

# SOCIALIST APPEAL

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## Roosevelt Heading Towards New War

### Speech in Chicago Heralds U.S. Offensive Against Japan in Far-Eastern Crisis

The address on the international situation, delivered by President Roosevelt in Chicago on October 5th, is the most important single declaration of policy ever made by Roosevelt, and ranks among the three or four most far-reaching political statements made during the entire history of this country. In the Chicago address, the whole world heard the masterful, able, and authentic voice of that gigantic colossus, American imperialism.

#### Mobilizing Public Opinion for War

There is only one possible focal sense in which to understand the Chicago address: *This declaration is the first grand-scale step in the mobilization of public opinion in the United States for the coming war.* Beside this mighty fact, all debate over details of Roosevelt's remarks, all analysis of particular sentences and paragraphs and doctrines, sink into insignificance. The official mobilization of public opinion, the keystone of war preparations in the modern world, is now, formally launched.

This does not mean, of course, that war is necessarily expected, so far as the United States is concerned, within the next weeks or months. The exact moment of the outbreak is not in question. It means that the outstanding spokesman of United States capitalism, concluding from his analysis of the world crisis that the war is inevitable, and recognizing that the United States must necessarily take part in it, has charted his firm and direct course toward entry and participation in the manner and on the terms that will yield the most fruitful results for the American bourgeoisie; that henceforth the governmental policy of the United States will be wholly subordinated to the war preparations.

The further steps will follow quickly, and indeed a number have already been taken during these few days since the delivery of the address. On all sides it is recognized that the infantile "Neutrality Policy", so solemnly enacted by the sovereign Congress, has been quietly buried. The "isolationist" press is being whipped into line—within two days of the address the *New York Evening Post*, which has made "isolation" the foundation of its editorial policy, announced its abandonment, and stated in large type that the problem now is to implement and carry through unwaveringly the President's policy. The poor little "peace organizations", only a month ago issuing statements that pretended to speak for the nation's destiny, are weeping plaintively in a social wilderness. A vast increase in the armaments budget, and the enact-

ment of various industrial and military mobilization plans, are an obvious certainty at the next session of Congress.

#### Reaching Out for the World

In its political meaning, Roosevelt's address beings where Secretary Hull's declaration to the Buenos Aires Conference concluded, and follows the same general structure established there by the Secretary of State. At Buenos Aires, Hull announced the fact of United States hegemony over the entire South America Continent, and the determination of the United States to defend hegemony against any and all comers. The two Americas, Hull made clear the base of operations from which the United States reaches out toward the rest of the world.

In his Chicago address, Roosevelt announced that the most favorable area for United States imperialist expansion—and expansion already begun on a serious scale—is the Far East; and that the United States is prepared to defend its rights of exploitation in the Far East against the challenge of Japan and of any or all other powers.

This point of view had already been made apparent in the response of the bourgeois spokesmen since the outbreak of the war in China. It is, for example, in the highest degree instructive to compare the editorials in the *New York Times*—the most authentic representative of American finance-capital—in connection with the Chinese events with those written on the Civil War in Spain. The *Times* did, it is true, express from time to time distaste over the actions of Franco, Mussolini, and Hitler in Spain, and a certain indignation over Almeria and Guernica. But the tone was kept within careful and restrained limits; and these comments were balanced by editorial attacks on the Loyalists, and especially by a balance maintained between "pro-Franco" and "pro-Loyalist" correspondents in the news columns.

#### The Masses Are Duped By Lies

Almost daily since the invasion of China began there have appeared anti-Japanese editorials, not in the least measured or restrained, but, quite on the contrary, of a vigor and even violence unprecedented in the *Times* since the days of the last War. Japan has been denounced as a brigand, outlaw, murderer and pariah. Not by accident, then, does the *Times* greet Roosevelt's Chicago address with open armed approval.

It goes without saying that public opinion

could not be mobilized for the war through a direct and open statement of the imperialist aims and issue. The masses of the people will fight only for what they take to be some great ideal, some moral imperative to which the sacrifice of life itself will seem an act worth while. The naked, ruthless, barbaric demands of imperialist exploitation—the real aims and real issues—are useless and worse than useless for the rallying of the people. They must be dressed up in lies and illusions, illusions that will capture the conscience and rouse the moral fervor of the masses.

To lay out the blueprint of these lies and illusion is the chief purpose of the Chicago Address. With the terrible cynicism and utter moral perversion which the rotted capitalist order impose upon all of its servants, Roosevelt flung out the banners around which the masses will be rallied and summoned.

"Innocent peoples and nations are being cruelly sacrificed to a greed for power and supremacy which is devoid of all sense of justice and humane consideration.... The peace-loving nations must make a concrete effort in opposition to those violations of treaties and those ignorings of humane instincts.... Those who cherish their freedom and recognize and respect the equal rights of their neighbors to be free and live in peace must work together for the triumph of law and moral principles in order that peace, justice and confidence may prevail in the world... It is, therefore, a matter of vital interest and concern to the people of the United States that the sanctity of international treaties and the maintenance of international morality be restored.... Surely the 90 per cent who want to live in peace.... can and must find some way to make their will prevail.... The moral consciousness of the world must recognize the importance.... of putting an end to acts of international aggression.... There must be positive endeavors to preserve peace...."

#### Behind the "Peace" Cry

How pure and noble! What beautiful words to die for! No word here of American investments and commerce; no slightest mention of the impatient idle capital in the banks unable to find profitable outlet in the home market; no whisper of the imperative necessity to preserve the American competitive position in the Far Eastern markets. We are lifted to far loftier ground. From that vantage point we see the cruel, greedy enemy, slaughtering and murdering, devoid of all moral sense. A fit dog to kill! And we, of course,

(Continued on page 7)

# Anglo-French Aid to Spanish Loyalists is a Fraud and Delusion

By Felix Morrow

The Anglo-French proposal that Italy enter negotiations for withdrawal of blackshirts troops from Spain has been answered—by sending a crack squadron of bombing planes including Bruno Mussolini among its aviators; by landing in Cadiz and Algeciras of more "volunteers"; by dispatch of reinforcements to the Libyan garrison adjoining British Egypt; and by the Italian note of October 9, declined discussions.

## Democratic Myths

Can one doubt that Downing Street and the Quai d'Orsay knew in advance that this would be the answer? Yet their note was the occasion for hints, nudges and winks to the press, to the effect that they were firmly moving to put an end to Italy's role in Spain. The American press, swinging into line behind Roosevelt's new international policy, joined the Anglo-French press in playing up the Anglo-French note, thus bulwarking the myth of democratic indignation against Fascist intervention. Loudest hosannas of praise came from Stalin's press in Russia and elsewhere. Who can believe that the Stalinists are such fools as to have hoped for action at this point by Anglo-French imperialism? But they needed this pap for their following, in order to justify Stalin's subordination of all considerations to securing Anglo-French collaboration in the war. The Negrin Government of Spain, likewise committed to fawning upon Eden and Delbos, joined in passing off the Anglo-French note as real currency.

