey, former member of the C. C. of the Polish C. P. who was already in exile for many years. Later, the following were arrested (and shot?): Lensky ("the Polish Stalin"), general secretary of the Polish C. C., Albert Henrikowky, a well-known member of the Profintern, and Bronkowsky.

Of the former collaborators of Varsky and Kostreva, the following were arrested during the recent purges: Valetsky (Horowitz), Lapinsky, a prominent member of the Berlin embassy, later the head of the foreign department of Izvestia, and Unschlicht.

II—Germany After the seizure of power by the Nazis, many prominent German Communists fled to the U.S.S.R., where a worse fate awaited them than in Hitler's Germany. In 1934 began arrests and executions among the German emigres in the U.S.S.R. We give a list, far from complete, of the victims of Stalinist terror.

German Emigres Shot Herman Kupferstein and his wife departed from Paris for Moscow in 1935. He was a prominent member of the League of Red Front Fighters (R.F.B.). In 1932, he had shot two officers on Buelowplatz in Berlin. In Paris he was one of the leaders of the German communist emigres. He was shot in Moscow as an agent of the Gestapo. After his death, the G.P.U. spread rumors to the effect that 2,000 English Pounds had been found in his possession during the raid.

Ernst Ottwald—in 1927 he left the ranks of the Nazis to join the C.P.G. He played a prominent role in the League of Revolutionary Proletarian Writers. Author of a series of novels exposing national socialism (Nazism). After Hitler's assumption of power, he lived in Prague. In 1936, he left for the U.S.S.R. together with his wife, and there they both were arrested as agents of the Gestapo. Gunther — another well-known

## PRIETO LETTER REVEALS HOW REVOLUTIONISTS IN SPAIN WERE WIPED OUT

How the Prieto-Stalinist government of Loyalist Spain "cleaned up" the revolutionists by sending them to the most dangerous sectors of the front to be finished off by Franco is revealed by Prieto himself in a cynically frank letter alleged to have been sent by him to Fernando de los Rios, Ambassador to the United States, shortly after the Barcelona May Days of 1937.

This letter, and the accompanying article, appeared in *Independent News*, Paris, for June 26, 1938, where it was stated that the letter was reprinted from *Espagne Nouvelle*, No. 50-51, and that it had previously been published in underground Spanish papers.

"At last the most important part of the clean-up behind the lines has been accomplished. In Barcelona, as throughout the province, the machinery of the F.A.I. and C.N.T. has now been broken up; their most dangerous elements are dead or in prison; what is still more important is that those who have returned to reason are today convinced, or at least tamed.

Saw Easy Task "But the strongest resistance having been broken, it will be very easy for us to carry on a

repression without violence and without effort, but so efficaciously that the work will be completed shortly.

"We still fear, however, that the brigades of these elements remaining at present at the front might leave to come to the aid of their organizations. But I believe they will not dare do so. It would be very difficult, moreover, for them to organize such a movement. Furthermore, we have decided to proceed on the various fronts with a series of offensives for which we shall use the F.A.I. and C.N.T. elements first as shock troops. We have also decided to transfer these elements to the most dangerous sectors. Thus the Rebels themselves will help us to complete the clean-up, for which we should be grateful to them.

Pleasing Their "Friends" "By following this policy, we shall please, as you know, the three countries that have given us the most assistance and that have lately demanded such a policy from us." (Excerpt from a letter from Indalecio Prieto, dated May 25, 1937, at Valencia, and addressed to don Fernando de los Rios, Spanish Ambassador in Washington.)

The contents of Prieto's letter are of capital importance. They demonstrate irrefutably the theory we have many times set forth in this publication, that the May days were carefully prepared by the Stalinists and reformists with the complicity, as this letter indicates, of the minister of national defense.

Prieto also confirms in very clear fashion the way in which the government itself proceeded to disorganize the Aragon front—first destroying the revolutionary military brigades by exposing them to the enemy's fire (it was thus that the 29th Lenin-P.O.U.M. Brigade was dissolved and later, to a lesser extent, those of the C.N.T.-F.A.I.) and then withdrawing thousands of men from the front to augment the forces against the proletariat in the rear.

