# Socialist Appeal

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

#### **KILL OFF THE UNEMPLOYED!**

Retired U. S. Army Major Edward L. Dyer has the simplest way of lightening the relief burden: all the aged on relief should be humanely killed. Dyer proposes an age limit of 70 or 75.

Without insisting on it, we suggest that the experiment be started with Major Dyer, even though he is now living on a comfortable pension. Just a

suggestion! He is only 50, to be sure, but he's physically incapable of working and is obviously shot to hell mentally. Useless to society, and even to the army, his pension might be applied, just as relief funds are, to buying bigger and better guns for Roosevelt's war machine.

3c a Copy

Or-how about melting him down for lard?

Set up and Printed by Union Labor. Application for Label Pending

VOL. III, NO. 25

# READY TO PLUNGE U.S. INTO WAR

ARMS PROGRAM

TUESDAY, APRIL 18, 1939

BUSINESS

## Stalin's Bloody Record In **Spanish Civil War Exposed By Ex-Secret Service Head**

## Walter Krivitsky, G. P. U. Chjef Who Broke With Moscow, Reveals Kremlin Efforts to Sabotage Loyalist Struggle

The real inside story of how and why Stalin and his G.P.U. secret police worked in Spain's civil war-a dramatic, sensational, authentic and damning story — has finally been told in detail, with all the names and dates and places, by one of the few men in a position to know!

That man is Walter G. Krivitsky, former chief of the Soviet Military Intelligence in Western Europe, whose disguised headquarters at The Hague, Holland, was the secret center for the dispatch and check-up of Stalin's spies and trigger-men in Spain.

Krivitsky, a Communist Party member of many years' standing, formerly director of the Soviet War Industries Institute, broke publicly with the Stalin machine over a year ago and, although his life has since been in daily danger, he has now written the most revealing stories about the inside workings of the Stalin machine. Neither Moscow nor its agents have attempted to deny or refute his charges. Because they have attempted to silence him by their

well-known methods, Krivitsky has been forced to take refuge in the United States.

His story, which appears in the current issue of the Saturday Evening Post, which dissociates itself from Krivitsky's political views by stating that "he is still a believer in the true communism of Lenin," confirms to the hilt all the charges made in past issues of the Socialist Appeal concerning the counter-revolutionary part played by Stalin and his agents in the smashing of the working class movement of Spain, in the assassination, frame-up and imprisonment of anti-Stalinists, and in undermining the resistance of the Loyalist camp to



Concealing himself behind the name of "White House spokesman," President Roosevelt has drawn quite an accurate picture of the courses which he would compel the American people to choose from. Not a very joyful picture to contemplate but there it is. The President himself drew it on April 9 aboard the President's Special returning from Georgia.

Three possible courses were outlined by the "spokesman":

1. Adoption by the American people of a policy of complete isolation and an attempt to create a selfsufficient economic system. This would mean a marked lowering of the standard of living.



**Roosevelt's Appeasement Policy** 

TTC IGAN Sur Franka - Frances

IEF

## PASSPORT TRIAL Big Battles Loom Ahead OF THREE OPENS For Automobile Workers IN RUBENS CASE

Martin Split-off Group Headed for A.F.L. Affiliation with Small Membership

#### (Special to the Socialist Appeal)

DETROIT, April 10—What is the situation in the automobile industry today? Both the Martin and the C.I.O. conventions in the Washington Post inter-was recognized even by so

## **Roosevelt Takes OpenWarStand; Europe on Brink**

President Takes Role as Spokesman for Both American Continents in Frank Statement Threatening 'Force Against Force'

#### EUROPEAN POWERS RUSH FRANTICALLY TO BIND ALLIES AS WAR DRAWS NEAR

Without bothering to consult either House of Congress, much less the American people who have so direct and vital a concern in the matter, President Roosevelt last Friday committed the United States in the most unambiguous manner to participation in the coming imperialist war.

Speaking to the governing board of the Pan-American Union, Roosevelt declared

## WAR BY FALL **IS ROOSEVEL1 POLICY BASIS**

Plunge into Coming European War

## SPURS ARMS RACE

(Special to the Socialist Appeal) WASHINGTON, April 11.-President Roosevelt's deliberate intention to send the working people of the United States to die on foreign battlefields in defense of capitalist profits independence. came still more nakedly into the open when he declared at

Sordid Imperialism That the actual interests

the fact that to this day the

United States rules over a

number of these countries by

open or concealed violence,

leaving them a purely nominal

continents as Washington's private protectorates, would defend its rule over the Western hemisphere "to the fullest" extent of our strength, match-Baldly Admits U.S. Will ing force to force if any attempt is made to subvert our institutions, or to impair the independence of any of our groups.' The bland hypocrisy of the reference to "the independence of any of our groups"-meaning the countries of Latin America-may be judged from

that the United States, appa-

rently regarding all the coun-

tries of the two American.

#### Franco's hordes.

We publish below some of the important excerpts from Krivitsky's article, which the Saturday Evening Post announces is to be followed by others : \* \* \*

#### Krivitsky's Story

"Ever since the rise of Hit ler, in 1933, Stalin's foreign policy has been a policy of distress, driven by fear of isolation. Caught between the growing Japanese menace in the east and the German menace in the west, Stalin went hunting for a strong ally among the great world powers. All his efforts to come to terms with Hitler were now encouraged and now rebuffed. He tried to restore the old Czarist pact with France, but could not get the ironclad alliance he sought. His attempts to join hands with Great Britain were even less successful. . .

"In his quest for security. Stalin turned his eyes toward Spain after the outbreak of the Franco rebellion. He made haste slowly, as he always does. First there was a period of watchful waiting, of furtive exploration. Stalin wanted to assure himself that there would be no quick and easy Franco victory.

"Then Stalin intervened in Spain, with the idea of creating in Madrid a vassal of the Kremlin. Such a vassal would secure, on the one hand, his ties with Paris and London, and strengthen, on the other hand, his bargaining position with Berlin and Rome. . . .

"But Stalin, unlike Mussolini, played it safe in Spain. The Soviet intervention might have been decisive at certain moments had Stalin taken the risks on the Loyalist side which Mussolini did on the Franco side. But Stalin risked nothing. He even made sure that there was enough gold in the Bank of Spain to more than cover the costs of his material aid to Madrid.

"Stalin himself had contemptuously described the Comintern

(Continued on Fage 2)

Subsidizing exports which would mean imposition of huge taxes upon the masses.

3. Lengthening of hours of work and reducing wages to enable this country to compete with the German and Italian barter systems.

#### Heads He Wins, Tails We Lose

It can be readily seen that no matter what choice the American masses would make they would be the ones to suffer. The bosses could get along very nicely, assuming even that they would have to take a cut in their profits. Anyone making fifty thousand dollars a year and over could afford to have his income cut in half and he would still have no kick coming. But the average full-time worker getting an income of less than eleven hundred dollars a year would have his misery multiplied ten-fold if he were to suffer a drastic cut. And in addition he would be compelled to work longer hours.

In drawing this sad picture, Roosevelt had in mind to incite the masses into a desire for war against Germany, Italy and Japan. Upon these countries he placed the blame for the necessity of making such a hard choice. The inescapable conclusion he leads us to is that the masses must be prepared to go to war against these nations, defeat them. establish the rule of free trade and thus escape the necessity of making any choice involving a lowering of the standard of living.

#### His Latest Alibi

Another purpose that Roosevelt had in warning the masses what was in store for them if they did not rush into a war against the fascist nations, was to prepare an alibi. Not so long ago it was the "Economic Royalists" who were to blame for the bad conditions under which the workers had to exist. Roosevelt insisted that a few stubborn Economic Royalists prevented him from solving all the economic and social problems.

If that is so, and we grant that there is a lot of truth in it if viewed in the right light, then why didn't Roosevelt use his great power to compel these few Economic Royalists to toe the mark? A program of expropriating the Sixty Families in control of the economic resources of this country-that's a serious step! Boldly taking over the idle factories and putting the millions of unemployed to work-that's another serious step which the vast majority of the people would back to the limit. But it is ridiculous to imagine Roosevelt even thinking of such actions.

All that Roosevelt did was to slap the Economic Royalists on the wrist. He couldn't do any more for the simple reason that he believes in and defends the present economic system under which the Economic Royalists must necessarily rule.

(Continued on Page 3)

By NAT LEVINE cold figures NEW YORK-The famous

Robinson-Rubens passport case finally went to trial April 12 before Judge Henry W. Goddard in Federal Court, Foley Square, New York.

League

At the Model Congresses held

recently in every New York

College this was demonstrated

in a manner which could leave

no doubt in the minds of the

student bodies. Like a yellow

thread running through all

these assemblies came the

same note of mad jingo propa-

ganda: "For a bigger and bet-

twentieth-century Stalinist tried

to outdo the other in frenzied

New Low

resolution made clear that

flag waving.

Defense, Prosecution

Agree Trial Is

Political

Over a year and a half ago Aaron Sharfin, Ossip Garber and Edward Blatt were indicted for conspiracy to fraudulently obtain passports. The indictments were handed down by a grand jury which investigated the mysterious means by io 40,000 members, located which "Donald Lewis Robin- chiefly in the parts plants. Of son" and "Ruth Marie Rub- the important automobile

plants, Martin's strength is (Continued on Page 4)

and the state of affairs of the two unions in the language of Springs,

The Martin Union reported a genuine membership of 62,000 workers at its Detroit convention. Of this number, some 25,000 workers were listed in the six

limited to the Plymouth shop large local unions represented of the Chrysler division. at the Detroit convention, Ply-

mouth. Packard. Flint and Key Sections with C.I.O. Pontiac G. M. locals. The bulk The C.I.O.-U.A.W. reported of these 25,000 workers have at its convention a genuine left and are leaving the Martin membership of some 170,000 Union for the C.I.O. organizaworkers. At the Cleveland Contion. The Martin Union convention were represented pracsists therefore of some 35,000 tically all of the key, decisive sections of the organized automobile workers. The bulk of

the Flint and Pontiac G. M. workers of Saginaw, Bay City. Detroit, Toledo, Cleveland, In-Student Strike Against diana and California. The over-whelming portion of the Chrys-ler Corporation—all of Dodge, all of De Soto all of Chryster War Set For April 20 and at least 50% of Plymouth; all of the important independents: Hudson, Nash, Stude baker: the majority of Packard; all of the important body As the day for the anti-war ["Communism as an advocate manufacturers: Briggs, Mur strike on April 20 approaches, of class struggle and as the

ray Body and Seaman Body. The composition of the two unions explains the difference between the Detroit and the Cleveland conventions. The Detroit delegates have all gone through a highly selective proc ess in the last six months of the factional battle that raged only the most conservative and backward locals remained with

Martin. That is why the Detroit gathering took on such a reactionary appearance and tionary measures.