In all likelihood Mussolini's refusal to withdraw his troops will not be countered by decisive aid to loyalist Spain from England and France. The French People's Front Government, now moving sharply to the right in its internal policies, may try to soothe the masses by accompanying its conservative trend with a gesture to Spain, such as formally opening the border. Even this gesture may never come to pass, unless a new strike wave dislodges the reluctance of the reins of the Anglo-French bloc—that must never be forgotten; that hold on the reins has been especially strong since Stalin's purge of the Red Army leadership lost French confidence (such as it was) in the Franco-Soviet pact.

## Little Aid in Sight

Even if the border were formally opened, it would provide little more aid to Spain. Foodstuffs and non-military materials are and have been passing through, on the ill-equipped and constantly bombed railroad to Catalonia. A slight trickle of war materials has also been getting through with government consent, but much smaller in amount than the illegal war-supplies which have been coming through Southern France against the resistance of the government. Let us recall that this underground stream—including arsenal workers raiding stores of machine guns and light artillery, mechanics and aviators boldly stealing off with planes from military airports—reached its highest point in December, when the French government was most firmly set on the non-intervention course. The strangling of the

French revolution, after the revolutionary strike wave of last year, by the class collaboration policies of the Communist and Socialists, has also weakened this source of aid to the loyalists. It is unfortunately certain that the formal gesture of opening up the border to ordinary commerce will not be followed by shipments of armaments sufficient to defeat Franco.

Why? Because the Spanish question is but one factor in the conflict of interests between the imperialist powers and will not be "settled", if the imperialists of both camps have their way, until they come to the point of a general settlement of all questions, i.e., the imperialist war.

## Break-up of Status Quo

Italo-German imperialism embarked on aid to Franco as but one of many moves designed to break up the European status quo in which Italian and German capitalism were strangling. German capitalism (handicapped in the world market by the chains of Versailles) and Italian capitalism (weakly industrialized, a poor relation at the carving up of the world at Versailles) had temporarily "solved" their problems by fascist destruction of wage levels and social services. Fascism, however, had done little more than enable them to prepare the armed forces required to make inroads on the broad economic domains of Anglo-French imperialism. Eventually their inroads must lead to war and all its dangers of defeat and revolution. But the only other alternative is an even more certain one: internal collapse and revolution. Germany marched to the Rhine, sought penetration in Austria, Hungary, the Balkans, Czechoslovakia. Italy sought expansion in Ethiopia and the Near East, spheres of influence in the Balkans. The Spanish civil war provided another area of penetration through support of Franco. Formal recognition of the Burgos regime irrevocably tied Italy and Germany to the fate of Franco.

Why should Italy retreat from Spain under Anglo-French diplomatic pressure, any more than Mussolini desisted in Ethiopia even when economic sanctions were decreed against him? (Had sanctions been effective, i.e., had they threatened Italy with economic collapse, Italy would have gone to war to break the economic blockade. Sanctions are "peaceful" only when ineffective.) If Anglo-French imperialism were to grant Mussolini big economic concessions—loans, colonies, markets, special access to raw materials—it is theoretically conceivable that in exchange Italy would withdraw support from Franco. But Anglo-French imperialism—look at the franc!—is in no position to buy off Mussolini, despite the spoils of Versailles, for capitalism as a

whole is declining. Without tangible rewards and the prestige accruing from them, Mussolini could not withdraw from Spain without dealing a fatal blow to the illusion of omnipotence he has built up at home, and on which his regime rests. Mussolini will not, cannot withdraw, except after a crushing military defeat, i.e., war. If through England, France or Stalin, the loyalists increase their armament, Mussolini will increase Franco's armament to save him from defeat. Such increase to either side, until the point where outside aid is thus qualitatively transformed into active, large-scale participation may, in fact, be the way the world war will start.

## Struggle Inevitable

For the present, Anglo-French imperialists hold back from the war, although they must eventually fight to hold what they have. Until that moment, they avoid decisive showdowns, in Spain as elsewhere. They have permitted a trickle of aid to the loyalists from the Soviet Union because they do not want a victory for Franco, at least as long as he does not double-cross his allies....

Equally, however, they do not want a victory for the loyalists. First, because victory for the anti-fascists any time before the crushing of the Catalonian proletariat in May would have resulted in the victorious workers going on to the social revolution. As a matter of fact, even now, five months after the May defeat of the workers, after five months of Negrin's systematic curbing of the workers, important sections of the Anglo-French ruling class still doubt that a loyalist victory would not be followed by social revolution in spite of all the bourgeois-Stalinist bloc have done. Second, an imminent loyalist victory would be such a blow to Mussolini's prestige that he would plunge into war by sending really complete expeditionary forces into Spain and bottling up the Mediterranean with his air and navy forces.

The only time the Anglo-French bloc made a serious move in the Spanish situation was to safeguard the "life-line of empire" through the Mediterranean, by the Nyon pact; but that was only fortuitously part of the Spanish situation. Short of an open invasion of Spain on an imperialist scale of warfare, or a systematic blockade of the Mediterranean, Anglo-French imperialism will not stop Mussolini's aid to Franco.

## Britain in Bilbao

Meanwhile, British interests have arranged with Burgos for exploiting the British-owned Bilbao region (their chief investment in Spain). The sudden collapse of the Basque defenses came after British banks had extended to Burgos, via Dutch connections, a credit of nearly ninety million pounds, to be secured by products from the Bilbao region. This fact was revealed by the authoritative Frederick T. Birchall in the New York Times of August 16.

Fifteen months of the war have conclusively proven what we said

# Ratification Meet Starts N. Y. Mayoralty Drive of Left Socialists for Cannon

Circumstances beyond our control forced us to start our campaign late, yet the revolutionary socialist campaign is rapidly gaining momentum. Our campaign got off to a good start at the ratification meeting held on October 10. Our campaign platform and pamphlet will soon be out. Section campaign meetings are being planned to cover the neighborhoods. Special leaflets appealing to unemployed and trade union workers will soon be out. The final wind-up rally of the campaign will be held on October 31.

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When the Workers Alliance decided to demonstrate on October 16th against WPA lay-offs and relief cuts, at the Central Relief Office instead of at City Hall, the Stalinist leadership explained that the former place had been chosen so as not to "embarrass" the Mayor whom the WAA has endorsed. The Progressive Group in the WAA, however, raised hell on the question and forced a change in the scene of the demonstration to City Hall. Won't the Mayor be embarrassed!