Planned Mass Murder Prieto knew, too, that the revolutionary organizations would not recall their forces from the front because they were too conscious of the stakes in the civil war; that was why the government did not hesitate to send revolutionary volunteers to fight, without artillery or aviation, an enemy ten times superior in equipment, heedless of whether that inferiority might lead to the demoralization of the war fronts, such as unfortunately occurred on the Aragon front when the fascists launched their drive.

That is why the new military brigades, formed from elements politically supported by the Stalinists and reformists, as for instance the 41st Brigade, demoralized and without revolutionary spirit, ranks as well as leaders, crossed the French frontier without offering resistance or giving battle to the fascists, who were easily able to reach Lerida.

Disastrous Policy Prieto's policy, which he himself reveals in this letter, led to all these disasters. Now that he has fallen into disgrace, he has plenty of time to meditate on the consequences of his betrayal of the Spanish proletarian revolution which he helped to destroy, he and the Stalinists, under the pressure of the "three countries that have given Spain the most assistance."

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## Hypocrisy at Evian

The first sessions of the conference on political refugees at Evian, France, has quickly demonstrated how little the participating governments are prepared to alleviate the situation to any appreciable extent. The big powers, France, Great Britain and the United States, who alone possess the resources and diplomatic weight to aid the refugees, showed themselves far less ready to assume additional obligations than such small countries as Mexico, the Dominican Republic, Colombia and Peru.

Most hypocritical of the great powers was the United States, which had taken the initiative in convening the conference. In a windy speech, full of high sounding phrases, Myron C. Taylor, head of the American delegation and permanent president of the conference, declared that the business would be restricted to German and Austrian refugees. He also declared that the American government, which "prides itself on the liberality of its existing laws and practices" regarding immigration would not increase its annual quota, which means that no refugees over and above those who are at present able to enter the United States under the existing quota will be admitted to this country.

This news was conveyed to the delegates shortly before receipt of a telegram from President Roosevelt which said: "I hope for all success to the committee and its work, which is of such importance for a large part of humanity now plunged into despair."

The proposal of the American representatives that a separate and permanent body be established by the conference to handle the small minority of cases it was prepared to accept, and to regularize international procedure, was adopted in preference to the British plan to have the League of Nations assume authority over these cases. This was considered a diplomatic triumph for the American government.

In his opening words, steelmaster Taylor stated: "Some millions of people, as this meeting convenes, are actually or potentially without a country. The number is increasing daily. The increase is taking place, moreover, at a time when there is serious unemployment in many countries, when there is a shrinkage of subsistence bases and when the population of the world is at a peak." In other words, the imperialist government at Washington pays a hypocritical lip-service to the need for extending the right of asylum to the persecuted victims of European fascism, but when it comes to practical measures, simply refuses to do anything about it.

The three major powers ran the conference with the same iron hand and secret bargaining with which they rule all other affairs in the capitalist world. Colombia, speaking for the small powers, protested vainly against the high-handedness and secrecy of the giants.

The Evian Conference presents the repulsive spectacle of the richest and strongest capitalist regimes wrangling among themselves, hesitating to take the smallest steps toward helping the outcasts of the poorer and absolutely reactionary states. The million masses of refugees hold out their hands in vain while their lives are made pawns in a diplomatic game.

## The W.A.A. and Politics

David Lasser, president of the Workers Alliance, has announced that his organization is going to throw all its forces into the political field in the Fall elections.

"Our organization is in the political field with both feet. We say this bluntly, we're going to ally the maximum amount of support for candidates who stand by the economic interests of the unemployed."

Becoming more specific, Lasser declared that the Alliance would place itself behind the candidates sponsored by the Roosevelt New Deal gang, including Barkley of Kentucky, Lewis of Maryland and Thomas of Oklahoma.

In plain English, Lasser has announced that the Workers Alliance, the organization of the unemployed workers who have suffered most cruelly from the crisis, is going to be converted into another of the numerous tails of the Democratic Party kite.

