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Hail the Socialist Workers Party!

House Defeats Ludlow Amendment 209 to 188-

By the narrow vote of 209 to 188, the House of Representatives in Washington, under heavy pressure from President Roosevelt, and with the solid reactionary bloc casting its ballot for the majority, defeated the amendment of Representative Louis Ludlow providing for a national referendum to be taken before war can be declared against another country by the United States.

Carrying on a vicious chauvinistic campaign against the amendment for the past several weeks, were all the forces of reaction, all the war-mongers, patrioteers, ably seconded by the American section of the Stalinist Foreign Office—the Communist Party. The Browderites stood in a single camp not only with the Big-Army-and-Navy President, but with Stimson, Landon and the Old Guard of the Repub-

lican Party.

Not a single labor organization in the country presented the point of view of the revolutionary working class on the Ludlow amendment. Those that did not support it outright, criticized it only from a reactionary, pro-war standpoint. We present below the Marxian view of the amendment, presented in the form of a revolutionary anti-war criticism by our comrade Albert Goldman.

By Albert Goldman

An old problem in a new form is raised for the revolutionary

NEW FORMAT

We are glad to announce that beginning with the next issue, the Socialist Appeal will appear in a new format. This is the last of the tabloid size, and from now on we will print a full-size newspaper format.

Marxists and for the working class in general by the LaFollette-Ludlow proposed amendment to the constitution, which would make it necessary, before congress can declare war, to refer the question to a referendum, except in the case of actual invasion. It is only necessary to apply the accepted principles of revolutionary Marxism to solve the problem correctly.

Pacifist Cure-All

Revolutionary Marxists, especially since Lenin's vigorous polemics against pacifism, have consistently taken the position that any policy which pretends to solve the problem of war independently of the class struggle creates illusions and is therefore

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Join the Struggle For Socialism!

The Chicago convention of the revolutionary socialists has established the American section of the Fourth International.

In forming the Socialist Workers Party of the United States, the convention shaped the indispensable weapon of the working class in its struggle against a powerful and merciless class enemy, the exploiter of labor and oppressor of the people. With only the trade unions at its disposal, the working class is but half-armed. With a revolutionary political party at its head, it is invincible.

The Anti-Labor Drive

The Socialist Workers Party could not have been founded at a more crucial moment. The American working class is face to face with a heavy employers' onslaught upon its standard of living, already badly undermined by years of crisis and depression. The only solution that the wisest of the capitalist statesmen, Roosevelt, has been able to offer to the problem of hunger is to cut down the production of food. Now, with a new depression leading towards an even sharper crisis, the capitalists, whose rule Roosevelt has been bent on preserving, are proceeding to throw new hundreds of thousands out of work and to cut the wages of those whom they continue to employ. The most powerful capitalist nation of the earth has proved incapable of feeding, clothing and housing the masses of the population. The existing social system is bankrupt and awaits only the revolutionary action of the working class to be flung into the discard so as to make way for the socialist economy of abundance and equality.

Even more menacing than the crisis and the anti-labor drive, is the growing threat of war. The crisis condemns millions to hunger and slow starvation. The imperialist war condemns them to speedy death in muddy, blood-soaked trenches—victims of the imperialist lust for expansion and profit.

Preparing the "War for Democracy"

Every capitalist country of the world is preparing feverishly for the day when the world war actually breaks out. And the United States is not behindhand in war preparations. Under the mask of the "defense of democracy", the Roosevelt administration is putting through the largest military and naval budget this country has ever had in peace-time. As the critical days come nearer, it is obvious that all the political parties, from the Republican and Democratic to the Communist, are supporters of the imperialist war. The Stalinists are, in fact, in the very forefront of the war-mongers.

Only the Socialist Workers Party, true to the great traditions and principles of revolutionary internationalism, stands consistently and firmly against the imperialist war-mongers and announces in advance its irreconcilable opposition to any war undertaken by the capitalist government of the United States. At its convention, it made it perfectly clear that if the war should finally break out, the party will seek to utilize the crisis of capitalism for the purpose of overturning the rotten social system, and thus putting an end to the war which is inherent in it.

For the Class Struggle!

Unlike the impotent sect to which the Thomas-Tyler Socialist Party has been reduced, the Socialist Workers Party shows the seriousness of its position by its clear-cut break with all

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Diary of Ignace Reiss Reveals Criminal Methods of G.P.U.—Young Communists Die Shouting Defiantly: "Long Live Trotsky!"

Sensational revelations of the methods and aims pursued by the Stalinist G. P. U. in its murderous persecution of revolutionists in the Soviet Union and abroad, are contained in the diary of Ignace Reiss, just made public.

Comrade Reiss, who served the international revolutionary movement for years and was a trusted official of the Soviet secret service, was murdered by the G. P. U. in Switzerland several months ago because of the announcement he had made breaking with the Stalin murder-machine and adhering to the Fourth International.

Shows Stalin Methods

The diary appeared for the first time in the organ of the Russian Trotskyists, "Bulletin of the Opposition," the editors of which provided the following introduction:

"These notations jotted down to refresh his own memory were not intended for publication by

their author. This explains their sketchy and rather summary character, their terseness and, at times, unclarity. We did not deem it possible to amplify the diary in any way, or even to introduce editorial changes. All we have done is to delete entirely certain passages in the diary. Wherever possible we have provided the diary with notes, based upon oral statements of our deceased comrade.

"Apart from the extraordinary interest in the diary itself, it has become an historical document. The diary adduces isolated and seemingly disjointed facts, but in their aggregate they provide a graphic picture

of Stalinist methods and deeds." The Reiss diary follows:

The Diary of Ignace Reiss

July 24, 1937.

1. Judging by all indications, the Czech police was supplied with material which depicted the German political emigre, Grylewicz, as an agent of the Gestapo. The Czech police was apparently in no great hurry to proceed with the case. Very frequent phone calls from Stalin to Yezhov, wanting to know how the Grylewicz case was getting along. He (Stalin) would do anything for a Trotskyist trial in Europe

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New 'Front' Organized; G.O.P.-Roosevelt-C.P. Prepare Labor for War

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detrimental to the interests of the working class. It was on the question of the advocacy of disarmament advanced by middle-class pacifists as a cure-all for war that Lenin developed his struggle against pacifism. The La Follette-Ludlow amendment falls into the same general category as the policy of disarmament. In so far as it adds an element of democratic procedure it carries even greater dangers to the revolutionary struggle against war. Will the proposed amendment have any efficacy at all in preventing war? We shall not speak here of a war which will commence by an actual invasion of any territory belonging to American imperialism. The amendment does not require a referendum in such a case. We shall confine ourselves to such cases where the American imperialists will be convinced of the necessity of an appeal to arms and where they can not afford to wait until the enemy invades their territory.

Marxist Conception of Cause of War

Unless the Marxist conception of the fundamental cause of imperialist wars is to be discarded the answer to the question: will the amendment prevent any kind of war? must be a very emphatic negative. An imperialist war (and the United States can fight no other kind of war) is not caused by the invasion of any enemy power. It is caused by imperialist rivalries for markets, for raw material, for fields of investment and these rivalries are inherent in imperialism. They exist long before the declaration of war and the act of invading enemy territory.

It would be far more sensible for pacifists to advocate a referendum on the question of preventing our capitalists from making foreign investments. Possibly the pacifists of "socialist" persuasion will go to the root of the problem by presenting the bright idea of abolishing war by referring the question of the existence of capitalism to a referendum vote. For the revolutionary worker it is quite evident that to abolish war it is necessary to destroy capitalism itself and therefore to consider the struggle against war as part of the struggle against the capitalist class.

One can say with the utmost certainty that a provision in the constitution requiring a referendum could not possibly prevent the government from entering into war if the decisive section of the capitalist class deemed it necessary. Should we assume the impossible, namely, that the Ludlow amendment would become part of the constitution, one of three things would follow in case the capitalist government would be convinced of the necessity of going to war against an imperialist rival. Either Congress would declare war without a referendum on the pretext that our territory was invaded or a referendum would be taken quickly in the midst of a tremendous war incitement with a favorable vote absolutely certain, or the requirement of a referendum would be ignored altogether. Judging by recent experience

the probability is that future wars will all be "undeclared" wars. It is absurd to think that any kind of a constitutional amendment would prevent the ruling class from guarding its interests. There are already many constitutional provisions which are ignored in an "emergency" and one more will be immaterial.

Objections of Capitalists

Why then does the big capitalist press raise such lusty objections to the Ludlow amendment? It is a mistake to think that because certain sections of the capitalist class object to certain measures that they represent any danger to the rule of the bourgeoisie. Almost every measure of the least liberal character was fought strenuously by the reactionaries but that does not mean that when such a measure was passed it affected adversely the vital interests of the ruling class. Bourgeois democracy, it is true, prefers to cover itself with legality and hence it is preferable in the eyes of the ruling section not to have any provisions in the constitution or on the statutes which they might have to disregard but in a crisis bourgeois democracy ignores bourgeois legality completely or at best interprets the law to suit its interests.