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And speaking of embarrassment—those anti-Fascists who are supporting LaGuardia are at a loss to explain their candidate's insistence upon getting all pro-LaGuardia forces, behind George U. Harvey, Boro President of Queens and New York anti-Fascists' public enemy number one. The Fusion Party balked at supporting Harvey and put up its own candidate, Ambrose V. Acker, against him. But LaGuardia put on the screws and Acker withdrew at the last moment, bitterly denouncing LaGuardia for pushing Harvey. The ALP also refused to support Harvey, but strangely enough, put up no candidate against him. That leaves the field clear for "Hitler Harvey".

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When the National Executive Committee of the S. P. endorsed Altman's line on LaGuardia, it tried to placate the Clarityites by a further ruling that, with the exception of LaGuardia, Local NY was not to support in any way candidates who run on capitalist party tickets. Now Altman has violated even this decision by having the SP candidate for Boro President of the Bronx withdraw and endorsing the ALP candidate, Nagler, who is also running on the ticket of Fusion Party, the most capitalist of capitalist parties in New York.

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Last week Tammany Hall put the Mayor on the spot by having the Board of Aldermen override the Mayor's veto of the cut in the water tax. Fiorello almost threw a fit and shouted that he refused to make up the difference in the budget by cutting relief. That's what he says now. But just wait

till after Election Day. Of course the Mayor could easily solve the problem by taxing the swollen profits of the utility corporations—but maybe his Wall Street backers wouldn't like it.

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The CP is also having its troubles. The Democrats pulled a fast one by manufacturing an Anti-Communist Party which filed as an independent party for Mahoney. The CP protested vigorously. And why not? When it comes to anti-Communism, the CP wants no amateurs in the field.

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In a radio speech under ALP auspices, LaGuardia said, "I refuse to take any orders from any political bosses." Now when the ALP, after Election Day, comes to City Hall and pleads, "Please, Fiorello, tell the police to stop beating up our pickets," LaGuardia will be able to pass out cards with the above quotation on it.

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Norman Thomas was quoted in the press last week as urging the defeat of Tammany Hall. Will some bright Clarityite please tell the class what Thomas said last year about the CP's slogan, "Defeat Landon"?

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The Stalinist-controlled WPA Teachers' Union held a "symposium" on the campaign last week. There were four speakers—all for LaGuardia! The SP speaker, S. John Block, came out openly for LaGuardia. In response to a question from the floor he revealed that he didn't know that a split had taken place in the SP!

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The "peepul" of NY should be getting ready for a big sell-out after Election Day. Neither major party has thus far said a word about transit unification although it is one of the most important municipal issues. According to the attorney for the Manhattan El, both parties are agreed upon a modification of the now infamous Seabury-Berle plan which was rejected some time ago and which provided that the City buy the BMT and IRT lines at such a monstrous price as to necessitate an increase in the fare. Incidentally, both Seabury and Berle are 100 per cent behind LaGuardia.

Friday—Oct. 15th at 9 P. M.  
**"Stalinized Russia:**  
 will be discussed by  
**Dr. S. D. Schmalhausen**  
 Brilliant and Dynamic Lecturer  
 Questions & Discussion  
 Admission 50 cents

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at the outset: the "great democracies" will give no decisive aid to the anti-fascist struggle. The man-power and resources of the Spanish people will be added to from the outside only by independent aid from the international working class. But the Second and Third Internationals bend all their energies only to getting "their" capitalist governments to aid. If the energies of the Spanish masses last that long, the "great democracies" will utilize them as a "little Belgium" when the imperialist war finally breaks out.

# The Beginning of the End

"Stalin Will Depart from the Scene Laden with All the Crimes Which He Has Committed—Not Only as the Grave-Digger of the Revolution but as the Most Sinister Figure in the History of Mankind"

By LEON TROTSKY

The bureaucracy has become the instrument for undermining, demoralizing and degrading the country in all spheres of social and political life. Above all is this true in the sphere of economic life. The charges of sabotage flung right and left have thrown the entire administrative apparatus into chaos. Every objective difficulty is interpreted as a failure on the part of some individual. Every failure is identified, whenever the occasion arises, as sabotage. Every province and every region has had its own Piatakov shot. The en-

gineers in the planning institutions, the directors of trusts and factories, the master-workers are all in mortal fear. No one wants to assume responsibility. Everybody is afraid to show any initiative. At the same time one runs the risk of facing the firing squad for a lack of initiative. The intensification of despotism leads to anarchy. A democratic regime is as indispensable to Soviet economy as is the good quality of raw materials or lubricants. The Stalinist system of management is nothing else but a universal sabotage of economy.

## Dictatorship of Ignorance and Lies Poisons Spiritual Life of People

The situation in the sphere of culture is, if that is conceivable, even worse. The dictatorship of ignorance and lies stifles and poisons the spiritual life of 170,000,000 people. The latest trials and the purge as a whole, which is utterly dishonest both in its aims and methods, have completely entrenched the hegemony of slander, vileness, denunciation and cowardice. The Soviet school cripples a child no less gravely than the Catholic seminary from which the Soviet school differs only in that it is less stable. Scholars, educators, writers and artists who show the slightest signs of independence or talent have been terrorized, hounded, arrested, exiled, if not shot. All along the line the incompetent scoundrel triumphs. He prescribes the itinerary to science and dictates to art the laws of creativeness. The stifling stench of putrefaction is wafted from the Soviet press.

Is there anything more disgraceful than the indifference of the bureaucracy to the international prestige of the country? The representatives of the international big bourgeoisie and the military staffs of all countries make a much more lucid accounting of the Moscow frame-ups and of the seamy side of the purge than do many labor organizations that are duped by their leaders. What must be the attitude of the capitalist augurs toward a "socialist" government which stoops to such base adventures? Berlin and Tokyo, at any

rate, could not but have known that the charges against the Trotskyists and the Red Generals of betraying the state in the interests of German and Japanese militarism are sheer twaddle. We need not, naturally, nurse illusions about the morality of the Japanese, the German or any other government. It is, after all, a question not of a competition in the observance of the ten commandments but of an appraisal of the stability of the Soviet regime. The Moscow government came out completely discredited from the trials it had organized. Its enemies, as well as its possible allies have a far lower estimate of its strength and authority than they did prior to the latest purge. This appraisal becomes, in its turn, one of the most important factors in international regroupings. Meanwhile, the government of the USSR has been retreating step by step before its weakest adversary, Japan. The boastful articles and speeches which accompany these capitulations will fool nobody. The Moscow oligarchy is waging internal warfare and is therefore incapable of external resistance. The surrender of the Amur Islands has completely untied the hands of Japan with respect to China. It is quite probable that Litvinov was instructed in advance to tell the Japanese diplomats: "You can do whatever you please with China but don't touch us. We will not meddle." The ruling clique has no concern for anything except its own self-preservation.

