Official Weekly Organ of the Socialist Workers Party, Section of the Fourth International

For The Fourth International!

VOL. II-No. 47

Saturday, October 29, 1938

Five Cents per Copy

U. S. BUILDS WAR MACHINE

Canton and Hankow Are Surrendered to Invaders: Turn to Guerrilla Warfare Must Be Made

By LO SEN

Kuomintang resistance to the Japanese imperialist invasion has all but collapsed.

Canton, cradle of the modern nationalist movement in China. was handed over to a thin column of the invaders without a battle. Hankow, for which scores of thousands of men have been futilely sacrificed, was voluntarily abandoned, "to protect foreign

Chiang Kai-shek and his staff have fled into the distant interior.

Tortures Used to

Extract Names

From Victims

Thirteen leading members of

the Revolutionary Socialist Or-

ganization, Greek section of the

Fourth International, have been

Front-page stories in the con-

trolled press of Greece have glee-

fully announced the crushing

blow dealt to "the infernal Trots

Quarters Raided

Headquarters of the organiza-

tion were raided, these reports

said, and large quantities of liter-

ature, including copies of the

jected to unspeakable tortures in

P. Pouliopoulos, secretary

Voursoukis, 35, lawyer.

E. Gianakos, teacher

Catherin Morphy, 36,

known propagandist

G. Aiginitis, tobbaconist

A. Kastoras, 21, painter

ionary literature to soldiers.

(Continued on page 2)

Life or Death Appeal!

in imminent danger from the Gestapo in the Sudetenland.

movements in Germany, Austria and Czechoslovakia.

Four German refugees, whose names cannot be revealed, are

For two months the American Fund for Political Prisoners

Working under the most difficult conditions at home and

and Refugees has been making arrangements to rescue these anti-

fascist militants, three men and one woman, who had been under

the surveillance of the Gestapo for their work in the anti-Nazi

then in emigration, these anti-fascists have carried on heroic

work under the most difficult and dangerous conditions. But just

before they were able to get out, the Nazis marched into the Su-

detenland. The Czech government, under Nazi influence, clamped

down its dictatorship and began sending all refugees who fled

portunity of contacting these people again and extricating them

save their lives. Any delay sentences these people to death.

The American Fund has been presented with an unusual op-

Every day makes it increasingly difficult to reach them and

The American Fund is making this special emergency appeal

IT IS A QUESTION OF YOUR MONEY OR THEIR LIVES!

Send all funds to the American Fund for Political Prisoners

for aid. \$500 is needed within the next week. Show this appeal to

D. Nakos, lawyer

the organization.

J. Vrehopoulis, 36

advices here.

kyist gang."

Enters New Phase The war now enters a new phase which depends entirely upon the effective mobilization of the people in the occupied areas for guerrilla activity which will make it impossible for the Japanese to hold the positions they have conquered.

This the Kuomintang leadership, unquestioningly supported by the Communist Party, has proved itself incapable of doing. In Hong Kong, Tokyo, and in London, rumors and reports multiplied that peace negotiations are in progress with the British acting as mediators.

Defeatist Tactics Under Kuomintang leadership arrested by police of the Metaxas more than 1,000,000 Chinese lives dictatorship, according to press have been sacrificed. All the principal cities, railways and waterways of the country have been given up to the invader. The defeatist tactics of the Chiang Kaishek regime reached their logical conclusion at Canton. There, through obvious and outright treachery, the most vital remaining center of Chinese communications was surrendered without a

Chiang's tactic has been to "Proletarios," and "Class Solidarhurl masses of ill-armed, unsupported soldiery in the path of the invaders. The sheer weight and courage of these unsung heroes the dungeons of the Metaxas reand the magnitude of the opera- gime. tions themselves have lengthened The list of the arrested was the struggle for 15 months. But given as follows: the treachery and ineptitude of the Kuomintang command, the refusal to mobilize the masses of the people, have finally borne their bitter fruit. Worse betravals

are yet to come. Canton Sell-out

At Canton the Japanese landed a force of about 50,000 men on Oct. 11. Ten days later they marched into Canton without a battle. Much had been written about Kwangtung's 1,000,000 soldiers. It had even been widely claimed that hundreds of thousands of peasants had been armed to repel the invader. But all this the event proved false. So far has the disintegration under the Kuomintang proceeded that in Kwangtung, traditionally the most radical and militant section of the country, the invaders had their easiest time.

(Continued on page 3)

the Nazi terror.

from the clutches of the Gestano.

your fellow trade unionists and your friends.

and Refugees, 100 Fifth Avenue, New York City.

Kuomintang Gives Up Vote Labor! Vital War Positions For Independent Politics And a Fighting Program

Working Men and Women of New York:

In the present election the Socialist Workers Party calls upon you to break once and for all with the two boss parties, Democratic as well as Republican.

FOR INDEPENDENT LABOR POLITICS

American labor is coming of age. You have learned that you can't build a successful trade union by relying on the good will of the bosses or their agents. It is equally clear that you can't build a successful political party for labor by relying on the good will of boss politicians; that gives you in the end only a new name for a rotten boss party.

On the economic field, labor can fight for its interests against the bosses only through its own organizations, the trade unions. To fight for its interests, to preserve and further the gains achieved by the trade unions, labor must have its own political party—a party fighting the parties of the bosses.

In New York, a beginning has been made towards independent labor politics with the formation of the American Labor Party which has the backing of the most important trade unions in the city and state.

Do not vote for parties of capitalism, which is responsible for the years of depression and which is preparing still greater calamities for you! A vote for Tammany or the Republican machine is a vote for perpetuating the system of degradation, misery, slums and unemployment. VOTE LABOR!

Vote for the genuine, independent candidates of the A.L.P.! The Socialist Workers Party has no interests separate and apart from those of the working class. In urging you to support the A.L.P. we would fail in our duty to our class if we did not at the same time raise our voice in warning and in sternest condemnation of the shameful deals with Republicans and Democrats in which the A.L.P. has been involved by its leadership.

For workers to be organized to support the candidates of the Democrats or Republicans is not labor politics, but just a labor cloak for boss politics. For a trade union leader or an A.L.P. member to run on the Republican or Democratic ticket does not make him a labor candidate, but a sell-out boss candidate. Do not vote for candidates who run on the ticket of capitalist parties. Repudiate the shabby deal of the A.L.P. leaders with the Republicans!

Instead of running independent candidates for state-wide offices the leadership of the A.L.P. has endorsed the leading Democratic candidates for Governor and Senator. No self-respecting, militant worker should permit himself to vote for Lehman and Wagner, the nominees of the party of Tammany and Mayor Frank Hague. We urge you to repudiate this endorsement of the candidates of boss parties. That is why we propose that you register your determination to make a clean break with boss parties and your protest against these deals by writing in the names of our candidates for these offices—James P. Cannon for Governor, and Ernest R. McKinney for the regular-term Senator, the standard bearers of independent labor politics for which our party stands.

FOR A BOLD, FIGHTING LABOR PROGRAM!

The present leaders of the A.L.P. remain tied to the tails of the boss parties not only through their choice of candidates and horse-trades for posts but also in their election platform and

The current platform of the A.L.P. is a muddle of liberal New Deal planks which can scarcely inspire the workers to close (Continued on page 4)

RESISTS THREAT

OF WAGE SLASH

Road Bosses Reveal

Attempt to Quash

Board Inquiry

By BILL MORGAN

ASHINGTON D C -

After years of milking the pub-

lic treasury by way of special

grants and subsidies (a kind of

up-side-down home-relief) from

every administration since the

year 1900, the Association of

American Railroads now propo-

financial "wizards."

10,000 Plants Geared To Army, Navy Needs

Administration Prepares to Put Over Record **Appropriation for Armed Forces** and Fighting Planes

Utilizing the aftermath of the war crisis, and thereby giving its own interpretation to the character of the "peace" achieved by the Munich agreement, the Roosevelt Administration has opened up a pro-armament propaganda campaign unprecedented in United States peace time history. The predictions carried in these columns as to the effect of the crisis on the war plans of the government are being fulfilled immediately and to the letter.

First place among the war-mongers is, as usual, taken by Roosevelt himself, backed by daily statements from the publicity departments of the Secretaries of War and the Navy, and seconded by the editorial columns of the entire capitalist press. Exceeds All But War Record

N.M.U. OFFICERS ARE ACCUSED AS **BOSSES AGENTS**

Rank-and-File Pilot Makes Sensational Accusation

Charges that leading officials of the National Maritime Union on the waterfront here.

paper, was formerly editor of the "N.M.U. Rank-and-File Pilot," N.M.U. faction known as the Ma- and training ships. riners' Club.

In this issue Loones said "it ship with shipowners and how the Mariners club which was originally formed to bring organin Union affairs, became through oped rapid-fire automatic riflethe influence of a detective agency, the tool of shipowners."

Gives Names and Dates The "Rank and File Pilot," the N.M.U. with being labor spies

and agents of the shipowners, appeared during the week following a joint membership of the union where charges of spy activities were preferred against Ray Carlucci by Joseph Curran, C.P. front and national president of the or ses to solve its problems, and the ganization. Loones makes sweeping accusa national depression too, by a 15 per cent pay cut for all employ- tions in his story. Giving names

places of meetings and references "Fact Finding" to telephone conversations, he The powerful Railroad Brother- tells how self-styled rank and file hoods, representing 18 railway members of the union received money from the shipowners and

Roosevelt has announced, in two long interviews given a few days apart, that the war plans must be completely overhauled and speeded up. He makes no bones about the fact that he will propose to the next Congress military and naval appropriations that will sail far and away beyond anything ever seen except during the actual war years of 1917 and 1918. The War Department has made

public its intention to demand an upward revision of its authorized airplane strength to the extent of were company agents were made at least another thousand planes. last week in the paper called In noting the published figures "Rank-and-File Pilot" distributed for airplane complements it should be remembered that the Octave Loones, editor of the Army and Navy air forces are completely separate and that the totals always refer only to firstpublished last summer by the line planes, exclusive of reserves

In addition, the War Department plans to increase sharply has been revived in order to ex- the enrollment in the regular pose the rot and corruption of Army, to speed mechanization in some of the newly elected and all services, and especially to extrusted officials of the National pand purchases of the very latest Maritime Union, their relation- types of anti-aircraft equipment.

Most Deadly Weapon

The Army is also now about to. ized Rank and File opposition to abandon the old Springfield rifle, the organized Communist activ- standard for the past twenty ities in the Union meetings and years, in favor of a newly develthe trickery of Jerry King and the product of ten years' intensive research—which, it is claimed, is the most deadly weapon of its kind in the world, making each soldier, in the words of one report, "a one-man machine gun nest.'

> The Navy has allotted orders which fill nearly to capacity all available space in both government-owned and private shipvards. The schedule for completion of vessels already begun is being speeded up two and three times, and arrangements are being made for the vast extension of new shippard facilities.

Survey For M-Day

Simultaneously, an important phase of the Industrial Mobilization Plan comes into the open. Representatives of the War Department have just reported that they have completed a survey of ten thousand factories in the country, with the aim of working out the skeleton organization of their coordination for war purposes. With great satisfaction, they comment that they met with a spirit of 100 per cent cooperaworking hours with the mainte- n idst understand that American tion from the owners of the fac-

> In order to groove these factories into integration with the war machine, "sample orders" for cent of their former wages, day munitions, with an initial allotenable the factories to install equipment and train personnel for the high-speed manufacture of special war implements, and incidentally net the owners some rosy profits in the meanwhile.

