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Nyon Meet Aids British War Plans

Japan Admits Long Fight Ahead To Conquer China But Rivals are Preoccupied In West, Soviet Stands Off

By Li Fu-jen

Japan's latest empire crusade in China is now well in its third month. Confounding all the optimistic expectations of the Tokyo military specialists, the Chinese armies in North China and at Shanghai have resisted the imperialist invader with remarkable tenacity and bravery. Japanese spokesmen are now obliged to admit the necessity of girding for a struggle which may last three or four years.

The Koumintang government, hurled into the struggle against its will (its entire record since the inauguration of Japan's continental policy in 1931 has shown its preference for compromise), is waging its defensive campaign on a purely military basis, hoping the while that Japan's imperialist rivals, first of all Britain and America, will step actively into the picture and save the day for China. Nanking also looks for possible aid from the Soviet Union.

China, largest single potential market and field of investment in the world outside of the Soviet Union, has been the scene of sharpest imperialist rivalry, especially since the end of the World War. Japan has, however, an indubitable advantage over her rivals and plans to oust them from China in order to make that country her own exclusive preserve. To achieve that aim, all organized Chinese resistance to Japan's continental policy would have to be stamped out and a government installed at Nanking which will unquestioningly do the bidding of Tokyo.

Opportune Moment

The Japanese imperialists could

U. S. Marines Smash Strike Demonstration Of Chinese Workers

American intervention in the Sino-Japanese war at Shanghai has already become a grim reality according to a United Press dispatch from Shanghai dated September 14.

U. S. Marines, guarding "American lives and property," were reported to have gone into action to smash a demonstration of 1,000 Chinese flour mill workers on strike to enforce payment of a month's wages. Twenty-five of the strikers were taken to hospital suffering from scalp wounds and the effects of tear gas. The U. S. Marines, U. P. said, cooperated with British troops and the Shanghai Municipal Police in breaking up the demonstration.

We trust the Daily Worker is satisfied that its demand for imperialist intervention in China has produced such quick results.

scarcely have struck at a more propitious moment, shrewdly calculating that none of their rivals was in a position to obstruct the carrying through of their plans. Imperialist Britain, beset with the problem of maintaining its Mediterranean life-line to India against the attacks of the European fascist powers, is obliged to watch helplessly while Japan damages and wrecks the vast British properties and trade in China. An illuminating test of Britain's helplessness was afforded by the diplomatic exchange

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CIO Tested In Akron's Gum Mines

By Jack Wilson

AKRON, Ohio.—The recent success of the United Rubber Workers of America, CIO affiliate, in winning decisively the sole collective bargaining NLRB vote at Goodyear and Goodrich, and the huge primary vote that Labor's Non-Partisan League candidates for mayor on the Democratic ticket obtained, have turned national attention again to this rubber center of the world.

For Akron is rapidly becoming recognized as the testing laboratory of the labor movement, particularly of the CIO. And that is why Akron deserves close study.

Sit-Down Began Here

Who will ever forget the brilliant wave of sit-downs that swept the country in 1936? Akron rubber workers developed that weapon. They staged over 100 successful sit-downs that year, before the French working class terrified the bourgeoisie of the world by the May sit-down strikes.

The 75,000 rubber workers of Akron of 1920 were permanently reduced to less than 45,000 by 1930 due to technological developments in the industry. Productivity per rubber worker more than doubled, wages remained stationary. The cost of 17 tire price wars in the virtually bankrupt industry was foisted on the rubber workers in the form of wage cuts.

Role of A. F. of L.

The A.F. of L. craft unions existed only by the grace of the rubber barons and on condition that no effort would be made to organize the rubber industry, and the rubber workers were helpless until the summer of 1933, when the wave of unionization that swept the nation during the early days of the NRA reached Akron. Thousands of rubber workers flocked into A. F. of L. federal unions.

The A. F. of L. pursued its reactionary course: workers were divided into craft unions; unions were run autocratically; red-baiting against any form of opposition was the chief stock in trade of the A. F. of L. organizers; sell-outs were plentiful. The unions declined in membership from over 35,000 to less than 2,000.

Progressives Learn

A new factor appeared on the scene in the fall of 1934. A progressive workers school, agitating for industrial unionism and class struggle policies, was formed under the influence of the Com-

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Trade Union Leaders Repeat 1914 Betrayal

By James Burnham

Events of the past ten days again serve to bring out sharply the unprecedented depth of the developing world crisis. Outstanding in their symptomatic importance were the hastily summoned Nyon Conference and the British Trades Union Congress. Both represent substantial victories for the delicate strategy

of British Imperialism.

The policy of the British Government is based upon the central aim of preserving for exploitation by British capital the Empire's colonial possessions and dominions, as against threats from rival imperialist powers or from colonial revolt. The British statesmen are well aware that success in this aim rests in the last analysis on armed force. Such force has been liberally used during the past twenty years in the suppression of colonial uprisings; but the exhaustion of the rival powers following the last War enabled Great Britain to maintain its position against these powers, up to the present, by juridical means and without resort to armed international conflict.

Juridical Solution Inadequate

Italy's invasion of Ethiopia demonstrated, however, that juridical solutions were becoming inadequate. The structure of international "legality", crowned under the Versailles system by the League of Nations, was swept away by Mussolini's legions in Africa and Hitler's new army in the Rhineland. The first phase of the open struggle for the redivision of the world had begun. Henceforth the immediate and determining factor in the policies of all of the great powers was the concrete preparation for war on an international scale.

For Great Britain this meant the belated undertaking of a major rearmament program, a program not yet by any means completed. Meanwhile, Great Britain is confronted by the tasks: (a) of delaying the outbreak of war on a world scale at least until her rearmament program is well along; and (b) of jockeying for the most favorable position in the maze of alliances and counter-alliances.

Tactic to Delay

In pursuit of the first end, Great Britain first tries to delay as long as possible each new conflict, and then to localize it when it breaks out, as in the cases of Manchuria and Ethiopia, and now in Spain and China. She tries to do this not merely geographically, by keeping the area of the fighting to a minimum, but also diplomatically, by try-

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NEWS FLASH!

Harry Milton arrived from Spain on Tuesday evening. He will appear at the Revolutionary Socialist Rally, Friday, 8 P.M., September 17, at Irving Plaza, Irving Place and Fifteenth Street.

Comrade Milton will be the main speaker at a mass meeting next week. Details will appear in the next issue of the Appeal.

Convention Call Initiated By Ohio State and Chicago

The Ohio and Chicago organizations of the Socialist Party this week initiated a movement for a rank and file convention to oust the Altman-Thomas-Tyler faction for selling out to La Guardia and expelling the left wing.

By unanimous decision, the Ohio State Executive Committee, at its regular September meeting, decided to join with other responsible party organizations and the National Executive Committee of the Young Peoples Socialist League in calling the convention.

The Executive Committee of Cook County (Chicago) adopted

a similar resolution. Both bodies authorized the City Central Committee of Local New York (Left Wing Branches) to act as the organizing committee on convention arrangements.

The Ohio and Chicago organizations were the first party bodies before whom the proposal for the convention was brought. Their speedy action in favor of the left wing is a harbinger of the general action of the basic units of the party and the rank and file membership. The so-called "National Executive Committee" has proposed; but the rank will be the final arbiter.

Japan Set For Long Fight; Chiang-Stalin Pact A Dud

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which followed the shooting of the British ambassador to China. Tokyo thumbed its nose at Britain's protest and the British lion has not even emitted a roar by way of answer. In the heyday of the British Empire's ascendancy a lesser incident would have led to war.

American imperialism, rising gradually to the stature of the world's dominant power, is not yet in the full stride of its march to empire destiny and therefore not ready to stake itself in a serious war with its imperialist rivals. The Neutrality Act of the Roosevelt Government is the formula of the unpreparedness of America imperialism. Washington's policy in China at this time is confined to a passive "protection of American lives and property" accompanied by vague hints that both Japan and China will be held accountable for damage to American interests.

Moscow Compromises

No threat to the Far Eastern stake of French imperialism is immediately present in the war of Japan and China. France's trade with China is infinitesimal and her principal interests are her colonial territories in Indo-China and her "concessions" at Shanghai, Hankow and Tientsin. The former are far from the scene of Sino-Japanese hostilities, while the latter, because of their location, have suffered practically no damage in the latest fighting.

The one country which was a real source of worry to the Tokyo warlords was the Soviet Union. Would Moscow, concerned for its strategic defenses in the Mongolian People's Republic, permit Japan to grab North China and Inner Mongolia? In June, Stalin framed and executed the flower of the Red Army commanding staff. The Japanese army immediately seized two strategic islands in the Amur River which indisputably belonged to the Soviet Union. In subsequent negotiations, Moscow virtually ceded control of the islands to Japan. The Tokyo warlords rightly concluded that if Moscow feared to defend "its own" territory, it certainly could not be expected to obstruct Japan's attempts to seize North China and Inner Mongolia.

Pact Meaningless

In a feeble effort to offset the advantages thus given to Japan, Moscow has now concluded a non-aggression pact with Nanking. It is a fact of common knowledge in the Far East that negotiations for the conclusion of this pact were commenced as far back as 1933, when diplomatic relations between Moscow and Nanking, ruptured in 1927, were restored. Moscow sought by this pact to hinder Nanking from making an alliance with Japan against the Soviet Union. Nanking, hoping to make a satisfactory deal with Japan, delayed signing but kept the pact in reserve as a threat to the Tokyo warlords. In signing it now, Nanking hopes to frighten Tokyo into sweet reasonableness. But, having no fundamental common interests with Moscow it will scrap the pact if opportunity occurs to make what seems a favorable agreement with Tokyo.

The Stalin government, which abandoned the German and Austrian proletariat to their fate and which today sabotages the struggle of the Spanish workers, will not intervene in the Sino-

Japanese struggle on behalf of China unless such intervention should be vitally dictated by the interests of the Soviet bureaucracy. Stalinist foreign policy is still conducted within the conservative frame-work of the status quo. That which does not immediately affect the interests of the bureaucracy is no concern of Stalin.

Japan Unopposed

From this brief analysis of the positions of the principal Far Eastern powers an inescapable conclusion emerges: Japan will be able to carry through the present phase of her conquest of China without foreign hindrance. Japanese imperialism's only actual foe is the Nanking government and its armies, since the exploited masses of both China and Japan are held down by military dictatorship.

China's defeat by Japan is certain unless the defense against imperialism is wrenched from the control of the Kuomintang regime and the defense campaign transformed and enlarged into a general offensive against imperialism on all fronts. This requires the intervention of the masses under a revolutionary leadership. Nanking, if it does not succumb to a humiliating military defeat, will effect a "compromise" with Japan — a compromise which will be dictated by Anglo-American imperialism at the expense of China's sovereignty and independence, a compromise which will still further enslave China's millions.

LEWIS FOUND GUILTY BY OWN PARTISANS FOR BUYING VOTES

By John F. Dwyer

Acting on the letter published in the September 4 issue of the Appeal, inviting me to come to supper with my wife and have my head amputated, I attended the exclusive lynching party in the home of Mary Dickson in Northampton, Massachusetts. Supper started at 6 with Comrade Konikow abstaining. It was a perfectly delightful meal with Judge Pineo acting as second maid.