## The Communist International Supports the Counter-Revolution in Spain

Equally disastrous is the brand of diplomatic work that is being accomplished through the apparatus of the Comintern. England and France by themselves would never have succeeded in foisting upon revolutionary Spain a bourgeois counter-revolutionary government of the type of Negrin. The so-called Communist International has become an indispensable transmitting mechanism to the diplomats of London and Paris. In the struggle to win the confidence of the French and British bourgeoisie Stalin's chief concern throughout has been to prevent the Spanish workers from taking the path of the socialist revolution. The aid given by Moscow to the "People's Front" government was always conditioned upon the demand of more stringent measures against the revolutionists. As was to be expected, the struggle against the workers and peasants behind the lines invariably led to defeats at the front. The Moscow clique is

as impotent against Franco as it is against the Mikado. And just as Stalin requires scapegoats for his own sins in domestic policy, so too in Spain the defeats engendered by the reactionary policies have compelled him to seek salvation in the destruction of the revolutionary vanguard.

The methods of amalgam and frame-up, developed in Moscow, are transferred full-grown to the soil of Barcelona and Madrid. The leaders of the POUM who could only be accused of opportunism and lack of resoluteness toward Stalinist reaction were suddenly proclaimed to be "Trotskyists" and, consequently, allies of Fascism. G.P.U. agents in Spain "discovered" letters written in invisible ink by themselves which established the ties of the Barcelona revolutionists with Franco in accordance with all the rules of the Moscow frame-up. For the execution of the gory directives there is no lack of scoundrels. The former revolu-

tionist Antonov-Ovseyenko, who recanted his Oppositional sins in 1927 and who was in mortal fear in 1936 lest he fall into the prisoner's dock, announced in Pravda his complete readiness to strangle "Trotskyists" with his own hands. This individual was promptly dispatched in the guise of a consul to Barcelona, with precise instructions as to whom to strangle. The arrest of Nin on a patently frame-up charge, his being kidnapped from jail and his being secretly murdered are the handiwork of Antonov-Ovseyenko. But the initiative, of course, does not come from him. Important business of this sort is never undertaken except upon direct instructions from the "General Secretary" himself.

Amalgams on European soil are needed by Stalin not only to distract attention from his own utterly reactionary international policy but also to reinforce the over-crude amalgams on Soviet soil. The mutilated corpse of Nin is intended to serve as a proof-of Piatakov's flight to Oslo. The matter is not confined to Spain alone. Preparations have long been on the way in a number of other countries. In

Czechoslovakia, a German emigre, an old and impeccable revolutionist, Anton Grylewicz, was arrested on the suspicion of—connections with the Gestapo. The accusation was doubtless manufactured by the G.P.U. and supplied in ready-made form to the obliging Czech police. Genuine and alleged Trotskyites are being subjected to persecution especially in those countries which have had the misfortune to become dependent upon Moscow: Spain and Czechoslovakia. But that is only the beginning. By utilizing international complications, and the hirelings of the Comintern, who are ready for anything, and last but not least, the resources of the expanding gold industry, Stalin hopes to attain the application of identical methods to other countries. Reaction everywhere is not averse to getting rid of revolutionists, especially if the work of frame-ups and murders is taken upon itself from behind a corner by a foreign "revolutionary" government, which operates with the aid of domestic "friends" who receive their pay from the self-same foreign budget.

## Stalinism the Scourge of the Soviet Union and Leprosy of Labor Movement

Stalinism has become the scourge of the Soviet Union and the leprosy of the world labor movement. In the domain of ideas Stalinism is a cipher. But by way of compensation it disposes of a colossal apparatus which exploits the dynamics of the greatest revolution in history and the traditions of its heroism and its conquering spirit. From the creative role of revolutionary violence in a given historical period, Stalin, with his congenital empirical narrowness, has deduced the omnipotence of violence in general. Imperceptibly for himself he has passed from the revolutionary violence of the toilers against the exploiters to counter-revolutionary violence against the toilers. Under old names and formulas the work of liquidating the October revolution is thus being consummated.

No one, not excluding Hitler, has dealt socialism such deadly blows as Stalin. This is hardly astonishing since Hitler has attacked the working class organizations from without, while Stalin does it from within. Hitler assaults Marxism. Stalin not only assaults but prostitutes it. Not a single principle has remained unpolluted, not a single idea unsullied. The very names of socialism and communism have been cruelly compromised, from the day when uncontrolled policemen making their livelihood by a "communist" passport, gave the name socialism to their police

regime. Revolting profanation! The barracks of the G.P.U. are not the ideal for which the working class is struggling. Socialism signifies a pure and limpid social system which is accommodated to the self-government of the toilers. Stalin's regime is based on a conspiracy of the rulers against the ruled. Socialism implies an uninterrupted growth of universal equality. Stalin has erected a system of revolting privileges. Socialism has as its goal the all-sided flowering of individual personality. When and where has man's personality been so degraded as in the U. S. S. R.? Socialism would have no value apart from the unselfish, honest and humane relations between human beings. The Stalin regime has permeated social and personal relationships with lies, careerism and treachery. It is not Stalin, of course, who determines the road taken by history. We possess the knowledge of the objective causes which prepared the path for reaction in the U.S.S.R. But it is no accident that Stalin rode on the crest of the Thermidorian wave. He was able to invest the greedy appetites of the new caste with their most vicious expression. Stalin does not bear any responsibility for history. But he does bear responsibility for himself and for his role in history. It is a criminal role. It is so criminal that revulsion is multiplied by horror.

## Terroristic Acts of Despair Alter Nothing in the Stalinist System Itself

In the harshest codices of mankind no suitable punishment can be found for the ruling Moscow clique and, above all, the man who heads it. If, notwithstanding this, we more than once raised in our addresses to the Soviet Youth a voice of warning against individual terrorism which revives so easily on Russia soil soaked as it is with arbitrary rule and violence, it was not for moral but political considerations. Acts of despair alter nothing in

the system itself but merely facilitate for the usurpers bloody reprisals against their adversaries. Even from the standpoint of "vengeance", terrorist blows cannot offer satisfaction. What is the doom of a dozen high bureaucrats compared to the number and scope of the crimes committed by the bureaucracy? The task is to strip the criminals naked before the consciousness of mankind and to cast them into the garbage heap of history.