Just as it is certain that the capitalists class will disregard all its laws in case the proletariat threatens its existence so it is certain that it will not permit any laws to stand in the way of its making war when that is essential.

For the workers, however, especially for the politically advanced workers, the question can not be settled by the undoubted fact that the necessity for a referendum will raise no barrier to an imperialist war. It is also important to understand that the attitude of the workers on the question of supporting or opposing a war must not be determined by the irrelevant factor of who struck the first blow. What is important and conclusive is the nature of the war. It will be a struggle for imperialist booty on the part of the American government whether it is invaded first or itself takes the initiative in invading some other country. And revolutionary workers can not support an imperialist war regardless of the immediate events that led up to that war.

One of the most dangerous aspects of the amendment is its "democratic" nature. Does it not require a popular vote and is that not exceedingly democratic? Undoubtedly there are people sufficiently naive or formalistic in their thinking who will support the amendment on account of its democratic character. But to forget that democracy under the capitalist regime is essentially the right to deceive the masses is to forget the very essence of correct working-class politics. We can very well envision a tremendous war propaganda, a referendum during which the revolutionary opponents of war will be ruthlessly suppressed and a huge majority rolled up in favor of war. What follows? That the war has been formally consecrated by the vote of the people. And the formal democrats will then be under the necessity of

supporting the war on the ground that the majority voted in its favor.

It goes without saying that revolutionary workers would not fall for such argument but we must recognize the possibility of greater confusion if a referendum should precede a formal declaration of war.

Attitude of Lovestoneite Leadership

That the pacifists and liberals who call themselves socialists should favor the Ludlow amendment is to be expected. Lacking any Marxian base for their thinking they grasp at every formula, outside of the bitter class struggle, offered to solve the problem of war. It was left to the Lovestoneite leadership to lend a Marxist coloration in support of the amendment. In the January issue of the *Workers Age* an editorial favoring the amendment bases its argument on the proposition that "Today, it is this resolution which marks the vague, the half-formed line dividing the pro-war and anti-war forces in America, separating those heading for military dictatorship from those calling for a measure of democracy on such a vital issue."

So, the people are now divided into pro-war and anti-war forces and our politics are to be determined not by the necessity of educating the working class to the real nature of imperialist war and rallying the workers as a class in the struggle against imperialist war but by the advisability of taking our stand with the forces who call for a measure of democracy on such a vital issue.

The editorial proceeds to explain its support of the amendment by asserting that it "would offer at least the possibility of raising our voice against the predatory wars of American imperialism." As if we could not raise our voice without a referendum and as if American imperialism would permit us freely to raise our voice in time of crisis. "Not so much as an effective means to end war but as offering a tribune for anti-war agitation in the struggle against capitalism, do we support the movement that is gathering around the LaFollette-Ludlow amendment." Is it necessary to support an amendment which will create illusions and confusion in order to carry on agitation against imperialist war? Should not Marxists take advantage of the agitation around the amendment to explain the nature of imperialist war and thus help clarify the minds of the masses about such a vital question? Our agitation can be a thousand times more effective if we do not support the amendment. For then we can really explain how wars can be abolished. The Lovestoneite centrist leadership succeeds in covering itself with revolutionary phrases in a great many situations but when vital problems arise it also succeeds in exposing its real nature.

Attitude of Communist Party

From the leadership of the Communist Party nothing could

Drive Is On

The path is cleared for consistent building of the *Socialist Appeal*. The historical convention which launched the Socialist Workers Party was a signal for intensifying every activity in which the S.W.P. participates. With our slogan of "Face Toward the Masses" no more effective avenue of approach can be utilized than the pages of the *Socialist Appeal*. In your unions in your shops, amongst your friends—push the *Appeal*.

The first signs of a determination to double the circulation of the *Appeal* come from Boston,

Mass. They have increased their weekly bundle order from 50 to 100 and have promised to start a subscription drive at once.

Chicago has appointed a circulation drive manager and has already sent in several new subs.

Newark, New Jersey, has increased its bundle order and pledges to double it in the near future.

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Socialist Appeal

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be expected except opposition to the Ludlow amendment. Difficult problems confront the Communist party bureaucrats. To pose as the champions of peace when in reality they are the most consistent advocates of war involves them in many contradictions. They have succeeded in rallying many workers and middle-class people who believe that the Communist party leads the struggle against war. The Ludlow amendment appears to be an excellent measure to such people. The Communist leaders, in common with all the realistic politicians of the capitalist class, want no hindrance whatsoever to quick action against a possible enemy of U. S. imperialism, especially if that enemy happens to be hostile to the Soviet Union. It is therefore compelled to line up with all the conscious forces of the capitalist class and thus come into conflict with many of its supporters who are sincerely against war.

The opposition of the Stalinists to the Ludlow amendment and our refusal to support it is an excellent example of the possibility of diametrically opposing and hostile forces voting together for totally different reasons. The C.P. opposes the amendment because it wants American imperialism to go to war against Japanese and German imperialism since the latter two threaten the safety of the Soviet Union. We do not favor the Ludlow amendment because it will have no effect on the question of war and will create dangerous illusions and throw the working class off from the track of the class struggle against war. The C.P. favors collective security of the capitalist states to prevent war and considers the Ludlow amendment ineffective. We also consider it ineffective but we favor the proletarian revolution to prevent war. That some of the arguments of the Communists are borrowed from the Marxist arsenal (see Hathaway's article in the *Daily Worker* of Jan. 6) merely proves the old proverb of the ability of the devil to quote scripture.

The position of the revolutionary Marxists is unambiguous. We are opposed to all imperialist wars but we realize that such wars cannot be prevented by anything except the overthrow of the capitalist regimes and the establishment of workers' governments. Our struggle against war consists of two elements: the constant education of the masses as

to the nature of and cure for war and our participation in the class struggle for the purpose of organizing the masses for the overthrow of imperialist governments. The issue of war is only one of the issues upon which we attempt to organize the masses and at certain times may become the most important issue but we do not separate that issue from the general class struggle at any time.

We too will take advantage of the agitation around the Ludlow amendment. But we shall tell the American workers that it will not have the slightest effect upon imperialist wars. Some wise-aces will allege that we oppose a popular referendum before war is declared by congress, thereby favoring that war be declared without a popular referendum. The question of the referendum is absolutely immaterial. We oppose the idea that any kind of a referendum will help the workers in the least. What is material is the necessity of the workers to understand the nature of war and to have no illusions about it.

Around the Ludlow amendment we must carry on an agitation that the only solution for war is the destruction of the capitalist system.

The Budget

Roosevelt's touching solicitude for the unemployed and his love of peace are both written in dollars in the new budget. Over \$800,000,000 was cut from the unemployed relief appropriations and just about that much put into the navy... That's how those touching fireside radio talks are translated in action. The *Daily Worker* endorsing the budget is apparently operating under a new slogan "All unemployed funds for the war".

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All Trails Lead to Stalinist Camp In the "Robinson" - "Rubens" Case

By Junius

While the U. S. State Department and the Moscow Foreign Office continued playing their respective games, chiefly in the dark, revelations of the past week cast new light on the mysterious case of the "Robinson"-Rubens who "disappeared" early in December in Moscow. Washington, having established to its satisfaction that Mrs. "Robinson" is also Mrs. Rubens and an American citizen, asked Moscow for information as to her whereabouts; Moscow showed no haste in replying.

Indications are that Washington, now aided by a Federal "passport racket" Grand Jury in New York, continues to make life hot for certain retiring 200-per cent Americans uncovered as a result of the breaking of the "Robinson"-Rubens affair. Combined with the news of the utter and unexplained disappearance of Juliet Stuart Poyntz, leading Stalinist who withdrew from public political work several years ago and is rumored to have been close to the G.P.U., Federal probing is apparently disturbing some of the ultra-exclusive sections of these doubly-patriotic circles.

Washington Hesitant

While its secret agents use the present rosy opportunity to make American sub-soil safe for a Washington monopoly on the underground, the State Department appears to be hesitating between two alternative policies: to play in with the Stalinist frame-up underlying the "Robinson"-Rubens mystery in order to crucify not only the "Trotskyites" but all opponents of an alliance to make the world safe for democracy by a People's War Front—or to expose the international frame-up apparatus in order to crucify Stalinism and discredit the Russian Revolution in the eyes of those who identify it with the bloody reaction of Joseph Stalin.