My trial got under way with Pineo acting as chairman and Hostess Dickson and Comrade Konikow filling out the committee. I was charged with using the word "reject" instead of "object" in expressing my feelings about the actions of the N.E.C. in the Spanish resolution. I protested that the National Office had accepted the word when Roy Burt accepted the San Francisco resolution for a referendum. But Lewis assured his committee that Burt had no intentions of sending out any such referendum and so I was found guilty of being in grammatical disagreement with the N.E.C.

Roles Reversed

The committee then recommended my expulsion and referred the matter to the next S.E.C. meeting which will be held the third Sunday in September.

The Lynn, Boston, and Worcester Locals have refused to expel their representatives on the S.E.C. and so Lewis will bring charges against the three locals on that date.

After my "intimate" and "friendly" supper trial was over we changed juries and started trial No. 2. In this trial the roles were reversed. I was the accuser

and Lewis the defendant. He brought his own jury from Cambridge to hear the case. I charged him with (1) buying members into a party to fight the left wing (the Salerno letter published in the Appeal of September 4), (2) using his position and the party apparatus for factional purposes, and (3) bringing false and malicious charges against a member in good standing.

Found Guilty

The Lewis jury, which also received ducky little invitations to supper, sat and looked very wise throughout the trial. I presented my case and Lewis his. The jury asked numerous questions and finally found as follows:

- Charge 1: Guilty—vote to censure.
- Charge 2: Two voted not guilty and one voted guilty.
- Charge 3: Three voted to defer until after the September meeting of the S.E.C.

In short Lewis' own jury could not find him not guilty of any of the charges by a unanimous vote. On the contrary they did find him guilty on the first charge, i. e., of bringing into the Party bought members.

Left Wing Carries On

The left wing has the support of 98 per cent of the active membership of the state. Lewis has the support of those people who forgot to leave when the rest of the Old Guard did, and the Fabian Sewing Circle branch of Western Massachusetts. The people who remain with him will dissolve into the first Farmer-Labor Party that comes over the horizon.

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inspired by the Goodyear struggle, joined the URWA. The union was established.

Using the weapon of sit-downs, the rubber workers continued to gain many concessions, to recruit new members, to protest against company policies, fight threats of vigilantism both in Akron and other rubber centers. Akron became the sit-down capital of America.

Success Inspiration

The gigantic sit-down wave that shook the foundations of capitalist France added fuel to the fires of the American struggles. From rubber plants they spread to other industries, especially automotive (not the least reason was that Akron militants went into the industry and agitated for sit-downs as the best method of building the United Automobile Workers of America).

The effects of these struggles were not confined to the rubber plants. This entire city of 250,000 felt the repercussions. Grade school children sat down because home assignments were too long! The badly exploited downtown store clerks sat down. Aided by rubber workers, many struggles were successful. Akron was really becoming a union town.

Tired of being robbed by the milk trust, even the farmers near Akron went on strike, 3,000 of them. They called on the progressive and left-wing unionists to help them. A farmers union was organized and the strike was won.

CIO Tops Intervene

The convention of the URWA in September 1936 marked the turning point in the history of the local union movement. Under CIO pressure, and the constant barrage of the capitalist press, the convention refused to sanction sit-downs as a weapon of the union. Likewise support of Roosevelt and of Labor's Non-Partisan League were voted.

Major attention of the leading unionists turned towards organizing the rest of the industry, after the glaring defeat at Gadsden, Ala., where Goodyear thugs smashed the union. With higher wages, better working conditions and definite limitation of production (temporary abolition of speed-up), Akron's rubber workers began to slip back into their old norms of living.

Militancy, more and more, became a reflection of the great strike struggle elsewhere. The rubber workers kept the local plants going so they could better contribute to the auto, maritime and other strike funds. A fever heat was reached again during the General Motors strike. A general strike slogan raised by revolutionary socialists won wide support. At the last minute it was called off under terrific pressure of the CIO leaders.

Bureaucrats Develop

Each problem exposed the limitations of the "progressiveness" of the progressives. A CIO adviser, Allan Haywood, was the power behind the union leaders. When he was sent elsewhere, the official union leadership suffered a severe blow. He had propped up more than one weak union official. The rubber companies, aided by the local press, took up a policy of conciliation. It had its effect. Progressives turned into conservatives. Meanwhile, the best class-conscious elements were doing organizing work elsewhere. Bureaucratic

tendencies became stronger.

Under pressure of the rubber companies, leaders of Labor's Non-Partisan League, and the local press, the executive board removed B. J. Widlick, left-wing socialist, as research director of the International Union. The bureaucracy continued to consolidate itself.

CLU Liquidated

Central Labor Union, under progressive domination, had done outstanding work. It was the first CLU to support sit-downs. It kept a general strike committee permanently in readiness. It gave funds generously to all strike and other labor struggles. It supported a YPSL fight against R.O.T.C. at Akron University. It refused to allow a split. William Green's demands were always thrown into a waste basket. The CLU, as the platform of the left-wing, was a thorn in the side of the developing bureaucracies.

A few weeks ago the URWA international officers agreed to allow the rubber workers to be expelled from the CLU upon another request of Green. However, a joint CIO-A.F. of L. council is being formed, sentiment for solidarity is so strong. Of course, the left-wing will be excluded, if possible, from this council.

Causes

The growth of conservatism in the local union movement came because of definite, ascertainable reasons, in addition to the specific ones already mentioned.

Foremost of the reasons was the defeat of the "Little Steel" strike. Reactionary forces took heart from labor's defeat. The wide-spread barrage of anti-union propaganda intensified, and union officials retreated before it. Roosevelt's betrayal of the workers created political uncertainty, but the CIO leaders refused to speak out.

Militancy Declines

Akron workers this summer lost their first strike since 1933. City police, heartened by the success Chicago police had in getting away with the Memorial Day massacre, prevented picket lines in the Enterprise strike.

When a rumor spread that Goodrich Local might strike, a company of National Guardsmen appeared in Akron, fully armed and ready for trouble. (Not even a strike vote had been taken. The rumor was completely false). Six months before, the appearance of guards would have signaled a general strike. But the workers kept quiet: when they had marched to Youngstown, 3,000, to fight the guards during the steel strike, union leaders ordered them home saying that Davey's guards would protect the strikers.

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FRENCH WORKERS ARE RESTIVE AS GAINS OF STRIKES ARE WIPED OUT

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explode. Even the petty functionaries in the trade unions, as their standard of living declines, are ready for strike action. Naturally, the official "Communist", "Socialist" and CGT press speaks of "other methods besides strike action", "we must respect the law", "order", "dignity", but the anti-working class nature of every arbitration decision leaves the worker with very little confidence in such methods.

In addition, the criminal policy of the leadership in most of the recent strikes is sinking deeply into the consciousness of the workers. One example will suffice: In the recent hotel, restaurant and cafe strike in Paris, where the spirit of the workers was excellent, not only did the trade union bureaucracy refuse to provide the strike any sort of national solidarity in the way of funds, etc., not only did the bureaucrats negotiate a shameful contract at the very height of the strike (providing for "the reemployment of not more than 10 per cent of the strike leaders"), but L'Humanite and Le Populaire (official organs of the C.P. and S.P.) also proclaimed it as a victory, thus adding insult to injury. Since the workers weren't very convinced of it, the CP sent Thorez to speak to them and to assure them that they had won a tremendous victory, and it must be all right because the C.P. is in favor of the settlement!

Capitalists Profit

Big industry is showing an increase in profits of about 10 per cent and more over last year, and there is a duel between the Peoples Front press and the reactionary press as to whether Blum or Chautemps should receive the credit for increasing the profits of the capitalists! The explanation of the recovery (which is no more than a temporary stabilization of the crisis, as is readily seen from any sort of careful examination of French economy), however is not hard to find. None other than Vincent Auriol, the "Socialist" Minister of Finance in the Blum cabinet, gives away the entire game when, in his speech at the Marseilles Congress of the SP (Le Populaire, July 12, 1937), he says: "Yesterday's war, the preparation of national defense—the broken-down arms, the new arms—absorbs 72 per cent of the budget." (My italics). What more sinister comment could there be on the nature of capitalist profits! What surer indication can there be of the imminence and catastrophic character of the next depression! The entire economic fabric depends for its very life on war preparations.

The bourgeoisie refused to give decree powers to Blum. That Bonapartist weapon must be entrusted to one of their very own—and so, Blum was succeeded by Chautemps, some parliamentary juggling took place. Bonnet emerged as the miracle man of the financial world. Another devaluation was put through, again lowering the standard of living of the French masses. Every effort is being made to repatriate French capital and attract foreign capital. Blum's "pause" is not only extended, but 10 billions of francs are pared off the existing reforms in an effort to balance the budget. In little more than two months, the first Bonapartist Peoples Front government has shown the workers and masses very clearly what is in store for them.

Prices Soar

Prices are moving up with such astonishing rapidity that

hardly one price sign is reliable. If one goes to buy cigarettes and leaves 2 fr., for that is what is marked on the box (of 10), "Pardon, monsieur, it is 2.25 fr. now.) Prices are rising so rapidly that it is almost impossible to estimate the extent of the rise. But it is clear that the whole burden of the rationalization of economy and the preparation for imperialist war is being placed on the workers. Recently, the price of metro (subway) tickets was raised 25 per cent, bus tickets 33 per cent. It is estimated that these price increases, together with increase in taxes and tariffs, which cover every conceivable commodity and service, will result in a 50 per cent rise in the cost of living for the French worker during the coming year.

This increase in the price of necessities, in the basic cost of living, will find a very cold reception amongst the workers. That is why almost every political tendency, from extreme right to extreme left, is agreed that this fall and early winter will be very critical and is almost certain to witness another strike wave and the fall of the Chautemps cabinet. (In succeeding articles Comrade Demby, who has just returned from France, will deal with the political forces in the French crisis).

Austrian Trotskyists Jailed, Sentenced By Fascist Courts

After being kept in jail for periods of six to eight months awaiting trial, six Austrian Trotskyists were brought before the Court of Assizes in Vienna on August 13.

Their names, as given by the reactionary press, are: the engineer, Johann Schoffman; Berthold Grad; the silversmith, Ludwig Auinger; the bank employe, Karl Fischer; the worker, Hans Mayer; and the unemployed worker, Georg Scheuer.

They were charged with publishing and distributing the journals of the Austrian Trotskyists, Der Bolshevik, Der Einzige Weg (The Only Way), and Arbeitmacht (Workers Power), as well as Unser Wort (Our Word), organ of the German Trotskyists.

While thousands of Austrian Nazis were being authorized to participate in a "song-fest" at Breslau, while Hitler's Mein Kampf was being circulated by the Vienna libraries, the fascist dictatorship of Schuschnigg decreed the imprisonment of our comrades.

Tribunes of the Masses

Comrade Auinger assumed complete responsibility for the deeds charged to him. He declared that "the birth of the Trotskyist movement is due to our opposition to the liquidation of the world revolution by the Third International." "They (the Stalinists) have turned away from the path of Lenin and are leading the USSR to catastrophe." "Everyone who works in illegality must know that he works to overthrow the government."