It is impossible to reconcile oneself to less.

To be sure, the Soviet bureaucracy like that of the Nazis hopes to rule for a thousand years. They are convinced that if regimes fall it is only because sufficiently resolute measures of repression have not been applied. The secret is simple: If every critical head is lopped off in time, it is possible to perpetuate one's rule. During a certain period in which the Soviet bureaucracy was fulfilling a relatively progressive role—in great measure a role that the bureaucracy of capitalism had performed in Western Europe in its day—dizzy successes fell to Stalin's lot. But this period proved to be very brief. Just at the moment when Stalin had become completely imbued with the conviction that his "method" guaranteed victory over all obstacles, the Soviet bureaucracy exhausted its mission and began to corrode even in its very first generation. This is precisely the source whence flow the most recent accusations and trials which to the average philistine appear to have fallen from the clouds.

## Stronger or Weaker?

Did Stalin reinforce or weaken his rule by the bloody purge? The answer given by the world press on this point was two-fold and equivocal. The immediate reaction to the Moscow frame-ups was such as to suggest almost to everybody the conclusion that a regime constrained to resort to such machinations cannot be long-lived. But presently the more conservative press, whose sympathies are always assured to the ruling Soviet caste in its struggle against the revolution, made a turn-about-face. Stalin had completely crushed the Opposition, had revamped the G. P. U., eliminated the refractory generals, and during all this the people had remained quiescent. Clearly, therefore, he had reinforced his rule. At first glance each of these two evaluations appears equally convincing. But only at first glance.

The social and political meaning of the purge is clear: The ruling stratum is ejecting from its midst all those who remind it of its revolutionary past, the principles of socialism, liberty, equality, fraternity and the unsolved tasks of the world revolution. The bestiality of the repressions testifies to the hatred which the privileged caste bears to the revolutionists. In this sense the purge increases the homogeneity of the ruling stratum and seems to reinforce Stalin's position.

## Bureaucracy Hated

But this reinforcement is essentially spurious in nature. Stalin himself, come what may, is a product of the revolution. His closest clique, the so-called Political Bureau, consists of individuals who are quite insignificant; but the majority of them are connected by their past with Bolshevism. The Soviet aristocracy which has so successfully used the Stalin clique to make short shrift of the revolutionists cherishes no sympathy or respect for the present leaders. It desires to be completely free from all the constraints of Bolshevism, even in the mangled form which

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### The A. F. of L. Convention

Three outstanding conclusions may be drawn from a preliminary view of the first week's sessions of the A. F. of L. Convention.

First: The events of the last year, national and international, have brought not the slightest change in the bitterly reactionary policies of the A. F. of L. officialdom. The hardened class collaborationism of the firmly entrenched bureaucrats expresses itself quite openly and brazenly in the Convention speeches, with their appeals for "employer cooperation" and their protestations of the "responsibility" and "respectability" of A. F. of L. unions. The key questions of the Convention are being settled in the classic bureaucratic manner: with the central aim of protecting and securing the position and privileges of the bureaucracy itself.

Second: In spite, however, of this thoroughly reactionary class-collaborationism, the social position of the bureaucrats, which depends upon their keeping together and loyal to them a movement of organized workers, compels them to take certain steps and put forward certain ideas which are in the interests of the workers. For example, the criticism of the recent tendencies of the labor movement to rely more and more upon government boards and "government interference", though motivated primarily for the A. F. of L. officials by hostility to the C.I.O. and jealousy at the C.I.O.'s comparative success in getting the ear of the government agencies, nevertheless contains much that is sound. Several of the speeches at Denver, whatever may have caused them, pointed out quite correctly the grave dangers to the independent strength of the labor movement which result from over-reliance upon the government.

It should never be forgotten that, however reactionary the A. F. of L. bureaucrats may be, they are professional trade unionists; and thus, in their own way, must guard and defend the trade unions which they lead. However unsatisfactory their way may be from a revolutionary point of view, however fatal in the long run, it is nevertheless preferable from a trade union standpoint to the policies of those who, like the Stalinists, utilize the trade union movement merely and only as a weapon in their own reactionary political schemes, and who are for that reason completely irresponsible toward the basic interests of the trade union itself.

Third: Lastly, the Denver Convention makes clear that the A. F. of L. is not dead, nor even dying. For good or for ill, the A. F. of L. still lives, and is stronger this year than last. The belief of those who thought that the day of the Federation was ended, that the C. I. O. movement would sweep it aside and leave only a pitiful fragment at most, is proved by experience to be unfounded. More than 3,000,000 workers are enrolled in the Federation, and for the most part its unions are more firmly and solidly organized than many of those of the C. I. O. Since the failure of the Little Steel strikes this Spring, just prior to which the A. F. of L. reached its lowest comparative point with reference to the C. I. O., the balance has undoubtedly been swinging back somewhat in favor of the A. F. of L.

If we ask why it is that the C. I. O., which unquestionably represents a movement historically more progressive than the A. F. of L., at least in its policies of industrial unionism and organization of the mass industries, failed in this first test to take over complete hegemony of the American labor movement and to sweep aside the A. F. of L. proper, there are a number of factors which must be taken into account in the answer:

The most basic consideration is doubtless the fact that the present stage of the development of American economy still leaves an economic foundation for obsolete craft organization. The "rationalization" of many forms of economic life has not yet reached a point where the policy of industrial unionism is as warmly welcomed as it is, for example, in the mass production industries.

(Continued on page 9)

# Aragon Front Veteran Tells of Sabotage of Anti-Fascist Fight By People's Front Government

By Harry Milton

The Daily Worker of October 5th carried an article written by Robert Minor, American Stalinist at present acting as a special correspondent in Spain.

He refers to irrefutable evidence to prove the connection between the "Trotskyist" POUM and Franco-Hitler-Mussolini and how the POUM General, Kopp, of the Lenin Division had brought enormous supplies of arms and ammunitions across no man's land to the Fascists, and how the POUM officers used to meet regularly with the Fascist General Staff in preparation for the opening up of the front simultaneously with the attempt to seize possession of Barcelona during the May days and turn the city over to the Fifth Column and Mussolini's marines who were to land from ships lying outside the harbor.

When I first arrived at Sietimo, the divisional headquarters of the POUM army at the Huesca front, we were kept there more than a week without proceeding to the front. We knew the front lines were short of men and we could not understand why we were kept in Sietimo. Some hundreds of the Spanish volunteers had been waiting for more than two weeks and it was only after some days that I learned why we were kept in Sietimo.