The vast majority of the vation. We refuse to support any war large, decisive locals of the the U.S. government may un- automobile union were represented at the Cleveland conven-2. Fight militarism as the tion. The automobile Union was organized and built up

during the fiercest class battles with the automobile manufac-4. Build anti-fascist defense turers. In spite of the year and

a half of ruinous, clique fac-On the basis of this program, tionalism, the delegations to the Young People's Socialist the Cleveland convention still League is rallying the anti-war gave voice to the militancy and rapidly approaching and that it In Brooklyn College a new student masses for the counter- the fighting courage which low was reached when the strikes to be held throughout built and made famous the

Martin-AFL Alliance Martin, representing a discredited minority of the auto- without specifically mentioning fearful of these "assurances," actionary who introduced this rade of the striking anti-war mobile union. is driven to an a war referendum.

conservative a statesman as Georgia, when he Senator William E. Borah of promised to be back again in Idaho. Referring to the coming the Fall, "if we don't have a world war, he writes: war.

"A thorough investigation The President implied in this will disclose to you that a more way that a general European sordid, imperialistic war could war is inevitable in the not hardly be imagined than this distant future and that when war should it unfortunately

the secret treaties by which all

spoils were divided even before

the war was closed. It was the

democracies of Europe which

wrote the Versailles Treaty,

not a peace treaty but a spoils

"These European powers

whatever may be their idea of

ideology or political views, pur-

sue one and the same course

when they come to deal with

international affairs. They all

alike violate treaties, disregard

the most fundamental princi-

ples of rights, pursue methods

which inevitably lead to war,

and then call upon the United

States. Canada and other na-

tions to save them from their

own intolerable and vicious

Alliances Shape Up

Meanwhile, the war alliances

of the rival imperialist camps

Speaking in the House of

Chamberlain expanded the war

frontiers of Britain to Ruma-

nia. Greece and Turkey. His

speech followed only a few

days after the "frontiers of Po-

land" had likewise been taken

Premier Daladier of France

another of the professional

'Democrats'' who is concerned

course those small nations over

which French imperialism ex-

ercizes its own brutal dominion

-followed right in Chamber-

"independence

nations" -- except of

treaty. . .

methods.

this European war breaks out, come. he will plunge the United "This is not a war over the States into it, thus spreading question of democracy or totalthe conflagration to world-wide itarianism. It was the democproportions racies of Europe which wrote

#### **Opposes Referendum**

Previously the President has ignificantly opposed any and all movements that would give the American people the power to declare through a referenlum their sentiments about entering a new world war. He has fought at the same time to revise all neutrality legislation so that he will have a free hand to decide on his personal whim just whom the United States shall oppose and whom the United States shall support when the war bursts out. The editorial which was pub-

ished in the Washington Post today was termed by Mr. Roosevelt very good, very clear and very honest.

#### Without Reservation

His reference to the editorial took on added significance because it was his way of replying to a question at the press of Europe are taking ever conference as to whether he clearer shape, in preparation had any comment to make on for the showdown. the European situation. After the President responded with a Commons. Prime Minister shake of the head someone mentioned the editorial, whereupon the President stated that

he embraced it without reser-Entitled "The Collective Pronoun," the editorial began by under the protectorate of Britquoting President Roosevelt's ish imperialism. words upon leaving Warm Springs: "I'll be back in the

Fall, if we don't have a war.' **Deeply Premeditated** The editorial then stated that small these words were not spoken

lightly but were deeply premeditated; that a new war was was hopeless to believe that lain's footsteps by a virtually the United States could stay identical declaration concernstruck at legislation and "paper guarantees of immunity,"

meanwhile, were somewhat in view of the enormous pres-(Continued on Page 2)

(Continued on Page 3) (Continued on Page 3)

out of it. The editorial then ing Rumania and Greece. The two latter countries.

with the

we see clearly reflected within force responsible for the Octothe student movement the ber Revolution in Russia, was struggle which is taking place an enemy of world peace. At Hunter College the Stalinin the ranks of the American masses. This struggle has dra- ists, through a mechanical mamatized the cleavage between jority, defeated a resolution inthe anti-war forces led by the troduced by the Fourth Internationalists to open the doors Young People's Socialist (4th International), of America to refugees from fascist terror, on the grounds in the U.A.W. By and large, and the war-mongers of the Young Communist League. that these refugees might turn

out to be reds. In contrast to this, the Fourth Internationalists brought forward clearly their anti-war following points:

1. For the Oxford Pledgedertake.

ter navy": "Our duty is to save the world for democracy" first step to fascism. 3. All war funds to the un-'Hurrah for American Imperi employed. alism in South America." Each

guards.

Y.C.L. supported a resolution the city on April 20, at 11 A.M. | Automobile Workers Union. condemning "Communism and | At City College Evening the Fascism in so far as they work entire New York Division of against world peace." The re- the Y.P.S.L. will join the pa-

(Continued on Page 2)

program which included the gave voice to so many reac-

# CRACK CONTROL Former G.P.U. Head Exposes Stalin Record OF C.P. IN FOOD UNION ELECTION OF Treachery in Spanish Loyalist Struggle

**Progressives Win Two Chief Posts in** Sharp Contest

(Special to the Socialist Appeal) NEW YORK, April 12.-Progreasives in Local 16 of the Hotel and Restaurant Workers Union, A.F.L., won the posts of president and vice-president in a *hotly* contested campaign against the Stalinists during the annual elections held here yesterday.

Dave Siegal defeated the wrecking crew's candidate, Harry Lee, for president and John Green led the progressives to victory over Lee's henchman, Alex Markowitz for the second highest post in the Local.

The Communist Party candidate for secretary-treasurer. William Albertson, managed to squeeze through by a meagre 450 votes out of a total of 3,600 cast. All the places on the executive board and the list of business agents were fiercely contested, the Stalinists winning all these posts by a manipulation of the union machinery in their control but by as little as 5 and even 3 votes.

'Election Issues' Clear

The issues of the election were clear-cut. On the onc side, the progressives fought against recognition of the unionbusting bosses' Guild, against compulsory arbitration, for security on the job, against Stalinist terrorism and intimidation and for the democratic rights of the members.

On the other hand, the Stalinist wrecking crew and the remnants of the Coulcher racketeering gang came out for recognition of the Guild and compulsory arbitration. The only way they were able to maintain their hold on the union, although they were badly shaken up, was by intimidation, terror and job control.

-But the results of the election show that these strong-arm and machine methods will not forever keep the membership down. The victory of the progressives in the posts of president and vice-president-where their candidates most clearly symbolized the programmatic character of the struggleshows that the ice has begun to crack.

#### BARCELONA MAY DAY UPRISING DELIBERATELY PROVOKED BY MOSCOW AGENTS

(Continued from Page 1) as a lavochka—a 'gyp joint'—and this epithet was its nickname in high Soviet circles.

#### Degeneration of the Comintern

"From being the intended torch of flaming world revolution the Comintern had degenerated to a more or less useful adjunct to Stalin's foreign policy. At his convenience he could use his lavochka in any foreign country, to stir up, perhaps, some internal trouble for an unfriendly government or to affect public opinion on any international question.

"In 1935 he brought the Comintern into play, by launching the new policy of the 'popular front.' In every democratic country the obedient members of the Communist Party dropped their opposition to the ruling government and, in the name of 'democracy,' joined forces with other political parties. The technique was to elect, with the aid of their 'fellow travelers' and their dupes, national administrations friendly to the Soviet Union. In France, the 'popular front' had elevated Leon Blum to power. But it was Blum who, with the backing of London, launched the policy of nonintervention in Spain.

"... Five years of costly propaganda, aided by all the turmoil of the revolution, had produced in Spain a total of only 3,000 Communists. The Spanish trade-unions and all the strong revolutionary parties remained obstinately anti-Communist. . . "To a few veteran leaders of the Comintern still

devoted to the ideal of world revolution, the fighting in Spain brought new hope. But these old revolutionists, survivors of the first bloody purge and the Kameney-Zinoviev 'trial,' were a tamed crew. All their barking produced no munitions, no tanks, no planes, none of the war supplies for which Madrid was clamoring, and with which the Fascist powers were supplying Franco.

#### Stalin Refuses Arms for Spain

"The revelations of Italian and German military aid to Franco, and the desperate appeals of the various Spanish revolutionary leaders for foreign help, brought no response from the Kremlin. The civil war in Spain developed into a huge conflagration, and still Stalin remained silent and motionless.

"Throughout Europe and America the Communists and their sympathizers were asking why the Soviet Union did nothing to help defend the Spanish revolution, for which they themselves were whipping up public opinion and begging contributions. .

"Late in August, with Moscow's permission, three high officials of the Spanish republic secretly arrived in Odessa. They came to buy Soviet war supplies. They offered in exchange huge sums in Spanish gold. Instead of being permitted to reach Moscow, they were kept quietly in a hotel in Odessa.

"On Friday, August 28, 1936 Stalin issued a de cree through the Commissar for Foreign Trade, forbidding 'the export, re-export, or transit to Spain of all kinds of arms, munitions, war materials, airplanes and warships.' . .

'This official Soviet decree was in harmony with Blum's nonintervention policy. It roused sharp criticism from all the groups in western Europe and in America, where the Comintern was trying frantically to whip up sympathy for the desperate

Spanish republic. . .

came in two streams. My organization used exclusively foreign vessels, mostly of Scandinavian registry. Captain Oulansky's 'private syndicate' in Odessa began by using Spanish boats, but their number was limited. Moscow, held by Stalin's insistence on absolute secrecy because of his fear of becoming entangled in a war, would not permit the use of Soviet ships sailing under Soviet papers, especially after submarines and trawlers in the Mediterranean began to attack and seize freighters bound for the Spanish coast. . .

#### Arms Only for Stalin's Tools

"Throughout the world there was a cry of anguished fury at the merciless bombing of almost defenseless Madrid. My organization performed miracles to hasten the transport of the fifty pursuit planes and bombers. In mid-October a Norwegian boat was loaded with them.

"And then I received strict instructions from Moscow not to permit that boat to deliver its cargo in Barcelona. Under no circumstances were those planes to pass through Catalonia, which had its own government, very much like that of a sovereign state, in greater Spain. The government of Catalonia was dominated by revolutionists of anti-Stalinist persuasion. They were not trusted by Moscow, although they were then desperately holding one of the most vital sectors of the Loyalist front against fierce attacks from Franco's army.

"I was ordered to send the planes to Alicante. But that port was blockaded by Franco's vessels. The master of the ship made for Alicante, but had to turn back to save his ship. He attempted to head for Barcelona, and was prevented by my agent on board. In the meantime, Loyalist Spain was fighting desperately and was woefully short of planes. My agent on board permitted the ship to proceed to Marseilles.