Forced to postpone the projected "confession" trial of the "Robinson"-Rubens, who were imported to Moscow to tell fairy tales about "Trotskyites"-Japanese plotting and espionage in California, Mexico and elsewhere in North America, Moscow can use the interim to put added polish on its frame-up hoping that if Vishinsky ever gets Washington's O.K., he will be able to offer something better than non-existent airplanes and extinct hotels. On the other hand, fearful that Washington may decide to recommend that no trial be held, Moscow is preparing to unload the whole affair. Hence the inspired rumors from Moscow that Mrs. Rubens is free and out of the U.S.S.R. Hence, also, Moscow's extreme reluctance to say anything about any aspect of the affair.

One newspaper reports that a Moscow official declared that "this is a very unfortunate case," and no doubt the G.P.U. shares his sentiments. Otherwise Moscow says nothing, and the Daily Worker follows its lead. The Stalinists have even abandoned the public aspect of what some Washington informants of a World-Telegram reporter recently called their "build-up" of the idea that American "Trotskyites" have something to do with the "Robinson"-Rubens.

This retreat into "dignified" silence is made by the Stalinists in Moscow and here despite the

succession of revelations which last week pointed a finger sharply at the C.P.U.S.A. as being located close to the center of the "Robinson"-Rubens affair. To these revelations, the Daily Worker offers not one denial, despite the fact that, were they in a position to do so, they could roundly denounce all who have pointed the finger at them, including the Appeal, Eugene Lyons of the New Leader, and reporters on the Scripps-Howard press and the N. Y. Daily News.

The following facts—and questions they inspire—are of interest:

1. Mrs. Rubens' relatives regarded her and her husband as Stalinists; Mr. Rubens had no known occupation but enough money to run an expensive car, hire servants, travel abroad, etc.

2. In applying for birth-certificates in the names of long-dead children, the "Robinsons" (presumably the identical couple) used an address which housed several members of the C.P.

Phony Passport Links

3. In applying for passports the couple worked through one Max Shaw (still presumably unlocated) and one Arthur or Aaron Sharfin. Is Max Shaw also the Marshall Shaw who was a member of the Friends of the Soviet Union in 1933 and who sold so many copies of Soviet Russia Today that his picture was printed on page 18 of the December issue of that year? What was Max Shaw's exact relation to the "Robinson"-Rubens? Is Sharfin also the Arthur Sharfin or Sharfin who in 1933 was a member of the C.P., New York District, Section 15 (mid-Bronx) and who was active in unemployed work at the Unemployed Councils at 1400 Boston Road and on Claremont Parkway?

4. Sharfin apparently passed the phony passport application to one Zukerman, who passed it to one Katz, who passed it to one Schwartz, who passed it to Al Marinelli, then New York County Clerk. Marinelli, apparently, was connected only with Tammany and not with the Kremlin. Just what were the motives of Zukerman, Katz and Schwartz in helping put through the phony applications is not yet clear.

5. Marinelli certified the passport applications, which then went to the State Department at Washington. The Department made out two passports for the "Robinsons" and one for Mr. Rubens. (Mrs. Rubens, an American citizen, got the passport in her own name in the prescribed legal way.)

6. The "Robinson" passports were ordered by the applicants to be sent to the address of an organization called the Drama Travel League. Miss Isabel Walsh, a worker in that office, has identified pictures of Mrs. Robinson as those of a nervous woman who once came into the office looking for Miss Helen Ravitch, the manager. Miss Ravitch, despite her denials, has been identified as the person who signed the postoffice receipt for the Robinson passports.

It is not known what if any personal connections Miss Ravitch

has with Stalinist organizations, but her husband, Dr. Solon Bernstein, has been proven to be physician to William Z. Foster and to the Stalinist International Workers Order.

7. The "Robinson"-Rubens then utilized their passports to go to Moscow and to register there under the name of "Robinson" about three months after the world press had announced that all American tourists named Robinson were being barred from the U.S.S.R.

We have here a fairly well defined chain. Somewhere in the middle is Al Marinelli, who apparently certified the passport applications out of the same good-heartedness which caused him to resign his job rather than put the finger on a lot of shady characters tied up with his political organization. Also in the middle are a couple of petty Tammany errand boys, and the U.S. Department of State, which issued the passports apparently as a matter of routine on Marinelli's say-so.

At the two ends of the chain, however, the picture is very different. At one end is the Sharfin-Shaw combination, and at the other, is the Ravitch-Bernstein combination.

Links to Stalinists

Thus, it appears that the Robinson-Rubens had the assistance of Stalinists or people quite close to the Stalinists in starting the process of applying for the phony passports and in completing the process of receiving the phony passports.

If public knowledge of facts of this kind increases without the help of the State Department and even despite the State Department, Ser'y Hull may, in the end, decide to advise Moscow to bury the whole affair, along with a couple of people now in Lubianka prison. It will nevertheless remain clear that the Robinson-Rubens affair was a Stalinist concoction whose object, as the many not so coy hints in the Stalinist and Marxist press in the first days of the affair indicated, was to frame up the international opposition to Stalin's People's Totalitarian War Front.

If, however, Stalin finds it desirable to go through with the frame-up, one may expect the "Robinson"-Rubens to attempt to tie themselves to the Trotskyites by introducing into the chain described above a couple of hand-forged links which the world will be asked to accept as "Trotskyite connections". Only the G.P.U. dramatists who have written the "Robinson"-Rubens "confessions" know today at just what point they have planned to introduce those "links." One may doubt that the G.P.U. ever had any intention of accusing Al Marinelli of being in favor of the permanent revolution. A more likely attempt would be to fish around in peripheral puddles in an effort to find some political polywog who, after a little treatment by the Stalinist and allied propaganda experts, might seem to have developed into a Trotskyite-Bukharinite - Fascist - Gestapo - wrecker - spy - saboteur - assassin frog of considerable proportions.

Hail the Socialist Workers Party

(Continued from page 1)

types of social-patriotism, fake pacifism and Stalinism—all of them trailblazers for war—who continue to infest the dilapidated S. P. Unlike the latter, which ekes out an existence by pandering to trade union bureaucrats, big and small, and hitching itself on to the wagon of the class-collaborationist People's Front (as in the last New York elections), the Socialist Workers Party stands for a militant class struggle policy now.

The new revolutionary party has taken an unambiguous stand against the reactionary Stalinist current which poisons the international labor movement. It openly proclaims its hostility to this gang of bureaucratic agents of the Bonapartist clique which has usurped power in the Soviet Union and which is sapping the foundations of the Russian Revolution. The defense of the Revolution in the Soviet Union, as well as the cleansing of the international labor movement, require an unrelenting struggle against these adepts at murder and frame-ups, allies of the "democratic" imperialist bandits, and confederates of all that is conservative, reactionary and bureaucratic in the working class. Against the Stalinist conception that the defense of the Soviet bureaucracy requires the suppression of the proletarian revolution throughout the world, we raise the war-cry of the defense of the Soviet Union and the achievements of the Bolshevik revolution of 1917 by the extension of that revolution throughout the world, by the overthrow of the putrid, out-lived capitalist order.

Unite for Revolutionary Socialism!

Its ranks still small, its strength still inadequate for its mission, the Socialist Workers Party nevertheless faces the future with supreme confidence in the final victory. Conscious of the great difficulties, it is also aware of the great prospects. The American working class is the most militant and combative in the entire world. Its basic weakness lies only in its lack of class consciousness and revolutionary perspective. The party of Marxist internationalism will seek to imbue the toilers of the United States with this consciousness and perspective. That accomplished, no power in the world can prevent the victory of the proletariat and the transformation of society on a rational basis, without classes, without oppression, without exploitation and misery and war.

Rally to the ranks of the Socialist Workers Party! Become a soldier in the great battle for human liberation!

Long live the Fourth International!

Long live the International socialist revolution!

Activities in St. Louis

ST. LOUIS, MO.—The Marxist School, organized by the St. Louis District of the Socialist Workers' Party, will begin a series of public classes in the Fundamentals of Socialism on Tuesday, Jan. 18. The classes are to be held at Olive Hall, 3830a Olive St., St. Louis, and will meet every Tuesday evening at 8 p. m. for six weeks. The instructor will be R. S. Saunders, who is well known in the St. Louis area for similar courses he has conducted for the Socialist Party.

On March 1, a series of three classes in The History of the Labor Movement will begin.

"Fundamentals of Socialism"

Tues. Jan. 18: The Socialist Method of Interpreting History (The materialistic conception of history and the theory of the

I have mentioned two possibilities: one, that Stalin will try to bury the whole affair, another, that he will try to go through with the frame-up. In either case, the G.P.U. and its friends are due for an unpleasant time.