Comrade Georg Scheuer, 21 years old, made several long political statements. A Socialist since his childhood, previously arrested for political activity, he took responsibility for editing the eleventh number of Der Bolshevik, as did Comrade Fischer.

Comrades Grad and Schoffman also declared themselves Trotskyists, but denied the particular acts attributed to them.

AKRON AND ST. LOUIS BRANCHES RALLY TO SUPPORT OF LEFT WING

By unanimous decision, the Akron, Ohio, branch of the S.P. on September 5 denounced the New York expulsions as "a further dismemberment of the body of the party upon the altar of the capitalist politician, La Guardia."

"To such acts of political vandalism", declared Akron, "revolutionary socialists can have but one answer: unqualified condemnation of the Altman-Thomas-Valenti right-wing clique and its Clarityite allies, and solidarity with the expelled left wing comrades. Let every revolutionary state organization, branch and comrade repudiate with scorn the policies and acts of the right wing. Forward to revolutionary Socialism!"

The Local St. Louis membership meeting of September 7 condemned "the action of Ward Rodgers in bringing criminal charges in the capitalist courts against Glen Trimble.... The use of the capitalist courts as a weapon against party opponents is a vicious and unprincipled practice hitherto unknown in the Socialist movement in America."

Ludwig Auinger was sentenced to two years at hard labor. Georg Scheuer to eighteen months, Karl Fischer to fourteen months, and Johann Schoffman to twelve months of hard labor. Hans Mayer and Berthold Grad were released, the specific charges not being proved against them.

These are not the only recent arrests of Austrian Trotskyists. Three months prior to the August trial, Comrade F. Niescher, a 24-year old commercial worker, received a sentence of eighteen months imprisonment for writing for Der Bolshevik. Previous to that Karl Hochrainer, aged 19, was given a sentence of five years at hard labor for having sold and distributed Der Bolshevik.

A Young Socialist of Vienna writes to La Lutte Ouvrier of Belgium (Trotskyist): "Our whole unit has discussed the trial of the Trotskyists in very lively fashion and has unanimously concluded this: whoever now dares still to designate the Trotskyists as fascists or their agents, is a miserable vilifier."

MARTIN ATTACKS COMMUNISTS

Homer Martin, president of the United Automobile Workers, told the Associated Press, September 8, that Communists are entitled to membership "only in the rank and file and not as U. A. W. A. organizers." Martin made this statement on the eve of the meeting of the executive board at which organizers and office employees for the ensuing year will be designated.

Martin was unopposed for the presidency at the recent convention, the Stalinists voting for him. The Lovestone "Independent Communist Labor League" delegates were in the same caucus with Martin and vigorously defended him against all the "leftists."

John Bull, Arming, Pledged Support by Reformist Chiefs

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ing to prevent unnecessary repercussions in other spheres from the given conflict. In addition, at the appropriate moments, she offers "solutions" designed to provide a formula for settling the conflict with the least international disturbance. Often several solutions are attempted, offered at first experimentally, and withdrawn if the time is not ripe—as was so conspicuously true of Great Britain's handling of the Ethiopian affair.

In seeking to delay the outbreak of the war, however, Great Britain finds herself in a partial dilemma. The advances of the rival powers threaten constantly to weaken Britain's own military and naval position. She must weigh this threat always against her incomplete preparedness, for if her position were too much weakened in advance, she would not be recompensed even by gaining the delay for further rearmament. From this results the apparent inconsistency, hesitation, zig-zags of British foreign policy: in reality only the cautious, sober, and careful experimental moves of the world's most accomplished diplomats in working out the most useful solutions to problems which by their very nature are incapable of being wholly solved.

The Italian conquest of Ethiopia did, in point of fact, to some degree weaken Britain's position. Nevertheless, her astute maneuvers kept the loss to a minimum, and effectively gained time.

Compromise in Spain

For Spain, Britain has followed the same general course as in the Ethiopian affair: localization of the disturbance, protection so far as possible of her own position as against the other powers, attempts and proposals at a "solution". The most favorable—though not the sole acceptable—solution from Britain's point of view is a "compromise" of the Civil War by agreement between the opposing military staffs, the establishment of some form of unified bourgeois regime perhaps backed by international (troops), with protection for the "rights" and interests of all of the imperialist powers in Spain and no new naval bases for Italy or Germany. This solution is undoubtedly making headway, particularly since the internal developments in Spain have, since May, been rapidly erasing the line between the Loyalist and Franco regimes and thus taking the social content out of the Civil War.

Opposes Rome-Berlin Axis

Britain's second task, of jockeying for the most favorable position in the maze of alliances and counter-alliances, is being carried out in her traditional manner, chiefly through the negative means of preventing the firm consolidation of an overpowering alliance on the Continent. This, of course, is her only worry over the "Rome-Berlin" axis: Britain is quite content to find terms with either Germany or Italy, but she must aim to obstruct the crystallization of too powerful a bloc, from which France would be excluded, around Germany and Italy.

Suddenly, about a month ago, the raids on neutral shipping—including many ships of British registry—began to occur almost daily in the Mediterranean. Here was a threat far more serious than the Civil War in Spain, for Britain must keep the Mediterranean open. At the same time the Rome-Berlin axis was tight-

ening. The "lumbering democracy" proved able to act as quickly as the dictatorship: the Nyon Conference was called and completed in what must be close to record time.

Britain wins "Strong Hand"

As a preliminary, Britain was willing to permit the Soviet Union the luxury of its sharp notes to Italy: an act which the Kremlin, slavishly dependent on the British Foreign Office, would never have committed without Britain's prior knowledge.

The Conference was held, and Britain can record the following results: the Rome-Berlin axis was (through the exclusion of Italy and Germany) if not weakened, reminded that it should not have too exclusive a character but must take the rest of Europe into account; a juridical status was given to the presence of a large section of the British Fleet in the Mediterranean; recognition of belligerent rights for Franco—demanded by Germany and Italy, and a pre-requisite for a solution of the Spanish conflict—was advanced a stage further by giving identical treatment in the Nyon Declarations to the fleets of Franco and of the Loyalist Government; the Non-Intervention Committee was dropped into the background; Britain recovered freedom to exercise effective control on how much material aid enters Spain for either side (it has been her general policy to attempt to balance aid in such a manner as to prevent either army from winning a quick and overwhelming victory, but this balance was upset by the serious threat of "piracy" to all aid to the Loyalists); all of these, together with the fact of the Conference itself and Britain's new "strong hand", constitute a further step toward Britain's solution of the Spanish question through a "compromise".

War Postponed

From Britain's success at Nyon there follows the probability of the postponement for the immediate future of the imperialist world war, since such postponement is part of Britain's basic strategy. This probability is by no means, however, a certainty, and no way alters the inexplicable fact that the conclusion of the present period of international developments will be found in the new war on a world scale. It is still possible that Britain will find her position being so seriously undermined that she will resort to what would be in effect "preventive" war before completing her rearmament program.

Again, it is not at all certain that the Spanish Civil War can be liquidated in any manner; in which case the struggle in Spain (together with that in China) may spread link by link until the great powers find themselves involved in war de facto with perhaps no diplomatic recognition or declaration of a "state of war". And, furthermore, the general international tension is by now so grave that some one of the daily "incidents" might well lead to an irrevocable step.

Labor "Leaders" Help

Recognizing these possibilities, Britain does not wait "at home". Military rearmament is not enough, her rulers know, for the successful prosecution of the war. She must solidify the "national union" of all classes in order both to have a free hand for rapid negotiations and maneuvers (Continued on page 5)

N. W. Union Progressives Condemn Union Splitting Moves of Stalinists

By Carlos Hudson

MINNEAPOLIS, Sept. 11. Two weeks ago, the Stalinist leadership of the three Machinists' locals in Minneapolis and Hopkins—Nos. 382, 1037, and 1313—induced the membership to vote to withdraw from the International Association of Machinists and join the CIO. So that militants in the American labor movement may understand the background of this move, and why it has been condemned by the progressive forces in the trade unions of the Northwest, we present here a brief story of the case.

The Auto Mechanics Local 383 received its charter in 1927 when the trade union movement in Minneapolis as well as throughout the United States was at its lowest point. For six years, up to 1932, this unit remained almost inactive, never having more than 60 members. Like many another local union, it received a powerful stimulus from the smashing victories of the General Drivers Local in 1934. Its membership grew with amazing speed.

Win Strikes

On midnight, January 3, 1935, a joint Twin Cities strike of auto mechanics was called. Officials of the Minneapolis General Drivers Union placed themselves at the disposal of the strikers, and functioned actively on the picket lines and in the strike headquarters of both Minneapolis and St. Paul. The strike was settled in about two weeks and resulted in a victory which gave the unions a firm foothold in their industry.

In 1934, the Machinists International had chartered Local 1313 in Minneapolis, with jurisdiction over the ornamental iron industry. In the summer of 1935 a strike was called in this industry. On the morning of July 26, Farmer-Labor Mayor Latimer appeared at the struck Flour City plant with a squad of 68 police and escorted 30 strike-breakers into the plant through a small and surprised picket line. The General Drivers Union mobilized a picket squad during the day, gave the scabs a stormy reception, and the strike was revived with a bang. Late in September, a strike settlement gave the union most of its demands.

All Inclusive

In 1936 a charter was issued to the machinists in Hopkins, a Minneapolis suburb, and this union has about 700 members, chiefly through organization of the Moline plant in that community.

The three Machinists unions, with a membership of about 6,000, constitute the stronghold of the Stalinists in Minneapolis, being the one section of the movement in which they enjoy leadership.

Because a very small progressive fraction in the Machinists had fought for such a set-up, the Minneapolis machinists under the International Association of Machinists charter enjoyed the finest organizational set-up of machinists anywhere in the country. Last spring, the I. A. M. authorized the local machinists to take in outside crafts—molders, iron workers, sheet metal workers, etc.—so that to all intents, in fact if not in name, the Minneapolis machinists had an all-inclusive metal workers industrial union. The progressive labor movement here has protected them from the unhealthy jurisdictional disputes

that curse the movement elsewhere.

Stalinist Tricksters

Yet here, as in every union where they have power, the Stalinists have used that power to abuse, mislead, and cheat the union membership. Hilliard Smith, a Stalinist organizer, for many months has spent all his time, while on the union payroll, at playing with reform politics and People's Front maneuvers. Mauseth, another Stalinist leader, has time and again made unnecessary compromises with the bosses. For instance: in case after case, where Joe Pease, a machinist business agent and a progressive, has made a good settlement of some grievance, Mauseth will go to the arbitrator and accept a settlement on much worse terms.

The Stalinist regime has been criminally wasteful of the union's funds, in a way that any informed trade unionists anywhere in the country can readily understand. When Mauseth took over the leadership, the union had \$15,000. Mauseth put a squad of his henchmen on the union payroll, bought cars out of union funds for Communist Party leaders from New York, etc.