### Deprived of Rifles

We were kept in Sietimo because the Division Lenin had no rifles to give us. Incredible as it is the POUM army of some 9000 men had absolutely no reserves of arms or ammunition to arm the new recruits. We simply had to wait behind the lines until there were a sufficiently large number of dead, wounded or men going on leave before we could proceed to the front.

I got my gun and was attached to the Independent Labor Party contingent, La Granja sector. It was here that I learned the actual state of affairs regarding the armaments of the POUM.

When Franco attempted to seize the power on July 19th the Azana government was left without an army or a police force. The workers armed themselves against the wishes and in opposition to the Azana government, who were more afraid of the revolutionary workers than they were of the Fascists and stopped them dead in their tracks. They organized a new revolutionary army, the workers' militias. In Catalonia they succeeded in driving the Fascists completely out of Catalonia and half through the province of Aragon to the very gates of Huesca and Saragosa.

When the Anarchists agreed to confine the struggle against the Fascists simply to the preservation of bourgeois democracy, in return for the military aid they got from the Stalinist bureaucracy the Caballero government inspired by the Spanish Stalinists began the systematic sabotage of the Aragon front which was held by a crushing majority of Anarchists and POUM militias. Although the administrative control of the workers' militias were in the hands of the

Anarchist and POUM organizations the fundamental military policy and strategy were determined by the Madrid-Valencia and Catalanian governments whose entire policy was based on the destruction of the militias and the creation of a new army organized and controlled by the government. Had the order for a general offensive been given on the Aragon front it would have been the Anarchist and POUM militias who would have had to carry out the operation and it would have been necessary to supply these workers' militias with all the necessary armaments required for such an operation. The success of such an offensive would have fallen to the Anarchist and POUM soldiers and it would have been extremely difficult to popularize the creation of the new army or to justify the liquidation of the militias. Most important of all it would have aroused a tremendous enthusiasm and revolutionary feeling among the workers. Rather than risk the slightest possibility of another revolutionary wave in the direction of the social revolution the order for a general offensive on the Aragon front was never given.

Not only was such an order never given but the workers' militias were criminally short of arms. Long before the middle of July when the militias were completely smashed or incorporated into the regular army the government, inspired by the Stalinists, pursued a deliberate, conscious policy of sabotage with regards to the workers' militias.

The army of the POUM consisted of some 9000 men. Several thousand of our men were armed with American Winchester rifles of the type Custer used on the Indians. These guns had been sold by Stalin to the Spanish government and given to the Anarchist and POUM militias. They were military junk. They had been used in the period of armed intervention in the Civil War in Russia and had been taken out of the army junkyards and sold by Stalin. It is needless to say that this military junk was paid for in cash, in gold and in advance. The rest of our men had long and short Mausers most of which were more than 30 years old. We were always short of ammunition and what we did have was bad. We had no small arms, and bayonets were not given us until late in April. We had no tanks, adequate heavy artillery, trench motors or aviation. Our machine guns were very few, very old and unreliable. What we did have was a lot of men who were revolutionists and who were ready to die rather than permit the fascists to advance.

### Minor Lies

Robert Minor is as well aware of these facts as I am, he knows there is no evidence of any kind to prove any connection between the POUM which he calls Trotskyist (and which unfortunately never adhered to the principles of the Fourth International) and Franco. He knows he lies when he refers to Kopp, one of the POUM generals, as being an agent of Franco and of conferences that Kopp was supposed to have had with the Fascist general staff in no man's land.

## PACIFISM AND CHINA

Answer to Journalist Devlin

By Leon Trotsky

The so-called peace organizations, including the working class organizations, do not in the least constitute an obstacle to the war. The numerous peace conferences, organized mainly by the Comintern, are purely theatrical enterprises without the least effectiveness; in time of war all these peace leaders, all these pious and humanitarian ladies and gentlemen, will return to their governments to support them in the war as they did in 1914-1918.

The only political factor which today hinders the outbreak of war is the fear, on the part of the governments, of the social revolution. Hitler himself has said it many times. We must draw the logical conclusions from this: the more revolutionary the working class, the more it opposes the ruling imperialist class, the more are these latter prevented from carrying out their designs to make a new division of the world by armed force.

At the same time we must carefully distinguish between the imperialist countries and the backward countries, colonial and semi-colonial. The attitude of the working class organizations in and towards these two groupings cannot be the same. The present war between China and Japan is a classic example. It is absolutely indisputable that, on the part of Japan, it is a war of rapine and that, on the part of China, it is a war of national defense. Only conscious or unconscious agents of Japanese imperialism can put the two countries on the same plane.

That is why we can only feel pity or hatred for those who, in the face of the Sino-Japanese war declare that they are opposed to all wars, to wars altogether. The war is already a fact. The working class movement cannot remain neutral in a struggle between those who wish to enslave and those who are enslaved. The working class movement in China, Japan and in the entire world must oppose with all its strength the Japanese imperialist bandits and support the people of China and their army.

### No Confidence in Chinese Bourgeoisie

This does not at all suppose a blind confidence in the Chinese government and in Chiang-Kai-Shek. In the past, above all in 1925-27, the general was already dependent upon working class organizations in his military struggle against the Chinese generals of the North, agents of foreign imperialism. In the end, he crushed the working class organizations by armed force in 1927-28. We must learn the lessons from this experience which resulted from the fatal policies of the Comintern. In participating in the legitimate and progressive national war against Japanese invasion, the working class organizations must preserve their entire political independence of the Chiang Kai-shek government. The Communist Party of China again, as in 1924-25, is making violent efforts to turn over the Chinese working-class movement politically to Chiang Kai-shek and the Kuomintang. It is a crime all the more horrible because it is being committed for the second time.

At the same time, the remedy does not lie in the working class organizations declaring themselves "against all wars" and folding their arms in an attitude of passive treason, but rather in participating in the war, aiding the Chinese people materially and morally, and simultaneously educating the masses of peasants and workers in a spirit of total independence of the Kuomintang and its government. We do not attack Chiang Kai-shek for conducting the war. Oh, no. We attack him for doing it badly, without sufficient energy, without confidence in the people and especially in the workers.

A pacifist who has the same attitude towards China as towards Japan in this terrible conflict is like one who would identify a lockout with a strike. The working class movement is against a lockout of the exploiters and for a strike of the exploited. At the same time, strikes are often led by misleaders who are capable of betraying the working class movement during the strike. This is no reason for workers to refuse to participate in the strike but it is reason for mobilizing the working masses against the defections and the treason of the leadership. It often happens that during or after a strike the organized masses change their direction. This can very well happen in China. But this change can be favorable for the people only if the Chinese and international working class organizations support China against Japan.

Sept. 25, 1937.