Whatever the State Department and the Federal Grand Jury decide to reveal about the affair, the termination of the whole business will be an even more glaring expose of Stalinist frame-up methods than resulted from the infamous Moscow Trials. Not a day passes but that several workers visit the Appeal office with information bearing on the "Robinson"-Rubens affair. Some aspects—particularly the fate of the central figures in Moscow—are still completely dark. But readers of the Appeal may expect startling revelations in a very short time. Needless to say, they will be of a character which will make no headlines in the Daily Worker.

class struggle)
Tues. Jan. 25: Your Work and Your Pay (The labor theory of value, the appropriation of surplus value and the concentration of wealth).

Boston Y.P.S.L. Meeting

BOSTON, MASS. — A Mass meeting on the subject: "Are You Ready For War?" will be held in this city on Sunday Evening, January 23, 1938 at 16 La Grange Street. Auspices: Y. P. S. L. (Fourth Internationalists), Boston District.

Join the gang at

TOSCANINI'S CONCERT

Broadcast at Upper West Side Branch - 916 9th Ave.

Saturday Jan. 15 - 10 P. M.

Dancing—Spaghetti—Drinks
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The Lesson of Spain--the Last Warning :: By Leon Trotsky

(Continued from last issue)

Instead of this the Anarcho-syndicalists, attempting to hide themselves from "politics" in the trade unions, proved to be, to the great surprise of the whole world and themselves, the fifth wheel in the cart of bourgeois democracy. But not for long: no one needs a fifth wheel. After Garcia Oliver and Co. helped Stalin and his collaborators to take the power away from the workers, the anarchists themselves were driven out of the government of the People's Front. Even then they found nothing better to do than to run behind the chariot of the victor and assure him of their devotion. The fear of the petty bourgeois before the big bourgeois, of the petty bureaucrat before the big bureaucrat, they covered up by lachrymose speeches about the holiness of the united front (between the victims and the executioners) and about the inadmissibility of every kind of dictatorship, including their own. "But we could have taken power in July 1936..." "But we could have taken power in May 1937..." The anarchists begged Negrin-Stalin to recognize and reward their treachery to the revolution. A disgusting picture!

This self-justification alone: "We did not capture power not because we could not but because we did not wish to, because we are against every kind of dictatorship" and the like, contains in itself an irrevocable condemnation of Anarchism as a fully anti-revolutionary doctrine. To renounce the conquest of power means voluntarily to leave the power with those who have it, i. e. the exploiters. The essence of every revolution consisted and consists in the fact that it puts a new class in power and thus gives it the opportunity to realize its own program. It is impossible to lead the masses towards insurrection, without preparing for the conquest of power. No one could have hindered the anarchists after the conquest of power from establishing such a regime as they consider necessary, if, of course, their program is realizable. But the Anarchist leaders themselves lost belief in this. They hid from power not because they are against "every kind of dictatorship"—in actuality, grumbling and whining, they supported and support the dictatorship of Negrin-Stalin, —but because they completely lost their principles and courage, if in general they had ever possessed them. They were afraid of Stalin. They were afraid of Negrin. They were afraid of France and England. More than anything did these phrase-mongers fear the revolutionary masses.

The renunciation of conquest of power throws every workers' organization into the mire of reformism and turns it into a plaything of the bourgeoisie: it cannot be otherwise in view of the class structure of society. To oppose the aim: the conquest of power, the anarchists could not in the end fail to be against the means: the revolution. The leaders of the C. N. T. and F. A. I. helped the bourgeoisie not only to hold on to the shadow of power in July, 1936, but to re-establish bit by bit what it had lost at one stroke. In May, 1937, they sabotaged the uprising of the workers and by that token saved the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie. Thus anarchism which wished to be anti-political proved in reality to be anti-revolutionary, and in the more critical moments—counter-revolutionary.

The Anarchist theoreticians, who after the great test of 1931-37, repeat the old reactionary nonsense about Kronstadt and affirm: "Stalinism is the inevitable result of Marxism and Bolshevism" simply demonstrate by this that they are forever dead for the revolution. You say that Marxism is in itself depraved and Stalinism is its legitimate progeny? But why do we, revolutionary Marxists, find ourselves in mortal combat with Stalinism throughout the world? Why does the Stalinist gang see in Trotskyism its chief enemy? Why does every approach to our view or to our methods of action (Durruti, Andres Nin, Landau and others) compel the gangsters of Stalinism to resort to bloody reprisals? Why, on the other hand, were the leaders of Spanish Anarchism, during the time of the Moscow and Madrid crimes of the G. P. U., ministers under Caballero-Negrin, i. e., servants of the bourgeoisie and Stalin? Why even now under the pretext of fighting fascism, do the anarchists remain voluntary captives of Stalin-Negrin, i. e., of the

executioners of the revolution who have demonstrated their incapacity to fight fascism? The lawyers of Anarchism, hiding behind Kronstadt and Makhno, will deceive nobody. In the Kronstadt episode and in the struggle with Makhno we defended the proletarian revolution from the peasant counter-revolution. The Spanish Anarchists defended and defend bourgeois counter-revolution from the proletarian revolution. No kind of sophism will erase from history the fact that Anarchism and Stalinism in the Spanish revolution were on one side of the barricades and the working masses with the revolutionary Marxists—on the other. Such is the truth which will forever remain in the consciousness of the proletariat!

THE ROLE OF THE POUM

Not much better is the record of the POUM. Theoretically it tried, it is true, to base itself on the formula of the permanent revolution (that is why the Stalinists called the POUMists Trotskyists).

But a revolution is not satisfied with theoretical avowals. Instead of mobilizing the masses against the reformist leaders, including the Anarchists, the POUM tried to convince these gentlemen of the advantage of socialism over capitalism. On such a pitch-pipe were tuned all the articles and speeches of the leaders of the POUM. In order not to quarrel with the Anarchist leaders they did not build up their nuclei and in general did not conduct any kind of work inside the CNT. Evading sharp conflicts, they did not carry on revolutionary work in the republican army. Instead of this they built "their own" trade unions and "their own" militia which guarded "their own" buildings or occupied "their own" part of the front. Isolating the revolutionary vanguard from the class, the POUM weakened the vanguard and left the class without leadership. Politically, the POUM remained throughout immeasurably nearer to the People's Front, whose left wing it covered, than to Bolshevism. If the POUM nevertheless fell victim to bloody and base repressions it was because the People's Front could not fulfill its mission of stifling the socialist revolution except by cutting off, piece by piece, its own left flank.

Despite its intentions, the POUM proved to be, in the final analysis, the chief obstacle on the road to the creation of a revolutionary party. The platonic or diplomatic defenders of the Fourth International who, like the leader of the Dutch Revolutionary Socialist Party, Sneevliet, demonstratively supported the POUM in its half-way measures, indecisiveness, evasiveness, in a word, in its centrism, took upon themselves the greatest responsibility. Revolution does not tolerate centrism. Revolution exposes and crushes centrism. In passing, it compromises the friends and lawyers of centrism. That is one of the chief lessons of the Spanish revolution.

THE PROBLEM OF ARMING

The Socialists and Anarchists who tried to justify their capitulation to Stalin by the necessity of paying for the Moscow arms with principles and conscience simply lie and lie unskillfully. Of course, many of them would prefer to disentangle themselves without murders and frame-ups. But every aim demands corresponding means. Beginning with April 1931, i. e., long before the military intervention of Moscow, the Socialists and Anarchists did what they could to throttle the proletarian revolution. Stalin taught them how to carry this work to a conclusion. They became criminal accomplices of Stalin only because they were his political co-thinkers.

If the leaders of the Anarchists had resembled revolutionists at all, they would have answered the first blackmail from Moscow not only by continuing the socialist advance but by disclosing Stalin's counter-revolutionary conditions before the working class of the world. Thus they would have forced the Moscow bureaucracy to choose openly between socialist revolution and the dictatorship of Franco. The Thermidorian bureaucracy fears and hates revolution. But it also fears to be stifled in a fascist ring. Besides this it depends on the workers. Everything speaks for the fact that Moscow would have been forced to supply arms and, pos-

sibly, at a more reasonable price.

But the world is not limited to Stalinist Moscow. During a year and a half of civil war the Spanish war industry could and should have been strengthened and developed, adapting a series of non-military factories to the purposes of war. This work was not carried out only because Stalin and equally with him his Spanish allies feared the initiative of the workers' organizations. A strong military industry would have become a powerful instrument in the hands of the workers. The leaders of the People's Front preferred dependence upon Moscow.