#### No Russian Arms for Catalonia

"This fantastic development was part of Stalin's fierce but silent battle to gain complete control of the Loyalist government, a battle which went on behind the open theater of war. If Stalin was to make Spain a pawn in his game for a firm alliance with France and Great Britain, he must subdue all opposition in the Spanish republic. The spearhead of that opposition was in Catalonia. Stalin was determined to support with arms and main power only those groups in Spain which were ready to accept his leadership without reservation. He was resolved not to let the Catalonians lay hands on our planes, with which they might have won a military victory that would have increased their prestige and their political power in the republican ranks. .

"The Norwegian ship finally slipped through Franco's blockade and discharged its planes at Alicante. At the same time, other war supplies, including tanks and artillery, arrived from the Soviet Union. All of Loyalist Spain saw that tangible aid was actually coming from Soviet Russia. The republicans, socialists, anarchists and syndicalists had only theories and ideals to offer. The Communists were producing guns and planes to use against Franco. Soviet prestige soared. The jubilant Communists made the most of it. . .

. . General Ian Berzin [was] one of the two leading Soviet figures assigned by Stalin to pilot his intervention in Spain. The other was Arthur Stashevsky, officially Soviet trade envoy. They were the real mystery men of Moscow behind the scenes of the Spanish theater of war and their missions remained perfectly concealed while they gathered all the controls of the Spanish republican government into their hands. .

#### Moscow Appoints Miaja Supreme Chief

#### began to reach Loyalist Spain. The Soviet aid |KREMLIN GANG ACTED IN SPAIN LIKE THE OVERLORDS OF A FOREIGN COLONY

ity over the Ogpu. The Ogpu was an empire within an empire: it was a power before which even some of the highest figures in the Caballero government trembled. The Soviet Union seemed to have encompassed Loyalist Spain as if it were already a Soviet possession.

#### Pravda Decrees the Murder of Nin

"[On December 17] in Moscow, Stalin's official mouthpiece, Pravda, openly proclaimed that the purge in Catalonia, already begun, 'will be conducted with the same energy with which it was conducted in the Soviet Union.'.

"The successful defense of Madrid with Soviet arms also gave the Ogpu new opportunities to extend its powers. Thousands were arrested, including many foreign volunteers who had come to fight Franco. Any criticism of methods, any unflattering opinion of the Stalin dictatorship in Soviet Russia, any association with men of heretical political beliefs, was regarded as treason. The Ogpu employed all the familiar means of extorting confessions and of summary executions.

"There were countless disappearances. Some were kidnaped and taken to Soviet Russia. Others were assassinated in Spain. One of the most spectacular cases was that of Andres Nin, the leader of the revolutionary party of United Marxists (P.O.U.M.). Nin had once been a Trotskyist and, years before, had been active in the Comintern. With a group of his associates, Nin vanished from the prison where they had been confined by the Ogpu. Their bodies were found after a commission of British members of Parliament had come to Spain to investigate their disappearance, Another outstanding case was that of young Smillie, son of the famous British labor leader. Robert Smillie: he was killed in an Ogpu prison in Spain. . .

#### **Organizing to Overthrow Caballero**

"Premier Caballero had no stomach for the Soviet terror which was decimating his own party and striking at his political allies. The autonomous government of Catalonia was resisting the Ogpu purge, tooth and nail, not without the blessings of Caballero. An internal crisis was ripening in Spain.

"At this time I received instructions gradually to liquidate our work of purchasing and supplying war materials to Spain. Our aid was being doled out deliberately in amounts just barely enough to be decisive on the battlefields. It was being used as a club over the head of Caballero.

"To the Ogpu Stalin had assigned the task of carrying him over the top in Spain. This was revealed to me in a report from one of the leaders of the Russian anarchist group in Paris, who was a secret agent of the Ogpu. He had been sent to Barcelona, where, as a prominent anarchist, he enjoyed the confidence of the anarcho-syndicalists in the local government. His mission was to act as an agent provocateur, to incite the Catalonians to rash acts that would justify calling in the army as if to suppress a revolt behind the front. . .

#### "Fighting Fascism"

"The fact is that the Barcelona outbreak was a conspiracy successfully carried off by the Ogpu. The fighting began with a raid led by Ogpu agents on the Telephone Exchange. Five days of bloodshed followed; five hundred persons were killed and more than one thousand wounded.

"After the bloodshed in Barcelona, the Spanish Communists led by Diaz demanded the suppression of all other parties and of the trade-unions in Cata-



#### THE WINNERS/

This week we are glad to an- sible person for house to house nounce the results of our sub- sales on Sunday mornings, the scription drive for 1,000 new old Red Sunday business. An readers and those branches attempt will be made to get that have won the prizes we regular readers in this way. offered.

A grand total of 700 new subscriptions were obtained. We completed 70% of our quota. We're convinced that a lot betpleted their quotas.

The following branches fultop. Youngstown, Austin, Bos-Haven, Minneapolis, and Quakertown.

New York City obtained the largest number of subs with a any more casualties. grand total of 185.

And now, here are the four orize winners:

First prize to Minneapolisa complete set of Lenin's writ tings.

Second prize to Boston - a complete set of Trotsky's writings. Third and Fourth prizes to branches, both of which will receive 1937 and 1938 bound volumes of the Socialist Apaprons for their street sales

deserve the best wishes of the

entire party. Next time we'll aim at competing 100% of our sub quota!

THE BRANCHES AT WORK: copies per issue.

resistance around here, so will you please increase our bundle order to 35 (10 more). Also. I'm putting in our order for 65 extra of the May Day issue."-Sara Turner, Y.P.S.L. agent of wards taking care of all litera-Berkeley, Calif. John Murphy, who has re-

sumed the control of Los An- A-1 assistants! geles literature department

writes us: "We are hitting the MAY DAY APPEAL: streets regularly with the Ap- There are two weeks left to peal. I have obtained a few send in your May Day Greetreliable guys and they will be ings and order your extra bunmy street salesmen. dle orders!

## Articles on War Crisis Featured in New Int'l

The April issue of the New In- | did series of articles on "Wars ernational is now on sale. The --- Defensive and Aggressive'' April number is of exceptional by Gregory Zinoviev is contininterest with respect to reviews ued. This series has aroused and comments on the war great interest among all New crisis. The editors graphically International circles.

pose the problem of the war Jerry Pytlak presents a thordanger. "The question is no ough-going study on "The Eco-longer: 'Will there be a New nomics of Cotton Farming,"



TUESDAY, APRIL 18, 1939

to'learn that Chester Johnson, ter could have been done and Minneapolis literature - agent, will be done next time, but has fully recovered from the still, a lot of branches did very vicious attack made upon him fine work and more than com- by the Stalinists. Comrade Johnson writes: "The real an-

"I am mobilizing every pos-

swer to the Stalinists on this filled their assigned quotas. thing must be to sell the Ap-Some of them went over the peal by hundreds and thousands where we now only sell ton, Houston, Berkeley, New tens. We will take the necessary precautions which will enable us to go forward with such

Minneapolis

Los Angeles .....

Chicago .....

Texas .....

Detroit .....

Newark

Massachusetts

New York State

Foreign .....

a program without suffering

Here's the list of subs obtained this week—the last week

of our subscription drive: NEW YORK CITY..... 11 California ..... Pennsylvania .....

Youngstown and Quakertown peal, plus a set of newsboy

activity. All prizes will be mailed out within a week. These four branches did a fine job and

Total..... 46 \* \* \* Bundle order increases have

come from the Berkeley Y.P. S.L. and the St. Louis Party branch-both of which have in-

creased their bundle by 10

"We're breaking down Appeal We should have mentioned that John Murphy of Los Angeles has two able assistants in the person of Manny Fischler and Leon Hassell who devote their main activities to-

ture. John says that they're

## **REJECTING DEAL ASK JURY TRIAL**

**AKRON YIPSELS** 

(Special to the Socialist Appeal) AKRON, O., April 13-Akron branch of the Young People's Socialist League (Fourth International) intensified its Jobs for Youth campaign today by picketing district N.Y.A. offices and distributing leaflets, despite school and police attempts to hamper its activities. Meanwhile, the Y.P.S.L. prepared its case against the school officialdom and police by demanding a jury trial for five youths who were arrested March 31, while distributing leaflets of the Y.P.S.L.

Members of the Akron Industrial Union Council, central body of the C.I.O., eagerly took Yipsel labor leaflets explaining their position on the arrests. Several delegates pledged solidarity with the youth in their fight to preserve and extend labor's democratic rights.

#### **City Offers Deal**

The Police Prosecutor intimated that he would recommend "leniency" in their cases if the youths would promise to be good boys henceforth. Such leniency would have meant only that the five defendants would have been found guilty and the judge would have suspended their fines.

In a press statement, the Y.P.S.L. declared that J. Ray Stine, principal of Central High School where the arrests were made, was the real prosecutor in the case and that they demanded a jury trial as the only means of attempting to obtain justice.

Legal counsel for the defendants is Eldon Young, counsel for the A.F.L. and C.I.O. in Toledo and member of the Board of Education there.

In an open letter addressed to the local N.Y.A. administrator, the Y.P.S.L. demanded immediate action on its demands for youth W.P.A. projects with a \$30 weekly minimum for 30 hours work. \$20 monthly N.Y.A. student projects and conversion of the war fund for unemployed relief.

With the active help of the Comintern, Largo Caballero had formed a coalition government. which included two Communist members, and in which he was both premier and minister of war. . .

#### Finally Acts—For Anglo-French Pact

"[In September at an extraordinary session of the Politbureaul Stalin argued that the old Spain was gone and that the new Spain could not stand alone. It must join either the camp of Italy and Germany, or the camp of their opponents. Stalin said that neither France nor Great Britain could possibly allow Spain, which commands the entrance to the Mediterranean, to be controlled by Rome and Berlin. A friendly Spain was vital to Paris and London. Stalin was of the opinion that he could create in Spain a regime controlled by Moscow. With Spain in his pocket, he could command a genuine and durable alliance with France and the British Empire. At the same time, his intervention would rekindle the faith of the Soviet adherents abroad, shaken by his purge of the Bolshevik old guard.

"There was also the hoard of gold in Spain, \$700, 000,000, which the Caballero government was willing to spend for war materials. How much of this gold could be transported to Russia in payment for munitions delivered in Spain, while the Soviet Union officially adhered to its announced policy of strict non-intervention, was a problem to be looked into without delay.

"The Politbureau decided upon immediate action. Stalin doubly cautioned his commissars that Soviet aid to Spain must be handled with absolute secrecy, in order to eliminate any possibility of involving his government in war. His last phrase, carried away by those who were present at that Politbureau meeting and passed down as a command to all high officers of the service, was: 'Stay out of range of artillery fire !'. . .

#### Exporting the Ogpu to Spain

"At the same time, in Moscow, Stalin had instructed Yagoda, then chief of the Ogpu, to set up a branch of the Soviet secret police in Spain . From Slutsky, I chief of the Foreign Division of the Ogpul, I learned that a veteran officer of his department had been detailed to establish the Ogpu in Loyalist Spain. He was Nikolsky, alias Schwed, mission from the Ogpu. . . .