If you want another tragic illustration of how the Stalinists, with whom Lasser works cheek by jowl, have scuttled a promising labor organization, it is provided by this latest action.

Every unemployed worker who thinks for himself knows that even those miserable crumbs that have been doled out to him by the government, have been obtained only as a result of militant, aggressive action. Without organiza-

tion and struggle, the position of the unemployed, bad as it is today, would have been ten times worse.

But the organization of the unemployed was not created by the Democratic Party or the New Deal; it was created against them, and independently of them. The struggles were not led by the Roosevelts, Barkleys, and Thomases; they were conducted against the government headed by these gentlemen.

Whatever gains the unemployed and their organization have to record were accomplished by means of independent class action.

Lasser and Benjamin, secretary of the Alliance, have been gradually changing all this. They have followed a policy dictated by the Stalinist "Democratic Front" and in express violation of the stand taken formally and officially by the Workers Alliance in regular convention.

When the Workers Alliance was founded in Washington in 1936, as a merger of the three unemployed organizations then in existence, it declared for independent working-class political action, for a Labor party.

By what authority do Lasser and Co. now ignore and violate this decision? It meant collaboration with all other forces in the labor movement for the establishment of an independent party of the workers. It did not mean converting the Workers Alliance into voting cattle for Roosevelt and the Democratic Party.

Lasser is a prominent member of the Thomasite Socialist Party, whose recent convention in Kenosha reiterated the party's position in favor of a Labor party. By what authority does Lasser now ignore and violate his own party's decision? We would like to hear from Thomas, Laidler, Tyler and Co. on this point!

We, for our part, do not believe that a Labor party, particularly one with a program conceived by Harry Laidler or David Lasser, would solve the problem of the working class, or the unemployed, much less bring the workers into that domination of government power which they must have in order to put an end to exploitation and misery.

But is it a dead certainty that the attempt to tie the Alliance to the kite of one of the capitalist parties, which is pledged to maintain the rotten system that has brought so much misery and pain to the unemployed in particular, is a decidedly reactionary step. It not only does not bring the workers closer to their goal—it pulls them farther away from it. It is a cynical betrayal of the Alliance membership and of the position taken by its convention.

The main job of the American working class today is to break away, most rapidly and most drastically, from their dependence upon the political parties of their enemy, the capitalists. The main job is to find the road to independent working-class political action, with a militant program of struggle directed against the capitalist government and its system.

The Stalinists, and their partner, Lasser, who have so magnificently demonstrated their ability to deal with obstacles in the past, will know what to do with the obstacles in their own ranks.

## The Blackwell Case

Although under arrest and in prison in Madrid for more than a month, it is only now that word has reached the United States that Russell Blackwell, member of the Revolutionary Workers League of the U. S. prior to his departure for Spain, has been seized by the Loyalist authorities.

Blackwell, known in revolutionary circles in this country and in Mexico also under the name of Rosalio Negrete, has been in Loyalist Spain almost since the beginning of the civil war. His record in the movement in America as well as in Spain are sufficient proof that his political activity has always been motivated by loyalty to the working class. The fact that the entire Loyalist territory centered around Madrid has recently been put under control of the Stalinist commissar Fernandez, increases the apprehension that all of Blackwell's friends feel for his life.

Blackwell is the sixth known revolutionist of the United States who has been imprisoned and imperiled by the Stalinist-Republican G.P. U. in Spain. Only the most vigorous protest made it possible to force the release of the other five, Harry Milton, of the Socialist Workers Party; Sam Baron, of the Socialist Party; Huge Oehler, of the Revolutionary Workers League; and Lois and Charles Orr.

The same protest is now imperatively required to obtain the release of Blackwell, whose real "crime" is his opposition to the Stalinist garroters of the Spanish revolution. The organization with which he was affiliated before he left for Spain has already sent protests to Secretary of State Hull and to the Spanish ambassador at Washington.

It is necessary that all labor organizations follow suit in communicating their position to Ambassador de los Rios who represents a government which, behind its democratic pretensions, carries on a violent campaign of repression against all militants, Spanish as well as foreign, who have demonstrated a genuine loyalty to the cause of the working class.