It is precisely on this question that the perfidious role of the "People's Front" was strikingly exposed; it thrust upon the workers' organizations the responsibility for the treacherous agreement of the bourgeoisie with Stalin. So long as the anarchists were in the minority they could not, of course, immediately hinder the ruling bloc from assuming whatever obligations they pleased toward Moscow and the masters of Moscow: London and Paris. But they could and they should have, without ceasing to be the best fighters on the front, openly kept clear from the betrayals and betrayers; explained the real situation to the masses; mobilized them against the bourgeois government; increased the forces from day to day in order in the end to conquer power and with it the Moscow arms.

And what if Moscow, in the absence of a People's Front, should in general refuse to give arms? And what, we answer to this, if the Soviet Union in general did not exist in the world? Revolutions have been victorious up to this time not at all thanks to great foreign patrons who supplied them with arms. Usually the counter-revolution enjoyed foreign patronage. Must we recall the experience of the intervention of French, English, American, Japanese and other armies against the Soviets? The proletariat of Russia won over inner reaction and foreign intervention without military support from the outside. Revolutions succeed, in the first place, with the help of a bold social program which gives to the masses the possibility of seizing weapons that are on their territory, and disorganizing the army of the enemy. The Red Army seized French, English and American military provisions and drove the foreign expeditionary corps into the sea. Has this really been forgotten already?

If at the head of the armed workers and peasants, i. e. at the head of the so-called "republican" Spain there were revolutionists and not cowardly agents of the bourgeoisie, the problem of arming would in general not have played a paramount role. The army of Franco including the colonial Riffs and the soldiers of Mussolini are not at all immune to revolutionary contagion. Surrounded from all sides by the fire of the socialist uprising, the soldiers of fascism would have proved to be an insignificant quantity. Not arms and not military "geniuses" were lacking in Madrid and Barcelona; what was lacking was a revolutionary party!

THE CONDITIONS FOR VICTORY

The conditions for victory of the masses in a civil war against the army of exploiters in its essence are very simple.

1) The fighters of a revolutionary army should clearly be aware of the fact that they are fighting for their full social liberation and not for the re-establishment of the old ("democratic") forms of exploitation.

2) The workers and peasants in the rear of the revolutionary army as well as in the rear of the enemy should know and understand the same thing.

3) The propaganda on their own front as well as on the front of the adversary and in both rears should be completely permeated with the spirit of social revolution. The slogan: "first victory, then reforms," is the slogan of all oppressors and exploiters beginning with the Biblical kings and ending with Stalin.

4) Those classes and strata who participate in the struggle determine the policy. The revolutionary masses should have a government apparatus directly and immediately expressing their will. Only the Soviets of workers, soldiers and peasant deputies can act as such an apparatus.

5) The revolutionary army should not only announce but immediately carry out the more pressing

measures of social revolution in the provinces won by them: the expropriation of provisions, manufactured articles and other stores on hand and transferring them to the needy; the re-division of lodgings in the interests of the toilers and especially of the families of the fighters; the expropriation of the land and landowners' inventory in the interests of the peasants; the establishment of workers' control and of the soviet power in place of the former bureaucracy.

6) Enemies of the socialist revolution, i. e. exploiting elements and their agents, even when covering themselves with the mask of "democrats", "republicans", "socialists" and "anarchists" should be mercilessly driven out from the army.

7) At the head of each military unit there should stand a commissar possessing the irreproachable authority of a revolutionist and a warrior.

8) In every military unit there should be a tempered nucleus of the more self-sacrificing fighters, recommended by the workers' organizations. The members of this nucleus have but one privilege: to be the first under fire.

9) The commanding corps of necessity includes at first many alien and unreliable elements in its staff. A verification and selection of them should be carried through on the basis of military experience, the recommendations of the commissar and testimonials from the rank and file fighters. Simultaneously there should proceed an intense preparation of commanders drawn from the ranks of the revolutionary workers.

10) The strategy of civil war should unite the rules of military art with the tasks of the social revolution. Not only in the propaganda but in the military operations it is necessary to take into account the social composition of the different military units of the opponent (the bourgeois volunteers, the mobilized peasants, or as with Franco, the colonial slaves) and in choosing an operative line to take into consideration the social structure of the corresponding regions of the land (the industrial regions; the peasant regions, revolutionary or reactionary; the regions of the oppressed nationalities, etc.). Briefly: revolutionary policy dominates strategy.

11) The revolutionary government, as the executive committee of the workers and peasants, should be capable of winning full confidence of the army and of the toiling population.

12) The foreign policy should have as its chief aim the awakening of the revolutionary consciousness of the workers, the exploited peasants and oppressed nationalities of the whole world.

STALIN GUARANTEED THE CONDITIONS OF DEFEAT

The conditions for victory, as we see, are quite simple. In their aggregate they are called the Socialist revolution. There did not exist in Spain even one of these conditions. The basic reason is that there was not a revolutionary party. Stalin tried, it is true, to transfer to the soil of Spain, the outer forms of Bolshevism; the Politburo, commissars, nuclei, the GPU, etc. But he emptied these forms of their social content. He renounced the Bolshevik program and with it the Soviets as the necessary form of the revolutionary initiative of the masses. He placed the techniques of Bolshevism at the service of bourgeois property. In his bureaucratic limitedness he imagined that the "commissars" by themselves could guarantee victory. But the commissars of private property proved capable only of guaranteeing defeat.

The Spanish proletariat displayed first class military capacities. In its specific gravity in the economy of the country, in its political and cultural level it stood in the first day of the revolution not lower but higher than the Russian proletariat at the beginning of 1917. On the road to its victory, its own organizations stood as the chief obstacles. The commanding clique of the Stalinists, in accordance with its counter-revolutionary function, consisted of the hired agents, careerists, declassed elements and in general every kind of social refuse. The representatives of other workers' organizations—flabby reformists, anarchist phrase-mongers, helpless centrists

of the POUM—grumbled, groaned, wavered, maneuvered, but in the end adapted themselves to the Stalinists. As a result of their aggregate work the camp of social revolution—workers and peasants—proved to be subordinated to the bourgeoisie, more correctly to its shadow, void of individuality, spirit, life. There was no lack of heroism on the part of the masses and courage on the part of individual revolutionists. But the masses were left to themselves and the revolutionists remained disunited, without program, without plan of action. The "republican" military commanders occupied themselves more with crushing the social revolution than with winning military victories. The soldiers lost confidence in their commanders, the masses—in the government; the peasants stepped aside, the workers got tired, defeat followed defeat, the demoralization grew. All this was not difficult to foresee from the beginning of the civil war. Taking as its task the rescue of the capitalist regime, the People's Front doomed itself to military defeat. Having turned Bolshevism on its head, Stalin with full success played the role of the grave-digger of the revolution.

Incidentally, the Spanish experience again demonstrates, that Stalin did not understand either the October revolution or the Civil War. His sluggish provincial thought lagged hopelessly behind the tempestuous course of events in 1917-1921. In those of his speeches and articles in 1917 where he expressed his own thought, his later Thermidorian "doctrine" was fully lodged. In this sense Stalin in Spain in 1937 is the Stalin of the March conference of the Bolsheviks in 1917. But in 1917 he merely feared the revolutionary workers; in 1937 he throttled them. The opportunist became the executioner.

"CIVIL WAR IN THE REAR"

But for victory over the governments of Caballero and Negrin a civil war would be necessary in the rear of the Republican army!—the democratic Philistine exclaims with horror. As if in Republican Spain even without this no civil war ever existed, and at that the base and most ignominious one, a war of the owners and exploiters against the workers and peasants. This uninterrupted war finds expression in the arrests and murders of revolutionists, the crushing of the mass movement, the disarming of the workers, the arming of bourgeois police, the abandoning of workers' detachments without arms and without help on the front, finally, in the artificial impeding of the development of the military industry. Each of these acts represents a severe blow to the front, direct military treason, directed by the class interests of the bourgeoisie. However, the "democratic" Philistines—including the Stalinists, Socialists and Anarchists—regard the civil war of the bourgeoisie against the proletariat, even in the immediate rear of the front, as the natural and inevitable war, having as its task the safeguarding of the unity of the "People's Front". On the other hand, the civil war of the proletariat against the "republican" counter-revolution is, in the eyes of the same Philistines, a criminal. Fascist, Trotskyist war, breaking up... "the unity of the anti-fascist forces". Dozens of Norman Thomases, Major Atlees, Otto Bauers, Zyromskys, Malraux and petty traders of lies like Duranty and Louis Fischer spread this slavish wisdom along the face of the earth. At the same time the government of the "People's Front" moves from Madrid to Valencia, from Valencia — to Barcelona.

If, as facts bear witness, only the socialist revolution is capable of crushing fascism, then on the other hand a successful uprising of the proletariat is conceivable only when the ruling classes are caught in the grip of the greatest difficulties. However, the democratic Philistines invoke exactly these difficulties as proof of the impermissibility of the proletarian uprising. If the worker waited until the democratic Philistines showed him the hour of his liberation, he would forever remain a slave. To teach the workers to recognize reactionary Philistines under all their masks and to despise them independently of these masks is the first and chief duty of a revolutionist!

