

Czechoslovakia - Another "Poor Little Belgium"

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

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

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

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

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

Issue Is Not Self-Determination

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

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

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

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

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

French Imperialism Decisive Factor

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

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

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

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

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

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

The following letter, sent to Socialist Party expelled the revolutionary socialists from your party, and then instituted a vicious gag law in the party.

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

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

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

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

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

EDITORIAL NOTE — The recent imprisonment in Moscow of the head of the Hungarian Communist Party, Bela Kun, lifted a small corner of the curtain behind which hundreds of Hungarian, German, Polish, Greek, Romanian, Estonian, Latvian and other communists sojourning in Russia, have been murdered or imprisoned by the G.P.U., without even the semblance of a trial.

We print below a sensational list of some of the leaders of the German and Polish communist parties who have been shot or jailed by Stalin in recent times.

The article, by comrade "X," is translated from the May-June, 1938, issue of the "Bulletin of the Opposition," organ of the Russian Bolshevik-Leninists abroad.

I—Poland

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

In 1933 arrests among the Rights began, and in 1938 they made arrests among Lensky's group.

The Rights Accused

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

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

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

Polish military organization). Together with them, Sokhatsky (Bratkovsky—Communist deputy in the Sejm—and Voyevudsky—leader of the revolutionary peasant movement in Poland (organizer of the Independent Peasant Party, N.P.K.)—had joined the party. All of them also confessed that they gave false information to the Polish C. P. concerning internal relations within Pilsudski's camp, as a consequence of which

(Continued on page 3)

Catching Up And Outstripping . . .

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(Continued on page 3)

STALIN FOUND GUILTY OF FRAME-UPS DEWEY COMMISSION ISSUES EXHAUSTIVE REPORT OF ITS INVESTIGATION INTO THE MOSCOW TRIALS, FINDS CRIMINALS IN THE KREMLIN

NOT GUILTY!

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

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

The Composition of the Commission

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

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

They Only Shrieked Insults

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

"Not Guilty!"—which is the title given to its report by the Commission—taken together with its companion volume, "The Case of Leon Trotsky" (the stenographic record of the hearings in Mexico), are historical documents of imperishable importance. The reader will not find in them the dreary, dry-rot of the ordinary legal brief. He will find, instead, a cool, dispassionate but highly exciting analysis of every single one of the important charges leveled at Leon Trotsky, the late Leon Sedoff and the other defendants in the two big Moscow Trials. And for this analysis, the entire labor movement owes deep gratitude to the Commission as a whole and in particular to its tireless, devoted, keen-minded secretary, Suzanne LaFollette.

Murderous Indictment of Stalinism

The report will bring the reader through the labyrinth of the Moscow Trials and out into the clear light of day. It not only deals with the direct legal aspects of the trial but devotes a most informative chapter to the famous "historical connections" of the Prosecuting Attorney. It not only absolves the defendants in the Trials of guilt of crimes they never committed, but it is a murderous, unassailable indictment of the Stalinist frame-up regime.

The Stalinists, their press and their "respectable" henchmen cannot answer the Commission Report, and it is certain that they will not even make the attempt. If they do not try to "kill it" by silence, they will do no more than confine themselves to repeating the old calumnies, so painstakingly and conclusively answered by the report, and to adding a few new samples of vituperation and biliousness.

Truth Is On the March!

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

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

Watch for Spain Article Next Week

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

First Year of China War Shows Japanese Imperialism Doomed

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

CHINA'S STRUGGLE SHOWS WEAKNESS

By LO SEN

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

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

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

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

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

But its control over this vast area is of the most tenuous kind. All kinds of correspondents, including even the notoriously pro-Japanese Hallett Abend of the *New York Times*, have testified that Japan's control extends little farther than the points of its bayonets in the occupied areas.

Should the present drive along the Yangtze River result in the capture of Hankow, the provisional Chinese capital, this fundamental fact will not be changed. Across every Japanese "victory" falls the shadow of ultimate defeat.