Ill-Advised Sympathy Strike

In August of this year, an ill-advised and ill-organized auto salesmen's strike was called in the Twin Cities. Following out their People's Front line of kowtowing to the white collar workers, the Stalinists took the auto mechanics out on a sympathetic strike. Now this in itself was not wrong, but the method of going about it was decidedly wrong. The machinists had hundreds of grievances against the industry's bosses (who are very well organized). The logical thing to do was to fight for a settlement of these grievances. This was not done. Subsequently, the bosses organized company unions to supplant the unions of the auto salesmen, and that strike was lost. The machinists went back to work in a month, without a thing to show for their sacrifice.

If the Stalinist leadership was rotten to the core, the Grand Lodge officials of the I. A. M. were not far behind. By threatening to break up the machinist set-up here along craft lines, by red-baiting and lack of decisiveness, the Machinist International furnished the unscrupulous leaders of the Minneapolis machinists with just the excuse they were seeking. In the last week in August the Stalinists, by talking of lower dues, by appealing to the sentiment of the members for unity which they had already achieved, took the unions into the CIO.

Fought by Progressives

The progressive forces, gathered around the Northwest Organizer, immediately pointed out that, of all the mistakes made by the irresponsible Stalinist leadership, this mistake is the one fraught with the gravest dangers to the very existence of the Machinists' organization. The truth is that not one honest and practical reason can be advanced for taking the machinists over to the CIO at this time.

Agreements Endangered

The machinists had signed Agreements with the bosses, agreements made under the A. F. of L. The progressives pointed

out that the move to the CIO will give the bosses the excuse for a renewed fight on the union. Already, this is being borne out.

By going CIO now, the auto mechanics and machinists isolate themselves from their machinist brothers internationally. By going CIO, the machinists do not improve their organizational set-up—they face a much poorer set-up under the CIO. At present they are chartered in the Radio & Electrical Workers. But it is known that the Steel Workers Organization Committee and the United Auto Workers, at the very least, are going to claim jurisdiction over some of the former members of the I.A.M. machinists in Minneapolis.

"By going CIO in this manner and at this time", the progressives pointed out, "the machinists make it possible for certain reactionary International officials to compel local unions to withhold support from them, support which has not and could not be denied if a truly responsible trade union policy were carried out."

Move Lacks Basis

And what possible point can the CIO have in taking in the machinists of Minneapolis? Every progressive unionist supports the campaign to organize the unorganized of America. But that is hardly the question in this territory. The A. F. of L., because here it is led by progressives, has already organized such an overwhelming majority of the workers in Minneapolis that this city is acknowledged by the U. S. Labor Department to be the best organized city in the United States. Organizing the unorganized is one question. Raiding the A. F. of L. in this situation is another question. By taking in the machinists, the CIO will only serve to confuse and disrupt the local labor movement. The progressives stated that "the interests of neither the workers in the A. F. of L. nor in the CIO can possibly be served by such a blundering, irresponsible move."

What's Behind the Move,

The real reason for this shift to the CIO is that it is a job-saving device on the part of the Stalinist leadership of the machinists' union. It is more than this. It is an attempt to maneuver into a position where these union mis-leaders can attack the progressive unions in Minneapolis. That is the SOLE reason for the move.

The Stalinists are throwing everything they have in the unions in this section—the leadership of the machinists—into the pot, in a desperate attempt to reach the position where they can attack the rest of the labor movement and label all other unions as reactionary, etc. The growing strength in the Northwest of what Stalinists term "Trotskyism" is forcing the unprincipled C. P. into such criminal moves that jeopardize the magnificent forward march of labor in Minneapolis.

Leaders Recognize Seriousness

Those in the leadership of the national trade union movement realize the significance of the present situation in Minneapolis. In an unprecedented move, the entire Executive Board of the I. A. M., led by Wharton, is moving into Minneapolis and, beginning Sept. 13, will hold a hearing on the local situation.

The CIO has ordered John Brophy here immediately. Whereas in Minnesota, almost the entire CIO staff is made up of Stalinists, who blessed the machinist

Reading Old Guard Joins In Fight Against "Trotskyism"

All the attacks made on the "Trotskyists" by Thomas-Altman-Tyler are poor imitations of the arguments of their former comrades, their political brothers and future leaders, the Old Guard. Not only the "democratic" arguments but also the "democratic" acts follow the same pattern right down to the use of the "democratic" cops against the Left wing.

We shall not delve into the democratic methods of "Honest" Jasper McLevy, head of the Social-Democratic Federation and mayor of Bridgeport. Strike-breaking has an odor all its own and when combined with democratic sewer socialism, it is a bit too much. Maybe after he has been sprayed with the "fellowship of freemen" and whitewashed editorially by Gus Tyler, he'll be ready for inclusion in the all (exclusive of revolutionists) inclusive party.

Instead, as an example of genuine, home grown American democratic socialism I give you, the Hoopes-Stump gang of Reading, Pa. They are forever intoning praise of "democracy" and rejecting "the language and tactics of force, violence, seizure of power, illegality and meddling attitudes towards trades unions." A look at their record will be instructive.

Old Guard "Democracy"

Just over a year ago the Reading Old Guard "democratically" took over the Pennsylvania State Convention of the S. P. by the simple democratic method of making themselves the credentials committee, rejecting sufficient "undemocratic" delegates to secure a majority and then calling the "convention" together and proceeding to "organize" it. It might be worth recording that they also "democratically" chartered new branches the night before the convention met and elected additional delegates as a sort of reserve army of democracy in case of need.

The democratic victory won by the above means was just a beginning. On returning to Reading they found an obstacle or two still in their path. The records of the local party were still in the hands of members loyal to the S.P. and these members together with the YPSL seemed to think that they had a right to use the Labor Lyceum (S. P. Hall) for which they had sacrificed time and money. A new democratic call went forth from that citadel of democracy, the Socialist Town Hall of Reading, "Calling all cops, calling all cops, a robbery is being committed at the S. P. headquarters. The robbers may need protection. That is all."

And under cover of the democratic protection of the police, the democratic Old Guard took over the records of Local Berks County.

move, there is plenty of evidence that such is not the attitude of Lewis, Brophy and the responsible heads of the CIO.

Call for Reconsiderations

Progressives of Minneapolis are calling upon the membership of the machinists locally to reconsider their action of voting CIO. They are demanding of the International Machinists that it guarantee that the Minneapolis machinists will continue as in the recent past as a united all-inclusive metal trades union.

Next week's article will bring the latest news of the machinists situation, and will point out what the Stalinists hoped to gain in the Minnesota F-L Party by their attempted coup.

ty of the S.P. At the same time, in sweet, dulcet and democratic tones for which cops are famed, the YPSL was ordered not only out of their Labor Lyceum but "out of the vicinity."

Old Guard vs. Trotskyism

The Old Guard in Berks County is strong against Trotskyism. In that graveyard gazette, the Reading Advocate, one of those dull gray sheets that are the curse of the labor movement, the editor, Hofses, for a change dropped his scissors and put his pen and imagination to work on an article on the "Crisis in the S.P."

Editor Hofses charged that the Trotskyists were responsible not only for the present split in the S. P. but also for the split in Reading in 1936. On the other hand, his democratic co-worker, George Rhodes, will inform anyone who asks that Charlie Sands alone is responsible for the Reading split, and God knows that Sands is no Trotskyist. Hofses and Rhodes should get together on one story, otherwise historians will have difficulty in determining what motivated our democratic heroes. Certainly the motives were of the highest. These gentlemen are always moved by the "highest" motives. Any numbers racketeer in Reading can testify to that.

Primary Fight

At the present moment the S. P. in Reading is engaged in a bitter fight in the Socialist primaries with the Old Guard. The latter have the advantages which go with control of several hundred city jobs. They have a weekly paper and a monthly sheet which is given away free. They have weekly picnics and mass meetings at Socialist Park. Their candidates are in the main more widely known. The importance of a strong campaign against such a well entrenched and corrupt machine is obvious.

Yet not one line in support of Local Berks has appeared in the Socialist Call and not one finger has been moved in support by the N. E. C. Granted the hopefuls bankruptcy and inefficiency of the N. E. C., I still think the criminal neglect has a deeper basis. The political agreement of the N. E. C., certainly of its dominant Thomas, Altman, Wisconsin wing, with the Reading Old Guard is evident. Its two major actions during the primary campaign (1) the expulsion drive against Trotskyists (2) the support of La Guardia, have both played into the hands of the Old Guard and constituted a stab in the back to the S. P. in Reading.

There is no room in Reading for two "Socialist" democratic parties. The Old Guard has the inside track for reformism and for deals with "progressive" Republicans or Democrats. For the present Local of the S. P. there are but two roads, backward to disintegration and decay with the La Guardia Socialists, eventually ending by entering the Old Guard, or forward with the Left wing to Revolutionary Socialism.

NOTICE TO PARTY BRANCHES
Please send in names of comrades elected to serve as correspondents to the SOCIALIST APPEAL. Special attention must be given to providing us with timely stories on trade union struggles. All copy must be in by Saturday.

AKRON CIO CHIEFS PLAY POLITICS WITH DEMOCRATS

(Continued from page 3)

The rubber companies completed large inventories this summer and also their plans for decentralization of production. They began a campaign of attrition to break the union spirit. Production was lowered to two-day a week schedules. Lay-offs began by the hundreds. "If you don't like it, strike," Goodrich told the union committeemen.

Confident that the unions were on the turn, Goodyear and Goodrich permitted the National Labor Relations Board to hold employee elections to determine if the URWA would obtain sole collective bargaining rights. The Unions won 3-1 at Goodyear and 10-1 at Goodrich. Despite the wavering of the leadership, the union rank and file wasn't on the run. The great lessons of the past three years were not forgotten by the rubber workers.

In order to make this analysis of Akron as clear as possible, we must now refer to the specific political considerations that have been the center of controversy in the labor movement.

F. L. P. Scheme

The Stalinists began an intensive campaign for the formation of a Farmer-Labor party in 1936, in Akron as elsewhere.

Gathering delegates from all their stooge organizations, gaining some support from the unions here, the Stalinists called a convention in May 1936. Rubber unions sent observers. Since most of the delegates were either Stalinists or stooges, the movement collapsed, as the revolutionary Socialists had predicted. Attempts to blame the "Trotskyites" failed. The militants wanted independent political action but became disgusted and withdrew when the program adopted was so mild that its best supporters, along with the Stalinists, were the worst reactionaries in the labor movement, like H. B. Blanckenship, vice-president of the CLU at the time, one of Akron's notorious red-baiters.

The huge rubber workers vote in the last presidential election created the basis for the present political situation. Hungry Democratic politicians saw a possible means of grabbing the spoils of city hall from the entrenched Republican machine. Union bureaucrats saw a source of political power.

Democrat Victorious

Labor's Non-Partisan League, dormant after the Roosevelt election, was revived. The Stalinists lost no time in jumping on the band wagon. But they weren't quite as fast as reactionary A. F. of L. politicians who grabbed leading posts in the League, even though the rubber unions furnished the vote. A municipal judge, G. L. Patterson, a Democrat, was chosen for mayoralty candidate, to run on the Democratic party ticket. He didn't bother with a program.

Patterson received 17,000 votes in the primary, swamping the other Democratic nominee. The Republican mayor got less than half that figure but he was unopposed. This primary result was hailed as a great victory for labor.