(Continued on page 8)

Young Communists for Fourth International; Join YPSL in New York

Ferment in the Stalinist ranks is deep and extensive. Among "third-period" Stalinists especially this ferment is reaching a crucial stage. The Stalinist youth has openly shown signs of discontent with the present Popular-Frontist, class-collaborationist policy. The support of LaGuardia in the last N.Y.C. elections blasted the illusions of many YCLers for any possible return on the C.P.'s part to the revolutionary path.

Throughout the country YCLers have been abandoning the Stalinist ranks, disillusioned—many disgusted with all politics. Others, and they are the more militant and intelligent, have turned to the Fourth Internationalists as the sole revolutionary force capable of clear thought and action.

Evidences of this trend are abundant. At Brighton Beach 15 young Stalinists expelled for po-

litical disagreement approached the YPSL circle there for a class on the war question. A number have already joined. In another part of the city a group of 35, twelve former YCLers and the others former Stalinist sympathizers, have organized a class to re-study the war question and the Popular Front. They have approached the YPSL for a group leader. At CCNY-Evening the large YCL unit there was so weak on the new class collaboration that a study circle had to be organized on the nature of the Popular Front. At the first meeting of the group three YCLers openly declared disagreement—one broke there and then.

At CCNY-Day, two YCLers, one the Literature Agent of the branch and the other an editor of the undergraduate paper, have resigned with open statements and joined the Fourth Interna-

tionalists. The former Literature Agent of the Harlem Section of the YCL issued a public resignation and joined the Yipsels. At New Utrecht High School three, and, at De Witt Clinton High School two of the key YCLers have left the Stalinist ranks to join the YPSL. This is far from the end of the list. Fully one-third of the 60 new members of the YPSL who have joined in the last few months come from the ranks of the demoralized Stalinist youth.

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INTERNATIONAL NOTES

Purging the Polish C.P.—"Big Bank Depositors" Grow in U.S.S.R. — French C. P. and Organic Unity.

By John G. Wright

Polish C. P. Purged by Stalin

The Bulletin of the Russian Opposition (No. 60-61) reports that the most prominent members of the Central Committee and the Political Bureau of the Polish C. P. have been placed under arrest in Moscow: S. Prukhniak, Bronkovski, Y. Ryng, Vera Koscheva, Genrikovski, Valetski, together with other well known Polish communists: Krayevski, S. Guberman, Jan Gempel, Lapinski, Bronik and Bruno Yassenski. There are also unverified rumors to the effect that the General Secretary of the Polish C. P., Lenski, has likewise been arrested.

Caste of Bank Book Owners Flourishes in the U.S.S.R.

Finansovaya Gazetta for Dec. 18, 1937 carries a significant item on the growth of the privileged caste in the U.S.S.R. Beginning with the Second Five Year Plan, and coincident with the introduction of Stakhanovism, there has been a marked growth of savings deposits, which have almost doubled in one year, from 2½ billion in 1936 to 4 1/3 billion rubles in 1937. (In Jan., 1933 the amount in savings accounts totalled 974.3 million rubles.) Of the total number of depositors (14 million) less than one-third are listed as "workers". (Functionaries constitute 34.5%; Kolkhozniki—22%.)

Says Finansovaya Gazetta: "The notable thing is the growth of big depositors, those having savings accounts of 1,000 rubles and over. At the beginning of 1935 there were 436,000 such depositors; at the beginning of 1936 they numbered—681,000; and on Jan. 1, 1937—1,053,000. Of these, 210,000 had over 3,000 rubles each."

These statistics indicate not only an accelerated growth of "big depositors", i.e., of the privileged caste, but an ever increasing disproportion between a tiny fraction of the population and the bulk of the masses. Taking the figures in the indefinite form given, and assuming that each of 201,000 depositors has only 3,000 rubles while the rest of the "big depositors" have only 1,000, these statistics show that 7% of the total number of depositors possess almost one-third of the total savings of the population. The disproportion is of course even greater in reality (millionaire kolkhozniki, "millionaire" artists, etc. etc.). It appears especially monstrous when compared with the average monthly wage of the unskilled: 110—115 rubles a month!

French C. P. Drives For Organic Unity

The Third Session of the Congress of the French C. P. which convened in Arles in the last week in December was devoted to a fervent appeal by Jacques Duclos for unity with the S. P. Said Duclos: "Don't you know that the realization of unity will be decisive for the integral application of the measures inscribed in the programme of the People's Front?"

Among the achievements of the People's Front which Duclos forbore to mention in his passionate plea was the following: After a recent sit-down strike in the Gondolo biscuit factories had been "settled", the workers upon returning to work found the factories occupied—this time by armed gangs of Fascists. From two to three hundred of these Fascists in the Gondolo plant as l'Humanité itself reports, "refused to allow some 80 workers to enter, among whom there were those who had worked 15 and 16 years in the plant." (l'Humanité, Dec. 28).

Elsewhere (as at Heaudebert à Nanterre) the bosses merely contented themselves with firing "numerous" strikers.

What do the Stalinists propose? The headline of l'Humanité screams: "The Government Must Put An End Immediately To This Scandal."

And, indeed, instead of screaming separately as they do now the Socialists, if they listen to the ardent wooing of Duclos, will be able to scream for the Government to intervene in one "unity party" with the Stalinists.

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Reiss Diary Exposes GPU Crimes

Young Communists, Murdered by Stalinist Firing Squads, Defiantly Cry Out: "Long Live Leon Trotsky!"

(Continued from page 1)

Slutsky's * comment: "They (the Czechoslovak authorities) are in no hurry. After all, they have legionnaires in prison there."

(Note: The diary of Ignace Reiss, as well as statements made by him orally, establishes the fact that the "case" against the old Bolshevik-Leninist, A. Grylewicz, whom they attempted to accuse in Czechoslovakia of "espionage for Hitler," was wholly manufactured in Moscow by Stalin-Yezhov. Notwithstanding the compliance of Czechoslovak authorities, who acted in accordance with directives from the G.P.U., the case against comrade Grylewicz collapsed miserably.)

2. Toward the end of February, the well-known Czech journalist Ripka (of Narodny Listi, I believe) was called by phone from Paris. The conversation with him was in the name of a Hungarian friend of his, making him an offer of materials relating to the Trotskyist trial for use in the press. Ripka hung up. The individuals who made the call are known to me.

Slutsky's Trip Abroad

(Note: The individual who phoned is one of the resident G.P.U. agents abroad whose name is known to the Editors of the Russian Bulletin. He spoke under the dictation of Slutsky who was in Paris at the time. One of the aims of Slutsky's trip abroad was to spare no means in order to dispose the press in favor of Stalin's trials. The conversation with Ripka centered around supplying the latter with some sort of G.P.U. forgeries intended to "prove" that the Piatakov-Radek trial was not a frame-up.)

3. Remark by Slutsky to the effect that X., holding an important official post in England was an agent of the I. S. (presumably, Intelligence Service). Sokolnikov, in his capacity of ambassador in London, had maintained business relations with him. The intentions of Agr (obviously, Agranov) to concoct a "case" out of these relations and Slutsky's fears lest this cause great unpleasantness to his department inasmuch as, *ibissima verba*: "Sokolnikov will, upon request, write so much more (accompanying gesture) about his relations with Trotsky but we'll be losers by the bargain."

(Note: Agranov and Co., like Slutsky, were equally well aware that Sokolnikov's relations with X. were of a purely business nature. But while Agranov, one of the direct stage managers of the trials, was interested in piling on as much as possible, Slutsky apparently tended towards caution. He feared that X., being at liberty in London and not confined in the inner prison in Moscow, would begin refuting. It may also be that Slutsky had special plans with regard to X.)

4. Telephone conversation between Slutsky and A. Berman**.

* Slutsky—the head, at present writing probably the former head, of the Foreign Department of the G.P.U.

** Berman—an important G.P.U. functionary, brother of the People's Commissar of Posts and Telegraph.

"You keep talking there about a document transmitted to the Japanese ambassador. Why do you entangle me in this business. Where am I to get it?"

(Note: This conversation pertains to the preparatory stage of the Piatakov-Radek trial. Berman asked Slutsky to obtain, i.e., to manufacture, some sort of document as proof of the connection between the defendants and Japan. This "minor" circumstance alone ruthlessly exposes the behind-the-scenes mechanics of the Moscow trials.)