The new plans call also for imnediate expansion of the already gigantic fortifications and air and naval bases on the Hawaiian Islands and at the Panama Canal; heavy fortification of the Seward Islands and other strategic points

(Continued on page 3)

All the prisoners have been sub- Rumrich Drops Some Curious Hints on the Stand

G. Krokos, teacher, who escaped from an Aegean island prison camp a year

its background and connections. When a year ago the Robinson-Rubens pair were arrested by their G. P. U. employers in Mos-D. Pantajis, 20, shoemaker The last two named were charged with distributing revoluwith an American angle. We These comrades are being tornaturalize its frame-up system tured by police who are seeking here, as it already had in Spain. to wrest the names of their fel-

Washington's Choice low-workers from them. Every We charged that the State Deconceivable method of barbarous partment was suppressing information which would confirm this, preferring to hold a club over the Russian Embassy, rather than to speak out and help liberate American workers from their last illusions as to the true character of the Stalin bureaucracy. We charged the G. P. U. with operating an undercover ring in this country devoted to spying not on the U.S. military establishment, but on the labor movement, to construct frameups and for other anti-labor political

ed States arrested several persons as German spies. No military power is so "moral" as to deny itself the use of spies, and we said at the time that undoubtledly Nazis were conducting military espionage here and elsewhere.

Stalinists Indicted

Robinson-Rubens case had two national as "B." results. The Stalin apparatus was forced to shelve its new framement, observing that the project plete unemployment. We have was of the usual sloppy G. P. U. achieved the dividing of work (Continued on page 3)

GPU ODOR BEGINS POUM Trial Foreshadows BAILROAD UNION TO SPREAD FROM Munich Plan for Spain

NAZI SPY TRIAL Barcelona Frame-Up Is Smokescreen to Conceal Impending Betrayal of Anti-Fascist Spain

By FELIX MORROW

A peculiar odor, political ish Department of the G. P. U. violated at the behest of the G. P. U. ather than physical, emanates finally permitted the opening of from the Federal courtroom in the P. O. U. M. trial only after New York, three alleged German the Munich conference. The Barspies are being tried for selling celona trial is Stalin's way of military secrets to Germany. The covering up his complicity in the papers carry columns of news on new drive that is now to be made the story, and here and there a by the Powers to smash the rereflects something maining anti-Fascist forces in significant. But the story cannot Spain. That is why these seven be understood without knowing leaders have been lying in jail without trial for 16 months!

Of the trial itself, one can already be sure that only the most widespread protest from the cow, we forecast an attempt to world labor movement can prerehabilitate discredited Moscow vent a mechanical verdict of "justice" by a new frame-up trial guilty. The press dispatches mention no jury, no defense attorsaid Moscow was even trying to nevs: all previous promises by government officials of prior noorganizations, promises of outside

defense counsel, etc., have been

G. P. U. Procedure

We are to be treated simply to railroads are in the national spota Spanish imitation of the fa- light again. Once again the ownmous Moscow trials. The juridical ers and operators are in Washprocedure is that laid down by ington seeking a "handout" to rea special "law" precisely for these vive an industry which has betrials, establishing a "Tribunal come a racket in the hands of for Espionage and High Treason"; speculators, stockholders and charging prominent officials in meanwhile, the democratic Peoples Tribunals established in the revolutionary days of July, 1936 have been wiped out.

Rovira's Fate Revealed

From the Stalinist press, we learn that the indictment named nine defendants, and that two of them, Andres Nin and Jose Rovira, are "missing." We had al ready known what fate befell tice of the opening of trial so that Nin, the outstanding leader of the observers from other countries P. O. U. M.: as even the New could be present representing York Times was constrained to working class parties and defense report, shortly after the outlawry (Continued on page 3)

workers unions, has answered (Continued on page 2) (Continued on page 2) **Trade Unions and the Social Crisis**

A Conversation on the Problems and Program of the American Labor Movement

(Fourth International Press Release)

September 29, 1938.

The undersigned was present at a conversation between one of the European leaders of the Fourth International and a well-known organizer of the trade union movement in the United States (C.I.O.) The conversation lasted several hours and dealt with the economic for the unemployed. situation of the United States, the approaching war, the task of the C.I.O. and so on. I wish to report here that part of the conversation which might be of general interest.

For more convenient exposition I shall designate the organizer Disclosures concerning the of the trade union as "A," the representative of the Fourth Inter-

A-The policy of our union is directed toward avoiding comamong members of the trade un- get now?

ion while maintaining former

B-And what portion of the former wages do your workers A-About 40 per cent.

B-But this is monstrous. You have obtained the sliding scale of sions on this score. Many in our nance of former rates; but this capitalism has entered into an tories. means only that the entire burden era of decline. of unemployment is placed on the workers themselves. By letting each worker sacrifice threefifths of his earnings, you are after tomorrow 25 per cent, and ment of \$19,000,000, are being asfreeing the bourgeoisie from the so on. It is true that episodic im- signed to them. These orders will necessity of spending their means

But what can we do?

whole truth! American capitalism | Manifesto." What is the program is sick from a chronic and incur- then of your trade union and of able disease. Can you console the C.I.O. as a whole? your workers with the hope that the present crisis is of a transitory character, that a new epoch used to thinking about the future. of prosperity will open up in the They are interested in one ques-

A-I personally have no illu-

B-But this means that tomorrow your workers will get 30 per provement is possible, even inevitable; but the general line points A. There is some truth in this to decline, degradation, and misery. Marx and Engels foretold

B-Not some truth, but the that already in the "Communist A-Unfortunately, you do not

know the psychology of the American workers. They are not (Continued on page 2)

Trotsky Will Speak

by electrical transcription to our GRAND CELEBRATION MASS MEETING, heralding the loundation of the Fourth International and the Tenth Anniversary of our struggle for a revolutionary workers party in this country. Hear JAMES P. CANNON, MAX SHACHTMAN, JAMES BURNHAM, ANTOINETTE KONIKOW, and others, at the Center Hotel, 108 West 43rd Street, New York City, Friday, October 28, 1938, at 8 P. M.

American Trade Unions and the Social Crisis

A Conversation on the Problems and Program of the American Labor Movement

there are, it is true, also those C.I.O. shows that the American radical demands. who give themselves a clear ac- worker has changed radically B-I have not forgotten this for counting of the threatening dan- under the influence of the terrific a single moment. The fascist ger. But they cannot change the economic jolts of the post-war danger is here now, even before psychology of the masses. Habits, period, especially of the last dec- the advancing of radical detraditions, views of the American ade. When you showed even a mands. It flows from the decline workers bind and limit our possi- little initiative in the creation of and decomposition of capitalism. billties. All this cannot be more militant unions, the workers I grant that it could become inchanged in a single day.

Threat to Unions

B-Are you sure that history will grant you many years for right to complain about the must be openly warned of it. They preparation? The crisis of American capitalism has an "American" tempo and scale. A strong body which has not known sickness begins to deteriorate very rapidly from a certain point on. fies at the same time a direct and methods of struggle? Mr. Hague democratic laws, resolutions and The collapse of capitalism signiimmediate threat to democracy without which trade unions cannot exist. Do you think, for instance, that Mr. Hague is a

all. During the last period I have as the capitalist reaction has and bandits of capital. Fascism had not a few talks with trade drawn. This is the gist of the thrives in an atmosphere of imunion functionaries on this sub- matter. The leaders of capital punity. We need not doubt for a ject. My opinion is that in each think and act immeasurably more moment that the fascist heroes state we already have now-under this or that banner—a full- ly than the leaders of the prole- legs when convinced that the fledged reactionary organization tariat—these sceptics, rut-follow- workers are ready to advance ready to become on the morrow ers, bureaucrats who dim the against one of their "corps," two, the mainstay of fascism on a na- fighting spirit of the masses. And three, or four of their own corps. tional scale. We will not have to out of this grows the danger of The only way of saving the workwait 15 or 20 years. Fascism can the victory of fascism, moreover ers' organizations and reducing become victorious in three or in the very near future. The the number of inevitable victims four years.

A-What is our program? I understand your question. The inconsistency, the lifelessness, the fense. This constitutes the first situation is very difficult, some direct falsity of your program. task of the trade unions if they great measures are necessary. But I do not see the necessary get off general phrases while each ously. The working class needs a forces, the necessary leaders.

Psychology of Leaders B—This means capitulation tion of rotting capitalism and not without a struggle?

A-The situation is difficult. We must recognize that the majority do not see leaders. There are inof trade union functionaries do dividual groups, sects, but I do not see or do not want to see the not see anyone capable of uniting danger. Our unions, as you know, the working masses, even if I have grown tremendously within should agree with you that the a very short time. It is natural, masses are ready for struggle. therefore, that the leaders of the C.I.O. go through a honeymoon ers but of program. A correct properiod. They are inclined to view period. They are inclined to view gram not only will raise up and the difficulties lightly. The gov-weld the masses together, but it ernment not only considers them will train leaders. but even plays ball with them. They have not been accustomed to this in the past. It is natural, therefore, that their heads swim a little. This pleasurable dizziness does not predispose them to critical thinking. They enjoy today

without thinking of the morrow. B-Very well said! In this I am in complete agreement with you. symptomatic of the fact that the come into motion, has broken with routine, and is now seeking new methods to save itself from the menacing abyss. If your unions do not find new methods, they will be crushed into pulp. Even right now today Hague is stronger than Lewis because Hague, despite his limitations, knows clearly what he wants and Lewis does not. The whole thing may end by your leaders waking up from their "pleasurable dizzi- an organizer of a trade union? ness" . . . in a concentration

Meetings Poorly Attended

It is enough to tell you that trade union meetings are attended at constant lowering of its standard this it must carry on an irrecon- men, aristocrats of the workers, ized workers. Just consider this mount to the collapse of human trusts, momopolists, and against The masses are better, more de-

85 per cent lies in the fact that departure. The powerful produc- must constitute taking power in- hind the masses. The leaders hide the speakers . . . have nothing to tive forces created by the work- to its hands, the entire power, their own indecisiveness, their tell the masses? A-Well . . . to a certain extent | perish; they exist. Those who own

this is true. The economic situa- and dispose of the productive national economy according to a the masses are unprepared. This tion is such that we are forced to forces are responsible for unemkeep the workers back, to put a ployment. The workers know how brake on the movement, to re- to work and want to work. The of a handful of exploiters but the in what you say. But . . . we shall freat. Of course, it is not to the work must be divided among all workers' liking.

B-That is just it. The fault each worker should not be lower lies not with the masses but with than the maximum reached in the the leaders. In the classic epoch $\mid past.$ This is the natural, the necof capitalism, too, the trade unions found themselves in a dif- the trade unions. Otherwise they ficult situation during a crisis, will be crushed aside by historic larity of Roosevelt is still too were forced to retreat, lost part development as so much trash. of their membership, spent their basic capital. But at least there then existed the certainty that It spells ruin for the capitalists, another four years. in the next rise they would re- Precisely such a program could trieve all their losses. Now there hasten the development of fasis not the slightest hope for cism. this. The unions will become ization, the C.I.O., might collapse being.

Masses and Leaders

A-What is to be done? through old glasses. The masses their necks. The other road is to If the idea of the C.I.O. for a cer- gades.

Danger of Fascism

A-But still you have not anare immeasurably better, more swered the question of fascism, tion only-what can be done now, audacious, more decisive than the that is of the immediate danger immediately. Among the leaders leaders. The very fact of the which the trade unions would of the trade union movement rapid birth and growth of the bring upon themselves by more

responded immediately and gave creased for some time under the you an exceptional, never before influence of the radical program heard of support. You have no of the trade unions. The workers masses. And the so-called "sit- must be called to the defense of down strikes"? It was not the the trade unions. They must imleaders who invented them but mediately begin the practical crethe workers themselves. Is not ation of special organizations of this an unmistakable sign of the defense. There is no other road! readiness of the American work- One can just as little save himers to pass over to more decisive self from fascism by means of is a direct product of the sit-appeals as he can save himself down strikes. Unfortunately, in from a cavalry detachment by the upper layers of the trade un- diplomatic notes. The workers ions no one dares to draw just as must be taught to defend their daring conclusions from the lives and their future with weap-A-Oh no, I do not think so at sharpening of the social struggle ons in hand against the gangsters firmly, more logically, and daring- will put their tails between their workers do not come to your down to a minimum is through meetings because they feel in-timely creation of a mighty orstinctively the insufficiency, the ganization of workers' self-de-The leaders of the trade unions do not want to perish ignominiworker feels catastrophe over his workers' militia!