No Program

However, subsequent events have already justified the revolutionary socialists who refused to support Patterson and the League's nebulous political program. The corrupt Democratic politicians, the ward heeler, and other stooges of the capitalist class, and specifically of the rubber barons, are backing Patterson. He is campaigning not as a labor candidate but as a democratic candidate. (The offi-

cial of Labor's Non-Partisan League, meeting with the Democratic chairman, determine this "strategy.")

In an off moment Patterson told the press, "I expect to go high in Democratic national politics." A labor candidate? Not an iota more than that faker, La Guardia, and not as clever, incidentally. Patterson admits he is simply trying to climb higher on the back of the workers. He hasn't even promised anything to labor, he has no program, yet the union officials are seeking to put him across.

Stalinists Right-Wing

And what are the Stalinists doing? No sooner had the character of this political campaign begun to expose itself and militant workers began demanding a break with the Democratic party, than the Stalinists organizer gave a radio address, begging the workers not to split with the Democrats! The usual attack against the "Trotskyites" also featured his speech. Stalinism is being exposed in all its brutality, hypocrisy, and reformism in this campaign. The Stalinists, to the amusement of many workers, are the right-wing of Labor's Non-Partisan League!

Uncompromising Struggle

Whether Patterson wins or not (his chances are 50-50) a new stage of political development has been reached in this rubber center. Basically, we have an attempt of the bourgeoisie to divert the growing class consciousness of the workers into the safe channels of class-collaboration on the political field.

JOHN BULL ARMS, LABOR LEADER AID

(Continued from page 3)

(such as the Nyon Conference), and likewise be assured of complete support when the war itself breaks. Thus the decisions of the Trades Union Congress, which ended its session simultaneously with the Nyon Conference, are by no means an accident. The entire Congress revolved around the question of the foreign policy of the National Government. The entire work of the Congress was summed up in its vote to support the rearmament policy of the Government.

In this way, the officialdom of the British working class, following the lead of the Socialist and Stalinist deputies who in France in January voted the French war budget, announce their treachery in advance, in advance declare to the imperialist government that they will turn over to it the British masses for slaughter in the imperialist war.

Pledge Sell-Out Beforehand

During the last war it was not until after hostilities had begun that the parties of the Second International completed their betrayal and voted the war budget. The immeasurably greater profundity of the present crisis of world capitalism is indicated by this fact that today the bourgeoisie must exact its pledge beforehand. And it is this fact which at the same time gives the revolutionists the opportunity, which they did not have in 1914, to make clear before the outbreak of the war the exact character of the betrayal, to point unerringly at those guilty of it, and to rally the forces which are determined, at any and every cost, to oppose the war.

Crushing Left Wing Majority At YPSL Convention Make Impossible Alibi Attempt of Socialist Call

In last week's issue of the Socialist Call there appear two mealy-mouthed efforts to explain away Clarity's crushing defeat in the Young People's Socialist League. One, written by Al Hamilton, secretary of the Clarity-Right-wing caucus, is a sniping prevarication at the Ypsel convention after Clarity had bolted. The other, by some anonymous scribe, is an attempt to show strength where only weakness could be seen—the session of the Clarity-Right wing caucus that had the impudence to call itself a "YPSL Convention." The only impression that remains is that of the poor authors, pecking away half-heartedly at their typewriters, while a sickly blush betrays their tweaks of conscience.

Says Hamilton "A group of Appealites who were visitors, and a smaller group of about 40 delegates remained with him (Erber)", when he opened the convention. Hamilton never had an opportunity to estimate accurately the number of delegates present because he did everything in his power to prevent the convention from convening.

Let Hamilton think back: When Erber opened the convention and Hamilton filed out of the hall with a self-conscious handful of followers, there remained 148 people by actual count. Of these, 104 were regular delegates present in Philadelphia to attend a convention which Hamilton was determined would never be held. Who, that was present in Philadelphia, does not remember the miserable picture of the Clarityites shuffling out of the hall while the walls rang with the singing of the "International"? When all the Clarityites had left, not a dent had been made in attendance. Those who remained filled every inch of the room.

"Figures Compared"

Forty delegates, indeed! At the League convention there were no less than 23 delegates from Chicago alone, elected by 187 members (an under-statement, but the figure set by the Clarityite national administrative secretary, Judah Drob). Then delegates had come in from California to speak for at least 200 members; 8 other delegates could not manage to come in. Twenty-nine delegates from New York (only 27% of the total) most of them elected before the split there had taken place and all of them representing directly at least the number of members set by pre-convention rules. Other delegates attended from Louisville, Cleveland, Akron, Youngstown, Reading, Minneapolis, St. Paul, Boston, Dorchester, Lynn, Albany, Syracuse, Newark,—35 cities in all. Every one of these was there in the flesh, representing 1000 members all told, according to Drob's figures in most cases.

But examine the Clarity caucus: 92 delegates were seated, 53, or 57% of the total came from New York. Of the remaining 39, five were members of the NEC, who, by the bureaucratic rule of the old Constitution, had voting rights. Twelve came from Philadelphia—representing 44 people out of the 65 who voted in Philadelphia (the other 21 had voted Appeal) and only one voting delegate was allowed at our League convention for these 21! There was not one Clarity delegate from the country west of

the Mississippi! And east of the Mississippi? There were probably 2 or 3 from Cleveland, representing 20 members, 2 or 3 from Pittsburgh for the 3 or 4 members there, 2 from Baltimore (made possible by the purchase of dues stamps on credit in excess of the real membership of the YPSL in that city), 3 from Milwaukee, and possibly another 5 delegates from legitimate or semi-legitimate sections.

The Figures Broken Down

How much of a joke their pretense was, is revealed by the New York delegation. In New York City there were 357 paid up members. Allowing another 100 for "members in arrears", (the cemetery vote) the total is 450. Even the most unregenerate Clarityite will now admit that at least 200 of New York Ypsels were left wingers. (250 would be more accurate, but we won't quibble). That leaves a maximum of 250 for Clarity, the Right wing, the YCL stooges and miscellaneous independents. This 250 got 53 delegates. One of these came from Circle 6 Sr. Manhattan—and represented herself, the lone Clarityite in a circle of 14 members. Two came from 1C (City College) representing just themselves in a circle of 32 members. Ditto for Hunter College and other circles. Need more be added than the fact that in the last city elections the Appeal received the largest single bloc of votes, or 41% of the whole, and that since then many left wingers joined it.

Clarityite "Answers"

"During the (National) Committee's deliberations", says Hamilton, "the elaborate and widespread statements concerning gerrymandering (etcetera)... were one after another answered, along with the nailing of lie after lie told by the Appeal leaders in a desperate effort to heighten the morale of a worried rank and file which did not want to leave the League." Where facts are not with you, use rhetoric. By whom were the "widespread statement" answered? Who answered for the record manipulations in New York? Barshop? Hamilton? Milt Freidman? We remember instead the pitiful complaint by Milt Friedman, the NEC member from Clarity's left, that the Appeal had put them on the defensive, that all that mattered was Appeal's "split" perspective. Who answered California's claims for unprecedented growth and activity? Hamilton did his best to belittle it. But Drob, with his last ounce of honesty, had to admit that California had made remarkable progress, "up to a certain point". After that certain point California had held the most successful summer school in the history of the YPSL, recruited members, and opened new circles.

Was the motion for an investigation committee an answer to the proof that Ward Rogers was a fink and a stool-pigeon? Did Hamilton "nail the lie" when the photostat was thrust under his nose? An answer was given by Blackie Palla, seaman, who declared Rogers would be hounded from the labor movement just as scabs and finks are chased from the waterfront.

Wishful thinking

Did Hamilton answer the claim that the delegates who packed the room represented all that was healthy and vital in the League, that they came from cities which had shown growth and activity? Could Hamilton dispute the fact that his few delegates, who represented hardly more than themselves, came from sections that had stagnated, declined? Was it an accident that Hamilton's report on the year's activities made absolutely no mention of figures on League membership!

Hamilton saw the "worried" look on the faces of the left wing delegates. These "worried" delegates held the most spirited convention in the history of the League. Were their shouts of enthusiasm when Erber opened the convention the cries of "worry"? Was it with "worry" that they boomed out the "International" while the Clarityites slunk out? Did Hamilton detect a single left winger who was not impatient with the delay of the convention by the centrists? Wishful thinking. Did Hamilton think the delegates would worry because he was leaving the League?

A Sorry Confession

Hamilton makes an admission that knocks the prop from under his arguments—"... the elimination of the large New York delegation might have given the Appeal a bare majority." Precisely!—only the majority would not have been "bare". In these words Hamilton admits that the Appeal had a conclusive majority in the entire country.

When the Old Guard-Militant split took place in the Socialist Party, the party convention gave both delegations equal rights until the convention had decided upon the merits of the case, and neither side had the right to vote on the qualifications of the other. At Philadelphia, however, the Clarity NEC sought to prevent the Convention from exercising its constitutional right of deciding delegate contests by decreeing in advance that this huge inflated Right wing-Clarity bloc was legal and that it would have voice and vote on its own eligibility. The NY left wing could not appeal as a contested delegation, but only as individual expelled members, seeking redress of grievances.

Precisely because the left wing was so certain of its majority if allowed the barest elements of democracy, it clamored for the opening of the convention. Conversely, because the Clarity-Right wing bloc knew its own weakness it tried to stymie the convention.

A "Convention"

Compare the League convention with the centrist caucus session. The old-young tired radicals who attended the centrist meeting lacked spirit and enthusiasm. They gathered in an air of discouragement. In their discussion on Spain, the right wingers combined with the "normal" centrists to defeat a minority of seven who presented a left-wing position. An NEC was elected, composed of budding lawyers, semi-retired radicals, and inactive incompetents. Only one member of the NEC Hamilton himself, can boast of any real or imagined contact with youth. He

(Continued on page 7)

How G.P.U. Hounds Revolutionists

Old Bolshevik, Tarov, Escapes, Testifies to Inquiry Commission

(Continued from last week)

In the meantime, the G.P.U. pursued its work of demoralization. I was dismissed from my job without even receiving the wages due, on the pretext that I had been given a wrong rating. They had me come to the G.P.U., now before one, now before another, of the chief's assistants. One threatened, the other offered privileges, etc. But all to no avail, I remained firm in my position.

Finally, for the last time, I was called before the G.P.U. They proposed that I prove my abandonment of the Opposition by "facts." What kind of facts? "We must teach these Trotskyists how to behave," they answered, and asked me to name the comrades with whom I had worked in the Opposition as far back as 1927-1928. I categorically refused, and I added that for my Oppositionist work in the past I had already served time in prison and in exile but that now, since my abandonment of the Opposition, I pledged myself no longer to work against the leadership of the party. The G.P.U. agent became irritable and called me a faker.

After the conversation with the G.P.U. agent, I became convinced that the only way out of the situation was to escape from exile. But I was constantly watched, probably with the purpose of establishing whether I had any relations with other exiled Oppositionists. I was unemployed, deprived of correspondence with my family and friends. The G.P.U. had a special spy who kept constant watch over me and who did not hesitate to tell me of his role. Nevertheless I succeeded in escaping.