## It's a Cockeyed World

Headlines a few days ago informed us: "HUGHES SAFE IN MOSCOW." We congratulate Mr. Hughes. Apparently he is the only one who is.

## New Workers' Party Springs From SFIO Split

EDITORIAL NOTE.—The following analysis of the newly-created Workers and Peasants Socialist Party of France, led by Mareau Pivert, and the circumstances which have led to its formation, is reprinted from La Lutte Ouvriere, organ of the Revolutionary Socialist Party of Belgium, section of the Fourth International.

In our opinion it is far more important to dwell on the transformation of the "Gauche Revolutionnaire" (the French Left Wing) into an independent party than on the long and dull debates of the congress of the French social democracy itself or the clique maneuvers within it. The latter only demonstrate once more the putrescence of reformism and its faithful attachment to an exploiting and murderous imperialism as well as its inability to propose to the proletariat a correct program of action against the bosses and their political regime. Our readers are already well acquainted with all these things.

First of all, let us examine what has already passed into history—the origin of the conflict which opposed the Federal Bureau of the Seine to the party leadership, the further development of this conflict, the discussion of the Federation and finally, the split.

A Critical Letter  
Early in April, the Federal Bureau of the Seine addressed a letter to all the federations of the S.F.I.O. (French Section of the Second International) criticizing the policy of national unity, which greatly displeased the gentlemen "at the top."

The National Conflicts Commission (a sort of grievance committee) upon request of the Permanent Administrative Committee (the executive organ of the party), took disciplinary action against Pivert and several of his friends, all members of the Bureau and of the "Gauche Revolutionnaire." It suspended them from all offices for from one to three years. Among the evidence used to convict Pivert was a letter he had written to Weitz, the leader of the Autonomous Socialist Youth (formed after the dissolution of the regular youth section of the Seine district some months before, or perhaps it was two years ago—dissolutions and expulsions in the French social democracy have been so numerous that confusion as to actual dates is quite excusable).

This letter was of especial interest to the prosecution. In it, Mareau Pivert made a sharp attack on the ruling bureaucracy of his party. The bureaucrats showed such a decided interest in this letter that they even tried to deny their guilt or complicity in the rifting of private correspondence. This fact speaks volumes for the police methods actually in use in the organizations of the Second International. (Naturally, this does not prevent a certain Jean Maze from writing, in an article for the eclectic and non-radical paper "La Fleche" devoted to the closing of Parliament, that "our social democracies have a long background of intellectual honesty" . . .)

New Party's Future  
We still do not know what the program of the Workers and Peasants Socialist Party will be. However, it is not hard to foresee. It is enough to examine the positions of the "Gauche Revolutionnaire" on the different problems that are agitating the labor

The Federal Council expressed its solidarity with the "guilty ones" and retained them in their respective offices. The P.A.C. replied with the dissolution of the dissident Federation and reorganized the Seine Federation under a "pure" administration.

The bureaucracy, basing itself on purely statutory grounds, provoked the split with a political aim in mind: it could no longer tolerate a faction of opponents of national unity, of the destruction of the living standards of the working people, of support for the methods of the imperialists. The crisis of the S.F.I.O. was simply a manifestation of the class struggle inside the framework of the party; the progressive wing clashed with the representatives of the bourgeoisie and the spokesmen of the labor aristocracy.

A Legalistic Battle  
But the leadership of the "Gauche Revolutionnaire" wanted to remain on juridical ground; it defended the uncontested right of federations to correspond with one another, and its sole preoccupation was to prepare for the Royal Congress and an appeal to the party. In this manner, the Left said, they threw responsibility for the split on the shoulders of Paul Faure and his clique—as if such responsibility had not already been sufficiently established with the creation of a new federation, the work of the Right Wing tendency grouped around the "Le Socialiste" clubs!

The P.A.C. was entirely satisfied with this attitude of the opposition, which showed such respect for its system of cloaked organizational maneuvers. In the meantime, it did not spare the latter from attacks, against which there was little if any resistance (the Luna Park meeting of the reformist federation from which the militants of the "Gauche Revolutionnaire" were expressly barred) nor from attempts at spreading dissension by refusing admission into its ranks of expelled members of the youth.