"One of the other decisions of this conference was to have the Ogpu police the movement of volunteers to Spain from every country. There is in the central committee of every Communist Party in the world one member who holds a secret commission fro mthe Ogpu. . .

"Stalin's success in seizing control and using Spain as a weapon with which to force an English French alliance with the Soviet government depended upon his breaking the powerful anti-Communist opposition within the Loyalist camp. It was therefore essential to control the movement of these idealistic foreign volunteers to Spain, to prevent them from joining with the elements opposed to Stalin's policies and ambitions. . .

'By the middle of October, shiploads of arms

"Berzin insisted on the appointment of a commander in chief. This authority the republican government, supported by jealous parties and factions, was reluctant to establish. Berzin found a suitable candidate in Gen. Jose Miaja. .

... Stashevsky offered to take the Spanish gold to Soviet Russia ,and to supply Madrid with arms and munitions in exchange. Through Negrin, he made the deal with Caballero's government.

"In my conversations with Stashevsky in Barcelona, in November, Stalin's next moves in Spain were already cropping out. He made no secret to me of the fact that Juan Negrin would be the next head of the Madrid government. At that time, Caballero was universally regarded as the favorite of the Kremlin. But Stashevsky had already picked Negrin as his successor.

"Dr. Juan Negrin . . . had all the makings of a politician. Though a professor, he was a man of affairs, with the outlook of a businessman. He was just the type to suit Stalin's policy of the Popular Front. Like General Miaja, he would make a good facade to show to Paris and London and Geneva. He would impress the outside world with the 'sanity' and 'propriety' of the Spanish republican cause, he would frighten nobody by revolutionary appeals. He had a Russian wife and, as a practical man, Doctor Negrin welcomed the purging of the Spanish 'uncontrollables' and 'troublemakers' by any hand, even Stalin's.

"These things were discussed while I was in Barcelona, six months before the fall of the Caballero government. It took Stashevsky that long to bring it about. In the end, he accomplished it with the aid of an Ogpu plot in Barcelona. . .

#### Sloutski Organizes the Murder Gangs

"My comrade, Sloutski, chief of the Foreign Division of the Ogpu, had been ordered especially from Moscow to set up a secret police system modeled on that of Russia. He arrived a day or two after my departure. The Ogpu was then blossoming out all over Loyalist territory, and concentrating on Catalonia, where the independent groups were strongest and where the real Trotskyists had their party headquarters. .

' 'They have good material over there,' he told me, when he returned to Paris some weeks later, 'but they lack experience. We cannot allow Spain to become a free preserve for all the anti-Soviet elements that have been flocking there from all over the world. After all, it is now our Spain, part of the Soviet front. We must make it solid for us. Who knows how many spies are among those volunteers? And as for the anarchists and Trotskyists, even though they are anti-Fascist soldiers, nevertheless they are our enemies. They are counter-revolutionists, and we have to root them out.'

"Sloutski had done a brilliant bit of work. The terror already, in December, 1936, was sweeping Madrid, Barcelona and Valencia. The Ogpu had established its own special prisons. It had its own tribunals and its squads of executioners. Its units carried out assassinations and kidnapings. It filled hidden dungeons and made flying raids. It was, of course, functioning independently of the Loyalist government; the Ministry of Justice had no author-

lonia; the placing of newspapers, radio stations and meeting halls under Ogpu control, and the immediate and complete extinction of all anti-Stalinist movements throughout Loyalist territory.

"Largo Caballero would not yield to these demands. He was forced to resign on May 15. Dr. Juan Negrin became the premier of the new government, as Stashevsky had all along intended. His government was hailed as the Government of Victory. Negrin remained premier until the collapse of the Loyalist defense in March, 1939.

#### Stalin Abandons Spain to Franco

"At this time, in the summer of 1937, just when Stalin appeared to have achieved his goal in faraway Spain, Japan struck at China.

"Simultaneously the Fascist powers became more and more aggressive in the west. Italy and Germany intervened openly on Franco's side. The military situation of the Spanish republic grew increasingly difficult. If Stalin were to capitalize on his achievements in Spain, he would have to give it the full measure of help needed to defeat Franco and his allies. More than ever, he did not want to risk a major war. His slogan from the beginning of that adventure had been. 'Stay out of the range of artillery fire.' This slogan became more imperative after Japan's invasion of China and its threats on the Siberian frontier.

"The role of Stalin in Spain was now going into eclipse. Stalin had intervened there in the hope that he would, with the assistance of a vassal Spanish regime, build a bridge from Moscow to London and Paris. His maneuver failed. Leon Blum and Anthony Eden resigned. Paris and London adopted a more friendly attitude toward Franco. Gradually, during 1938, Stalin withdrew from the Spanish ring of action. All that he got out of his adventure was the Spanish gold. He had not succeeded in his main objective of steering the Soviet ship of state out of its isolation among the great powers of the world."

#### Rumor . . . .

The rumor has risen from a whisper to a warble that Joseph Freeman, luminary of the Stalinist intellectual tribe and former editor of the tribal organ, The New Masses, is writing a book. Nothing new, it may be said, for not so long ago he wrote a book. Just the same, it is something new. His last book was an autobiographical comment on his life, both in its light and its lighter phases Also, it was tailor-made to the order of the Central Committee of the Communist party. What's new this time is that the Central Committee doesn't know what J. F. is writing in his latest work, and won't like it when it finds out. For, (says the rumor) the coming book announces Mr. Freeman's renunciation not of communism-he did that long ago in the columns of the New Masses-but of Stalinism as well. Do not imagine, however, that Mr M. Gold and similars will be publicly embarrassed thereby. They will simply write the stereotyped caumny against Freeman that he used to write against others.

World Imperialist War?' but the first of a series of articles merely, 'Exactly when, and on the agricultural problem. how, and with what lineup, will Charles Crompton contributes the war start?' And now that a thesis on the Jewish question.

Trotsky on Krupskaya

L. D. Trotsky writes on Krupskaya, Lenin's widow, who recently died. A letter by L. D. Trotsky on the Tasks in Spain—1936, is reprinted since

time has fully vindicated the tional Economic Committee. prognoses. better known as the Monopoly Jadunandan Sharma, a left

Committee, is an important feature of the current number. wing socialist of India and George M. Whiteside of Kanleader of the peasants, deas exposes the utopianism of scribes some aspects of the the latest crack-pot scheme to peasant problem in India. William Morgan reviews the strugsolve capitalism's ills-the progle for Irish Independence, now gram of the so-called American Foundation for Abundance, the being renewed.

latest product of Oscar Amer-Other interesting articles inger and William Zeuch, late complete one of the most splendid of all issues of the

di.

in an

**Zinoviev on War** New International. Those who Comrade Casanova, for sev- have not yet obtained this issue eral years a leading member may still do so by writing to of the Spanish section of the the business office of the mag-4th International, but who man- azine. Single copies are 20c. aged to escape to France at The subscription rate is \$2 per the time of the fall of Cata-year.

Address: The New Internalonia, vividly portrays and explains "The Popular Front's tional, 116 University Place, Flight from Spain." The splen-New York, N. Y.

#### ANNOUNCEMENTS |ANTI-WAR STRIKE

PENNY PARTY! Another riproaring swing fest Saturday, April 15, 8:30 P.M. Lower

MARXIST SCHOOL

'Fascism or Revolutionary

Marxism, Which Way for

the U. S.?"

A Lecture by

MAX SHACHTMAN

Monday, April 17, 8:50 p.m.

at Irving Plaza

Irving Pl. & 15th St., N.Y.C.

Admission 25 cents

we are asked to give our lives

for Democracy, it is well to

understand what millions will

A timely and significant ar-

ticle by Dwight Macdonald on

the work of the Temporary Na-

be dving for.'

of the New Deal.

East Side Headquarters, 163 Norfolk Street. HOT music--games — songs -- refreshunits of the Y.P.S.L. will march ments. Subscription: 21c. in the demonstration. Ben Her-BEER PARTY & DANCE: Saman, City College student ex-

turday night. April 22 at 9 P.M. Greek Workers Center —167 W. 29th St FREE BEER! Admission: Men 50c Ladies Free Auspices: Propelled for anti-war activity, who is now the Division Organizer for the Y.P.S.L. will speak at this meeting. gressive Cafeteria Workers.

The key slogan for the antiwar actions is "Jobs not Guns." This will be stressed in the special "Anti-War Strike Action" bulletin which is being published by the Y.P.S.L. Student Committee.

Many prominent speakers including wax Shachtman, James Burnham, and Hal Draper are scheduled to address the city-wide anti-war strike actions.

Get Your APPEAL At the Newsstand

SET FOR APRIL 20 (Continued from Page 1) students with Y.P.S.L. banners and torches. Uniformed

#### TUESDAY, APRIL 18, 1939

SOCIALIST APPEAL

## Big Battles Ahead For Auto Workers IS ROOSEVEL -By Dwight Macdonald **SPARKS IN THE NEWS**

#### Where is Walter Duranty?

Those who have been struggling with Walter Duranty's recent dispatches in the N.Y. Times are beginning to ask themselves where these remarkable productions are coming from. Myself, I should not be surprised if Walter is writing from a small room in the Bronx, with a bottle of whiskey within easy reach. Certainly, there is no need for him to be in Moscow to turn out these garrulous and banal "think pieces" on what he conceives to be the state of mind of the 170,000,000 inhabitants of the Soviet Union. The density of facts per agate line, never very high in Duranty's stuff these days, is now the thinnest in journalistic history. This sort of reporting used to come from Riga, in the days before the Soviets became respectable. But the Bronx would do just as well.

#### Social Justice a la Scab

In the New Beader for March 11 a bit of information appeared which should be useful to all who come up against Coughlinites in the trade union movement. I give it in full: "DE-TROIT-Father Coughlin's Social Justice. anti-Semitic, anti-labor publication of the fascist priest, has been put on the unfair list by the Michigan Federation of Labor because it is printed in a scab shop."

#### Spontaneity Again

Comrade John Travis writes in from Lynn, Mass., to clarify the question of spontaneity in revolutionary tactics, which was 'raised by a Luxemburgite in this column several weeks ago. I quote part of his interesting letter: 'Real social revolutionary action may involve spontaneous over-boiling of the masses. Nevertheless, the revolutionary vanguard that will lead the social revolution (we hope) will have long been preparing for just such an explosion of the masses. They will at that time strive to direct the angry explosions of the masses into a powerful and effective revolutionary attack upon the class enemy and the capitalist system. Thus real social revolutionary action involves both spontaneity and preparation: the spontaneous explosion of the masses brought into control, and led by a revolutionary vanguard with a prepared revolutionary program, strategy and tactic."