The Labor Party

head. You must find a language

corresponding to the real situa-

A-I have already told you-

B-It is not a question of lead-

The Program

ect program?

questions:

A-What do you consider a cor-

vik. My program has a very sim-

saved from fascism?

Sliding Scale of Hours

Capitulation or Struggle

to bureaucratic illusions.

A-But what is the outlook for the future? What will the trade unions finally come to with these

methods of struggle? B-Naturally, the sliding scale insufficient. These are only the first steps necessary in defending the workers from hunger, death, and from fascist knives. These | 50,000 seamen during the coming are elementary and urgent means of self-defense. But by themselves they do not decide the matnomic regime and to a more correct reasonable and honest utilization of the productive forces in B-You know that I am a the interests of the entire people. Government regimentation. West Marxist, more precisely, a Bolshe- This is impossible of achievement through the usual the "normal." ple and short name—the socialist the routine methods of trade unrevolution. But I do not demand ion work. You must agree that ment hiring halls and Governof the leaders of the trade union under the conditions of capitalist movement that they adopt imme- decline isolated trade unions are But the successes of the C.I.O. diately the program of the 4th incapable of stopping the fur-are temporary. They are only incapable of stopping the fur-international. What I do demand ther worsening of the conditions working class of the U.S.A. has clusions from their own work. clusions from their own work, more profound methods are need- the American Federation of La- of the situation. from their own situation; that ed. The bourgeoisie which owns for themselves and the masses the means of production and tain period could inflame millions they answer at least these two state power has brought economy of workers, the idea of an inde-2. And how can the U.S.A. be omy must be transferred to fresh ment and misery, is capable of Innes, Jerome King and Walter is an absolute lie." A-What would you do today How can this be done? The first Party must show to the masses in the United States if you were step is clear: all trade unions by deeds and not words that they B-First of all the trade unions Labor Party. Not a party of Roosevelt, LaGuardia and Co., must pose squarely the problem Roosevelt and LaGuardia, not a but real fighters for the interests of unemployment and wages. The A-Unfortunately, the past his-sliding scale of hours as formulgenuine independent political or-orators begin to speak the lantory of the United States with its lated by you is correct: all must ganization of the working class. guage of working-class leaders inunlimited possibilities, with its have work. But the sliding scale Only such a party is capable of stead of agents of the White individualism has not accustomed of hours must be supplemented rallying to itself the ruined farm- House, 85 per cent will come to our workers to social thinking. by a sliding scale of wages. The ers, the small handicraftsmen and the meetings and 15 per cent, working class cannot permit a storekeepers. But to accomplish consisting of conservative old I in turn would give it to Hennes- him." Both Lemmon and the best by 15 per cent of the organ- of living, as this would be tanta- cilable struggle against banks, and careerists will remain behind. culture. The highest earnings on their political agents, that is the cisive than the leaders. The masses B-But is it not possible that the eve of the crisis of 1929 Republican and Democratic Par- want to fight. The fight is ham-

the workers. The earnings of a population of 130 millions. Roosevelt's "Popularity"

essary, the inexorable demand of development is in the direction of the Labor Party. But the popularity of Rossyell is still too great. If he should agree to run for a third time, the question of a A-Is this program realizable? Labor Party will be postponed for maltreatment is being used for

B-That is just the misfortune -that Messrs. Leaders look upward and not downward. The ready sent at least 3,000 militants oil companies was considered by B-Of course, this program pre- approaching war, the collapse of to concentration camps on Ae- many members a dangerous docuweaker and weaker. Your organ-supposes struggle and not pros- American capitalism, the growth gean islands and to the jail at ment which, if ratified, threat-regiment seamen, and signing tration. The trade unions are of unemployment and misery, all Acronauphlia, a medieval castle ened the very existence of the sell-out agreements with the boss. just as rapidly as it came into faced with two possibilities-cither these basic processes directly de- where our comrade Scalaios died. Union . . to navigate, maneuver, retreat, termining the fate of tens and Among these exiles are at least close the eyes and capitulate on hundreds of millions of people do ten of our comrades. the installment plan in order not not depend at all on the candi-B-First of all clearly tell the to "aggravate" the bosses and dacy or "popularity" of Roose- include castor oil, hanging by the defined program for improving all opposition groups in the fumasses what is. It is impermissible not to "provoke" reaction. The velt. I assure you that he is much feet, the beating of the soles of conditions of seamen, the N.M.U. ture. Singularly enough the Daily to play hide and seek. Of course, German and Austrian social dem- more popular among well paid feet until they bleed, insertion of Rank and File Pilot easily be- Worker has no mention of the you know the American workers ocrats and trade union function- functionaries of the C.I.O. than sharp sticks under fingernails, came the tool of unscrupulous op- fact that the policy pursued by better than I do. Nevertheless I aries tried to save themselves among the unemployed. Moreover, unnameable tortures of girls, portunists in the Union. The King since his election to office permit myself to say with cer- from fascism in this manner. The trade unions exist for the work- Many are thrown out of windows. struggle against C.P. oppression has not differed in any important

lacter of the present social crisis and to lead the masses into an Sailors Union Granted Charter by AFL Conclave A Few Still Left: Out of the mo

SAN FRANCISCO, Oct. 25.- | bor was corroborated by both | was approved by the membership American Federation of Labor

Two weeks ago the A.F. of L. convention in Houston, Texas, issued an international charter for all seamen sailing in North American waters. At that time the Sailors' Union of the Pacific was named as receiver of the charter. Name chosen by the S.U.P. for the new international is the Seafarers' International Union of North America.

The charter was granted after the old International Seamen's Union, which lost the loyalty and support of American seamen by default, was formally and officially declared defunct. An A.F. of L. federal charter issued a year ago to an outfit known as the A.F. of L. Seamen's Union was automatically lifted when the new International came into be-

As Secretary of the Sailor's Union of the Pacific, Harry Lundeberg will be in charge of organ-

ization work.

Membership of New Union Seafarers' International has an initial membership of 7,000 West Coast sailors, plus 2,500 fishermen in Alaska, 5,000 sea-going firemen organized in the independent Marine Firemen, Oilers, Wipers and Watertenders' Association on the West Coast are known to be sympathetic to the sailors there, and may be expected to affiliate with the new International. On the east coast the 7.500 men in the Deck. Engine and Stewards departments, formerly members of the A.F.L.-S.U. will come immediately into the new set-up. East coast fishermen, now under the banner of the A.F.L., will also affiliate. Add to these figures the 3,000 and workers' defense squads are lakes seamen claimed by the A. F.L. and the new organization begins its day with roughly 25,000

year. Upon receiving the Charter at Houston, Harry Lundeberg imter. The basic task consists in mediately announced to the press making a path to a better eco- that the central point in his program, around which he proposes to organize one big seamen's union, is a vigorous fight against coast seamen have waged a head-Commission's program of Government training ships.

members. It plans to bring in

Program of Organization That the new union will con-

tinue this fight with the full

and honest hands, that is to the inflaming tens of millions. Of Carney. Both King and Carney hands of the workers themselves, course, the agitators of the Labor must unite and create their own are not electioneering agents of labor party in name only, but a of the exploited masses. When the cause for the abstention of should be taken as the point of ties. The task of the Labor Party pered by the leaders who lag beers did not disappear, did not and bringing the economy into conservatism, their bourgeois order. This means to organize all prejudices behind excuses that

> single reasonable plan, the aim of is now the real situation. which is not enhancing the profits | A—There is quite a lot of truth material and spiritual interests of talk about it next time..

A-Many of our leaders are beginning to understand that the

The Metaxas regime has al-

Last night the membership of the Harry Lundeberg and William of the S.U.P. last week. This was Sailors' Union of the Pacific Green. Full program of the S.U.P. adopted in the form of "Proposals meeting in union headquarters as it appeared in WEST COAST for unification of seamen." These here formally accepted their new SAILORS, official organ of the proposals were substantially: union, follows:

> 1) A continued fight for better living conditions, better quarters, food and higher wages;

2). Hiring of all seamen thru

Union Halls. Definite and unqualified opposition to fink halls . and this includes government hiring halls and ship owners' agencies for hiring seamen. We pledge our combined economic force to resist the establishment of any other than hiring halls for American sea-

3) Opposition to a policy of training new seamen for the American Merchant Marine on Government schoolships in the face of the fact that thousands of qualified bona fide American merchant seamen are flooding the beaches of this country, unable to secure employment;

4) Strictly against the arbitration of inter-union jurisdictional matters by any government bureau or board, and against the arbitration of any fundamental union dispute:

5). Against the introduction into trade union affairs of either politicians or their political philosophies;

6). Friendly and solid relations with bona fide labor organizations on the basis of protection against predatory employers;

7). Aid to all other workers in their fight against their employ-

ity of seamen now belong to the cials of the National Maritime National Maritime Union (C.I.O.), Union.

(Continued from page 1)

A. Jump.

1) International Charter to be granted to the Sailors' Union of the Pacific. The membership of the Sailors' Union to have full authority in administering the affairs of the International;

2). An organizing committee to be established under the auspices of the S.U.P. in conjunction with East Coast seamen and fishermen:

3). Temporary districts of the International to be established on the Gulf and Atlantic coasts. 4).An Emergency Board to be set up on the east coast;

5). The Emergency Board to consist of two representatives from the S.U.P. and two from the old A.F.L.-S.U.;

6). Headquarters for the Atlantic District to be in New York; Detroit for the Lakes; 7). The Emergency Board will operate on the east coast during the period of re-organization, after which time each district wil be granted local autonomy. Elections shall be held for district officers not later than one year after granting of charter.

ors' Union of the Pacific since the bundle-order. 1934 strike on the West coast, as a foundation stone, spokesmen New Advertising Manager: mutual self-respect and self- for the new International Union Machinery for organizing on ment agencies for regimenting the east coast, where the major-seamen as now followed by offi-Henceforth, all communications

Appeal Army

Congress and Anniversary issue 15 and now takes a total of 50 per printed, there are still a few hun- week. dred copies left over. Those

Chicago handling 1.000 and Los Angeles close behind with 750. Practically every branch took more than double its usual quota and early reports indicate successful sales and great interest displayed in the basic program of our newly founded International. Send in reports of how sales went and we'll print extracts in next week's issue.

Increased Sales and Subs:

We're very pleased to report that our strenuous efforts of the past few weeks (special anti-war issues and World-Congress 12pager) are beginning to have excellent results in the way of added circulation. The way subs have been coming in indicates that our goal of 50 per week may soon be attained. Also, bundle order increases have been mounting steadily. Each and every branch should now be in an ex- thank those who have waited so cellent position not only to start a subscription campaign (New With organizing machinery set York City is in the midst of such up and with the militant program a drive now!), but also to add Campaign: which has characterized the Sail- many more copies to its weekly

Bob Browne, former Appeal appeared confident that they business manager, has returned could win the allegiance of all to work for us as Appeal advereast coast seamen. Their fight tising manager. We're especially will be conducted against the pol- | glad to welcome Bob back to the icy of collaborating with govern- Appeal staff and know he'll be more than successful in his work. and questions regarding advertising (aside from routine branch announcements) should be addressed to Bob Browne, care of the Socialist Appeal.