# New Stalinist Frame-up Hits China 'Trotskyists'

## Chinese Bolshevik-Leninist Exposes

### Lies in 'Daily Worker' Dispatch

By Li Fu-jen

The following statement on the latest frame-up against "Chinese Trotskyist agents of Japan", reported in a Shanghai dispatch to the Daily Worker, is made by comrade Li Fu-jen, member of the Executive Committee of the Bolshevik-Leninists (Trotskyists) of China. He is of course in a position to speak authoritatively on the Stalinist frame-up system which is now being extended to China.—Ed.

According to what purports to be a cable dispatch from Shanghai printed in the Daily Worker of October 5, the hand of Stalin's G.P.U., dripping with the blood of murdered revolutionists in the Soviet Union and in Spain, has now reached into China.

The dispatch reports the uncovering of "a Trotskyist plot to knife the Chinese defense against Japanese imperialism in the back by a putsch in Kwangsi province." Police, it is stated, nipped the alleged plot in the bud by arresting "the entire membership of the local Trotskyist group," which, in familiar language, is declared to be "made up principally of bandits and other shady elements."

#### Frame-Up Apparent

That we are confronted here with another G.P.U. frame-up is apparent from the entire text of the Daily Worker story. We are told that the Trotskyists were headed by Wang Kun-tuh, "who had wormed his way into the executive committee of the Kuomintang organization in Kwangsi during the period of anti-Communist terror that swept China after 1929."

No person named Wang-tuh is or ever has been a member of the Communist League of China (Bolshevik-Leninists). Nor has any member of the League ever been a member of the Kwangsi executive committee of the Kuomintang or any other Kuomintang organ. I state these facts as one having personal knowledge of the League's membership and activity.

Even more decisive is the fact that there is no organization of the Communist League in Kwangsi province and there never has been.

The Stalinist practise of dubbing sundry persons (especially its own agents provocateurs)

"Trotskyists" is sufficiently well-known in China and other countries. If "Wang" exists at all, the inquisitors of the Kuomintang, with the help of G.P.U. agents (for the Stalinists and the Kuomintang are "allied" again) will doubtless secure from him a "confession" implicating the Chinese Bolshevik-Leninists in a plot to sabotage China's defense against Japan. The methods of the G.P.U. are so stereotyped as to be easily recognizable.

The supposed Wang, moreover, would have had no need to "worm his way" into a Kuomintang organ in the period between 1929 and 1937. For it is admitted even by the Stalinists that the Kuomintang regime at that time pursued what in effect was a pro-Japanese policy. A pro-Japanese plotter could have joined Kuomintang bodies easily and pursued openly the Kuomintang's own pro-Japanese policy within the party ranks without any fear of evil consequences.

#### "The Leading Newspaper"

Step by step, the Daily Worker reveals the Stalinist frame-up, or attempted frame-up of the Chinese revolutionists. "The leading Shanghai newspaper, Hsin Ching Jih Pao," it declares, "called for the rooting out of the Trotskyist traitors."

"At a time when the entire nation is united in war against our mortal foe," the paper is quoted as saying, "this despicable gang of Chinese Trotskyists are taking advantage of the sending of troops to the battlefronts to organize a plot in the rear. Is it not clear at whose orders these Trotskyists perform their deeds... In the name of our country's future, in the interests of resistance to the aggressor, the Trotskyist spies and traitors must be destroyed."

# Lasser Helps C. P. Drive To Undermine Militancy Of Unemployed Alliance

For many months there has been indignation in the ranks of the Socialist Party, particularly among the unemployed, concerning the pro-Stalinist and anti-Socialist attitude of David Lasser as head of the Workers Alliance of America. Two weeks before the last meeting of the National Executive Committee, the Socialist League of Local New York decided it was time to call a halt, and a document outlining Lasser's actions was drawn up and presented to the NEC; in addition, Frank Trager in his report as Labor Secretary spent a considerable length of time on this same question. But Lasser belongs—is a leader—of the Altman-Thomas faction.

The Socialist Party has set up a committee to "investigate" David Lasser and weighted it down with the burden of Murray Baron, who "was going to be in Washington next week anyhow." The committee will undoubtedly be encouraged by the polite "tsk, tsk's of the more genteel members of the NEC and will probably bear in mind that stalwart "disgraceful" of Roy Burt. Then

The first fact to be noted here is that until the middle of April this year there was no newspaper in Shanghai known as the Hsin Ching Jih Pao. If such an organ has since appeared, it can be nothing else but the organ of the new Popular Front in China, that is, of the Stalinist-Kuomintang coalition. This supposition is borne out by the language quoted above. No bourgeois newspaper, much less a leading bourgeois organ, uses the canned language of Stalinism to castigate the "Trotskyists." The language is unmistakable as that of a Stalinist or Stalinist-controlled paper. It may well be, however, that the Daily Worker story foreshadows a frame-up against the organization of the Bolshevik-Leninists in Shanghai.

Just as in Spain the Bolshevik-Leninists have been in the forefront of the fight against fascism, so in China the Communist League has been the consistent advocate of intransigent struggle against Japanese imperialism for China's national liberation. And just as in Spain our comrades are framed up by the G.P.U. on charges of "conspiring with Franco," so in China the Bolshevik-Leninists are accused of being "agents of Japanese imperialism." In both instances the Stalinists lie. And they know that they lie.

they will most assuredly discover that it's all a Trotskyite plot against "our David".

And they'll be right. We have carried on a consistent campaign for a militant class struggle program in the Alliance, for democracy in the organization, for Socialist action by those who called themselves Socialists. And it must be said that the rank and file of the Socialist Party have worked with us, despite the opposition of Jack Altman.

When the Unemployment Councils, which were Stalinist controlled, merged with the Workers Alliance, which the Socialist Party had built up, Lasser had one of two paths open to him: to go along with the Communist Party, since they had a more numerous and disciplined machine than he had, or step into a minority position and carry on the fight against them. Lasser chose the first method, for it was in this way that he could keep his position as national chairman.

#### Lasser Goes The Whole Hog

At the recent National Workers Alliance Convention in Milwaukee Lasser put himself squarely in the camp of the Communist Party, supporting their resolutions and giving preference to Communist Party members in the elections for executive board members.

The orientation of this convention, incidentally, was to remove all those militant elements who had been carried over from the merger. A desperate attempt was made, and it was successful thanks to Lasser's aid, to bring the unemployed completely under the domination of the liberal C. P. politicians, to remove all embarrassing militancy, to destroy the vitality and political consciousness by which alone an unemployed movement can grow. By presenting a program of legislative action as primary, and mass action only if "absolutely necessary", the C. P., with all due respect to constituted authority, would jockey the unemployed into position as a pawn in its bigger game of compromise with Roosevelt.