Rakovsky's End

Rakovsky could not do as much. That was impossible for a sick old man. And he was lost. His telegram immediately divided him from the Opposition. The immense confidence that the Oppositionists had in him fell to zero. And the G.P.U. utilized all its methods of repression to force Rakovsky to say B after he had said A. Rakovsky said B, that is, he wrote a long letter against the Opposition, a letter that constituted his political suicide. Rakovsky lost all political dignity. The G.P.U. did not let him escape again from its web.

I ask pardon for dwelling so long on this matter, but I think it may be useful to the commission for arriving at a more profound understanding of the role of the G.P.U. concerning capitulators, and the real relations between the Opposition and the capitulators.

How the G.P.U. Tortures Prisoners

In 1931, the night of January 21st-22nd, the G.P.U. carried out mass arrest of Oppositionists in different cities and places of exile. On the same night, they arrested our entire colony of exiles at Akmolinsk (Jantiev, Khugaev, Djigaev, Davtian, Zapev, Gassanov, Gogadze, Tsintadze, Mikhael.... and others. The investigation began.

They accused me of having tried to construct a short-wave radio broadcasting station in order to establish communication abroad, with Trotsky. This was recorded in my indictment. I knew nothing about a radio broadcasting station, short wave or any other kind. If it were not for the arrest, it would have been comic. In Kazakstan, at

Akmolinsk, a place where there was not yet a railway, a man trying to construct with bare hands a broadcasting station to communicate abroad with Trotsky!

But the G.P.U. had "located" a witness who declared that we had attempted to build this station together. They even found material proof at the "witness" house, that is, parts of radio apparatus. This witness was a direct agent of the preliminary investigation and "accompanied" us to the Verkhne-Uralsk isolator. There, after three days he handed in a "declaration of recantation" and he was set free so that he could continue his work elsewhere.

From Akmolinsk we were transferred to Petropavlovsk. The investigation of our case was carried on in the inner prison. We were isolated from each other at the start. After a preliminary questioning, I was placed with ordinary criminals. In a cell intended for two or three men, there were from twenty-six to twenty-eight prisoners. We could only sit down. To stretch out, it was necessary to ask the only one lying under the bench to yield his place. We suffered excruciating torture from the lack of ventilation in the cell. It was hot, stifling; bathed in sweat, we felt ourselves suffocating. Our lungs seemed compressed. Even the tiny peep-hole was barred from the outside.

I shall never forget these days of terrible torture. The prisoners organized demonstrations, demanding air, but not a sound came from the corridor; the guards were under orders to maintain absolute silence. They had placed me among the ordinary criminals to force me to give false testimony. But after the questioning, I wrote on the pages of the record: "I consider the entire testimony of the witness, agent of the G.P.U., to be provocative insinuations of the G.P.U." The examinations were terminated. I was sentenced to three years hard labor, with Jantiev, Khudaev, Peter Popov, Zalaev, and two local workers that they had mixed into our case. The rest were deported to the depths of Siberia.

When the G.P.U. men arrest anybody in the street or at home, they never say, "Hands up!" or "Don't move!" but shout, "Lie down!" I first discovered this in Petropavlovsk prison in 1931. The one-eyed executioner of the G.P.U. (well known in the city, of German origin, I forget his name) thus arrested kolhoz and worker "wreckers." In the beginning, there were very few who consented to lie down before the G.P.U. agent. But the regime ruthlessly destroyed men, and it taught the Soviet citizen to lie down before the G.P.U. agent. Thus are Soviet citizens treated from the moment of arrest, that is to say, when it is not yet established whether they are guilty or not.

Slaughterhouse

In the inner prison of Petropavlovsk, where the author of these lines remained for six months waiting for the sentence pronounced in Moscow, the G.P.U. shot the condemned in a special structure erected directly in the center of the court yard where the prisoners took their daily walks. Generally, when at night they dragged the victim along the corridors to the "slaughter house"—as the prisoners called this place—they gave him an opportunity to cry out, howl, implore,

beg for mercy, etc. This was done with the purpose of frightening the other prisoners. It was not until they reached the courtyard that they gagged the condemned man, and the cries ceased. We knew, by counting the shots, the number of bullets it took to finish the victim. The next day, while walking in the courtyard around this strange structure that reeked of blood, we would learn which of us was missing.

Began in 1928

In August, 1928, I was sitting home one night, reading. Suddenly the door opened, and there appeared a YCL'er, Andrusha. Conspiratorial methods had been introduced among us after the Zinovievists split from us and had, on innumerable occasions, turned Oppositionists over to the GPU. For this reason, Andrusha, on being questioned, could not say who had given him the Oppositionist literature that had been found in his possession. They put Andrusha in a cell. There he was tied to the cot, so arranged that water dripped constantly on him. At night he was transferred to an even more terrible place, he was undressed, the barrel of a loaded revolver was pressed against his belly, and they threatened him: "We are going to fire all seven shots if you do not confess!" The YCL'er gave in but did not know whom to name. The G.P.U. gave him time to "regain his senses." He "regained his senses" and remembered me, for he knew that I belonged to the Opposition. He decided then to tell the G.P.U. that it was I who had given him the propaganda material. But he could not remember my name and exact address. He therefore undertook to conduct G.P.U. agents to my lodging.

The G.P.U. men did not venture to search my place immediately. They did it only a month later, when they received a general order from Moscow: arrest and deport all Oppositionists. Then, in a single night, the G.P.U. arrested more than a hundred Oppositionists in our city, in accordance with lists that we ourselves had sent to the Central Committee in the past in order to support by our votes the proposals of our faction.

Hunger-Strike

In the Verkhne-Uralsk isolator in December, 1933 we Oppositionists (about 130 men) declared a hunger strike to protest against the abominations and oppressions of the G.P.U. After eleven days, we no longer felt pangs of hunger. It was no longer difficult for us to continue the hunger strike four or five days, and die. But the G.P.U. did not permit us to die. They fed us forcibly for one day (with a rubber tube inserted into the stomach through the mouth; ten jailors held each of us during this operation) to excite our appetites and torture us with pangs of hunger, in order to break the hunger strike.

Why They Confess

The capitulators have no other way out but to give false testimony and confessions, i. e., to repeat everything the G.P.U. dictates to them. Whoever is acquainted with the ideological dispute between the Opposition and the Stalinists will not be astonished when I say that the great majority of the capitulators abandoned the Opposition only because they could not endure the bestial repression of the G.P.U. Often, having strong

Spanish Govt. Outlaws Criticism, Chains Press

Manuel Irujo, Basque businessman, Catholic, and Minister of Justice of the Valencia Government, issued the following decree, published in the official Gaceta, August 12:

"Whoever censures as fascist, as traitor, as anti-revolutionary, given person or group of persons, unreasonably or without sufficient foundation, or without the (court) authority having pronounced sentence on him (the accused), fails in his duty before the law....

"He who denounces a citizen for being a priest of a religion or for administering the sacrament.... causes an unnecessary and disruptive disturbance of public order when not committing an irreparable crime worthy of penal punishment."

Decree Helps Fascists

This decree puts a complete end to ferreting out of fascists by the workers, as well as halting sharp ideological criticism of the government bloc. It also ends all forms of surveillance of the Catholic priesthood just after the Vatican has openly thrown its support to Franco.

Commenting on a previous circular of Minister Irujo decreeing legalization of Catholic ritual services in private, the CNT's Spanish (Valencia) Bulletin of August 14 declares that his "famous circular had as its end to prepare for the domination of the Catholic Church, that again should be able to wield influence against the people, enforcing the counter-revolution already initiated."

CNT Organ Suspended

Solidaridad Obrera, chief CNT organ, was suspended for five

days on August 7 for having disobeyed orders of the censor. Paulino Gomez, General Delegate of Public Order in Barcelona informed the press that the specific act of disobedience was "that they should not publish white spaces." That is, deletions by the censor must be hidden from the masses by inserting other material. The CNT press had been protesting the censorship in silent fashion by leaving the blank spaces.

The Gaceta of August 11 publishes the decree dissolving the Council of Aragon, in place of which an appointed governor-general is to rule this province. Established September, 1936 with a CNT majority and a program of agrarian collectivization, the Council had ably re-established production in the areas wrested from the Fascists by the Catalan militias.

The CNT of Madrid of August 14 published the following decree of the Ministry of Interior, outlawing all press criticism of the Stalinist regime:

"With repetitions, that permit divining a deliberate plan of offending an exceptionally friendly nation, thereby creating difficulties for the government, various newspapers have occupied themselves with the U.S.S.R. unsuitably.... This absolutely condemnable license should not be authorized by the council of censors.... The disobeying newspaper will be suspended indefinitely, even though it may have been passed by the censor; in that case the censor who read the proofs being held for the Special Tribunal charged with dealing with crimes of sabotage."

convictions but weak constitutions or characters, they were unable to withstand the constant repressions and violence of the G.P.U. In the end, they were destroyed ideologically as well. All the capitulators, without exception in the beginning did not wish to slander the Opposition or to consider their convictions erroneous, "counter-revolutionary" etc. They all began by pledging no longer to carry on factional work. Unemployment, arrests, deportations, executions, concentration camps, tortures in prison, all of these were applied to the Oppositionists in the cruelest form, in accordance with the special orders issued by the head of the Central Committee.

The G.P.U. did not liberate capitulators at once. To begin with, they were required to declare that they considered their beliefs and ideas counter-revolutionary, that those ideas were anti-communist, Menshevist, and that Trotsky was an "agent of the international bourgeoisie." In other words, the G.P.U. did not let them go until it had transformed them into dirty and trampled tatters. After their official renunciation, the capitulators stayed in prison a year, two years, and sometimes more. Many capitulators were even kept in prison after they had served their sentences. During this time, the capitulators had to write dozens of statements. Following repeated interviews with the head of the prison, they would return to their cells in a state of nervous collapse, cursing the G.P.U., cursing themselves, but finding no way out. Finally their political backbone was

broken, and the firm Oppositionist of yesterday was transformed, in the hands of the G.P.U. into a tool against the Opposition.

To cite one more instance relating to this state of affairs: in 1933 (in December), we Oppositionists in the Verkhne-Uralsk isolator began a hunger strike, demanding that the authorities cease arbitrarily prolonging the sentences of the Oppositionists. On the eleventh day of the strike, the prison administration resorted to forcible feeding. The Mensheviks would not tolerate this arbitrary treatment of the Oppositionists, and declared on their side a three day hunger strike as a sign of protest against the G.P.U. outrages in refusing to satisfy the legitimate demands of the prisoners, and risking the death of 130 men. At the same time, newly arrived capitulators whom Stalin—mistrusting—had decided to imprison in the Verkhne-Uralsk isolator, not only did not support us, but even shouted: "Down with the Opposition! Down with the Trotskyists!"

Such cynical attitude on the part of the imprisoned capitulators toward the Oppositionists on hunger strike aroused the disgust even of the G.P.U. guards. The latter forced the capitulators to be silent, calling such an attitude of prisoners toward other prisoners, "shameful."

And then, after all that in the Moscow trials they tell us that the Bolshevik-Leninist Opposition formed a bloc and a center with such men!

Paris, June 12, 1937.