Branches would be doing well As Shipowners Agents if they paid some attention to the problem of getting ads. How about trying to get a few from stores and restaurants used by our comrades? A little effort in this direction would be appreciat-Ray Carlucci worked in the union | niently forgotten by his former | ed and be very helpful to Appeal

Here is the list of new subscriptions obtained last week: NEW YORK CITY 15 Chicago 7 Massachusetts 6 California 4 Seattle, Wash. 3 Indiana 2 Philadelphia 2 Arkansas 2 Illinois 2 Denver New Jersey 1

Total 48 And look at this list of new and increased bundle-orders! (1) M. Sapire of Johannesburg South Africa has increased his bundle by 6 each week. Incidently, Johannesburg sells over 100

Appeals each week among native and English workers living in South Africa! (2) Reading has gone up to 25

(3) P. Scott, who is easily the Out of the many extra thou- best agent Cleveland has ever sands of copies of the World had, has increased his order by

(4) John Murphy of Los Anbranches which have neglected to geles has jumped again by 30! get "extras" on this magnificent John now takes (and pays for!) a issue still have the chance to do weekly total of 215. Incidentally, John is the best literature-agent New York City has disposed of the west coast ever had. He's to 3,000 copies of this issue, with California what Ruth Querio is to Pennsylvania, and anyone who rises to her class is going some!

(5) C. E. Taylor of our new Seattle, Washington branch, has raised his order from 10 to 20 per week.

(6) D. T. Burbank of St. Louis has doubled his order by adding

(7) Toronto, Canada, takes 6 more, making a total of 95 per week; while the Syracuse, N. Y., Yipsel circle has a new literatureagent in Herb Lewin who begins with a modest 5 per week.

All in all, one of the best bundle-order weeks we've had in a long while!

Bound-Volumes:

Bound volumes of the 1937 Appeal will be mailed out this week. We urge more orders (there are still some left) and patiently.

New York City Subscription

New York is in the midst of a subscription campaign, conducted by Abe Miller. The contest is closing on November 1st of this year and a prize consisting of 3 books ("Not Guilty," "Case of Leon Protsky," and "The Revolution Betrayed") will be awarded to the one getting the most subs. In case of a tie, duplicate prizes will be awarded to the winners.

Who's in the lead, Abe?

Send all contributions and subs SOCIALIST APPEAL

> 116 University Place New York, N. Y.

to be Napoleon, Stalin or Cleopatra?

Have You a Suppressed Desire

Suppress It no Longer! Come in Costume to the

HARVEST **MASQUERADE**

Irving Plaza 15th Street and Irving Place November 5th

8:30 P. M.

Swing Band . Entertainment Competitions

> Sub.: 50¢ with Costume 65¢ without

Auspices: Socialist Workers Party

Tickets May be Obtained at Labor Book Store

THE MARXIST SCHOOL

6 lectures, \$1.00 CIPLES John G. Wright

IV. THE BRIDGE TO REVOLUTIONARY ACTION James P. Cannon James P. Burnham

V. LABOR JOURNALISM

6 sessions, \$1.00 James Casey

A course in both theory and practice—news reporting, news writing, editorial writing, newspaper make-up, book reviewing and drama criticism. Students will be given assignments. This course will be continued next semester. Wednesday, 7:30 P.M.—8:30 P.M. 6 sessions, \$1.00

10 P. M., or at the Labor Bookshop, 28 E. 12th Street, N. Y. C., between 1 P. M. and 8 P. M. Registrations can also be made by mail or by calling STuyvesant 9-0567. The school term will begin on November 9th.

116 University Place, New York City

FALL TERM ANNOUNCEMENT Classes Begin Nov. 9.

1. THE AMERICAN TRADE UNIONS B. J. Widick

Mondays, 7:00 P.M.—8:30 P.M. 6 lectures, \$1.00 II. AFTER THE MUNICH CONFERENCE Jack Weber Mondays, 8:45 P.M.—10:15 P.M. III. LIVING MARXISM-A COURSE IN FIRST PRIN-Tuesdays, 7:00 P.M.—8:30 P.M. 6 sessions, \$1.00

Max Shachtman

Tuesdays, 8:45 P.M.—10:15 P.M.

VI. THE THREE AMERICAN REVOLUTIONS

George Novack Wednesday, 8:45 P.M.—10:15 P.M. 4 sessions, \$.75 VII. CAPITALIST ECONOMY IN CRISIS David Cowles Fridays, 7:00 P.M.—8:30 P.M. 6 séssions \$1.00

REGISTRATION

Registration may be made either at the school office, 116 University Place, N. Y. C., between 8 P. M. and

ship gathered and discussed union affairs."

3.900 Imprisoned

(Continued from page 1)

Mentioned in Loones indictment are: A. L. Hennessey, newly and File Pilot" have attempted to to a complete and hopeless chaos. pendent, fighting Labor Party appointed assistant editor of the infer that I have been friendly 1. How can the C.I.O. be saved The bourgeoisie must be declared which wants to put an end to Pilot, official organ of the Na- with labor spies working in the from bankruptcy and ruin? an insolvent debtor and the econ- economic anarchy, to unemploy- tional Maritime Union; Peter J. interests of the operators. This

cent vote taken by the union. King is national Secretary, Carnev heads the deck division. According to Loone's statement, King and Carney met regularly discuss union policy. He tells how Walsh on repeated occasions; which time information from the

Service was offered to the group putting out the N.M.U. Rank and File Pilot, Loones claims. Why Paper Was Published The paper based itself upon the from official Stalinist spokesmen. justified resentment of east coast seamen against the dictatorial carried a story indicating that policies pursued by the Communist Party leadership in the N.M. U. "A great amount of dissatis- that if Loones has the real dope faction was evident and rumbles of impending revolt were heard over to the proper union authordaily with increasing force wher- ities for action. He should not ever small groups of the member- have published the proof in the

Original purpose of the rank the union-dividing red-baiters duand file paper was to voice the ring the union election period." opposition of the membership to the now infamous "Tanker Agreement" signed by Joseph Curran last Spring. Loones says, "The agreement reached with the

Tool of Opportunists

The notorious police tortures but failing to adopt any clearly ses will be used as a whip against tainty that you look at them result is known to all—they broke ers and not for the functionaries. as was our young comrade, Tele- degenerated into a dog-fight over respect from that advocated by

worked in close cooperation with the union for editing the rank a detective agency. He says that and file paper. He was conveas a labor spy under direction of associates after they were elected "Industrial Service" detectives to office. James A. Walsh and Harry J. About King he has the follow-Conner whose offices are at 110 ing to say, "(he) lacked the cour-

N.M.U. Loones was expelled from

East 42nd St., New York City. age to identify himself with the The charge is that all these peo- publication although he took the ple are employed by the Isthmian leading part in the publishing Steamship Line, working with the and no issue was produced with company's personnel director, J. out his instructions." King Denies . . The Pilot, official paper of the

An open letter to the La Follette Civil Liberties Committee N.M.U., carried a flat denial by King Involved

NMU Leaders Accused

against him. His statement said in part: "A certain group using Octave Loones and the "Rank

About Sherman Lemmon now

were elected to office in the re- employed by the Maritime Commission and formerly associated with King and the NMU Rank and File Pilot, Loones says: "I wish to state that I believe Sherman Lemmon to be ignorant of with agents of the shipowners to the fact that detectives were involved in this picture and that to he also was involved, accuses Hen- my knowledge he had no part in nessey of receiving "money from betraying the interests of the membership but was himself also sometimes it was given to me and a victim of an attempt to slander sey," Agents of the shipowners Commission have apparently defirst became associated with un- cided to maintain discreet silence. ion spokesmen last March at No comment on the whole affair has come from that source as files of the Naval Intelligence yet.

> The Stalinist Game Most carefully guarded of all opinions expressed after appearance of the Loones expose came The Daily Worker (Oct. 22) the C.P. was willing to deal with Loones on their terms. They state he should have turned the proof so-called "Rank and File Pilot" which was the mouthpiece for

> > This statement also fore-shadows the future. The Stalinists in the union are determined to clear out all opposition and rule again with a high hand, expelling militant members, collaborating with the Government in its drive to

If the statement by Loones can be proved, the discredited leaders Expressing these grievances of the opposition whom he expoposts and control within the the Communist Party.

10,000 Plants Geared DEFENSE GROUP ORGANIZED FOR Sirovy, 'Friend' Of Moscow, Outlaws To Army, Navy Needs

in Alaska; and a general extension of military and naval centers doubts about the real perspective in virtually all of the island pos- in Roosevelt's plans. The United sessions of the United States.

Spy-Scare Smoke the need of "adequate" steps to

velt is aiming at a number of the vigor and scale of the Roose- Police. birds at once: he seeks to justify velt war campaign, and they are with charges of "treason" and Lewises and Greens and Dubin-"foreign agent" all opponents of skys have imposed upon them.

States is absolutely immune to The picture of the new war foreign nations. From a strategic plight of Russell Negrete Black- Czech workers to unify their preparations would be in no sense | point of view, it simply could not | complete unless it included notice be done. This means that the from the fate that overtook Anof the shameless spy-scare which armaments which Roosevelt is dres Nin who was assassinated the Administration is whipping building are and can only be in- by agents of the G.P.U., a broad up. Here as elsewhere Roosevelt tended for use in external inter- defense committee has been orhimself has taken the lead. His vention in the coming war that ganized to push his case into the Department of Justice is hand- Roosevelt knows is on the way. open where the aroused indigna- Party has officially abandoned ling the fantastic trial of the four It does not make any difference super-awkward "Nazi agents" how often he or anyone else de- American working class will force to win the toleration of Hitler. currently in session in New York. nies this intention and prattles his release. He himself gave the chief state- about peace and "defense." The ment on the "spy menace" and strategic facts tell the true story.

vise of the war machine.

POUM Trial Foreshadows Munich Plan for Spain

U. murder squad. The Stalinists still have the effrontery to repeat

scist territory." A similiar about Rovira means that that which was completed in October, hands of assassins. A man of both here and abroad, time and little theoretical equipment, a again put the question to the supporter of the right wing in the Stalinists, why they were silent party, he was, nevertheless, a on the preparations for the befine example of a proletarian trayal, why they did not even fighter. In the successful struggle comment on the plain intimations Catalonia, he was in the fore- years in the capitalist press. front, and rose to be military commander of an army division liberately silent. They were silent after leading P. O. U. M. troops because they were perfectly wellin the victorious assaults which prepared to permit the suffocawrested Monte Aragon and tion of the anti-fascist cause in Estrecho Quinto from the fa- Spain, if in return there would rescists. Seized by the G. P. U. in main some hope of securing for port fraud. July, 1937 we know his terrible the Soviet Union a military al-

cates a typical Stalinist amalgam.
That which the P. O. U. M. did—
alas, only in words while in the The section of the indictment alas, only in words while in the main they attached themselves to withdrawal by both sides

is launched at this moment, is to agree to any infamy in return the "spy," Rumrich, have been to muddy the waters of under- for a military alliance with Engstanding of the process which led land. At the time, in our pubto the four-power move against lished material on Spain, we poinantifascist Spain.

Like newborn innocents, the of this betrayal, and now, un-Stalinists report the four-power fortunately, our predictions are plan as if it were a veritable coming true. thunderbolt never suspected be fore. See, for example, the front- Stalinist hirelings in Spain were page story in the Daily Worker still dispatching to the Stalinist

"London, Oct. 7- Democracy's hangman, Chamberlain, hopes to drag the Spanish Republic to the gallows after Czechoslovakia, it was learned here today.

"A diabolical scheme to blockade the Spanish Republic and foist a four-power dictatorship upon the Spanish people has been devised by Chamberlain's pro-Nazi henchmen, it was learned here today.

'. . . . This plan-already under discussion in Romeprovides for token withdrawal of 10,000 Italian infantrymen from Spain . . . Then Franco-prompted by the four-powers-would show his 'peaceful intention' by proposing a 'truce' to the Spanish Government.

"This proposal for betrayal, in the British Tory view, would give the four-power line-up of Germany, Britain, and France an opportunity to 'mediate' and arrange a 'settlement' . . .