#### Mr. Mumford Sees the Light

The N. Y. Times had occasion recently to rebuke the Hollywood producers, of all people, for lack of patriotism. The Times pointed out indignantly that in such recent films as Jesse James and Stagecoach, the "bad men" of Western history are shown to have been Robin Hoods waging heroic war against the wicked bankers and land-grabbing railroad builders. "The thing makes good melodrama," conced-'ed the Times, "bút it is not very effective propaganda for democracy. If the American people today are to have their hearts set aglow for Americanism and the American Way, it does not help matters to show that America's great West was built up by pirates and assassins operating under railway charters from the government."

The Times then devotes several lengthy paragraphs, which I omit, to demonstrating that the railroad builders were not pirates and assassins because where would we be without railroads? "Democracy and Americanism," it concludes, "have won many new converts in recent years, one might almost say recent months. But not all of them have succeeded in ridding themselves of old ideas and old phrases from the time when they were much less certain about the virtues of American democracy. . . Much more consistent is a writer like Lewis Mumford. Having rallied to the cause of democracy against the fascist menace, Mr. Mumford has the courage to discard the doctrine that America was taken into the World War by the Morgans and the munitions makers. Mr. Mumford now calls this version a fable." The Times doesn't have the face to add the courageous Mr. Mumford's final conclusion on the last War: "What was wrong was not that we sought to preserve democracy; what alone was wrong was that we failed.'

Time was when intellectuals like Mumford were applying their talents to debunking American history. But when New Republic liberals go star-spangled, they do a thorough job of it. It is to Hollywood, apparently, that in future we must look for a realistic interpretation of our national past.

#### Add: Defense of Reimann

Last week I printed Guther Reimann's protest that I had misinterpreted his article, "Doing Business in Nazi Germany." And now Peter Tor writes in, also to protest that "Reimann is not unaware of the intimate relation. ship between the Nazi bureaucracy and the capitalist class. . . His bitter attack, a few months ago, on the People's Front as a method of fighting fascism is an indication of his opinion. . . On the whole, his book, Germany: World Empire or World Revolution, is not only one of the most stimulating analyses of Nazism, but one that can take its place beside Guerin's, as a worthy addition to a revolution

Top Membership for Martin Split-off Group Set At One-Fourth C.I.O. Union

alliance with the reactionary automobile union are carried absolutely subordinate to the leadership of the A.F. of L. out and that the Stalinist can- fact that war is coming and the Council. Martin must have cer is isolated and discredited United States will be in it, said funds, if he is to survive. The in the ranks of the automobile whole character of his union workers. The fight that the

and his present position forces west side, Chrysler, Briggs and him into attempted alliances Hudson locals started at the and deals with the automobile Cleveland convention around tain that he will formally join dents has now got to be deepor months.

resenting the automobile workers. is headed by a Stalinist the automobile workers, behind leadership, which will unques-U.A.W., if allowed to run the union, unchecked by the membership.

Rank and File Bloc The militancy and courage displayed by the rank and file delegates at the Cleveland con-

(A full analysis of the situation in the automobile industry vention has now got to be organized into a large bloc of all will be printed in an early isnonest, progressive union men sue of the Socialist Appeal.)



In a statement issued April participates in a new party as by the All-American Buro, political secretary?

mobile workers.

\* \*

ably deeper than comrade Rivera, in his fantastic impulsiveness, believes."

necessary to expel him from

creation of a new political parsupporting one of the candidency. Rivera is political secretary of the new party. With the Confederacion General de tion. reference to this, the statement | Trabajadores ["anarchist"-led declares:

## Mass Drive for Jobs Blocked by C.P.ers IS ROOSEVELT **POLICY BASIS**

(Continued from Page 1)

All personal plans, all future projects both of a personal na

(Continued from Page 1) to see that the tasks of the ture as well as national are the editorial.

Defines "We"

It then defined the pronoun which Roosevelt used. 'we'' "By 'we' he undoubtedly meant manufacturers. It is fairly cer- the question of the vice-presi- Western civilization," stated the editorial. Western civilizathe A.F. of L. in the next weeks ened and extended around a tion includes the empires of genuine union building pro- Great Britain, France, the driver truckers union. The C.I.O.-U.A.W., while rep- gram, which will be able to United States and their opmobilize the great majority of pressed colonial possessions. The editorial whipped up the armaments race by declaring the program, launch the necestionably continue to practice its sary measures to isolate the that only "serious resistance" suicidal, wrecking activities unscrupulous Stalinist poli- can ease the "pressure" from and will eventually destroy the ticians and then to go forward the Berlin Rome Axis. "Nothtowards rebuilding the union ing less than the show of preinto a powerful instrument to ponderant force will stop them, defend the interests of the auto- for force is the only language which they understand.'

In using the pronoun "we," stated the editorial, the President told the Rome-Berlin Axis that any war plans they contions template must take into consideration the tremendous force of the United States ANY war forced by them would immediately involve the United States.

The editorial lauded the new British and French policy of stiffening their resistance to the Rome-Berlin Axis, and stat-

ed that it is only the application of this kind of reasoning which can stop war and that "President Roosevelt properly links the divergences are incompar- the United States with the eleventh-hour effort to avert a

about saving peace at the

The immediate occasion of and his impulsive mind, he first possible moment. He inhe break of Rivera with the committed a series of errors; tends to enter the war not to reason for him to look for some but to save American capitalist the Casa del Pueblo [dissident al power to declare war with dates for the Mexican presi- trade union group] to the out any checks from the people Fourth International, to win or from "neutrality" legisla

party as the main instrument ty of Workers and Peasants. nations can halt the new world workers' revolution in the Unitprise will be an inevitable ed States can save the Amerifiasco for which we cannot car- can people from dying at progam of transitional slogans ry the slightest responsibility Roosevelt's dictation on foreign

FORCE" - THREAT

#### Resort to Hoodlumism Against Militants Who **Gain Workers' Support**

(Special to the Socialist Appeal) opposed to the march being di. TOLEDO, Ohio-Eight hun- rected at W.P.A. headquarters. dred workers turned out for a Nelson Meagley, W.P.A. ofmass meeting, April 6, to pre- fice workers' chairman, then pare for action to stop the mass took the platform for a mill. firings on the W:P.A. The tant talk about the role of the meeting was called by the of-Roosevelt administration in ficers and job stewards of the paving the way for cuts, and W.P.A. Auxiliary of the local called for support to the reso-

C.I.O., the W.P.A. Division of lution. Local 29 of the United Office Whereupon Eddie Cheyfitz. and Professional Workers Unofficial Communist Partiv ion, and the C.I.O. owner-Whip'' in the C.I.O., delivered a slanderous attack on the mili-The workers came prepared tants. labelling them as to carry through a real mass "scabs," "stool pigeons," and "Franco's fifth column." "He

drive for jobs. Their campaign had already been launched a said he would bring charges week previously at an overagainst Selander. flow mass meeting, and by a **McCormick** Protests militant picket-line and demon-Tim McCormick, C.I.O. ex-

stration at the W.P.A. headecutive board member and one quarters, Safety Building (city of the most popular figures in hall) and Lucas County Court the Toledo labor movement, an House on April 1. The April 6 unimpeachable militant leader meeting and the previous ac- for years, demanded for Setions had all deen organized en- lander the right to answer tirely by the W.P.A. organizathese vicious lies. Selander answered by pointing

But the meeting was moved to his record of six years on in on by the Stalinist leaders Toledo's picket lines, his nuof the Toledo C.I.O. Council ex- merous arrests in strikes and ecutive board who, here as demonstrations; he pointed out everywhere, by virtue of their that the attack was launched pro-Roosevelt line, oppose mili- against him to divert the distant action against W.P.A. cussion from the question of cuts. action against the lay-offs. He

When they called the meeting challenged Cheyfitz to bring to order, not a single repre- charges against him. sentative of the W.P.A. office workers was included in the seat, with many workers going, list of speakers drawn up by up to him to assure him of the C.I.O. executive officials.

Smother Action Proposals

ssue the "Tories," lauded Roosevelt, on the head.

skipped over the W.P.A. adto President Roosevelt and the President's request for an adpropriation.

At this point Ted Selander, mick countered with a right to vice-president of Local 29 and the jaw that finished Cheyfitz

After the meeting, hundreds W.P.A. workers' own resolution of rank and file workers sur-Only the danger of a before the meeting-brought mick and pledged their support forward. He was ruled out of to "drive out this crew who are order, and Cole's resolution holding us down every time we carried by a weak smattering need action."

The Stalinist-controlled exec-

C. P. Goon Squads utive board of the C.I.O. Coun-When Selander asked to be cil met the following night and permitted to present his local's took no action to organize the resolution for a parade and 15- fight against lay-offs. But they minute stoppage, a hoodlum did work out a scheme to vicsquad, led by Kenneth Eggert, timize Selander and other milicommunist Party organizer. tants without permitting open began a tumult. But they were hearings on any charges. They soon out-shouted by the real are going to call upon the Stalworkers present, who drowned inist-controlled international ofthe disrupters in a chorus of fice of the office workers to 'Let's have the resolution!" "reorganize Local 29" as that Finally Selander got the crew has already done in San floor, read the resolution, and Francisco, the New York inmoved its adoption, which was surance agents, etc. quickly seconded from all over The Stalinists may attempt in the hall. Cole then went to the this fight to send their goon 'mike'' and said he favored the squads against the leading proresolution except for the sec-gressives. In that event, the tion placing responsibility for progressive trade unions are the lay-offs on the Roosevelt determined that they will not administration and that he was be passive victims of assault.