(Abridged by the editor)

Harry Milton, Wounded Saved From GPU Jail

Harry Milton, torn from the clutches of the Spanish GPU, is arriving in New York. Wounded on the Aragon front, his sacrifices in the struggle against fascism did not save him from arrest and imprisonment as a revolutionist. Workers' protests saved him.

We print below extracts from Comrade Milton's recent letter: Jefatura Prison, Barcelona, 5-21-37.

The day before yesterday I was arrested by the authorities at Portbow, brought back here and without being given an opportunity to speak or to make any kind of an explanation, thrown into jail. The conditions here in jail beggar description, a long damp stone room, about 100 persons in it. Absolutely no provision for sleeping or resting. No beds, blankets or any sanitary facilities. We are fed twice a day, one thin piece of bread and a little platter of rice and potato soup.

A Spanish edition of the infamous Moscow trials is now being concocted.

Some of the POUM comrades have already been brought before a special tribunal of three judges all of whom are Stalinists. All of them are asked to confirm the alleged link between the POUM and Franco. The entire procedure is a farce.

The anarchist workers are becoming increasingly more impatient with their official leaders and all kinds of anti-leadership and illegal papers have appeared on the streets. In prison with me is my commandant from the front, Kopp, a ranking General. At the front we had been quite friendly but now we are real chums. He's a Belgian engineer, made gun powder secretly for the Spanish Government, was discovered, beat it from Belgium with a lorry filled with guns and ammunition, and since has been at the front. He will probably be shot on the charge of having led the uprising of May 3. So far no charges have been made against me but I assume similar charges will also be made for participating in an "insurrection" while on leave.

The military situation is again extremely serious, with the fall

of Bilbao. It will now be possible for the fascists to move the Bilbao army to raise the siege of Huesca which is now completely surrounded. If they succeed there will be hell to pay in Aragon and Catalonia.

My general health after fifteen days here is beginning to crack. I'm always very tired, very sleepy and have no energy. We have absolutely no exercise and a cockroach would die of starvation on the food.

Falcon Prison,

July 11, 1937.

I have already told you that with me in prison was Kopp, the commander of my regiment. We had a thorough discussion three days ago, as a result of which we decided to immediately organize a general hunger strike. After taking all the necessary steps to bring it to the attention of the radical and labor press in England and Europe, a letter was sent to the Chief of Police demanding that charges be immediately placed against us or that we be set free. The idea caught on like wild fire. When the politicals learned of our discussion, and that we were already on strike for almost two days, they also decided to participate. All the anarchist prisoners joined in. The POUM refused to participate. After four days the joint Plenum of the Anarchists and the Youth passed a resolution to the government demanding an immediate release.... or else. The government told the anarchists they would take some action but first the strike must end. The anarchists instructed their membership to quit. They did and of course nothing happened. I didn't eat for 5 and one half days.

Paris, August 30.

I take this occasion to convey my deepest and most comradely Salud to my dear friends and comrades, the Bolshevik-Leninists of the United States. For ours is the banner of today and tomorrow. We shall conquer. The day will come when once again the working class will measure swords with the enemy. And when that day comes we shall wipe the capitalist class off the face of the earth. Speed that day.

London Buro Aids Stalin Frame-Ups By Refusal To Join Probe Commission

Hypocrisy In Guise of "Impartiality" Shown In Reply By Brockway

By Leon Trotsky

"The London Bureau of Revolutionary Socialist Parties" was invited, together with the Second and Third Internationals, to participate in the International Commission of Inquiry on the Moscow trials. On May 21, Fenner Brockway, in the name of the London Bureau, rejected the invitation. The pertinent section of his reply reads verbatim as follows:

"The International Bureau is not able to endorse the American Commission of Inquiry or to be represented on it because it takes the view that a disastrous mistake has been made in initiating the inquiry through a Committee which describes itself as a 'Committee for the Defense of Trotsky'."

The London Bureau, it would seem, is vitally concerned in the success of the inquiry and if it refuses to give any assistance it is solely due to the fact that the investigation was initiated by the "Defense" Committee. However, Mr. Brockway fails to specify just who should have initiated the inquiry. The new head of the G. P. U. Yezhov? Or the secretary of the Comintern, Dimitrov? Or the King's Counselor, Pritt? Or the secretary of the London Bureau, Fenner Brockway? Or, finally, the Archbishop of Canterbury? The most "impartial" of the above-listed candidates, one should imagine, is Brockway himself. But, as is obvious from his letter of last February to the American Socialist, Devere Allen, none other than Brockway himself not only refused to initiate the inquiry but did everything in his power to prevent others from taking the initiative, and, furthermore, adduced arguments involving not the interests of impartiality but those of the Moscow bureaucracy. Here is what Brockway wrote to Allen: The inquiry "...will merely arouse prejudice in Russia and in Communist circles." Isn't it astonishing? In a letter not intended for publication Brockway incautiously spoke up as a member of the "Committee for the Defense of" — Stalin, Dimitrov, Vyshinsky and Yagoda. I pointed this out in the press at the time. Not a word came in reply from Brockway. Several months elapsed. In his letter of May 28, Brockway again came out against the inquiry, but this time with a completely different set of arguments. But in essence he still remains a member of the undercover "Committee for the Defense" of the falsifiers against their victims.

There is no juridical or moral ground whatever for the suspicion which Brockway, in the name of the London Bureau, seeks to cast over the inquiry. All that the American Committee did was to take the initiative. Furthermore, the sum and substance of its initiative consisted precisely in this: To assure, in collaboration with other organizations, an objective and a conscientious investigation through a special International Commission, entirely independent of the initiators.

The composition of the American Committee is not a homogeneous one. There are individuals in it who understood from the very outset the absurdity and vileness of the Moscow accusations. Other members had no

settled opinions on this score but they were either alarmed by or indignant over the "totalitarian" character of Moscow justice and over the fact that the Norwegian "Socialist" flunkies of the G.P.U. had placed me behind lock and key at the very moment when I needed freedom most to defend not only myself but hundreds of others. It goes without saying that had the American Committee been composed of hypocrites it might have called itself "The Committee for the Defense of Eternal Precepts of Morality." But it choose to act openly. By "Defense of Trotsky" the Committee had and has in mind not to provide the alliance between Trotsky and Hitler with a cover but to provide Trotsky with an opportunity to publicly refute the accusation made against him. Nothing more! It is quite sufficient.

The members of the Committee understood from the first just as well as Brockway did that the verdict of the International Commission would carry weight only if the inquiry were conducted with all the requisite guarantees for thoroughness and objectivity, in particular, with the participation in the Commission of representatives of the different trends in political thought. The Committee began by inviting publicly the representatives of the Moscow Government, the Comintern, "Friends of the Soviet Union," the Second International, the London Bureau, etc. It was, naturally, not a question of the political or moral evaluation of Stalinism, Trotskyism, Bolshevism or Marxism. No political tendency would agree to serve as the object of appraisal by an inter-party commission; no rational commission would undertake such an insuperable task. The appraisal of political tendencies is made by the masses in the course of the political struggle. The final verdict is brought in by history.

The task of the inquiry of the International Commission did and does consist only of verifying certain specific charges made against certain individuals. The political conclusions from the verdict of the Commission will be drawn by each tendency in its own way. This made it all the more essential for every organization interested in bringing out the truth to participate in the investigation. But the direct and indirect agents and "friends" of the G.P.U. and the friends of friends flatly refused to participate. Some of them, in the spirit of Fenner Brockway's first letter, argued that it was impermissible to arouse any prejudice against Stalin and his Comintern; others, in the style of Fenner Brockway's second letter, adjudged the commission not "impartial" enough. Both the former and the latter had ample justification for fearing an investigation. The London Bureau protected their rear.

To reveal more vividly the unworthy role played by this Bureau we shall dwell on another, and more recent case. The gangsters of the G.P.U. in Spain murdered Andres Nin, the leader of the P.O.U.M.. Nin was an opponent of mine. Fenner Brockway, on the contrary, considered Nin a co-thinker. If the London Bureau and other "impartial" Pontius Pilates had joined in an investi-

gation of the Moscow frame-ups immediately after the Zinoviev-Kamenev trial, the G.P.U. might not have dared to put in circulation the palpably false charge that the leaders of the P.O.U.M. are collaborating with General Franco. But this was not done. The "impartial" ones shielded the G.P.U. As a result, Nin has been murdered, together with scores and hundreds of others. The P.O.U.M. has been crushed. What has been let slip cannot be retrieved. Do Messrs. Brockway think that the time has now come for an international investigation of the crimes of the G.P.U. in Spain—of the frame-ups, pillages and murders? Or are they waiting for the sterilized priests of impartiality to initiate the investigation? Let Brockway supply me with their addresses and telephone numbers. I will immediately get in touch with them. But if, as I suspect, they do not exist in nature, let the London Bureau take upon itself the initiative of calling the inquiry. Let the Bureau, emulating the example of the American Committee, turn to all the existing labor Internationals and to outstanding individuals in science, literature and art who are known for their honesty and integrity. If someone were to say that Fenner Brockway would make a "disastrous mistake" by initiating the inquiry instead of allowing matters to rest with Stalin or Negrin, every rational and honest person would call such an "accuser" a brazen hypocrite.

In conclusion, I consider it necessary to recall here another not unimportant circumstance. In the very same February letter in which he expressed his touching concern for the interests of Stalin, Yagoda and Dimitrov, Fenner Brockway proposed to create an international commission of inquiry... into my political activity and, furthermore, with rather strange "precipitancy" proposed to include in this commission Norman Thomas, Otto Bauer, Branting, and other bitter political enemies of mine. The very idea of an "official" appraisal of the political activity of an individual or a party through the medium of a commission of inquiry is so absurd that it properly belongs only on the pages of a provincial humorous magazine. Of course, Fenner Brockway himself could not have failed to understand this. But he attempted to make use of the gory Moscow amalgams in order to deal a blow at Bolshevism ("Trotskyism") which he hates so much; in addition he tried to cover up his factional struggle with the cloak of an impartial "investigation." Specialists in morals are notoriously fond of fishing in troubled waters.

We, the "amoral" Bolsheviks, proceed differently. We openly criticized Nin's policies when he was alive. We did not alter our evaluation of him after he died. But inasmuch as we never for a moment doubted the integrity of this proletarian fighter, we stand ready to do everything in our power to rehabilitate his name and mercilessly brand his executioners. We declare in advance to Fenner Brockway and all other specialists in morals that not a single one of our friends and co-thinkers will at-

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SOCIALIST CALL ALIBI ON Y.P.S.L. ANSWERED

BY COLD FACTS

(Continued from page 5)

had, and may have still some influence in the upper councils of the Methodist youth movement.

One of the new NEC members is the leader of the Altman youth group, Hyman Bookbinder. Barshop, who created a scandal in the League with his record manipulations, was also put on the Committee. Report has it that when he was put in nomination, many delegates booed. How much of this was plain jest and how much honest peeve on the part of the few activists present, will likely never be known. Prominent militants, who are known to be left wing in sympathy, were completely excluded from the NEC.