Already Crumbling

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

Omaha Drivers Reply to Police Attack On Union; Appeal Sentence

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

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

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

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

LAGUARDIA POLICE CRACK DOWN ON NEW YORK JOBLESS

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

NEW YORK.—The City Administration of Mayor F. H. LaGuardia, re-elected to office last year as a "democrat," a "progressive" and a "friend of the unemployed" with the aid of the Stalinist and Socialist parties, cracked down hard on this city's jobless last week.

Twenty-two unemployed victims of capitalism, demanding higher relief standards were taken into custody by LaGuardia's police. Seven of these were arrested at a demonstration staged by more than 200 unemployed at the West 53rd Street relief bureau.

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

Local Four Takes Lead

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

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

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

Those Arrested

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

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

"Here are the conditions prevailing in the Single Men's Relief Bureau on 53rd Street:

"When men come for help they are told to come back in 10 or 15 days regardless of how badly they need immediate help.

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

Terrible Waiting

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

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

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

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

Mass Action Needed

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

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

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

New Deal Concern Boasts Eviction Successes

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

In 1933 the H.O.L.C. took over \$3,091,000,000 worth of mortgages from banks and trust companies, building and loan associations, finance and mortgage companies, life insurance companies, estates and individuals. The law creating the corporation stated explicitly that the only borrowers eligible for assistance were those "in urgent need of funds for the protection and preservation of their homes, and . . . unable to procure the needed financing through the normal channels."

At present the government has more than \$600,000,000 invested in 127,000 desperate home-owners in the New York region (New York, New Jersey, Connecticut) alone. **Bondholders Protected**

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

This "good" business means for the worker that he is being evicted ruthlessly. Already the H.O.L.C. has expropriated hundreds of thousands of families. On its hands it has at present 85,000 homes throughout the United States, 10,167 of which are in New York State. Some 6,000 of these homes are in the New York City area. H.O.L.C. experts predict that, not counting resales, they will some time in 1939 be the "proud" expropriators of 150,000 homes throughout the country.

The Poor Evicted

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

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

ASK FOR THE APPEAL
AT YOUR NEWSSTAND

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

Stalinists Slave Girls 12 Hours for \$7 a Week

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

C. I. O. pickets were parading around the Stalinist pleasure resort, which has become notorious in union circles for the sweated conditions to which its subjects its employees.

The waitresses, according to all available information, have been receiving the miserly wage of \$7 per week for a 12-hour working day, while the Stalinist Party, alleged champion of labor's rights, has been waxing rich on their exploitation.

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

UNION BRIEFS

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

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

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

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

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ASK FOR THE APPEAL
AT YOUR NEWSSTAND

NEW DEAL CROP PROGRAM BASED ON STARVATION

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

By J. PYTLAK

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

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

A Great Harvest

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

Foreign sale of 90,000,000 bushels is expected, thus leaving a carry-over of 480,000,000 bushels, the highest since 1923.

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

Big Farmers' Advantage

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

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

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

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

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

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

OHIO TEACHERS SHOW GAINS BY PROGRESSIVES

Stalinists Defeated in Plan to Capture Federation

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

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

Call for Unity

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

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

10,000 workers at the El Teniente Copper mines near Rancagua, Chile, have gone on strike against the Braden Copper Company, a subsidiary of the Kennecott Copper Corporation of America. The dismissal of several workers on the grounds of economic distress afflicting the fast-growing army of capitalism's unemployed victims, under a plan of direct government purchase, or in the case of the big farm trusts—expropriation.

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

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

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

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WANT ADS

China War Spells Doom For Japanese Imperialism

CHIANG KAI-SHEK GOVT WEAKENS CHINA'S FIGHT BY SUPPRESSING MASSES

(Continued from page 1)

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

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

Growing Stringency

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

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

The Chinese Bourgeoisie

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

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

Revolutionary War

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

How Stalin Gov't Aids China War

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

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

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

RADIO IS USED TO GENERATE WAR HYSTERIA

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

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

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

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

To Protect "Democracy"

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

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

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

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

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

The Intended Victims

Just who are these "troublemakers" that the Federal agents are interested in enough to seek information from the vast radio audience of America? Japanese spies? Members of the Nazi Bund?

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

We have only to look back to the days of the last war to see who receives the brunt of the attack of the "patriots": the discontented workers, the rebellious strikers, the forthright revolutionists.