Fresh "Revelations"

covering this monstrous business France, since the very beginning the hands of the "great democ- P. O. U. M. workers in Barcelona, bination is real. Rumrich, the characterized by the Daily Work-

his war plans; and he lays the If resistance to the war prep- T. Farrell, Sidney Hook, and basis for the enlargement of the arations is to be organized, it is others. Army and Navy Intelligence now or never. If the forces a-Services into a full-fledged coun- gainst the war do not get into ter-espionage secret police which action, the American labor movewould have as its main function ment will awake one morning in undercover work against labor the not distant future to find it- on on July 26. He was placed and revolutionary opposition to self clamped solidly in the iron

From the first the Socialist Ap-

of the P. O. U. M., Nin was incarcerated in one of the notori- peal, and before that our former ous "preventoriums" — private organ Labor Action in California prisons of the G. P. U .-- and raised the cry of warning against taken out and executed by a G. P. this impending betrayal by the "great democracies."

The interested reader will find that he "made his escape to fa- the relevant material, docu mented, in my "Revolution and Stalinist report Counter-Revolution in Spain," gallant figure is dead at the 1937. Furthermore, our movement, to wipe out the fascist potsch in appearing during the last two

> The Stalinists were silent, deliance with France and England.

Stalin's Role apparatus, and the agreement for the People's Front, as in the en- "foreign volunteers" were the try of Nin in the Catalonian coali- necessary pre-conditions for the tion cabinet of September 24, coming betrayal-what is to come 1936-criticism of the government is that an armistice will be imand the People's Front, criticism posed on the pretext that it is of the Soviet Union's policy, is required in order to carry out "linked" to the utterly false as- the withdrawals of volunteers unsertion that P. O. U. M. collabo- der the direction of the "non-inrated with Hitler and Mussolini. tervention" committee. To all this The main reason why the trial, Stalin agreed, as he was ready ted out the future consequences

> Only a few days ago the press everywhere cable dispatches bathed in faith in the priate a penny for counter-es-"great democracies." "If the world democracies answer this which sets a record for bungling respondent (Daily Worker, Sep-

tember 27, 1938). Pravda's Admission

If anyone might still believe, that the Stalinists' systematic so much to justify a counter-spy group in Barcelona on charges of guile but honest obtuseness, then Congress on general principles, als illustrate the work and methnote what Pravda, Stalin's per- but to inflate general military ods of Fascist intelligence serv-

"The old British plan of an 'armistice' between both sides in racies." had to pretend naive sur-Spain has been taken out of the prise at the British plan; while archives. Under pretext of or- "Pravda", writing for the bureauganizing an armistice, it is in- crats in the U.S.S.R. and comtended to smuggle in recognition pletely contemptuous of the Rusof Franco as a full-fledged bellig- sian masses, cynically referred erent power, to 'legalize' the exis- to the previous knowledge which tence of Franco's puppet govern- the Russian bureaucracy and the ment." (Daily Worker, Octo- Comintern apparatus had been in

was learned here today" what the plan. "taken out of the archives." The put the fate of Spain and the propaganda. But at the same systematically propagated by the ficulties of covering up the line scure, to muddy over, by organiz. Attorney's train. "great democracies," England and of putting the fate of Spain into ing at this time the trial of the

Blackwell Committee Is Representative

the possibility of attack from silence that has shrouded the well for months, and to save him tion and public protest of the

Blackwell is the 34-year old

Among the members of the in the eyes of the public the new being hamstrung in effective op- Committee are Anita Brenner, appropriations for Army and position to it by the political Ex. Sec'y, M. Olay, American rep-Navy; he gets ready to smear reliance on Roosevelt which the resentative of the C.N.T., James Oneal, Carlo Tresca, James P. Cannon, John Chamberlain, Jas.

Twice Arrested

Blackwell, arrested last May, was released from a Madrid prisaboard a British vessel in Valencia harbor on Aug. 1 scheduled to take him to safety of Marseilles and then home. He was snatched by the Secret Police behind the back of the American Consul into whose custody he had been released for repatriation. He has been held ever since.

Eight tendencies in the American labor movement are represented on the Committee: The Soof his organization in Spain.

deed, a New York Grand Jury in- last war.

dicted two Stalinists, Messrs.

and Garber to trial,

ible," etc., etc.

sheets.

What does this trial show?

What Trial Reveals

Creating Spy Scare

Moscow, Outlaws C.P.

G.P.U. VICTIM Social Democrats and Union Leaders Join in Craven Capitulation to Pro-Hitler Regime

By W. KELLER

regimentation of the NEW YORK. - Smashing by the new authoritarian regime spontaneous attempts of the forces for resistance against the Fascist reorientation have failed. The Stalinists and reformist leaders are determined to drink the bitter cup to the last drop. The Czech Social Democratic

the Second International in order The reformist trade union leaders have taken a similar decision. American militant, who went to Jointly with the trade unions of In spite of the warnings from Spain two years ago to help fight the Benes party they have the past, the American workers for Socialism and who has twice merged with the company unions Fascists. The first act of the united unions was to endorse the compulsory labor service ordered by the military dictator-

C.P. Dissolved

ample of the Slovak government, has ordered the dissolution of the entire press and the cancellation drumming up the vote for Benes, been so partial to the Stalinists. had reported the voluntary cessation of all activity by the Communist Party on the orders of its leaders, Gottwald and Kopetsky. These two versions are not at all contradictory. They fully

complement each other. The situation is clear as a bell.

order to lace the workers into the Fascist strait-jacket.. Having se-Czechoslovakian labor movement cured the public promise of the Stalinist leaders to sacrifice the through the iron ring of official is approaching completion. The labor movement on the altar of the Fatherland, it could safely outlaw the Communist Party. Perfidious Betraval

The history of the labor movement is filled with betrayals by bureaucrats who have alienated themselves from their own class. But the exploits of the Czech Stalinist leaders in the domain of perfidy and treachery certainly rank with any that have ever gone before. In 1933 the democratic government of Prague under President Masaryk accused the Stalinist leaders of "high treason and espionage in behalf Through the spy scare Roose- are being caught off guard by been arrested by the 'Secret of the Agrarians, Catholics, and of a hostile state" (the U.S.S.R., Gottwald and Kopetsky fled to Moscow. There they helped to crush all voices of opposition in the Comintern after the German defeat, tenaciously maintaining the theory of "social fascism." At At the same time the Prague triumphantly with the People's government, following the ex- Front thesis for their newly-discovered "fatherland."

Through the Soviet Embassy in Communist Party in Bohemia and Prague they had obtained prom-Moravia and the suspension of its ise of immunity in return for of their parliamentary mandates. then running for president. Shel-Prior to this G. E. R. Gedye, the tered by the bourgeois police, Times correspondent who has they forced the workers to renounce the class struggle in favor of the rotten democratic regime of Czech imperialism. In order to "defend" the Soviet Union. the capitalist republic.

"Social Fascism" Reincarnate The Prague government is eager | it is the fatherland, "right or Workers Party, Social to adapt itself to its Fascist wrong," regardless of its political Democratic Federation, Indepen- neighbor. At the same time it is regime. To avoid hampering the dent Labor League, Il Martello compelled to avoid anything Czech capitalists and to save they will also have the upper Group, Challenge, Proletarian which would disrupt "internal their own skins, they are volun-Group, Revolutionary Workers peace" and provide a pretext for tarily cooperating with Gen. Si-League and League for a Revolu- military intervention by Ger- rovy, the democrat of yesterday terday, as they decide today, the tionary Workers Party. The per- | many, Poland, and Hungary. It | and the fascist of today, in bringmanent American representative therefore utilizes the aid of the ing about the dissolution of the of the C.N.T. has joined the Com- Stalinist and reformist bureau- labor movement. Indeed, if "social mittee and pledged the support cracies, which are trembling for fascism" has ever really existed, their lives and their positions, in it is incarnate in the leaders of

GPU Odors Spread from Spy Trial transition to such an anti-alien, defendant who has turned state's type, withheld open support. In- anti-radical drive as featured the evidence after pleading guilty, admitted. under cross-examina-

chance to conduct an investiga- the box at the Nazi spy trial. All American army. tion and trial which would have this is elementary: the N. Y.

This servant of U.S. military pol-Nazis seek to conduct military es-

An Important Aspect

pionage. But it does not show There is one aspect of the trial that such espionage is clever, serious or successful. The plans of labeled by every reporter as "ludicrous," "fantastic," "incredent trial has uncovered no effective Nazi espionage against Indeed, one may say that if Congress were to base its attitude solely on what this trial proves references to allegedly successful swearing for four days under diconcerning the espionage conducted by the defendants now in the Soviet Union. This was further court, including the one who turned State's evidence, it would

tions to the trial. be justified in refusing to appropionage against an organization plea (for arms), Spain feels con-and incompetence. But the gov-that Germany has sown the Sovfident that it can prove to the ernment is laboring to get jury iet Union and other countries mans. and public to take the case se- with spies. Soviet commentators Daily Worker's Barcelona cor- riously, and it has the aid of the link German espionage with Hearst and other militaristic Trotskyists." The dispatch added that "significance is seen in the sion worth? fact that the New York trial is The government's main aim is occurring simultaneously with in spite of the obvious evidence, to create a general spy-scare, not the trial of an alleged Trotskyist which it could wheedle from Fascists. Pravda says: "Both trisonal organ, has to say on Octo- propaganda and create a bellicose ices and their foul Trotskyist

public mind, facilitating an easy agents." The Daily Worker features an article retailing Moscow's comments under a big head: "PRAV-DA LINKS SPY TRIALS WITH BARCELONA CASE." There is. says Stalin's New York rag, "an organic connection."

Enter the G.P.U.

It begins to appear as though possession of all along concerning certain aspects of this trial were

The possibility of such a com-

That is why, on the eve of this tion, that he established contacts Sharfin and Garber, in connection | trial, the President announced | with the German espionage servwith the Robinson-Rubens pass- that the country is full of spies, a ice solely in order to trap German

Some Curious Facts

the chance, and pigeonholed the It is not surprising that the ing as an American Under-Secre- all countries. G. P. U. case. In the Nazi case, he prosecutor should have chosen tary of State in a clumsy "effort" ordered an elaborate and costly a military spy case against the to get blank passports for use in purging the body of the workinvestigation, and brought the Nazi government, rather than a Russia. He did not come to trial ing class of the Stalinist poison persons indicted after Sharfin labor spy case against the G.P.U. until he had spent some time in that has penetrated it. "a Governor's Island dungeon." icy has nothing in principle He has admitted that he consults against G.P.U. anti-labor and anti-daily, during the trial, with the defense," dropped the subject. It shows, of course, that the radical espionage and frame-ups. prosecutor. He has never been tried as a deserter. On the stand he characterized his brother as which is becoming increasingly "a little roughneck and a typical prominent. As Herbert Solow little Nazi." He has used such pointed out in an article in the colorful phrases as "patriotism is New Leader last week, the pres- an abstract conception" and such words as "ideology."

Under cross-examination he has the American military establish- called himself a patriot and ment, but it has contained several American counter-spy - after Nazi espionage directed against rect examination by Mr. Dunigan that he is a German spy. In anemphasized by Moscow's reac- swer to a question by the judge, he has answered that if he had The New York Times of Oct. 22 ever gotten his hands on any sereported the trial being followed rious military secrets, unlike such "junk" which he found in his photo album, he would never

Who Is Rumrich?

Who is Rumrich? Why is he confessing? What is his confes-Like a bombshell at Tuesday's

session, Mr. B. Matthews, war-time prosecutor of German spies and propagation of faith in the "world budget, a relatively small item being agents of German-Italian sel for the defendant Erich Glaser, asked Rumrich: "Did you ever in political dis-

position? "Yes, I did." answered Rumrich.

sion with a Mr. Bauer?' "Yes," was the reply. "Did you have any discussions

with any other people?" "With some." "Who were they?"