Precious time was lost by this opportunist waiting policy which resulted only in the weakening of the Left Wing. The militants were politically disarmed; they were left stranded with the perspective of a possible reformation of the S.F.I.O. It was therefore not surprising to find tendencies of hesitancy and resistance arising against the new turn in the factions throughout the provinces.

Our French comrades are engaging the Workers and Peasants Socialist Party in joint action at the point of production and by means of frank and friendly criticism, are attempting to clarify the questions agitating the rank-and-file on the basis of common revolutionary experiences. They are thus aiding in the creation of a real "party of the class struggle and the revolution," a Bolshevik party.

## Mr. Cahan versus Mr. Hillman

An Editorial

The fight over the nomination of the man to fill the unexpired Senatorial term, following the death of Royal Copeland, has revealed an interesting situation in the American Labor Party of New York.

As soon as the nomination race began, a trial balloon was sent up in the press by the leaders of the A.L.P.—without any direct official responsibility being taken for it—in the form of a proposal that the Democratic Party accept as its Senatorial candidate the name of Sidney Hillman, president of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America and vice-president of the C.I.O.

On the heels of this announcement came a statement by Abe Cahan, editor of the Jewish Daily Forward and close associate of the Dubinsky-Waldman wing of the A.L.P., in which the aged social-democrat flatly opposed the nomination of Hillman, among other reasons, on the grounds that he was cooperating too closely with "the communists."

About the same time, Dubinsky, president of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union and prominent leader in the A.L.P., also issued a statement in opposition to Hillman's nomination and in favor of the at present most prominent "official" candidate for the post, Governor Lehman of New York. In this statement, Dubinsky was shortly joined by Luigi Antonini, a vice-president of the International and chairman of the American Labor Party. Whereupon, Alex Rose, secretary of the A.L.P., announced that the Executive Committee of the party had not put forth any nominations as yet and was not responsible for the "rumor" about Hillman.

Some have pretended to see in the dispute between the two sets of A.L.P. leaders a struggle between a progressive and a conservative wing. Among them are those who look upon the Dubinsky-Cahan position as "more progressive" because it is opposing the Hillman-Stalinist combination, which is notoriously against breaking from the Democratic Party. Others, on the contrary, see the Hillman position as "more progressive" because it proposes a "labor man" for the nomination instead of Lehman.

Neither position has anything to do with the reality. What we actually have is a fight between two bureaucratic cliques, who have no differences in principle whatsoever, and whose very last idea is to allow the membership of the A.L.P. to have a decisive voice in the whole question.

Dubinsky and Co., who have no use for them right now, simply want to keep the A.L.P. tied to the apron-strings of one gang of capitalist

movement at the present time.

The speakers and writers of the "Gauche Revolutionnaire" have often referred to the Charter of 1905 of the Socialist Party. But from 1905 to 1938 events occurred on which it is impermissible for an organization regarding itself as revolutionary to evade taking a position.

We do not believe that the S.F. I.O. had to wait for the 1938 split to cease being "a party of the class struggle and the revolution." As far back as 1914, it became steeped in the treachery of national unity together with the rest of the Second International. This treachery has been confirmed over and over again subsequently: in the struggle of the social patriotic fakers against the October Revolution of 1917, against the liberation movements of the proletariat in Germany, Italy, Hungary, Morocco, Indo-China, India, China, etc.; furthermore, by the active aid given to reconsolidation of the capitalist regime, by participation in the governments of the exploiters, by the illusions spread in the working class under the slogans of collective security, League of Nations, disarmament and the "struggle" for democracy.

On more than one occasion the "Gauche Revolutionnaire" has denounced the failure of the People's Front. That did not prevent the dissolved federation from insisting on remaining in this organization which deceives and weakens the working class.

The pacifist formulas and the phrasemongering about general disarmament and peace "guarantees" which fill the pages of its official organ cause us to have grave doubts as to whether it will give the Marxist solution to the foremost problem of our time, that of the coming war.