And a Convention

Most of the delegates at the League convention had met for two long days in left wing caucus session. Yet they went through the convention with no slackening of spirit. An NEC was elected, representative of

every section of the country and, above all, of militancy in the class struggle. Every one of the 18 members was active in some capacity in building the organization. They included union organizers, student leaders, professional revolutionists. No fly-by-night dilettantes. Every one of them was young, though many have years of self-sacrificing experience behind them. Older comrades, leaders in past activities, left the ranks of the youth in order to augment the cadre of party militants.

Ours was no apologetic, pussy-footing tone. The Convention meant a great deal to those delegates who had sacrificed so much to attend. They had come to lay the foundations for a mass revolutionary youth organization. With a bold militancy they organized a Young Peoples Socialist League that, shaking off the petty obstructionists like Clarity, will come to grips with the real enemies, the capitalist class and its reformist agents. Along this road lies the future of the revolutionary YPSL!

TYLER-ALTMAN BLOC BUILT ON HOSTILITY TO LENINISM

"The manner in which the Trotskyites were separated from the Socialist Party will soon become an affair of academic interest," says Gus Tyler's unsigned editorial in the Call of September 11. With this cynical remark, the ex-leftist Tyler attempts to dismiss the country-wide indignation at the bureaucratic expulsions, and to lift the controversy to a "political" level.

His political justification for the expulsion of the Trotskyites was outlined by Tyler at the National Executive Committee meeting. His bloc with Jack Altman was consummated by their common argument against the Trotskyites. That argument was given to the capitalist press by the N.E.C. in the succinct statement that the Trotskyites were "communists" and therefore had no place in a socialist movement.

"When Leon Trotsky defends the acts perpetrated by the Bolsheviks of his day," said Jack Altman, "he is defending that very system which led to the degeneration of Russia today.... Trotsky may be a much better representative of communism than Stalin, but we are socialists."

Something New

This "line" is rather novel for Altman, who has never been known to criticize the Stalinists in public. It has, however, the advantage for the Thomas-Altman-Tyler faction, at this moment, of assuring the labor bureaucrats of the American Labor Party that they have nothing to fear from these La Guardia Socialists.

At the N.E.C. meeting, Tyler flatly declared: "Trotskyism, in common with Leninism, means bureaucratism and terror when in power." This warmed-over precept of the Mensheviks and Social Revolutionaries is becoming stylish again as a pretext for struggle against the principles of Bolshevism.

Dutch Courage

Between the N.E.C. meeting and his editorial, however, some of his Dutch courage oozed out of Tyler. In the editorial there is no reference to Leninism. Now it is: "Trotskyism and Stalinism, arch-enemies in program, are nevertheless children born of one womb." What was that womb, according to Tyler? He is afraid to articulate his thought publicly, for he still wants to pose as a radical. But in spite of him the meaning is clear. The source of the evil to him is the Leninist tradition.

If his courage evaporated on this score, Tyler summoned up new nerve on another. Until now he has been complaining that, though he is ready to grant the revolutionary character of the Trotskyites, they refuse to grant him similar status. In the editorial, however, he says: "The Trotsky program is less counter-

revolutionary than that of the Stalinists." Tyler's unprincipled factionalism has already carried him..... to the formulations of the Russian Mensheviks, although, none too informed, Tyler is probably unaware that this is precisely the way in which the emigres characterize the Bolsheviks of today.

As we have already said, Tyler's new line is part of an international phenomenon, the demoralized "re-evaluations" of those unable to analyze the defeats of our epoch by Marxist principles. Next week we shall publish an analysis by Leon Trotsky, "Stalinism and Bolshevism," concerning the historical and organizational roots of the Fourth International. Written as an answer to some European Tylers, it is a definitive reply to the American breed.

FORGOTTEN ZAM-TYLER WORDS INDICT THEIR OWN PRACTICES IN PARTY

"Repeated experiences of the working-class have proven that party democracy is not just some phrase for the mouths of minorities in a party nor the product of devotion to broadmindedness. The absence of democracy and democratic procedures can only lead to the creation of a Comintern, a British Labor Party, an Old Guard Socialist Party, and in the final analysis to such practices as now mark the Soviet trials. Party democracy is a PRINCIPLE!

"Party democracy can not be maintained unless persons or groups in the minority are permitted to speak their mind, even if it be foolishly, or tactlessly, within the party. Administrative action in the form of grievances and charges can not be brought against the comrades for political characterization of their party

comrades. To make such a criticism a ground for charges makes all criticism impossible, for the champion of an unpopular cause will always be accused of villainy and lying and the majority will sit in judgment upon him.

"Party democracy means the right of comrades of like mind to organize to advance their views in the party. Such groups or individuals have the right to issue printed matter and call meetings, so long as such are conducted for party members only.

Minority Rights

"Effective party democracy can only be maintained while significant minority groups in the party are given representation on leading and minor committees. To deprive any impor-

of just representation means to prepare a party split.

"Party democracy today means the extension of the elements of party democracy to the Trotskyites and pacifists as well as to all other comrades. The Socialist Party has no second class citizens.

"Party democracy, in spirit as well as fact, can only be preserved while responsible and leading party comrades foster a spirit of comradeship, maintain a policy of integration to all party groups, and stamp out all tendencies to provoke a split in the party by the expulsion of this group or that group which one comrade or another decides in unassimilable. The task of the leadership is to map a policy and carry through a line; if there be any who are unassimilable, practice will show."—(From Socialist Clarity, March 1, 1937—"A Program—for Left Wing Unity").

APPEAL FRIENDS SEND IN SUBS

"What a pleasant and delightful surprise it was to find, upon opening a package of paper, the Socialist Appeal. No words can describe my feeling or the rise of my spirits when I beheld the emblazoned heavy black type across the top page. Here was something placed back in my hand after it had been torn away from me by ruthless hands. It was like finding a long-lost child which had been given up as dead. As a member of the State Executive Committee of the Socialist Party of Indiana, I want to commend the Appeal Assn. on the step taken in reviving the Socialist Appeal. We revolutionaries of the SEC of Indiana welcome it with open arms and will do all in our power to place it in the hands of our state membership, despite the edict issued recently by Burt, Thomas and Co. under the title of the NEC."

So writes Herbert S. Kimmel, part of whose letter we reprint because he says more succinctly what scores of other comrades are saying. And not only party members:

"Enclosed is one dollar for subscription. I wish to state that I am highly pleased with your first number. I hope that in succeeding issues, there will be a full Marxian discussion of national and world events," writes Robert Lee, Yonkers, N. Y.

Brockway Aids Stalin Frame-Up

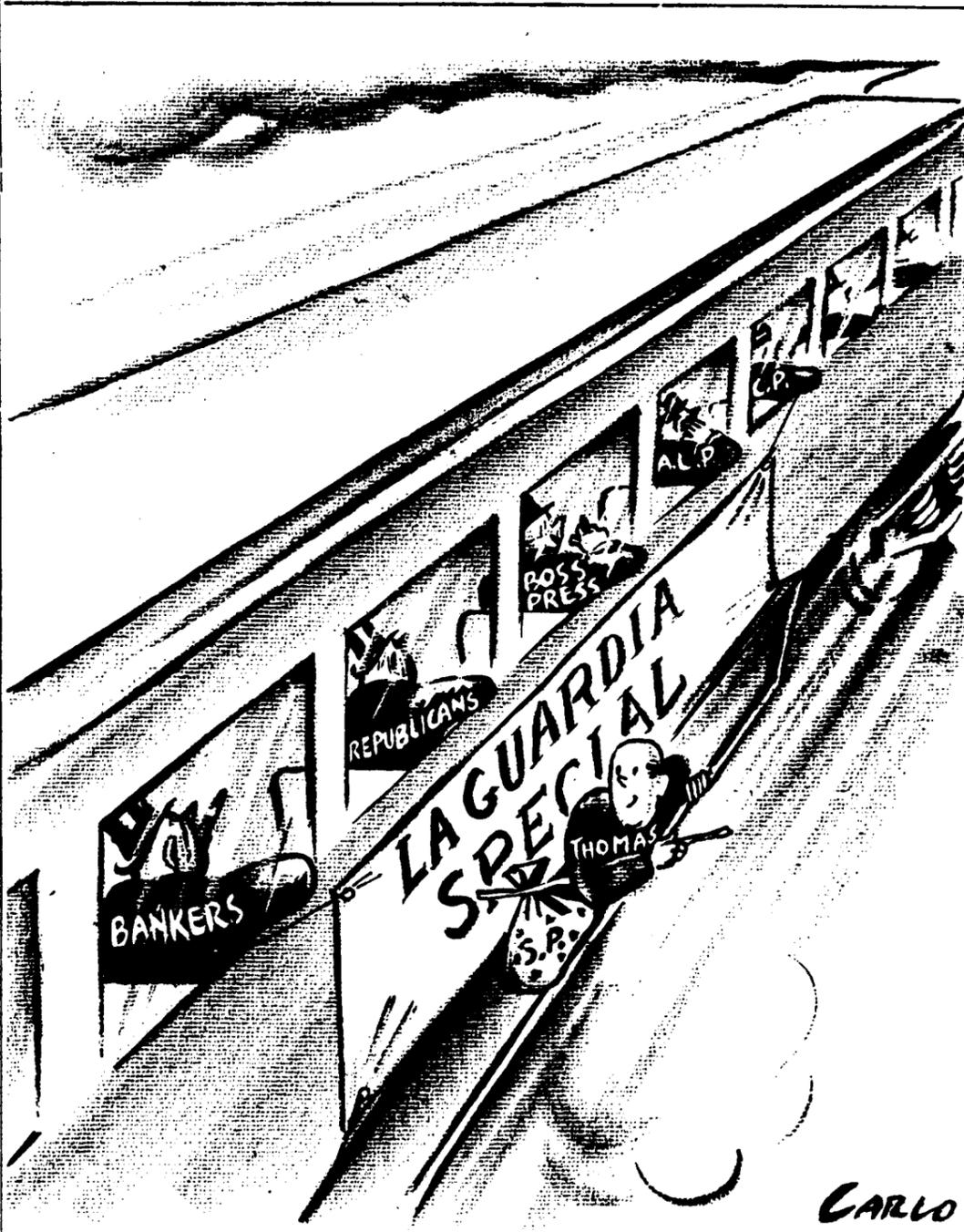
(Continued from page 7)

tempt to use the investigation of Nin's murder as a pretext to settle scores with Nin's policies. To wage a struggle against opportunism and centrism we have no need to hide behind a "commission", created for a totally different purpose. We leave such methods to the Tartuffes of idealistic morality. We, gross materialists, prefer to call a "nettle but a nettle and the faults of fools but folly". We deal blows to our adversaries openly and in our own names.

Coyoacan Sept. 5, 1937.

RIDING THE RODS ...

BY CARLO



Hear the Truth About The Sell Out of the Socialist Party to La Guardia

Greet the Newly Elected National Executive Committee of the Young Peoples Socialist League

SPEAKERS

JAMES P. CANNON

Chairman

MAX SHACHTMAN

ERNEST ERBER
National Chairman, YPSL

E. R. MCKINNEY

NATHAN GOULD
National Organizer, YPSL

Friday Evening, September 17, 8:15 P. M.

IRVING PLAZA

Irving Place and 15th Street