ASK FOR THE APPEAL
AT YOUR NEWSSTAND

Divide and Rule Policy Explains Palestine Riots

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

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

The Issues Stated

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

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

Britain Is Responsible

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

To maintain her hold over Palestine, Britain is willing to support and defend British domination of Palestine and to fight against Arab independence!

Danger of Disunity

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

Some More Questions

TO MOISSAYE OLGIN

By MAX SHACHTMAN

Since our Open Letter to you concerning the fate of your two old friends, Juliet Stuart Poyntz and Noah London, further information has come to our attention which warrants some comment by you.

We asked last week: "What assurance have you that tomorrow or the next day, you will not face—not the firing squad of a G.P.U. cell, but the murderous slander campaign against the expelled scapegoat?"

We came a little closer to the mark, it appears, than we thought.

For is it not true that you, who go to the Soviet Union almost every year for a visit, were refused a visa by the Soviet authorities when you tried to arrange for your periodic visit a few months ago?

Is it not true that the refusal was based upon the fact that, servile to the Stalinist machine though you are, ready as you always are to apologize for its hideous crimes, it nevertheless was apprehensive about your possible reaction to the "absence" of all your old friends that you would note as soon as you arrived in Moscow? That virtually every single one of your old acquaintances and associates in the old days of the Polish Bund, the socialist movement in which you were raised, the men and women who finally went over to the Third International, has recently been shot or imprisoned? That virtually every one of your old intimates of the Jewish Section of the Russian Communist Party has met the same fate?

And is it not true that, in order to assuage your feelings, which were so badly hurt at the refusal of a visa to the land you claim as your fatherland, the party here organized a series of "birthday banquets" and celebrations in the main cities, and finally sent you on a junket to California, which, while it has not established "complete socialism," at least has a safer climate—if you know what we mean?

And is it not true that your good friend A. A. Heller, the angel of the International Publishers, staunch Stalinist like yourself, was also refused a Soviet visa at the same time, perhaps because the G.P.U. remembered the vigorous protest against its abuses made by Mrs. Heller the last time the couple lived in Moscow?

Don't you think that your "public," whose flattering applause has always been such intoxicating music to your ears, is entitled to a plain-spoken statement from you regarding the matters touched on here? Don't you think, finally, that it might be well, in the same statement, to say a few words about the mysterious disappearance—not so mysterious, perhaps!—of your good friends of yesterday, Juliet Poyntz and Noah London?

Knives Workers



INDALECIO PRIETO

PRIETO LETTER REVEALS HOW REVOLUTIONISTS IN SPAIN WERE WIPE OUT

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

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

"At last the most important part of the clean-up behind the lines has been accomplished. In Barcelona, as throughout the province, the machinery of the F.A.I. and C.N.T. has now been broken up; their most dangerous elements are dead or in prison;

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

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

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

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

Pleasing Their "Friends"

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

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

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

Planned Mass Murder

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

Victims Pile Up

In the summer of 1937 Kurt Sauerland, the former editor of *Roter Aufbau* in Berlin, was arrested in Moscow on the charge of espionage.

Since 1936 the following have been incarcerated: the Austrian physician Gerber, former collaborator in the central theoretical organ of the C.P.G., *Die Internationale*; Boros, the former editor of the *Internationale Presse Korrespondenz*, and later editor of the *Rundschau*, who was famous for his dispatches concerning the U.S.S.R. and his panegyric of Stalin; and Professor Halle, a prominent member of the C.P.G.

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

Disastrous Policy

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

X...

**ASK FOR THE APPEAL
AT YOUR NEWSSTAND**

NOT GUILTY

REPORT OF THE COMMISSION OF INQUIRY INTO THE CHARGES MADE AGAINST LEON TROTSKY IN THE MOSCOW TRIALS

The findings of the Commission headed by John Dewey, and its comprehensive analysis of the Moscow trials based upon the official records and its own hearings in Mexico City, Paris and New York, is now available.