Finally, it is still questionable which international organization the W.P.S.P. will join. Will it request affiliation to the Second International, that "stinking corpse," or to the amorphous and opportunist "London Bureau"?

The W.P.S.P. wants to be a "class struggle party." But, if we are to take its name as indication, is not its intention to base itself on two classes, the proletariat and the peasantry? The latter can never have an independent policy, as every Marxist knows. Yet, in order to attract and pull along with it the agricultural workers and the poor peasants, a revolutionary party must jealously guard its working class character. That's what Lenin demonstrated in practice. Will the party progress from the confusionism of Pivert to the revolutionary clarity of Lenin?

Our French comrades are engaging the Workers and Peasants Socialist Party in joint action at the point of production and by means of frank and friendly criticism, are attempting to clarify the questions agitating the rank-and-file on the basis of common revolutionary experiences. They are thus aiding in the creation of a real "party of the class struggle and the revolution," a Bolshevik party.

## A Letter from England

Armaments Alone Boom As Brief Spell of "Prosperity" Passes; C. P. Courts Liberals; Union Bosses Back War Plans

By A. B. ELSBURY

LONDON, England.—The brief period of "prosperity" has passed in Great Britain almost before it was noticed by the workers of this democratic country. The latest government figures, issued early in June, show a jump in the number of registered unemployed of 382,000 for May over the figures of last year—and this during a month when employment is normally on the upgrade.

Neither of the Popular Front papers here, the Stalinist Daily Worker and the liberal News-Chronicle, deemed the news of sufficient importance to comment upon in their leading articles of the day.

Armaments Boom

Apart from the armament industry, which is having a boom, other industries show significant figures of decline. British imports have dropped 11.2 per cent, exports 13.4 per cent. Building plans a drop of 20 per cent, Harland and Wolff, a leading shipbuilding firm, showed no profits at all for last year. Railways' gross receipts declined half a million sterling. Rayon has fallen 22.7 per cent. Bad as this picture is, it would have been definitely worse, but for the Japanese attack on China with its resultant lessening of Japanese competition against British goods on the world market. Britain's horror at Japanese aggression is sweetened somewhat by this toothsome tit-bit.

Combined with the huge increase in the unemployed figures which now total over 1 1/2 millions is the steadily increasing cost of living, affecting every article of common necessity. These concealed wage cuts are being supplemented with open wage cuts. In April 330,000 wage earners suffered reductions. Capitalism, whether democratic or fascist, appears almost equally costly for the workers.

Tender Toward Fascism

In the field of world politics Great Britain, or rather its ruling class, continues to show a touching tenderness towards the Fascist countries and a somewhat sterner exterior to its democratic allies. Premier Chamberlain has long been known for his bitter class-consciousness and his friendship for Mussolini comes as no shock to revolutionary workers who have followed his career. His position as premier accounts largely for the weakness of the avowed fascist movement in the country. The great conservative dailies have ceased to boost the blackshirt movement within the country since his appointment.

For largely the same reasons, too, their antagonism to the official trade union movement has abated considerably. The granting of a title to the general secretary of the Trade Union Congress, Sir Walter Citrine, carried with it a significance which every day becomes more apparent. Trade union heads are consulted openly with a view to aiding the armaments program, and they offer their services with alacrity for bulldozing the workers in preparation for the next war in defense of capitalism.

Chauvinist Bureaucrats

Unfortunately for them, the Amalgamated Engineering Union, the largest union involved in the making of armaments, refused to behave like perfect gentlemen and to "play the game" of their bosses, and Citrine's proposal for a joint board of government representatives, employers and union officials appears, temporarily, to have been squashed.

This chauvinism of the trade union leaders finds a reflection in the official Labor Party ("His Majesty's Opposition" as it is called in Parliament), which pursues a precisely similar plan of class collaboration. It votes regularly and automatically in support of all the armament measures but advances democratic instead of imperialist reasons for so doing. Its press organ, the Daily Herald, is run for it by a capitalist firm, Odhams Ltd., which owns half the capital, and is an extremely valuable property. It relies upon the League of Nations and collective security to preserve peace and expelled the Communists during the "left" period of the Communist Party.