#### Fourth International was the and every error was a further save "Western democracy". ty in Mexico, the "Revolution- sort of miracle which could profits. That is why he fears ary Party of Workers and show people that he was right. a popular referendum on war Peasants," for the purpose of In this way he tried to oppose and why he wishes full person-

in the liberation of the working class. The base of such a party must include not empirical and conjunctural demands but a and, what is more important, the program of social revoluments were submerged, the 'Club became tion. The idea that one can create a party 'ad hoc' for a con-With Haws and lies the Directory (which crete conjuncture is absolutely ternational, but that by his po-

ruled France until Napoleon was crowned incredible and opportunist in litical activity he puts himself Emperor) sought to suppress the Babouvists. its essence. A workers party fundamentally outside the

that

ist's library.' MEN AND WOMEN OF LABOR



#### GRACCHUS BABEUF

(Nov. 23, 1760-Guillotined April 27, 1797) That great day in 1789 came. 'The aroused masses stormed the gates of the Bastille, and French feudalism, the hereditary right to expoit, was delivered the first of a series of deadly blows. The oppressed took heart; freedom was ahead. The French Revolution had

Francois Noel Babeuf (he later changed his

#### 'By EMANUEL GARRETT

more militant.

our ranks.'

sub-secretariat of the Fourth International, it was declare that the present political attitude of Diego Rivera is incompatible with membership in or

loyalty to the Fourth International. The statement declared that "if Rivera would not have resigned, it would have been

"We consider a proletarian

"This fact alone shows that

The statement concludes: "We all did everything in eleventh hour, this is an absoour power to restrain Diego lutely unmistakable declara-Rivera from taking irreparable tion of Roosevelt's intention to steps. We did not succeed. plunge the United States into Driven by his temperament

union center] and now he is

leading the Revolutionary Par-It is absolutely clear to every war. Marxist that the new enterbefore the workers of Mexico

and the world. We must state openly that not only has Rivera resigned from the Fourth In-

shattering disaster.' Aside from the poppy-cock

the coming world war at the

Only Way Out

Only the danger of internal revolution within the opposing

battlefields for boss profits.



of ayes

**FORCE AGAINSI** 

their support, Cheyfitz gave a signal, and Eggert's goon As speaker after speaker squads attempted to evict from ook the "mike" it became the meeting Clayton Rusch, an clear that a deliberate attempt officer of Local 29. A group of was being made to prevent any workers intervened and prereal discussion on the W.P.A. vented this hooliganism. In the

disturbance Eggert sneaked up Finally Kenneth Cole, C.I.O. behind one of the Local 29 exexecutive secretary, told the ecutive board members, Alex history of the C.I.O., denounced Feldstein, and gave him a blow

Infuriated by these scandalministration and ended with a ous actions, Tim McCormick resolution calling for "loyalty strode across the platform to Cheyfitz, seized him by the col-

As Selander returned to his

pay for this dirty business."

kick him in the groin, McCor-

o Gra rebel) turned to the revolution with all his energy. He had been employed up to then by nobles in asserting their feudal rights against the peasants from whom it had become increasingly difficult to exact feudal payments and obligations. And, "in the dust of the manorial archives I discovered the horrible secrets of the usurpations of the nobility."

The Revolution spoiled him, he wrote, and made him "unfit for any kind of employment" except politics. Holding various posts, he worked feverishly among the poor, championing their interests, and developing his own program for social emancipation.

#### For "Equality without Illusions"

The large property owners found him meddiesome; they tried to discredit him. Because. throwing off "all hypocritical tactics," he demanded "equality without illusions," and not satisfied with the limited gains of the Revo lution he hoped for "the socialization of all the resources which can be infinitely multiplied and increased 'by means of 'a planned organization and by the wisely directed labor of all.

Arrested in 1790 for his communist agitation, he was released through the intervention of Marat. Out of fail he continued to be "meddlesome," and more so as the idea of the class struggle matured in his mind. There were two classes, he said: first, the "bloodsuckers of the twenty-four million . . . who for centuries have been enjoying their laziness at the expense of our sweat and toil;" and second the worker who must "toil much and eat little or you won't have any work and you won't eat at all. That is the barbarous law of capital.' So great was his hatred of oppression that he was momentarily blinded to the great accomplishments of the Revolution, and of Robespierre, its leader, because the oppressors had not all been vanquished. That is why when on the ninth of Thermidor, revolutionary calendar month, the reaction sent Robespierre to the guillotine so that it might put an end to social upheaval and sit back and enjoy its bourgeois victories, Babeuf approved. But not for long. He saw his mistake in the black reaction that Thermidor brought.

The "good folk" wined and dined, and drank in the luxuries of economic conquest. The poor lived on bread rations, starved, and drank in the full misery of poverty under the new despotism. Babeuf's daughter, aged seven, died of starvation. His two sons were so pinched with hunger that he could scarcely recognize them when he returned from work in the provinces

In 1795, Babeuf merged his group of comrades, organized around a journal he had founded, "The Tribune of the People," with a group of advanced Republicans to form the Pantheon Club. The Club read newspapers (which were expensive in those days), handled member's correspondence, and collected funds for poverty stricken radicals and to free

Like every group of despots before and since they accused the revolutionary opposition with being in the pay of the enemy-in this case, the monarchists.

#### Insurrection by Force

Meanwhile Babeuf perfected his program Believing at first that power could be won peacefully, he gradually discarded that illusion, realized that the oppressed must effect their insurrection by force.

political prisoners. Men like Darthe and Bu-

onnarroti (to whose great book on the "Society

of the Equals" we are indebted for much of

this information) were far to the left; others

were merely bourgeois humanitarians. As

workers joined the Club, the bourgeois ele-

In the streets, the masses were restive. Sporadic outbreaks occurred here and there In the cafes, they sang Babeuf's song "Dying Hunger." They listened to his tirades against the bloodsuckers. "Conquer or Die," he told them, in an open war between patri cian and plebian. His bourgeois friends quaked it his frenzy; they chided him with being "indiscreet."

Napoleon sent out a warrant for his arrest Babeuf went into hiding. Those close to Babeuf banded together and published a new paper. The Society of Equals was organized. "The destitute," he told them, "are the power on earth. They have the right to speak as masters to the governments that neglect them."

The rebels armed. The Secret Directory of the Society met. Finally, Babeuf read the Act of Insurrection; the day for the rising was se in May 1796. They were to seize power and institute a "revolutionary and transitional power, constituted in such a way as to free the people from the natural enemies of equal ity and to endow it with the unity of will neces sary for the adoption of republican institu-

#### "Last Episode" of the Revolution

Through secret agents the government learned of the plan. All the leading members of the Society of Equals were arrested. Riots occurred in demonstrations of solidarity with the arrested. Months later they were brought to trial. The prosecutor spun a vivid picture of atrocities committed by the defendants The verdict had been decided on in advance Babeuf and Darthe were sentenced to be ex ecuted; the others to exile. When the sentence was read, Darthe and Babeuf stabbed them selves. The knives were blunt; they lived through the night. The next day they were guillotined.

The "last episode" in the French Revolution had come to an end in the figure of the man who combined the aims of the French Revolution with the yet to be fulfilled aspira tions of the modern proletariat. In his day, the proletariat was too young to put his ideas into victorious execution. But as it grew the prole tariat absorbed his ideas; those of the first practical communist. Blanqui after him drew upon them, the Communards experimented with them, the Russian workers put them into actual operation.

"The French Revolution," Babeuf had written, "is only the precursor of another, far greater revolution, which will be the last."

Fourth International. with a so-called minimal program is eo ipso a bourgeois principles are involved we canparty. It is a party which not permit any concessions, makes the workers support even toward such an important burgeois politics or bourgeois politicians

**Deep Divergences** 

our policy toward the tional or whether he will be but it is an episodic question. world revolution, breaks his in- we hope that the first alterna-

figure as Diego Rivera. 'We cannot guess whether the new inevitable debacle will teach comrade Rivera the road

(Mexican) elections is false; definitely absorbed by the current of intellectuals who are Can one imagine that a Marx- now breaking with Marxism in ist puts the difference about favor of a mixture of anarthis secondary or tertiary pro- chism, liberalism, individualgram above the program of the ism and so on. Needless to say

cernational connections and tive will be realized."

## THERE IS ANOTHER **CHOICE!**

#### (Continued from Page 1)

The dark picture which Roosevelt draws for the future of the American people will be realized regardless of what Hitler and Mussolini do. That is, if the workers permit themselves to be fooled either by Roosevelt and the Democratic party or by the politicians of the Republican party. The choice which Roosevelt offers us is unavoidable unless the American workers step forth and take their destiny into their own hands.

The huge and wonderful economic machine of this country, a machine capable of producing more than enough to satisfy the needs of all the people, is not functioning. It cannot function so long as it is owned by capitalists who are interested only in making profits for themselves.

But the workers need not take any one of the choices presented by Roosevelt. They can make their own, an entirely different choice. They can take over the factories,: they can put all the unemployed to work, they can produce all that is necessary for a high standard of living. If they do that, nothing that Hitler or Mussolini will do can possibly harm them. Fascism will make no headway in this. country and it will be destroyed in other countries.

There are really only two basic choices for the American workers. One, to continue under the present system, which means to choose what Roosevelt and his Democratic and Republican colleagues offer us-lower wages, more hours of work and a lower standard of living, and war. The other is for the workers to take over the productive forces of this country and produce things for the use of the people, bringing higher wages, less hours, a high standard of living-and freedom!

Where

(Continued from Page 1) sure to which both have been Imagine for a moment back to the Fourth Interna- subjected by Germany in its expansionist drive into what has been, since the end of the last World War, the private stamping ground of Anglo French finance capital.

The closeness of an outbreak of hostilities is further indi cated by the increasing number

of warships that are massing in and around the Mediterranean. Although Chamberlain is still doing his best-to win Mussolini to the "Democratic" front, Italian, British, French and German battleships are being concentrated along England's "life-line to the East" or, as Mussolini calls it, "Our

Sea. The British imperialist camp Conservatives and Liberals alike, to say nothing of the war-mongering Laborites — are also busily engaged in wooing the Soviet Union. Stalin, however, is acting coy. Despite the past few years of shouting about "collective security" and bigger and bigger, lovelier and never talked over a telephone the "democratic front," Stalin is now playing a double game of trying to come to an agree-

ment with Hitler on the one side and of squeezing whatever concessions he can out of the Anglo-French camp. His fail ure thus far to pronounce himself unequivocally for the Anglo-French imperialists is due to the feelers Moscow is secretputting out to Berlin, and is oncealed behind a high-soundng protestation that the British and French "guarantees to the small nations" are still . . inadequate."

N. Y. MEETING OF S.W.P., Y.P.S.L.

A membership meeting of Local New York will be held Tuesday, April 18, 8 p.m., at Beethoven Hall, 210 East 5th Street, N. Y. C.

Admission will be by S.W. P. or Y.P.S.L. membership card only.



Sharecropper Girl

MEMPHIS, Tenn. --- Juvenile

Alma Mardis swung an axe

Alma claimed that she was

though only sixteen years old

and could pick as much as 150

pounds a day. But she hadn't

had much chance to go to

school or learn what the world

She'd never heard a radio;

never been higher than the sec-

#### Stockholders Enjoy Lovely Easter

"Every year we say firmly THIS is the most elaborate Court authorities found thrills Easter Parade of all time----it in commonplace conveniences couldn't possibly ever be more today as they demonstrated impressive!" And every year them to a sixteen-year-old Miswe prove ourself wrong, for sissippi girl who said she had the Easter Parade steadily gets never seen an electric light. lovelier. What it will be in and didn't know Franklin D. 1980—we tremble to think!

Roosevelt was President. "You'd have thought the cold and cut two cords of wood to weather would, in some measearn \$8 so that she could visit ure, have chilled the thought Memphis from her farm home of wearing Spring attire—but in northwest Mississippi. She no! Even the ladies who enarrived in Memphis nearly pencased themselves in mink had on their Springiest frocks and niless and was taken by police to the Juvenile Court for temtheir brightest new hats. Many porary shelter. were in suits; many wore dark frocks with accents of flamboy an expert cotton picker, al-

ant color in their accessories. "The men looked important in their top hats and cutaways and the children (there were millions!) swaggered proudly along in their new dresses, and spanking white coats

gloves. "Marion Pearce, in tune with

lilies

American.

ond floor of a building and never even heard of an elevathe Easter spirit, wore a complete black ensemble, broken tor; never seen a Christmas tree, didn't know the signifiby the white of her small turcance of Easter, never eaten ban. The newest note was in an ice cream cone; never seen her black patent leather shoes a motion picture; never owned with nose-gave of real valley sprouting from each a silk dress—and never hear toe!"-New York Journal and of Hitler and Mussolini.—From an Associated Press dispatch.

was like.