"I'd rather not give their tried it. names," Rumrich answered. In the midst of this colloquy,

Between October 7, when "it the Anglo-French-Italo-German rigged in advance to serve this the prosecution objected to the very end. This trial, contributing line of Mr. Matthews' questioning. British plan was, and October 11, This knowledge, criminally con-little indeed to a knowledge of but the judge declared that it was The Stalinists pretend to be the plan has become "the old cealed while the workers of the real Nazi espionage, is being permissible. Rumrich himself wide-eyed innocents, just dis- British plan" which has now been world were taught by Stalin to staged for the benefit of militarist turned to the judge and said that he did not think it was proper of -"it was learned here today." explanation for this contradiction fate of the world working class in time it begins to look as if the Mr. Matthews to ask him about Far from being a new plan, how- is that the Stalinist press in the the hands of the "great democ- G.P.U. had somehow succeeded political discussions, but the ever, this has been the scheme western world, aware of the dif- racies," Stalin now seeks to ob- in hitching its caboose to the U.S. judge instructed him to answer, which he did after some hesitation, Mr. Matthews, who has been

sents us now with a new "line" through the mouth of a "certain chicken farmer . . . who manages to keep a shrewd and diligent eve cocked on the cockeyed world." Said this farmer: "There were also Czechoslovak leaders who sold out their own people.'

Through the inspiration of his new political mentor a beam of light has penetrated the chickenlike brain of Mr. Gold. He has discovered: "The overthrow of the end of 1935 they returned Hitler is something no reactionary wants-for it might shake world capitalism to its already rotten core. The upper classes never have been patriotic . . they have always placed class interests above the nation.'

Stalin remains mute. As for

Dimitrov-if he is still alivethe bullets of the G.P.U. will as

Gold Finds A Farmer

Europe and the United States

cannot as easily remain silent

They cannot stifle the doubts and

questions of their followers. Wait-

ing for an answer from the

Kremlin, they are marking time

and are stammering in embarass-

ment, Mr. Michael Gold, oracle of

the Daily Worker, prescribed a

homemade remedy. After the

Munich deal he advised his read-

ers to retire into the idvllic sol-

itude of the country and to "for-

Since Stalin remained stubborn

ly quiet, the rustic Mr. Gold pre-

But the leaders of Stalinism in

sure his silence.

Conclusion Avoided Here Mr. Gold stops. He cannot

go further because he would have recognize the falsity and treachery of the People's Front policy, which harnesses the working masses to the chariot of the "upper classes." But the workers they became ardent patriots of and farmers who have been duped and betrayed by the Golds and Browders, the Stalins and Now they have proved that for Dimitrovs, must follow these halfthem, as for all genuine patriots, confessions to their logical conclusion.

As long as the "upper classes" have the wealth of the nation. hand in the affairs of the state. It was they who decided until yes policies of Czechoslovakia. The Britain, France and the U. S their respective "upper classes."

The interests of these upper classes—we agree readily with Mr. Gold-have nothing in comreal nation, i. e., with the exploited masses. Their wars and their "peace" are determined not by the needs of mankind but by their own profits.

The Real Conflict

The maintenance and broadening of democratic rights of the statement which has been called agents and thus win forgiveness workers and farmers and their The U.S. Attorney had a to the attention of every juror in for having deserted from the final liberation will be possible only through the consistent understanding of the irreconcilable -that is, the capitalist regimes of

It is possible only through

er as not having "his heart in the

And Matthews? It is interesting that Mr. Matthews, in his opening address to the jury, expressly dissociated himself from the line of defense of the two other defense lawyers, both of whom are rumored to have official German backing. munist Party and Young Com-Where his heart is, remains to

be seen. Mr. Matthews himself has denied in the courtroom that he Star Spangled Banner led the sees any connection between the present case and the Robinson-Rubens case. His denial came in response to an objection raised by sion we raised our clenched fists the prosecution against a ques- and shouted "Red Front." A sudtion Matthews put to the con- den murmur was heard all fessed spy. He asked Rumrich around us, and several Party whether he had been reading the members shouted 'Throw out stories about the expose of the Robinson-Rubens passport fraud ring early this year at the time Rumrich attempted his farcial learned different."

passport coup. He Read the Papers

cussion defend the Communist that he thought the question jus- Young Communist Internationals tified on other grounds. The judge "Did you do that in a discusrich replied that he had been went ahead with his scheme anyway. Matthews asked him if he then thought that was a good time to try a passport fraud and Rumrich answered simply that he

To summarize:

1. This trial has been staged by a prosecutor who chose it as opposed to the Robinson-Rubens case.

2. This trial has revealed much more realistic anti-Stalin espionage work by Nazis than it has anti-American espionage work by Nazis.

3. This trial is hailed with glee by Stalin's press in Russia and here. 4. Involved in this trial is a

the Czech Communist Party.

the Czech Communist Party. How do Stalin-Dimitrov explain this catastrophic turn of affairs? As at every decisive moment for the international working class, Vital War Positions

(Continued from page 1)

in undisputed command at Can- maps solid. ton, had achieved that position in to the Japanese, with the probathere can now be little doubt. never have attempted the attack with so small a force, vulnerable to devastating flanking attacks through its 125-mile march inland from the sea

British Connivance The Japanese, as usual, chose their moment to invade South China with an eye and ear cocked to the European situation. It was clear that Britain would do nothing to defend its "sphere of influence" in South China, economically dominated by Hong Kong except to make the best possible arrangement through negotiation Long-drawn out hostilities would have prolonged the paralysis of Hong Kong. That is why it is not hard to see the fine English

hand in the Canton deal.

The Japanese were positively punctilious in their regard for Hong Kong's territorial boundaries and the British authorities there were correspondingly warm in their praise of the conduct of the Japanese forces. What all this means is that the Japanese have taken Canton as a basis for bargaining with the British in the negotiations now in progress.

Tasks That Remain The fall of Canton and Hankow means the end of positional warfare along clearly defined fronts. In the western provinces, Hunan, Chinese control will continue. But invaders to hold

Not a plane, not a gun came all of China nominally under the from Chiang to aid in Canton's Japanese flag. The Tokyo freedefense. Gen. Yu Han-mou, left booters dare not yet color their

They hold only the railroads 1936 by a judicious betrayal of and rivers. The countryside is by his previous superior, Gen. Chen no means theirs. This has been Chi-tang. That he had sold out and remains the basis for the hope and conviction that Japan, ble connivance of the British, whatever the sweep of its apparent victories, is doomed to ultim-Otherwise the Japanese would ate defeat in its whole China ad-

> But that this should be so requires a sharp turn from the policies of resistance directed by Chiang Kai-shek and his fellow generals. The ex-Communist Eighth Route Army has been forced to remain bottled up in Shansi, Chiang refused to let it take its place on the vital Central China front. The Communist Party leaders deferred in this, as in all things, to the all-mighty generalissimo.

Masses Victimized

The masses of the people-de spite all the fanfare about mobilization broadcast abroad by the Stalinists-have been left, the helpless, hapless victims of the war. That is why the defeats and the losses have been so heavy.

Because for the masses the war against the invaders has not been identified with the war in their own interests as workers and peasants, they have remained in large part passive. Freed of the vise of Chiang's dictatorship, aroused by the most vigorous campaign of arming and organization, their energies directed against the impositions of the hated foreign invader and against the native exploiter, the workers and peasants can alone turn the Kweichow, Szechwan, and in the tide, can alone make the vast northwest in Shensi, regional valleys of China too hot for the

New Expulsion Wave in Stalinist Youth Ranks

Roosevelt-New Deal war machine, growing sections of the rank and expelled members, stated: file. In the last few months sighs of mass discontent with the social-patriotic line of "collective cies of the Y.C.L. were mere temsecurity" have been seen. From New York to California, and bluff the bourgeoisie, and that points north and south, militants after a while the Party would

being bureaucratically expelled. of expulsions is largest. In the past few weeks the president of the Fort Washington Branch, Edward Jaffe, and the Educational Director, Herbert Garfinkel, have been expelled for "Trotskyism. When asked for a statement on

finkel had the following to say: Refused to Be Patriots

"Although we were both members of the League for two years. and held responsible positions, it didn't take us very long to see where Browder and Company were leading the Party and League membership.

"We became convinced of the complete bankruptcy of the Communist League when, at the start of the Lenin Memorial Meeting in Madison Square Garden, the way. We refused to rise and sing it. We had too much respect for Lenin to do that. At its concluthose dirty Trotskyites.' We thought we had come to a meeting to honor Lenin, but we soon

Joined Y.P.S.L.

Jaffe and Garfinkel said that The prosecution objected to the they were happy to join the question on the grounds that it Young People's Socialist League, was immaterial unless Matthews affiliated to the Fourth Internafirst established that the Robin- tional, because "that was the only son case is related to the present youth organization in the country case. Matthews declared that he which inherited the best tradimakes no such connection, but tions of the Communist and -the struggle for the world proallowed the question and Rum- letarian revolution. We have saved our revolutionary honor reading the papers at the time but and integrity by joining the ranks of the Fourth International." In the Ben Leider Branch, in

> "confessed spy," who is also a confessed counter-spy, and who has reluctantly confessed gued politics privately from Trotskyism. a Communist viewpoint, and the Moscow treason trials.

strations" in Moscow.

sensation is in store.

In their frantic attempt to line | the Bronx, two of the most active up the membership of the Young members were expelled for re-Communist League behind the fusing to swallow the reactionary People's Front and Demomon with the interests of the the leadership of the Y.C.L. is cratic Front policies of the Y.C.L. meeting strong resistance from Harold Burt and M. Wolf, the

> "We tried to convince ourselves that the present opportunist poliporary maneuvers, designed to of long standing in the Y.C.L. are turn left. But we are now completely certain that the Commis-In New York City the number nist Party has sunk so deeply into the mire of reformism, that it can never again return to the path of Marx and Lenin.

A Fresh Start

France, and elsewhere, have their expulsions, Jaffe and Gar- brought to the workers defeat after defeat. The only movement which offers the workers a program of revolutionary struggle against imperialist war and fastcism is the Fourth International world party of the proletarian revolution. We have no regrets at our expulsion from the Y.C.L. In the Young People's Socialist League we are able to breathe the fresh air of revolutionary social.

> In the City College Branch of the Y.C.L., from which not a few members have been expelled in the past for Trotskyism, Al Lindenfeld announced his resignation this week. Lindenfeld expressed his complete disgust with the counter-revolutionary policies of

ism."

"After the murders of the Gld Bolsheviks in Moscow, I was certain that Stalin was headed towards one thing: the complete destruction of all the conquests of the October Revolution," he said. "I was certain, now more than ever, that the biggest obstacle towards the defense of the Soviet Union is the defunct Comintern, which, in its process of putrefaction, is poisoning the clean well of the working class. For that reason I break with Stalinism and join the only force which has the real program comable of mobilizing the workers in defense of the Soviet Union- the Fourth International."

Appeal to YCLers

Expulsions have also taken place in the Hunts Point and Milt Young Branches in the Bronx, as well as numerous other branches in the city. A former member of the New York State Committee of the Y.C.L., Dave that he has on occasion ar- Davidson, has been expelled for

The Young People's Socialist who looks no more like a Na- League (Fourth Internationalists) zi spy than Vishinsky, Kres- appeals to all Y.C.Lers who hetinsky, Bukharin, Romm or lieve in the teachings of Marx any of the other actors in and Lenin: Break with the corrupt machine of Stalinism. Be 5. Stalin himself links this trial ware of the Browders and Greens to the frame-up trial in Bar- who want to drag you into ancelona and his own "demon- other war "for democracy." Join the revolutionary movement, un-One may safely say that a der the red banner of the Fourth International.