To Left of the C.P.

Reactionary as the leadership of the huge Labor Party is, it has well over a million members, and is well to the left of the British Communist Party which has now fallen on the neck of the discredited and visibly decaying Liberal Party (the traditional party of British capitalism as opposed to the Conservative Party, which at first represented mainly the feudal and landed interests) in the sacred name of the Popular Front. The Communist Party swing towards Liberalism occasionally over-balances: A Daily Worker leading article on Feb. 24 declared that the Parliamentary

Labor Party should have softened their vote of censure of the governments for its treatment of Eden, so as to secure the support of Conservative M. P.'s!

The same story of the political and moral turpitude of the American Stalinists, recounted in the Socialist Appeal, can be repeated of their British brothers; details alone differ, the line is the same. "Fascism is the enemy—Peace the ideal" is the professed program of these ci-devant revolutionaries. The world is now divided for them as between good capitalists and bad ones; between war-loving ones and peace-loving ones, the British, believe it or not, being included among the last. The theory of the class struggle and the fight for socialism has been consigned to the old lumber room in favor of the Popular Front.

Liberal Come-Back

Only the Liberal Party, which sees in the Popular Front a means of making a come-back on the lines of its French confederates, has accepted the Stalinist proposals. The Labor Party machine—for reactionary and temporary reasons—has cold-shouldered them repeatedly. A recent election, at Aylesbury, deserves examination, although its lessons, as usual, are being wilfully distorted by the Stalinists.

At the previous election in this largely agricultural and therefore backward area, the Conservative had been elected as against his runner-up, a Liberal, who had polled well and a Laborite who had polled badly. On the plea of "unity against Chamberlain" Liberals and Stalinists indulged in a tearing campaign against the official Labor candidate, a worker with Trotskyist leanings, in this new election. The Daily Worker dubbed the Labor candidate "a friend of Chamberlain," "an agent of Franco" and so forth in the best Stalinist manner. Disregarding the Liberal-Stalinist front he fought the election on a comparatively militant Socialist program and had the satisfaction of more than doubling the labor vote at the expense of the Liberal who came last in the poll. The moral of the election is that the workers will respond to a militant labor policy despite all the red herrings of Popular Frontism.

Workers Are Hoodwinked

Nevertheless it would be incorrect to say that the Popular Front proposals are not gaining ground in the Labor and Co-operative movements. At the recent Co-operative Congress the vote in favor of the "Peace Alliance," the latest alias of the Popular Front, was over two million, though it was defeated by a two-to-one majority. Large sections of the workers, hoodwinked and deluded, actually support the Peace Alliance under the impression that it will ginger up the reactionary heads of the labor movement. The parallel of the troops who shot down the workers in Barcelona in 1936, under the officer-given impression that the workers were anti-republican, seems exceedingly apt.

The current Stalinist trick of switching revolutionary enthusiasm into pro-capitalist channels is, of course, by no means peculiar to Great Britain and the movement exposing it is as yet pitifully weak and divided in relation to the task before it. Three monthly printed journals are issued supporting the Fourth International, Fight, The Militant and the Workers International News, each of them creditable productions and doing good work. At the time of writing, negotiations are proceeding between the Fight and Militant organizations which, if successful, will result in a merger and the likelihood of a fortnightly if not weekly journal.

A. B. ELSBURY.

Iowa Farmers

Oppose Rail Cut

Labor and farm organizations in Iowa have gone on record against the proposed 15 per cent railroad wage cut and have declared themselves ready to initiate joint action. The resolution was signed by Wm. H. Jeffries, Order of Railway Conductors, temporary chairman; Al Couch, president, Iowa-Nebraska State Industrial Union Council; A. J. Johnson, State President, Iowa Farmers Union; James W. Souter, secretary, Trades and Labor Assembly; and Wm. Beebe, president, Des Moines Industrial Union Council. At the same time, railroad unions in the Chicago area are considering the resolution calling for "unqualified support to a general strike ballot," which was adopted at the last delegates' meeting of the standard organizations of the Chicago and Northwestern Railway.