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MAX SHACHTMAN
Editor
HAROLD ROBERTS FRANK GRAVES
Associate Editors
S. STANLEY
Business Manager

Hypocrisy at Evian

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The W.A.A. and Politics

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The Blackwell Case

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

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

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

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

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

It's a Cockeyed World

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

New Workers' Party Springs From SFIO Split

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

In our opinion it is far more

important to dwell on the transformation of the "Gauche Révolutionnaire" (the French Left Wing) into an independent party than on the long and dull debates of the congress of the French social democracy itself or the clique maneuvers within it. The latter only demonstrate once more the putrescence of reformism and its faithful attachment to an exploiting and murderous imperialism as well as its inability to propose to the proletariat a correct program of national unity, of the destruction of the living standards of the working people, of support for the methods of the imperialists. The crisis of the S.F.I.O. was simply a manifestation of the class struggle inside the framework of the party; the progressive wing clashed with the representatives of the bourgeoisie and the spokesmen of the labor aristocracy.

A Legalistic Battle

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

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

Armenians Boom

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

Combined with the huge increase in the unemployed figures which now total over 1.3 millions is the steadily increasing cost of living, affecting every article of common necessity. These concealed wage cuts are being supplemented with open wage cuts. In April 330,000 wage earners suffered reductions. Capitalism, whether democratic or fascist, appears almost equally costly for the workers.

Tender Toward Fascism

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

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

R.

Mr. Cahan versus Mr. Hillman

An Editorial

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

movement at the present time.

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

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

A Critical Letter

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

The National Conflicts Commission (a sort of grievance committee) upon request of the Permanent Administrative Committee (the executive organ of the party), took disciplinary action against Pivert and several of his friends, all members of the Bureau and of the "Gauche Révolutionnaire."

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

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

New Party's Future

We still do not know what the program of the Workers and Peasants Socialist Party will be. However, it is not hard to foresee. It is enough to examine the positions of the "Gauche Révolutionnaire" on the different problems that are agitating the labor movement. Unfortunately for them, the one headed by Lehman, the well-known lover of liberty and progress who recently endeared himself to the unemployed by his proposal to "purge" the relief rolls because the jobless, unlike Mr. Lehman's banker friends, are living off the fat of the land.

Hillman and Co., who do make all the use they can of the servile assistance the Stalinists are so ready to give them, have taken a stand for Hillman's nomination: (1) not because they believe he will be nominated and (2) not because they are opposed to endorsing a capitalist politician on an old party ticket and want a "labor man" instead, but (3) only because they are part and parcel of the other gang in the Democratic Party, namely, the one headed by Roosevelt.

It is no secret that Hillman has conferred with Roosevelt. It is also no secret that Roosevelt and his clique are opposed to the nomination of Lehman, with whom the Fireside-sitter has had a falling out. Roosevelt hasn't the slightest idea of supporting Hillman as an actual candidate for Senator in the November elections. Hillman is simply put forward for the purpose of spiking the nomination of "My Dear Herbert," so that Roosevelt's real choice—as yet not clearly known—may be able to walk away with the nomination at the coming New York Democratic convention.

Meanwhile, the two groups of party bosses in the A.L.P. are seeking to keep the party a football in the factional fight going on in the Democratic Party. Hardly a noble role they have assigned to the A.L.P.!

Also, it occurs neither to the Hillman-Stalinist gang, nor to its Dubinsky-Cahan partners-in-leadership, to break completely and drastically with the corrupt old capitalist parties. And how could it? All of them are bound by a thousand threads with their allies and bosses in the capitalist camp. The A.L.P., to them, is merely an organization of labor voting-fodder. It is aimed to serve—not for the advancement of the independent interests of the workers, but as bargaining points over the table with the capitalist politicians, and for the promotion of the political careers of the labor bureaucracy.

A final interesting commentary is worth making. In the official resolutions adopted by Hillman's Amalgamated officials, denouncing Abe Cahan and his statement, we find a familiar touch. An innocent by-stander, reading the resolutions with their talk about "playing the game of Hearst" and the Liberty League, etc., etc., might imagine that they were written on the 9th floor of a certain 13th Street building.

A Letter from England

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

By A. B. ELSBURY

LONDON, England.—The brief period of "prosperity" has passed in Great Britain almost before it was noticed by the workers of Eden, so as to secure the support of Conservative M. P.'s!

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

Liberal Come-Back

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

At the previous election in this largely agricultural and therefore backward area,