6. One E. Bekher or Brekher, alias Edek, also Petersen, member of the staff of the Polish paper Tribuna Badziecka, published in Moscow, has been operating as an agent provocateur (G.P.U.) for many years among the Polish comrades. He betrayed a great many comrades into the hands of the three letters (GPU); also, in the Ukraine. Poses as an author, with Lvov as his birth place. In his day, was arrested and sentenced (in Poland) for communist activity, but because of dishonorable conduct had been expelled from the party. He betrayed a comrade to the police.

"Long Live Trotsky!"

8. Slutsky's story about Leningrad Communists: "They die shouting, 'Long Live Leon Davidovich!'"

(Note: The above refers to a conversation in the G.P.U. last May when Slutsky, under the influence of fresh impressions, became confidential and recounted how the Leningrad Y.C.L.'ers faced the firing squads with the cry: Long Live Trotsky!)

9. The confession of Kippenhauer or Kippenberg concerning a conversation with Bredow.

(Note: Kippenberger, a German communist, was recently arrested and accused of espionage. He "confessed" that he had once talked with Bredow (of the Reichswehr). But he had had this talk—in accordance with instructions from Moscow. Nowadays when it is a question of destroying the German emigre communists living in the U.S.S.R., the G.P.U., unable to seize on anything else, utilizes the conversation with Bredow to make a case against Kippenberger. He was shot.)

10. Examinations lasting 90 hours. Slutsky's comment on Mrachkovsky.

(Note: To break Mrachkovsky the G.P.U. subjected him to incessant examination, lasting 90 hours at a stretch! The same "method" was applied to I. N. Smirnov who showed the greatest resistance.)

11. December 1936. Primakov had not yet made any confessions at the time. Slutsky's comment.

12. Raid on Rakovsky's home. Kept 18 hours without food or rest. His wife wished to give him tea—was forbidden for fear that she might give him poison. Can't vouch for it. On Louis Fischer's say-so.*

(Note: The G.P.U. forbade Rakovsky's wife to give him tea, fearing that she might, in agreement with him, give poison. What other piece of evidence is re-

* Reference to the not unknown bourgeois-Stalinist journalist and agent of the G.P.U.—Louis Fischer.

quired to testify to the spiritual state of those arrested! Knowing the tortures that await them, they prefer instant death to arrest—Tomsky, Gamarnik, Chervakov, Lubchenko, etc.)

German C.P. Heads Shot

13. Felix Wolfe—no confessions (dead).

(Note: Felix Wolfe, a well known German communist was shot as were other former leaders of the German C.P.: Remmele, Neumann, Werner Hirsh, etc.)

14. Interminable negotiations with Adolphe (Hitler)—Kandil. (Referred to here is perhaps Kandellaki, Soviet trade representative in Germany; and the fact that the behind-the-scenes negotiations of Stalin with Hitler went on through him.—Ed.) Slutsky's comment on a conversation with Rouat in 1935 and Dr. La. in Dec. 1936. (Details unknown—Ed.)

15. Remark by Yezhov—during a conversation in the Department—spring 1936 (1937): "Shot several score."

(Note: This is a familiar refrain of Yezhov's in settling any question.)

16. A rumor about Yagoda circulating in the G.P.U. that he is an agent of the Gestapo whom the Germans compelled by means of blackmail to work for them, inasmuch as he had allegedly served in the Czarist Okhrana. But Yagoda is only about 40 years old!

18. On the Spanish question—initial reaction, assistance, followed by a strict prohibition up to September 6 (1936) to undertake anything.

22. Mysterious Tsik case: Riabinin and Cherniavsky.

(Note: The above reference is to a fictitious attempt against Stalin. Both of the men mentioned are army men.)

Trotsky and... Bauer

23. L. D's residence in Prinkipo burglarized, allegedly for the purpose of establishing ties between him and the Second International, and especially Otto Bauer. Cannot vouch for this.

(Note: The details of this rumor are as follows: Among the staff of the G.P.U. tales circulated of how Trotsky's home in Prinkipo (Turkey) was broken into in order to obtain Trotsky's secret correspondence with Otto Bauer. Trotsky is reputed to have succeeded in detaining the intruder. He proposed to the latter to put the gun aside, did the same himself and then invited the man to sit down and asked him why the burglary was arranged, and just what they wished to know. He himself was ready to tell anything of interest to the burglar. Then Trotsky said to him: "It would be best for you to tell me what is taking place in Russia." When our informant was told that this is all fiction and that there was no burglary in Prinkipo, he replied that the G.P.U. staff in Moscow believed it to be true, and that he considers this legend very indicative of the moods prevailing even in these circles.)

26. Yezhov on the vacillations of Djerzhinsky. (All the Polish collaborators of Djerzhinsky in

the G.P.U. and in the other departments have been arrested.)

29. Yevdokimov's report on those who remained after Brest-Litovsk. Yevdokimov—an inveterate drunkard.

(Note: So far as we know, the above refers to the fact that Yevdokimov (of the G.P.U.—not to be confused with G. Yevdokimov, an old Bolshevik, shot in the Zinoviev trial) compiled a report to the effect that all German, Austrian, and Hungarian military prisoners remaining behind in Russia after the Brest-Litovsk peace, the majority of whom were party members, remained in reality for the purpose of espionage. Yevdokimov's report was apparently intended to serve as a basis for reprisals against the foreign communist emigres who are now being destroyed wholesale in the U.S.S.R.)

"Not Taking Orders"

30. Messing-Kaganovich. Not taking orders. Can't vouch.

(Note: A story is current that at a certain session in Moscow at which under discussion was

the poor condition of the city's economic life, city finances etc., Kaganovich delivered a scurrilous speech. According to Kaganovich, those responsible for everything were wreckers who must be punished in an exemplary fashion. As he spoke he half-turned toward Messing. It is said that Messing replied, "Not taking orders," i.e., orders for staging wreckers' trials and that for this remark Messing was removed from his post in the G.P.U. At any rate, this was the rumor circulating in the G.P.U. to explain Messing's removal. It is characteristic that in the milieu of the G.P.U. all this was recounted with unconcealed sympathy for Messing.)

32. Rykov and Bukharin brought from jail to the plenary session (of the C.C.) to defend themselves there. They categorically refused to admit themselves guilty. Stalin's rejoinder: Take them back to jail. Let them defend themselves from there!

33. According to unverified rumors, Piatakov was an opponent of the Stakhanovist movement.

Independent Group Built on Firm Base in Teachers Union

Although the Independent Group has made a good beginning and has in some instances compelled the Administration to make concessions, a number of important problems are pressing for solution. First of these is the question of what to do about Mr. Charles J. Hendley, the President of the Union, who was the joint candidate of both groups in the last election. Mr. Hendley is nominally an adherent of the Independents, but in practice he serves knowingly or unknowingly as a socialist front for the people's front administration. His recent undemocratic rulings against spokesmen and proposals of the Independents have become intolerable and raise the question of Mr. Hendley's adherence to that group.

Unity With "Progressives"

Another question pending before the Independents is the proposal for unity with the Progressives. Negotiations with this group have shown that they refuse to accept the position of the Independents in regard to the American Labor Party. We believe that for the Independents to compromise their program for the sake of unity with the progressives at this time would be suicidal for the young Independent Group. It would result in a repetition of the previous debacle within the "United Progressives." We hold that it would be far better and safer to follow a course of united fronts with them upon specific questions as they arise in the Union until such a time as events themselves will bring more clarification upon the question of independent political action and the American Labor Party.

The Independent Group, after conducting an excellent campaign against affiliation of the Union with the American League for Peace and Democracy, has instituted petitions for a referendum on this question. We believe that the Independent Group should also conduct forums for the education of its own membership as well as the Union mem-

bership on the war question. In addition it is necessary to train a group of speakers who are competent to speak upon this question before Union groups in the schools. In short, a persistent campaign conducted all year round is necessary. It is necessary to strengthen the Independent forces on the Union's Committee Against War and Fascism, which has in reality become a base for pro-war propaganda within the organization, a political base for people's front treachery.

Membership Must Be Reached

As the war clouds gather, the people's front administration will attempt to engage in still further repressions than hitherto. Already they have attempted to reduce the delegate Assembly, which next to the membership vote is second in authority, to a paper and rubber-stamp existence. It is almost impossible for the opposition to obtain a hearing for its views in the monthly organ of the Union, the New York Teacher. The Independent Group, through its monthly bulletin, has done a splendid job in acquainting a part of the membership with the Administration's attempts to suppress the opposition and with other issues. It is urgent to expand the size and circulation of the bulletin so that a greater portion of the membership is reached. Only in this way will the pressure of the membership force further concessions from the Administration.