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Editor: MAX SHACHTMAN Associate Editors: FDTS FELIX MORROW HAROLD ROBERTS Staff Members: PETT JOSEPH HANSEN EMANUEL GARRETT **Business Manager:** S. STANLEY

#### FIGHT WITH THE SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY FOR:

- 1. A job and a decent wage for every worker.
- 2. Open the idle factories—operate them under workers' control.
- 3. A Twenty-Billion dollar Federal public works» nd housing program.
- 4. Thirty-thirty! \$30-weekly minimum wage-30-hour weekly maximum for all workers on all jobs
- 5. Thirty dollar weekly old-age and disability pension
- 6. Expropriate the Sixty Families.
- 7. All war funds to the unemployed.
- 8. A people's referendum on any and all wars.
- 9. No secret diplomacy.
- 10. An independent Labor Party.
- 11. Workers Defense Guards against vigilante and Fascist attacks

## Miaja's Sponsor

We already knew that the man who put the last stilleto into the back of the Spanish masses by opening the doors of Madrid to Franco, was a leader of the Communist Party of Spain-the "hero of Madrid," General Jose Miaja.

We did not know until now that Miaja was put into his post of commander-in-chief of the Loyalist armies at the direct instigation of Moscow. In his eye-opening story of Stalin's role in Spain, Walter Krivitsky reveals that Miaja was sponsored for the job by the Red Army General Berzin, Stalin's direct agent in charge of Moscow's military work in Spain:

"Berzin insisted on the appointment of a commander-in-chief. This authority the Republican government, supported by jealous parties and factions, was reluctant to establish. Berzin found a suitable candidate in Gen. Jose Miaja, a good soldier without political ambitions, and within a few weeks-in November 1936-he obtained the appointment for Miaja, who has retained supreme command ever since."

### believer in democracy? Doesn't he believe in the

democratic process of persuasion? ls a worker or farmer, once he dons a uniform, a different kind of animal than a worker or farmer in overalls? Yes, says Roosevelt. In uniform he is the slave of those whom he serves with his life, a slave whose mind must be warped and dried up so that he will be an obedient puppet resigned to die at his masters' command.

With an army of such slaves, Roosevelt and the capitalist class can permit a certain freedom to the un-uniformed workers, since the slaves can always be sent to put down the othersthat's the mechanics of democracy under capitalism.

We say: in uniform or out, the worker and farmer must have the opportunity to learn the truth about his oppressors, and we intend to see that he learns the truth.

### Bankrupt

No social order in history has ever been so indifferent about acknowledging its appalling bankruptcy as capitalism is today.

The wizards of every variety, including the Master Magician Roosevelt ,have taken a crack at the problem of unemployment. Ten years of uninterrupted crisis have passed, and with every conceivable plaster applied to the ailing economic body, there are still some 13,000,000 workers unemployed in this country alone, not counting their families.

Thirteen million workers who want to work so that they may eat and live like decent human beings-but who cannot, because capitalism is so bankrupt that it can live only if millions starve and die!

It is true that capitalism in its fascist form "solves" unemployment-but only by substituting for it the most degrading kind of slavery for the toiling people.

No less damning is the fatal drift of world capitalism into a new war. Millions of men are already /under arms in Europe. All the great statesmen of our social order have taken it for granted that the war is inescapable-and with it the slaughter of millions, the devastation, the rapine and horror of modern warfare. None of the rulers of the world is able to offer even a seriously debatable program for preventing war. And that for a very simple reason: war is a curse of capitalism itself, one from which it cannot escape.

Capitalism means starvation for the millions. Capitalism means slavery for the millions.

Capitalism means the physical extermination of the millions.

It is bankrupt. It must be destroyed before it destroys modern civilization.

## A Place for Youth

"There is no place for youth in industry, in the professions, or in other areas," declared Dr. Caroline B. Zachry of the Progressive Associa-

#### SOCIALIST APPEAL-

## British Imperialism Prepares For War to Save Its Spoils of Piracy $\equiv$ IN

The Sun Is Finally Beginning to Set on the Empire Which Is Girding All Its Strength to Hold Its Possessions Spread By Ruthlessness, Terror and Fraud Over the Entire Globe

By SHERMAN STANLEY and area! One-fourth of the world's er'' population!

food supplies! So may we describe the imnerial might and majesty of people the British Empire today-that Empire which has reached the

height of its historic course and upon which the sun is finally beginning to set. British imperialism is preparing to go to war. The entire dia, which they classify separpopulation of Great Britain is ately. But this is a superficial kept continuously on needleedge by military notices, airraid drills, conscription drives and feverish preparations for conscription of the laboring masses. The munition plants called in imperialist circleswork around the clock, day in at the center. Then there are and day out. England's huge textile plants are being converted into war production units. Each ship of the British navy has steam up and is prepared to sail at a moment's notice to the military posts assigned by the Admirals. The Empire was built by imperialists. violence, conquest and pillage, terror and destruction. HUGE EXTENT OF SUBJECT COUNTRIES The same weapons keep it together over the opposition of

the masses of people who com- in the British Empire are the quered by force of arms. pose it. But when it comes to numerous colonies where Britpreparing for war, then the ish might and force reign suworld is told of British "democpreme. racy," British civilizing pow-Far Eastern Colonies: India,

ers, British love of peace. Ceylon, Malaya, Hongkong, Borneo, etc. West Indies: Jamaica, Triniidad, British Guiana, etc.

There is British territory in South Africa: The Union, Baevery portion of the globe. The sutoland. Rhodesia. East Africa: Egypt, Anglo-Egyptian Sudan, Uganda, Kenya, Zanzibar, Nyasaland.

> Australasia: New Zealand, <sup>7</sup>iji, Papua, etc.

small territories too numerous Bermudas, Gibralter, Malta, it will fight with the ferocity

Thus lies the huge skeleton of policy today: the determination billion people are white? It is the Empire. Within its reaches to hold on to its world posses-

or about 12% belong to this extracting coal and gold from One-fourth of the world's dominant ruling race. And only the mines of Transvaal, Indian about 40 million inhabit "moth- laborers weaving jute products England, the imperialist in the mills that line the nerve-center of this world Em- shores of the Ganges, Scottish One-fourth of the world's pire. It is this minority-about shipbuilders working on British 1 to 13-that domineers over Men-of-War in Glasgow harbor, the lives and destinies of hun- Indian fur-trappers in Canada's dreds of millions of subject Hudson Bay areas

HOW THE EMPIRE

By conniving where possible, by fraud where conceivable, by conquest where unavoidable this Empire was built.

Since losing the 13 colonies that later evolved into capital-

On the contrary, for a 200 year period they have kept up a speedy rate of expansion and extension

The provinces of India were ubiugated by a conquest that extended over a period of 150 ears. Millions of natives were either killed by the "divilizing" bullets of His Majesty's Colonial troops or died from famines artificially induced by the conquerors.

Ceylon, Hongkong, Egypt, Of overwhelming importance South Africa-all were

> Germany's African colonies were part of Britain's prizes rom the World War.

Privileged rights and 'spheres of influence'' were wrested from the helpless Chinese in a series of bloody wars

HITLER AND FRANCO LEARNED FROM BRITAIN Hitler learned from the practices of the British how to suppress local opposition move West Africa: Nigeria, Gold ments and then move on to Coast, Sierra Leona, Gambia. | new grabs. The art of enlisting mercenary, colonial troops

with the aim of suppressing In addition, there are 81 civil uprisings was taught to other cities, island groups and Franco by his British brothers. The British Empire rose to to list. The world is dotted with its present position on a tidal military bases, strategic cen- wave of blood and violence ters and coaling stations that | never equalled. Before it gives are a part of the gigantic "de- a single one of its prizes to an fense'' apparatus these master imperialist rival, before it sets imperialists have created. The free a single one of its colonies

Aden, Corfu, Ceylon are but a born of desperation. That is the meaning of British foreign

The prosecution identified de-

fendant Edward Blatt as a

ter if he were "detained

abroad." This premeditation

and aware that he was to be

Aaron Sharfin, ánother de-

lendant, was identified by la-

bor papers during the initial

Robinson investigation as hav-

ing been in 1933 a member of

Max Schwartz, who testified

that he was secretary of the

Marinelli Democratic Club and

had transmitted to Marinelli

estimated that only 68 million toil the Bantus of South Africa sions.

Trial Is Opened In New York City

In outlining the prosecution's

**Rubens-Robinson Passport Fraud** 



TUESDAY, APRIL 18, 1939

President Roosevelt has made it fairly plain, by his endorsement of an editorial in the Washington Post, that in a war between the Axis Powers and the "Democracies" in Europe, the United States will be on the side of the latter. "whether or not the United States was at the outset physically involved.

Virtually up to the eve of the declaration of war against Germany in 1917, not even Woodrow Wilson went so far in committing the United States so emphatically and unambiguously to participation in the war..

It would therefore be well to reflect, while there is still time, on what the American masses-in-uniform would be fighting and dying for.

Q. .

3

1. M.

"Western civilization" is imperilled, according to Roosevelt. Imperilled, presumably, by the totalitarian, Fascist states, by their brutal violation of the sovereignty and integrity of small nations, by their assaults upon democracy. A war to safeguard the latter is a sacred and just war.

#### **One Must Look at Realities**

Now if that were really the case, a strong argument could undoubtedly be made for a war against the Fascist Axis, even for a war launched without delay, without waiting for further steps by Hitler and Mussolini. But the truth of the matter is that the issues of independence of small nations and of democracy play no part whatsoever in the considerations of those who are talking about and planning the coming world slaughter.

There is a simple and easy way to test this assertion. One has only to look around at the realities.

Let us assume for the moment that Roosevelt, Chamberlain and Daladier, the spokesmen of the three great "democracies," are really concerned only with such noble thoughts as the preservation of national independence in the small countries and of democracy and democratic institutions throughout the world. Obviously, Hitler and Mussolini are a living, pressing menace to their preservation. But it is reasonable to say that only those can honestly combat the Fascist threat who come into court-or to the battlefields-with clean hands, who have already demonstrated in practice and not only in words that they stand for democratic institutions and national freedom.

#### The Record of the Democracies

Hitler's rape of Czechoslovakia and Mussolini's rape of Ethiopia and Albania are indeed hateful, and have aroused the genuine indignation of every honest person, to say nothing of every real social-

But the fact of the matter is that the two Fascist chiefs only acted in exactly the same manneralthough on a much reduced scale—as England and France and the United States have acted in the past ,and, basically, are acting at the present time.