SOCIALIST APPEAL

Saturday, October 29, 1938

Published every week by the SOCIALIST APPEAL PUBLISHING ASS'N except for 3 times weekly during first two weeks of October, 1938 only) at 116 University Place, New York, N. Y. Telephone: National Office: ALgonquin 4-8547

Subscriptions: \$2.00 per year; \$1.00 for six months. Foreign: \$2.50 per year. Bundle order 3 cents per copy. Single copies 5 cents.

All checks and money orders should be made out to the Socialist Appeal. Entered as second-class matter September 1, 1987, at the post office at New York, New York, under the Act of March 3, 1879.

MAX SHACHTMAN Editor
HAROLD ROBERTS GEORGE CLARKE Associate Editors S. STANLEY, Business Manager

Open the Doors!

The problem of the European refugees is of profoundest concern to évery worker. All hopes for the future, all possibility for the progress of civilization depend today on the action and solidarity of the working class of every country. It is not merely from considerations of humanity that we must seek to aid the victims of fascism driven from land to land, often left in the ditch

The only real answer to the barbarism practised by the reactionary capitalists in the name of national culture, is the mobilization of working class forces on the basis of international solidarity against all class and national oppression. In the performance of this duty of organizing practical aid for the disinherited and mistreated victims of fascist reaction, the working class forges unbreakable international links in the chain of its struggle to pull civilization out of

The American proletariat must unite to help the refugees so that in this very process they may prevent the same thing from taking place in their own country. By making their power felt in warding off the blows of reaction delivered against the oppressed of other countries, the American workers at the same time mobilize their strength to defeat similar attempts at oppression at home.

The partition of Czechoslovakia and the advance of fascism into Central Europe daily uproots thousands upon thousands of helpless families which are rendered destitute overnight. It is especially the Jews who become the chosen victims of triumphant reaction. They find themselves a people without a country and without any rights that need be respected. Their terrible plight in Europe is made the more tragic by the events in Palestine. There British imperialism pursues its own aims at the expense of both Arabs and Jews, purposefully utilizing the antagonism between the two. What can we propose in view of the awful tragedy of the refugees, particularly the Jews?

. The bourgeois governments, under the leadership of Roosevelt, called the Evian Conference ostensibly to "aid political refugees." This conference presented the ironic spectacle of each of the governments represented making polite reguests of all the others to increase their quota of refugees. Roosevelt asked Mexico, Brazil, Argentine to open their doors wider, but the U. S. did not lift a finger to increase its own "share" by as much as a single refugee. Thus

VOTE LABOR!

the American quota list is already exhausted for a year and a half to come. In actuality, behind the scenes, the Evian Conference was called to permit the various bourgeois governments to keep tabs on the radical refugees and to advise each other on their movements. The Evian Conference was called for the purpose, not of aiding refugees, but of regulating their inevitable flow over various borders in the interests of the

The American Jewish bourgeois "leaders" follow carefully the pattern laid down for them by the political spokesmen for the capitalist ruling class. The policies advocated by these leaders dovetail into those of the American government. The various nationalist Jewish organizations have sent out widespread to Jewish homes telegrams to be signed and forwarded to Secretary Hull of the State Department asking the United States to intervene to prevent Great* Britain from closing the doors of Palestine to lewish immigration.

Hull and Roosevelt could have wished nothing better to give them prestige as liberals without lifting a finger to give real help. It costs these wily politicians nothing at all to make this empty gesture. Hull states this publicly when he calls attention, even while sending his gratuitous message to England, to the fact that after all the United States cannot prevent England from carrying out whatever policy it pleases. This remark will be understood in its true worth by the British government.

Thus the Jewish misleaders aid the capitalist politicians in siphoning off the stream of mass agitation into safe and useless channels. The Iews are aroused as never before at the awful plight of their fellow-Jews in Palestine and in the fascist countries. To prevent this sentiment from crystallizing into a militant mass movement, the reactionary Jewish leaders provide a safety valve in the form of harmless telegrams.

We certainly stand against the closing of the doors of Palestine to the Jews. It has always been the Marxist viewpoint that the masses of workers should be permitted to move freely across all borders without restriction. We recognize, however, that the Jews in or out of Palestine will not be helped one iota by appealing to the imperialist British government which is responsible for the oppression of countless millions of people of all races all over the earth. An appeal to this government means to entrust the fate of the Iews to one of the worst enemies of all hu-

No, the American workers, including the Jewish workers, can perform a far more useful service to the refugees, including the Jews, by making forceful demands not on the British government which need not and will not pay the slightest attention, but on "their own" government. We must demand the open door for refugees not merely in far-away Palestine, but here at home in the United States. Why has not Roosevelt attempted to have the quota law completely abolished—or even revised upwards? This would be really practical aid to the refugees. It would be an excellent way to combat anti-semitism because it would mean an educational campaign against race prejudice conducted in the ranks of the working class.

Organize the masses around this demand for the open door and this demand will soon make itself felt! For the abolition of the quota law and for the reestablishing of the United States as a haven for political refugees! This is the only real democracy—the fight for the Open Door for all refugees!

And a Fighting Program

For Independent Politics

Millions Hit as Stalin Purge **Continues in Soviet Union**

he had learned from an author- party and administrative appar- 1937). itative source that the number of atus of the country, that is to say, political arrests had at that time thousands upon tens of thousands reached the total of not less than of people. 300,000, the majority being party porhood of half-a-million.

Krivitsky's estimate is indirectly borne out by a dispatch from Denny during this same period: "The purge continues unabated although it has now been going on so long that its trials and executions have become routine news stripped of all dramatic value." (N. Y. Times, Dec. 2, 1937).

Replacement and Purges However, we have a far more authoritative verification. In January of this year Pravda asserted districts, provinces, federated and with some statistics. autonomous People's Commissar-

iats. More than 100,000!" . . . The advancement has acquired a Machinery Plant made the follow-doubtless took place. If the purge mass character, it is becoming alling boast: "There are more than elsewhere assumed the same promost everywhere a mass phenom- 400 engineers and technicians in portions it would involve not 11/2 enon. (Jan. 27. Emphasis in the the construction department of but several millions. We presume

functionary a number of subortives, were caught in the dragnet. aggerated. Thus on the basis of alone" can be set at not less than 500,000. The appalling implication becomes clear if we bear in mind for an intensification of this campaign of "advancement." It was the order bureau, the spy K " only a modest beginning! In March came the Bukharin-Rykov frame-up as part of the machinery of speeding up the purge.

ted Press staff correspondent, re- Stalin, the cadres of the party been arrested. ported from Moscow: "Many have been vigorously renovated The refusal of collectives to dethousands of persons have been recent treason trials." (N. Y. Post

"Tens of Thousands . . ." (the purge) cut a deep furrow

No official statistics relating to life. To prove this it is sufficient Pravda commented as follows: the Stalinist purge have been is | to compare published membership "The People's Commissar of sued. None will be forthcoming. lists of official bodies, from the Heavy Industry, com. L. M. Kaga-Nevertheless on the basis of in- high military council to local novich has reorganized 'Glavudirect data in the Stalinist press soviets, of two years ago and gol'; he has expelled from there the number can be roughly ap- now, or to read reports of the apologists of wreckers' theoproximated. A figure of 1,000,000— changes of the personnel in Com- ry . . . the bureaucrats and the of-1,500,000 for the past two years munist party secretariats, both fice holders; he has reinforced would be a conservative estim- provincial and municipal, and in the apparatus of the chief admingovernment administrative posi- istration with young engineers, In December 1937, Walter Kriv- tions." (N. Y. Times. July 26). The tested communists, people who itsky, leading Soviet diplomat spheres and the changes enumer- know their jobs and are desirous who refused to return to Russia, ated by Duranty embrace not iso- of fighting for the convalescence stated that in May of that year lated individuals but the entire of the coal industry." (Oct. 2,

through every phase of national novich in October of last year.

We continually meet with this bodies" (August 28. Our emphasis). And only the other day, Denny reported on the Army purge as follows:

"The purge that is still continapparently on a smaller scale, is of thousands of junior officers to responsible posts." (N. Y. Times. Oct. 17. Our emphasis).

Yardstick for Data The scope of the "promotions" provides a vardstick for the real that: "More than 100,000 people extent of the purge. Let us apply moved." (June 11). In October of have been advanced to leading it to those isolated cases in which posts during last year alone-in the Stalinist press provides us reorganized once again, this time

Uralmash. Of these only 3 com- that these are exceptional cases. It goes without saying that for pleted their studies prior to 1917, every individual who was "ad- all the others are from among the vanced" another one was re- Soviet youth." We also learn that lished in January) 11 have been moved, i. e., purged. It is equal- "more than 250 Stakhanovists purged from top to bottom. These ly clear that for every "leading" from among the labor and tech- include the commissariats of Agnical personnel have been pro- riculture, Trade, Mechanical Condinates, to say nothing of rela- moted to leading posts." Here we struction, Light Industry, Food have a purge of more than 60 per Industry, Land Transport, Fi-A ratio of 5 to 1 is hardly ex-cent in a single department. So nance, and Farm Products Storwe are not shocked to discover age. On Oct. 2, came the news of Pravda's boast, the number of that in this plant there were: "a the reorganization of the State with a vote to call a national ploited railways are now sufferthose purged during "last year foreign specialist, the spy Z....; Bank, with the appointment of former chief metallurgist, the di- Bulganin as chairman, and three fective. And the Roosevelt ad- handicapped by this wreckingof the figure mentioned in Pravda tral laboratory, the spy D...; appointees are G.P.U. functionformer head of the forging-press aries-an evil omen to the perthat Pravda cited it only to call dep't, Z....; chief engineer, the sonnel! wrecker L former head of One-Year Olds

able to state with satisfaction has the administration been three times the figure set by Kri- pay cut would affect general busithat "there is no doubt that it purged, culminating in the sweep- vitsky last December is, if anying changes effected by Kaga- thing, an underestimation.

"Worthless Directors" On June 11, 1938, Pravda announced the removal of these "worthless directors" and boastmembers and members of their refrain of "new thousands." Thus, ed of a new leading staff embracfamilies. In the period since May, in August, Izvestia stated that "in ing: 260 mine superintendents; the number of arrests had con- the recent period thousands of 240 chief engineers, 610 heads of siderably increased and Krivitsky new people have been advanced sectors, 400 leaders of tens," 650 estimated it to be in the neigh- to leading posts in People's Com- Stakhanovists, 120 organizers and missariats and the administrative 140 chairmen of mine committees. Said Prayda: "The chief task of the directors of 'Donbasugol' was to transmit the experience of the advanced mines in the struggle for coal to the laggard mines, to uing in the Red Army, though put an end once and for all to being accompanied by promotions ceed to root out the consequences of wrecking . . . The former lead-

ers of 'Donbasugol' failed to do this. Departmental-bureaucratic methods of management predominated in their work. The worthless directors have been rethis year, the Donbas has been into three separate units. No In Pravda, for July 22, A. Ako- purge was reported in connection pov, director of the Ural Heavy with this reorganization but it

Commissariats Cleansed Of the 28 Commissariats (estabversionist P....; head of the cen- deputies. All four of these new

Army continues. While there has sible. Here is a report of the results been no confirmation of Blueof the Party Conference in the cher's arrest, it is known that his finding board" brought forth no city of Stalinsk: "In the Kuznets entire general staff and scores of

in the last year. The majority of liver grain to the government is the complete inability of the bossarrested-the number perhaps the secretaries of shop commit- being met by the extension of running into five figures-through- tees and group organizations are the purge into the collectives. out the Soviet republics since the new people—their past record in This list far from exhausts the party work does not exceed one countless thousands who are in-Finally, we take the instance of our estimate of those who have of the Northern Pacific Railway, this situation, the Association of the Don Basin. Time and again fallen victims to the purge at said that he did not believe the American Railroads, which is the the Italian Harlem W.A. local.