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Trotsky Writes on the Lesson Of the Civil War in Spain

(Continued from page 5)

THE DENOUEMENT

The dictatorship of the Stalinists over the republican camp is in its essence not long-lived. If the defeats conditioned by the politics of the People's Front will once more launch the Spanish proletariat into a revolutionary assault, this time successfully, the Stalinist clique will be swept aside with an iron broom. If, as is, unfortunately, more probable, Stalin will succeed in bringing the work of a grave-digger of the revolution to its conclusion, he will not even in this case earn thanks. The Spanish bourgeoisie needed him as an executioner but he is not at all necessary to it as a patron and a tutor. London and Paris on the one hand and Berlin and Rome on the other are in its eyes considerably more stable firms than Moscow. It is possible that Stalin himself wants to cover his traces in Spain before the final catastrophe; he thrust hopes to put the responsibility for the defeat on his closest allies. After this Litvinov will plead with Franco for the re-establishment of diplomatic relations. All this we have seen more than once.

However, even a full military victory of the so-called republican camp over general Franco would not signify the triumph of "democracy." The workers and peasants twice placed the bourgeois republicans and their left agents in power: in April 1931 and in February 1936. Both times the heroes of the People's Front ceded the victory of the people to the more reactionary and more serious representatives of the bourgeoisie. The third victory, gained by the generals of the People's Front, will signify their inevitable agreement with the fascist bourgeoisie on the backs of the workers and peasants. Such a regime will be but a different form of a military dictatorship, perhaps without monarchy and without an openly dominating Catholic Church.

Finally, it is possible that the partial victories of the republicans will be utilized by the "disinterested" Anglo-French intermediaries in order to reconcile the fighting camps. It is not difficult to understand that in the case of this variant the final remnants of the democracy will prove to be stifled in the fraternal embrace of the generals Miaja (Communist!) and Franco (fascist!). Once again: victory will go either to the socialist revolution, or to fascism.

It is not excluded, incidentally, that tragedy will yet at the last moment give place to farce. When the heroes

of the People's Front have to desert their last capital they will, before embarking on steamers and airplanes, perhaps announce a series of "socialist" reforms in order to leave a "good memory" with the people. Nothing, will help them. The workers of the whole world will remember with hatred and scorn the parties that ruined the heroic revolution.

The tragic experience of Spain is a threatening—perhaps the last warning before still greater events—addressed to all the advanced workers of the world. "Revolutions," according to the words of Marx, "are the locomotives of history." They move faster than the thought of half-revolutionary or quarter-revolutionary parties. Whoever lingers falls under the wheels of the locomotive, whereby—and this is the chief danger—the locomotive itself is also not infrequently wrecked. It is necessary to think out the problem of the revolution to the end, to its final concrete conclusions. It is necessary to adapt policy to the basic laws of the revolution, i.e., to the movement of the classes in conflict and not the prejudices and fears of the superficial petty-bourgeois groups who call themselves "people's" and all kinds of other fronts. The line of least resistance proves in a revolution to be the line of greatest disaster. The fear of "isolation" from the bourgeoisie means isolation from the masses. Adaptation to the conservative prejudices of the workers' aristocracy signifies the betrayal of the workers and the revolution. A superfluity of "cautiousness" is the most baneful rashness. Such is the chief lesson of the destruction of the most honest political organization in Spain, that is, the centrist POUM. The parties and groups of the London Bureau evidently do not wish or are not capable of drawing the necessary conclusions from the last warning of history. By this token they doom themselves to catastrophe.

But then a new generation of revolutionists is now being educated by the lessons of the defeats. It has in action verified the base reputation of the Second International. It has learned how to judge the Anarchists not by their words but by their actions. It is a great inestimable school, paid for with the blood of innumerable fighters! The revolutionary cadres now gather under the banner of the Fourth International. Born amid great defeats, it will lead the toilers to victory.

December 17, 1937.

Coyoacan, Mexico.

National Unity.

"War for the defense of American Imperialism" should be the slogan of the new "People's Front" formed by Henry L. Stimson, Secretary of State under Coolidge, Clarence Hathaway, editor of the Daily Worker under Stalin, and William Green, President of the A. F. of L. A manifesto calling on the "peace loving nations" to take "aggressive action" against "aggressor" nations was signed not only by the above mentioned "notables" but by more than one thousand others, the Daily Worker assures us. The name of the organization is the Committee for Coordinated Peace Efforts.

"Yellow or Red"?

One of the delegates to the Chicago convention of the Socialist Workers Party recalled the St. Louis S. P. convention of 1917. "Are you Yellow or Red? Against the war or for it?" was the first question asked him. At that time, in Montana, his home state, it wasn't known that a man could call himself a Socialist and support capitalist War. "It wasn't long before we saw anyone who opposed the War being denounced as a German spy. Today its Japanese-Fascist spies and the Spargoos of 1937 call themselves Communists."

The "Robinson-Rubens" Mystery

"The best laid plans of mice and men oft go astray," wrote Bobbie Burns. That this saying applies not only to mice but to rats as well is the lesson which the GPU and its stooges on 13th Street are learning from the Robinson-Rubens case. All clues, all trails, lead to the Stalinist lair. Their whole proposed frame-up apparently horribly mis-carried and now all that is left is to have the Lubianka firing squads and their counter parts abroad "correct" the mistakes in the usual Stalinist manner.

Believe it or not

The following lines appeared in a message of greeting from the Executive Committee of the Communist International to Joseph Stalin. Proof of this fact almost unbelievable, can be found in the December issue of the Communist International, page 882. "Infinitely beloved leader, friend and teacher, dear to the hearts of millions of working people... Together with Lenin you led the masses of the people twenty years ago to the storming of capitalism... Wherever the Soviet Republic was menaced by danger there it was that Lenin sent you and the people called for you Comrade Stalin. Obedient to the summons of the Party and the call of the people, you went to the defense of Tsaritsin and together with the unforgettable Kirov you did in truth defend it... you went forth to crush Denikin and Wrangel, and you did... Against the White-Guard Poles who had burst into Kiev... you drove them out... You crushed the enemy on all fronts... you organized the victory... Long live the leader of the working people throughout the world, comrade Stalin."

Austrian Militants Bitter at Stalin's "Asylum"

(W. H.)—Some six hundred members of the Austrian social democratic Schutzbund (defense organization) journeyed to the U. S. S. R. after the February 1934 street fighting in Vienna. Their trip to Moscow was organized as a triumphal march and they were feted as heroes wherever they went.

The Swedish newspaper *Sozialdemokraten* has only recently come into possession of information on how the heroic defenders of the Karl Marx apartments have fared since that time. Several of these Austrians have returned from the Soviet Union and have found refuge, for the time being, in Stockholm. They report that they had to put up a stiff fight for permits to leave the country. Some 130 requests for such permits remain undecided as yet in the hands of the Austrian consulate in Moscow. A number of the refugees was even forced to resort to the protection of the Austrian consulate against the G.P.U. One of the refugees, recently arrived in Stockholm, told the *Sozialdemokraten* reporter: "I would much rather go to jail in Austria than return to the U.S.S.R."

Another reports that upon his arrival in the U.S.S.R. he had

received a work and residence permit for one year. After the expiration of the year, the permit was renewed for only three months and finally, for only three days. Thereupon, the G.P.U. got what it wanted: he decided to leave the country.

A refugee coming from Khar'kov reports that ten members of the Schutzbund have been jailed there, among them one of the most famous of the Schutzbund leaders, *Erjautz*.

The Austrian February fighters were only an item in the propaganda apparatus for Stalin, nothing more. After they had been used up for propaganda purposes, they were subjected, just as other immigrants and the Russian workers themselves, to the arbitrary will of the G.P.U.

After the February struggles, a number of famous European and American writers appealed for aid to the Austrian workers and refugees. Mr. Ilya Ehrenburg, above all, praised the heroes of the Karl Marx Apartments in innumerable articles. Mr. Ehrenburg is at present busy vilifying Spanish revolutionists and French writers, possessed of more honesty and more of a social conscience than he, from his rooms in a pent-house hotel in

Barcelona.

Will these gentlemen, who took up the defense of the Viennese workers against the Heimwehr, look on quietly while these same workers are being destroyed in the jails of the G.P.U.? Did these gentlemen really rise to defend a cause at that time or were they merely in the pay of Stalinist propaganda?

If their present silence is to be taken as an indication, then the latter assumption is justified and the world will know how to evaluate protests and appeals from these sources in the future. We however, will not leave the Viennese February fighters to the mercy of Stalinist despotism!

The entire non-Stalinist labor movement must demand from Stalin the immediate release from his jails of all political refugees.

Modesty

"For my part I should like to assure you, comrades, that you may confidently rely upon Comrade Stalin. You may count upon it that Comrade Stalin will be able to fulfil his duty to the people, to the working class, to the peasantry, to the intelligentsia." The above remarks, inter-

persed with applause, were delivered by none other than Stalin himself and reported in the *Daily Worker* of December, 13.

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