The last half-century, at least, records an uninterrupted series of British, French and American invasions and conquests, not one whit less brutal and brazen-more so, if anything-similar to those just accomplished by Germany and Italy. Down to the present day, the record of imperialist France in Northern Africa and in Asia is far more atrocious than anything done to date by Hitler and Mussolini. The horrible record of British imperialism in India, China, Africa, Palestine, Egy Ireland, makes the Albanian invasion look like a Sunday school picnic. One day's bombing of Indian villages by England has produced more fatalities than Czechoslovakia and Albania put together. The record of the United States is not purer. There are Filipinos living today who recall the gruesome brutalities of "Hard-boiled Smith," Sergeant of the United States army who practised the 'water cure'' on the natives who refused to submit to the American conquest of the Islands. Hitler has yet to match the American record in Haiti, Nicaragua, Cuba, Mexico and other fields of "our own" imperialist expansion.

Empire ocupies a total land area of 12 million square miles. In 1935, its population totaled 475,004,458 people. But this figure did not include the 76,000,000 people of the Indian Native States which are, in reality, under British control. Under the Union Jack live the most diverse groups and races of people-ranging from

the blacks of Africa to the pale whites of the London slums. They may be roughly divided into the Malay, Indo-Chinese, Indo-European, Semitic and Hamitic (African) groups.

THE "DEMOCRACY" OF THE EMPIRE

SCOPE OF THE

BRITISH EMPIRE

What portion of these half a

British propagandists are ac-WAS BUILT customed to dividing the Empire and its tributaries under various headings: Mother England, the Dominions, the Crown Colonies, Protectorates and In-

and false division. The British ist America, the British im-Empire consists of England- perialists have not given away the industrial and financial rul- or freed a single inch of land ing heart of the Empire, with that came under their rule. London, the "City" as it is

the "dominions" of Canada and Australia which in reality have the status of independent, capitalist nations in their own right. These countries have de veloped an independent capitalist class and are not directly under the thumb of the British

That is, until this appointee of a traitor committed his final stroke of treason.

But the Daily Worker is still silent about its comrade!

The "Lost World" territory was described by Dr. Paul A. Zahe, research associate at Union College, recently returned from an expedition in British Guiana "as a group of towns in which Indian inhabitants lived in harmony, without warfare or internal strife." Wait till the capitalists get around to them, bringing "civilization" i.e., the theory that you work, I eat.

## **Roosevelt's Democracy**

A vicious anti-labor bill, introduced into Congress by Representative Smith of Virginia, is so broad in its scope that the New York Times of April 13 characterizes it as "a composite of the anti-alien and anti-radical legislation offered in the last twenty years." Spokesmen for the American Civil Liberties Union and other organizations appeared in opposition to this bill at a hearing on it before a House judiciary subcommittee on April 12.

In the ordinary course of events, a serious direction of attention to this bill by the labor and liberal movement would be sufficient to hold up its passage for some time, if not to discourage its passage altogether.

But the bill received a powerful impetus toward passage when representatives of the Army and War Departments of the government appeared before the judiciary subcommittee and advocated passage in particular of those sections of the bill which would prohibit distribution of "subversive" literature among the armed forces.

Army and navy representatives, it need scarcely be pointed out, do not take the unusual step of appearing before Congressional committees to endorse proposed legislation, unless they have the permission of the Commander-in-Chief of the armed forces-President Roosevelt.

The bill's definition of "subversive" literature is broad enough to cover any and all, including an ordinary leaflet advertising a labor mass meeting. But even if the definition were strictly limited to outlawing literature seeking to persuade soldiers and sailors to become socialists, what is Roosevelt afraid of? Isn't he a

tion on April 5 in revealing the results of her five-year study of American youth.

This conclusion was fully concurred in by Professor Hamden L. Forkner of Teachers College on April 7 when he addressed 4,000 teachers, administrators, and business executives at the 42nd Annual Convention of the Eastern Commercial Association in New York City.

"Boys and girls leave school, ready for work, but they cannot find employment in industry,' he declared, and added that the chances are ten to one against a 17-year-old high school graduate getting a job upon graduation.

Both Dr. Zachry and Professor Forkner fear that unless jobs can be provided for American youth the present system of government in the United States will break down and be replaced by socialism or fascism.

The answer of the New York Times, mouthpiece of American capitalism, to these facts and this challenge reveals exactly what American capitalism proposes to do to help American youth-deny that the problem of unemployment faces American youth.

In the editorial columns of the Times, one of their propagandists declared from his easy chair in a fat well-paid job: "Dr. Zachry's assertion ... is the sort of broad generalization which does not stand up under scrutiny."

But any one of the hundreds of thousands of youths in New York City alone knows just how true those assertions are. All he has to do is turn to the Want Ad columns of this same New York Times to find out that American capitalism doesn't want youth in industry.

General Wood has stated where American capitalism does want youth-in labor camps and in the war machine.

Youth's place is among the ranks of those fighting to smash this entire system of hopelessness, of war, bloodshed, and barbed wire labor camps. Youth's place is among the ranks of the working class revolutionists, fighting to establish a socialist society of plenty and opportunity for all in America.

It has been recently estimated that if a man has been on relief all of his life, from birth to death, he will have received around \$28,000 in public funds. But for the rich, who have been on poor relief all through the ages, this is only small change.

lew.

Party-Stalinists or in the Trot-Inames of dead children from ens," apparently G.P.U. (Sov- skyists," whether they "hold tombstones for use on passport (Continued from Page 1) iet secret police) agents, ob- policies in the International applications. Robinson Expected Arrest

Workers Order," or have had tained passports. The investi-"any business with Russia in recent years." Jurors were gation revealed that the names and other data in the passport asked whether "any of them close friend and attorney for application were fraudulent. were born in Italy or Germany the missing Robinson, who had The investigation followed or subscribe to the political deposited funds with Blatt to the arest of the couple in Moscow, where they have been philosophy known as Fas- take care of Robinson's daughcism.

incommunicado ever since, if they are still alive.

**ON MAYOR KELLY'S** 

REELECTION

Editor:

victory.

effect:

janitor in Chicago:

on Robinson's part lends case, U. S. District Attorney weight to the conclusion that **A** Political Trial That the present trial is Lester Dunigan described how Robinson was a G.P.U. agent deemed political by both prosethe defendants secured certificution and defense was reveal- cation of forged passports arrested in Moscow. ed by the questions which they through New York County requested Judge Goddard to Clerk Al Marinelli's office, and direct at the jurors. Jurors their connections with persons were asked whether they "hold in or close to that office. The membership in the Communist defendants, Dunigan said, took



No doubt by now you have heard of the "overwhelming victory of the Hon. Edw. J Kelly'' for the Democratic Party in the recent mayoralty

"Labor elects Mayor trend of things that your paper ber, 1933). Also, under the Kelly"-"Labor for Kelly-Kelis about the only one that can name Wershow, Schwartz was ly for Labor," etc., etc. be turned to in the search for a supporter of the Stalinists in In contrast to the above may some clearness as to the Retail Clerks Union Local 338. I present the following, which common man's "democratic Zuckerman, on the witness was given to practically every rights." Though we have in stand, testified he was an inti-Chicago the "Daily Record" it mate friend of Sharfin's for the goes almost without saying past eighteen years and was "CHICAGO FLAT JANITORS' that it would be useless to more than willing to accomo UNION LOCAL NO. 1 write to them as they were all date him. When asked by the "You are being given a picalong rather vigorous backers prosecutor if he could say ture of Mayor Kelly for every of Kelly. whether Sharfin belonged to In order to protect to some any political organization, apartment or flat that you serve, and in addition one for extent my own position and Zuckerman said no. Even yourself. You are requested to that of the aforementioned pa- stranger was Zuckerman's tesput Mayor Kelly's picture in | rent may I request that in the | timony that, although he your window, deliver one of event of any publishing of the thought the transactions inno-

these pictures to each of your material contained herein my cent, he had given a fictitious tenants requesting them to name and that of parent be not name, Louis Epstein, for Sharhang the picture in their win- mentioned. fin when Federal agents got on G. N. Sharfin's trail. dow. You will do this at the Chicago

#### The Leopard Still Wears His Spots

"But that was in the past," it may be-and issaid. Not at all! If that objection is meant to imply that the American leopard has changed his spots, it is false and worthless. It would be somewhat less dishonest if it reflected more reality. But it doesn't.

If Roosevelt and his regime were really shocked at the violation of national independence (and not merely concerned with the profits and power of American finance capital), they would take some corrective measures in their own back yard. For instance:

Withdraw from the Philippines and grant them full and genuine independence. "Then the Fascists will seize the helpless islands!" We have heard that scoundrelly imperialist argument before long before the word Fascist was invented. That is always the way in which one imperialist gang seeks to justify its depredations and dominion.

Withdraw from and grant full and genuine independence to the Virgin Islands, to Puerto Rico and all the other islands of the Caribbean which are really under the heel of Wall Street and Washington. The argument that "we" are there "for their own good" is identical with Hitler's argument for taking over Czechoslovakia, and not a particle improved thereby.

Stop the collaboration with and financial-political support of the vicious totalitarian dictatorships in Latin America, which are today part and parcel of Roosevelt's own axis, or which he is attempting to win over to his side. Is the scandalous regime of Getulio Vargas in Brazil less totalitarian and more democratic than Mussolini's merely because it works hand in glove with Washington? Or the regime of a dozen other Latin-American countries?

It goes without saying that Roosevelt will no more act in this way than will the spokesmen of imperialism in France, England, Belgium or Holland. And since we are not, like the liberals and Stalinists, in the futile business of begging the leopard to change his spots, we are not wasting our time in appeals to the imperialists to do what only a workers' government can and will do.

And since Roosevelt, Chamberlain and Daladier will not and cannot act otherwise than as imperialists, all their pious talk about the "small nations" and "democracy" remains what it has always been on their lips and the lips of similars: opium fumes for drugging the masses into acquiescing in their wars for profit and plunder.

earliest possible moment, for the sooner done the better. "Fraternally yours, W. L. MCFETRIDGE. "President."

My father is a member of the passport applications handed above organization and saw him by the club's vice-presithat nothing very much could dent. Abie Katz, who in turn

be done about the situation. I had received them from Harry election in Chicago. I merely am not a member of any of Zuckerman, a friend of Shar wish to present what appears the so-called "radical" organ- fin. to be a very rank-smelling proizations, though my own viewcedure in connection with his hem. My position at present In a recent issue of the "Fed-

Schwartz has been previouspoints are strongly allied with ly identified as Max or Mac Shaw, one-time star subscripdoes not permit my member- tion salesman for Soviet Ruseration News" I observed an ship. sia Today (as that, his picture imposing advertisement to this It appears from the general appeared in its issue of Decem-

York, District 15, Middle ronx, and as having been acve in the Unemployed Counil unit at 1400 Boston Road near Claremont Parkway. One of the first government witnesses on Thursday was