HARLEM LOCALS

NEW YORK-The growing revolt in the ranks of the Stalinist Workers Alliance reached new tonio, candidate and darling of proportions last week when in a stormy session of the Harlem here Browderite Sam Wiseman, W. A. City Secretary "shown the gate," and five locals with a combined membership of more than 800 voted to leave the Communist Party-con-

trolled Alliance. Before this latest chanter in a long series of Alliance defections was over, another local, No. 53, in the Washington Heights section with a membership of over 200, also voted to leave the Alliance, charging the W.A. as being a "C. P.-run racket."

Twenty Expelled

It was also learned here that during the height of the "Harlem the last remaining stronghold of \$295 annually). revolt," some 20 members of the the unemployed section of the Communist Party were expelled N. Y. Alliance. from that organization, with the reason given as "Trotskyism."

the Browderites, presiding at a branch meeting of the American Labor Party, ordered that Everett be thrown out, when he attempted to address the meeting in Italian, the language which most of the workers gathered there, could understand.

own, when organizer C. Everett,

weeks ago, denounced the Stalin-

ist fakers, and lead more than 140

Ex-Congressman Vito Marcan-

members of that local.

Calls Cops Marcantonio then proceeded to call the cops. The police arrived, but Everett addressed the meetofficials, he lead a procession out

Duty predicted that the "rebel" Harlem locals may soon become the unions, charged that the wage While the "rebellion" in Har- a section of the Unemployed and em was in its formative stage, Project Workers Union.

The Notebook of An Agitator

One of the funny features which relieve the tedium of the current election campaign in New York is provided by the furious battle for Progress which the Stalinists are waging in behalf of Banker-Governor Lehman and the rather impatient request of Lehman that the newly hatched democrats curb their ardor, or at least be more private about it.

The raucous campaign of the Stalinists for "Lehman and Progress" was briefly interrupted last week by the curt public announcement of Lehman that he didn't want their support. Moreover, he added-though not quite so emphatically-he would not accept it. Thus called to heel, a moment of tense and somewhat embarrassed silence on the part of the Twentieth Century Americans followed. During that blessed moment the total volume of sound decibels which assail the collective ear of the public, in total disregard of the anti-noise ordinance, was considerably

But it was only for the moment. The repudiation only gave them pause. It couldn't stop them. When they are out to defeat reaction at all costs nothing can stop them. Their noisy and delirious new confessions of faith, shouted with the fervor and frenzy of a camp meeting convert, drowned out the politely modulated disavowal of Lehman. They are now in full cry again, and there will be no peace in New York State until they have shouted progress to victory in the elections once again.

There are some over-anxious and jittery people in the embattled ranks of progress who believe all the bad news they hear, and always expect the worst. These political hypochondriacs feared that Lehman's rebuff to his Kremlin chorus signified-oh, danger of dangers!—a "split in the progressive forces."

They were unduly alarmed. The conflict was more apparent than real. It was not fundamental, but only a difference of opinion about manners and methods. Lehman was merely trying to train the Stalinists to curb their enthusiasm, to act more like settled residents of the Democratic Party, not like rowdy new arrivals who have just crashed the gates.

The parvenu-democrats haven't understood this yet. They are like certain breeds of too-affectionate canines who are not satisfied merely to be allowed in the master's house but must leap into his lap and slobber in his face. Lehman, by his press statement, simply meant to say "down Fido!" But Fido-Browder, for whom everything the master does is right, mistook the rebuke for a caress, and began to whine and howl with delight at the attention. That's the sound you hear over the radio on the Com-

RAILROAD UNION **RESISTS THREAT** OF WAGE SLASH

(Continued from page 1)

strike when the cut becomes ef- ing and will be permanently well the importance of national small investors who were thus transportation in time of war, appointed a "fact-finding board" in The naval commisariat has order to solve the whole problem been purged. The purge in the as quickly and as quietly as pos-

The hearings held by this "factnew facts but have succeeded in At that time Webb Miller, Uni- metallurgical plant named after his closest collaborators have bringing to the front pages of the newspapers the sorry plight of the workers in this industry and es to run their business.

Some Eyewash

volved. In the light of these facts Mr. Charles Donnelly, president intention to favor the unions in ness. "I can't see why prosperous frantic attempts to prevent the industries would follow action also experienced a "revolt" of its

Mr. Donnelly disagreed with to the case for the owners when the contention of the council for and if a fight develops between at a meeting of that local two the brotherhoods that the pro- the railroads and the unions. posed reduction would reduce purchasing power, "The money saved to the railroads in wages," he said, "would get into circulation in some form."

"We did not tell the men they would get only 85 per cent of tion. Mr. Pelley said that no intheir wages," he went on. "We vestigation." And answering Mr. approached them in the same nothing can be done anyway." manner as in 1932, pointing out The counsel asked him if it was their favored position as compared with the dire straits of vestigation." And answering Mr. the management."

Then the fact was brought forward that the average wage in ing, which consisted for the most | the industry is less than \$95 a part of Alliance members, and at | month and that section workers, the conclusion of his remarks, in according to L. E. Keller, statistiwhich he exposed the false roles cian for the Brotherhood of of Marcantonio and the Alliance Maintenance of Way Employees, earn not more than \$347 a year! (a 15 per cent cut for these job and hope that the Senator With the Harlem locals, goes workers would bring their pay to (Wheeler) stays put! Isn't that In answer to the plea of the

owners for the wage reduction, W. Jett Lauck, an economist for cut had been decided upon by a small group of bankers which dominated the railroad industry.

He went on to describe how n organizing the New York Central Railroad, the promoter as a preliminary step, doubled the stock in his possession by a 100 per cent stock dividend without any corresponding increase in assets. On this stock, which he described as fictious, dividends amounting to more than \$210,000,-000 had been paid since 1870.

Diverted Revenues

"This obviously means," he continued, that revenues to this amount-which should have been used for advances in wages and workers who have in convention working conditions of employees, after convention gone on record the lowering of passenger and for government ownership and freight rates, the payments of responsibility for the roads. The debts and general improvements unions have recently asked the -have been improperly diverted Federal administration to take and distributed."

In a discussion of the New York, New Haven and Hartford to the average necessary for a de-Railroad, the witness said that, cent standard of living.

with J. P. Morgan & Co. dominating its policies, "there was dissipated within ten years \$400,000,-000 of the capital assets of the company."

The resources of profitable roads were used to finance this recent fantastic financial orgy. Hundreds of millions were lost and the workers of these exto say nothing of the hundreds of

Efforts To Balk Inquiry

The wages and working conditions of employees on two outstanding Western railroads, (the Southern Pacific and Great Northern) have been completely ruined in recent years because the bosses of these roads gave away to their stockholders profitable income-producing assets valued at \$527,000,000.

Despite the fact that neither the fact-finding board nor the Testifying before this board, administration have shown any investigation from being held. taken by distressed railways," he The publicity such an investigation might attract would not add

> This was exposed by a counsel for the Brotheroods in the crossexamination of Mr. Pelley, former president of the New York, New Haven and Hartford Railroad. and now president of the Associa not a fact that he had tried to swer was an emphatic "No!"

"Then," asked the counsel, "is it not a fact that you corresponded with Milton Harrison of the Securities Owners Association and that Mr. Harrison wrote you that he had 'scotched' the invesigation." And answering Mr. Harrison did you write:

"I think you did a splendid

"Yes," replied Mr. Pelley. Other Plans

The plans offered by various groups to save the railroads were reviewed by the board. The Brotherhoods have proposed a series of steps which would reduce competition by restricting trucks from doing long haul work, by the introduction of new, lighter equipment, a fixed rate base for freight and passenger service, restriction of stock so that at no time would more than 40 per cent of the roads' value be sold in bonds or stock, a series of consolidations, cooperation between the management and the unions.

This proposal, however, is not looked upon with any considerable degree of satisfaction by the over the roads and guarantee the workers a minimum wage equal

THE MARXIST SCHOOL WEEKLY FORUMS

on Sunday evenings at 8:00

OCTOBER 30-SHOULD LABOR SUPPORT THE A.L.P. B. J. Widick-Nat'l Labor Sec'y of S.W.P.

NOVEMBER 6-CELEBRATION OF 21st ANNIVERSARY OF RUSSIAN REVOLUTION Max Shachtman—Editor of New Internat'l

NOVEMBER 13-A.F.L.-C.I.O. UNITY

Irving Plaza — Irving Place at 15th St.

crisis. The measures enumerated above will absorb only a portion of the unemployed. To provide jobs for millions who will never again be reabsorbed by private industry, the A.L.P. must aggressively support a long term public-works program. Within the framework of such a program, there should be included resumption of work in private enterprises shut down by their present owners, such resumption on the basis of declaring these enterprises and factories to be public utilities which are to be operated by workers' committees and exempt from any profit in-

ranks and conduct the stubborn fight necessary for victory. A

fighting labor program is indispensable. Such a program must

provide for the defense of the only serious right which is left

to workers in a society based upon exploitation: THE RIGHT TO

The A.L.P. must categorically demand employment and de-

As preliminary steps toward securing this right, the A.L.P.

1) Adequate provision for relief. New York with its great

2) Jobs in industry for the greatest possible number of

army of unemployed requires at least an annual appropriation of

\$1,000,000,000 for relief and public works projects. This sum

will provide a minimum income of \$1,000 a year for the million

workers. This can be achieved by a reduction of working hours

3) Adequate Housing. A State Housing Authority Act for

a complete clearance of slums, the infamous hovels and fire-

traps for which New York is notorious. In addition to providing

decent housing, it will create jobs for a category of workers

4) Opening of factories closed down as a result of the

particularly hard hit by the depression—the building trades.

EMPLOYMENT AT A LIVING WAGE.

must fight for the following immediate demands:

odd families whose breadwinners are out of jobs.

cent living conditions for everybody.

in industries with no reduction in pay.

terest and rent charges. 5) Placing the burden of the depression not on the backs of workers, but where it belongs-ON THE BOSSES. LaGuardia's sales Tax collects pennies from the poor, leaving untouched the dollars of the rich. Repeal the sales tax! Tax the rich! Over and

above the demand for a taxation program which will ease the

tax burden of the workers and the small home owners, the A.L.P. must demand that all war funds be turned over for relief-for a program of WPA, public works and housing.

6) Put an end to the gouging of the power trust and the plans of the transit companies to increase the fare. The exorbitant gas and electric rates in New York must be reduced. The five cent fare must be maintained. This can be accomplished only by expropriating these trusts and really running them for the benefit of the masses in our city.

While we gird ourselves to fight for the foregoing program, while the trade unions continue their day to day struggles for better wages and working conditions, the reactionary vanguard of the capitalist class is not sitting by idly. Boss Hague's onslaught against the workers in Jersey City is but a portent of what is coming everywhere. Anti-semitism and racial hatreds are being prepared openly as bosses' weapons to divide the ranks of the workers. At the same time, the Roosevelt government is speeding up its preparations for a war to redivide the world among the imperialist powers.

Anti-semitism, all racial persecution, fascism and war are byproducts of the decaying capitalist system, arising from capitalist decay as inexorably as economic crises, unemployment and working class slavery. The struggle against fascism and war is the struggle

Only the working class, relying upon its own strength and its own independent organizations, in an alliance with the poor farmers and the millions brought to ruin by capitalism can wage a successful struggle for the abolition of capitalism and the establishment of a socialist society-mankind's sole safeguard against a relapse into barbarism, and the only road that leads to further

Cast your vote FOR INDEPENDENT LABOR POLITICS. Work FOR A BOLD FIGHTING LABOR PROGRAM. Vote for all genuinely independent A.L.P. candidates. Write in the names of James P. Cannon for Governor and

Ernest R. McKinney for regular-term senator. Local New York, Socialist Workers Party, (Section of the Fourth International)