#### Sabotage Struggle

The Stalinists at the convention played a very dangerous game, one that could very easily have been exposed had there been united socialist action. They came here, to a convention of unemployed workers facing the most drastic reduction in WPA rolls yet attempted; to a convention which ostensibly had as the main point on the agenda a big march on Washington—and deliberately set out to sabotage this primary point. They were able to postpone the march into the distant future, not even setting a temporary date; finally seeing to it after the convention that the march took place when Congress had already adjourned. Surely the Alliance representatives in Washington, Herbert Benjamin and "our" David Lasser, know enough congressmen by this time to be informed in advance as to when Congress is planning to go home.

#### Revolt in the Ranks

Among the militant members of the Alliance, an open revolt took place. In New Jersey, where one of the strongest state organizations had been built up,

and where they had not come under the bureaucratic control of the Stalinists, the State Executive Board, composed of a majority of non-party members, passed a resolution disaffiliating from the Workers Alliance because of its do-nothing policy and its attempt to bring the state organization under Stalinist control by "exporting" leadership to them from the national office.

Lasser knew what was going on; he was informed of everything that had taken place. He knew that the Socialists on the State Executive Board (John Spain and others) had voted to remain in, had tried to convince the other members that this was the only correct policy for the present time. But David Lasser, usually a very slow moving fellow, was immediately galvanized into action. A long and slanderous letter went out from the National Office, and again it found its natural roost in the columns of the Daily Worker. So well had Lasser learned the form and content of a Daily Worker editorial staff member that the letter needed no more introduction than two or three sentences quoted directly from the document.

#### Lasser's Stalinist Phrases

"A small group of malcontents and disrupters... activated by personal or group interests... attempting to stab our movement in the back at a time when we are fighting the battle of ten million unemployed. The charge of 'no democracy' is merely a smokescreen to hide the splitting activities of those who... are acting as stooges for our enemies..." And then he goes on to talk about the right to "honest" differences of opinion. On this point, it is pertinent to quote from a recent document on the New York Workers Alliance situation, signed by Brendan Sexton, and, since the CP leadership acts identically both on a local and national scale, this should give some idea of the deliberate falsehoods of Lasser.

#### Sexton's Testimony

"Power has been concentrated in the hands of top committees, which make all the important decisions and convert the membership into mere pawns to be shoved about at will... Special taxes are handed down by the top committees without adequate discussion... Disruptive tactics have been used by the political majority in N. Y. C. to stack locals having a different political tendency in order to take control away... etc." And what conclusion does this statement draw? "Such violations of the principles of democracy and freedom from political domination... constitute the most serious danger to the existence of the Workers Alliance by driving rank and file members away, by preventing struggle for the basic economic needs of the unemployed, and by creating a condition of disunity when it is vitally important to work together..."

Sexton was right when he said that in order to be a leader in a Stalinist controlled organization one has to completely "sacrifice organizational and personal integrity." That is what Lasser has done. Needless to say, the Thomas-Altman-Tyler faction's "investigation" will not unduly disturb Lasser and his Stalinist bedfellows.

## The A. F. of L. Convention

(Continued from page 4)

Secondly, and of very great importance, though the C. I. O. movement is fundamentally the more progressive of the two, the leadership of the C. I. O. is at bottom on a par with the leadership of the A. F. of L. in its devotion to capitalism and its general class collaborationism. This becomes more openly apparent as the C. I. O. goes beyond its embryo stage and gets established in certain industries: a fact long ago demonstrated in Lewis' own union, and now becoming open in, for example, the Auto Union. The C. I. O. bureaucrats are just as quick to make any kind of shady deal with the bosses or the government boards as are the A. F. of L. bureaucrats.

In addition, there has been an absolute lack of any kind of democracy in the C. I. O. organization, even a greater lack than in the A. F. of L.—though two years ago that might have seemed impossible. These two features combine to disillusion the workers, to make them less confident

that their salvation lies with the C. I. O., and to suggest to them that the choice between the two organizations is not perhaps of crucial importance.

Thirdly, the C. I. O. movement has been seriously handicapped by the prominence of the Stalinists in its set-up, a factor bound up also with Lewis' general opportunism, an opportunism that often leads to the irresponsible. The Stalinists, having on their side no sense of responsibility whatever toward trade unions, and being interested in them solely for the sake of forming People's Front's and using them as recruiting bases for the coming war, necessarily run any union into the ground when they get their hands on it. The deals which have handed the attempted Maritime organization to the Stalinists, which have given them such a place in Steel, in the white collar unions, and many others, combined with the positions won by the Stalinists previously (Furriers, etc.), have militated heavily against the C. I. O. movement as a whole.



# Reveals U. S. Interests in China

## High Stakes in East Drive Toward War With Japan

By Lucifer

In his Chicago speech, President Roosevelt announced the end of the "isolationist" policy of United States imperialism, as consecrated in the Neutrality Act, and embarkation on a course of active intervention in world affairs. A subsequent declaration by the State Department, branding Japan as the "aggressor" in the Far Eastern conflict, set the authoritative seal on the new policy.

Only the publication of the archives of the State Department will reveal the immediate cause for this sudden reversal of foreign policy. For the time being, it is sufficient to note that the imperialists of this country have deemed the time ripe to commence playing that role on the world arena to which the position of the United States, as the strongest world power, assigns them.

### A Chauvinist Flood

Roosevelt's speech has let loose a flood of chauvinist propaganda designed to line up the workers of this country behind the new policy of the Washington government, a policy which, in the final analysis—let there be no illusions on this score!—leads inescapably to war. The governments of the "satiated" and therefore "peace-loving" countries (Great Britain and France) hail Roosevelt's speech as a great contribution to "peace". But they have no illusions as to Washington's real aims. Stalin's government in Moscow does likewise, and thereby consciously aids in deceiving the workers.

In the van of the flag-wavers in this country stands the so-called Communist Party. "The working class and all democratic-minded and peace loving peoples must become active to realize effectively and in life the policy given by President Roosevelt," Earl Browder declared in the *Daily Worker* on October 6. Two days later, the same paper quoted him as saying, before a committee investigating "subversive activities" in Massachusetts: "At one time I went to jail because I refused to do just that (fight for 'his' country—L). That was an imperialist war and I don't regret my actions at that time. But now, if America was forced into war against fascism, I would certainly take up arms."

American imperialism is interested in a "stable" Europe as a guarantee of its Continental investments and trade profits. Hence Roosevelt's reference to "aggressor" states in general. The fascist powers are upsetting the apple cart and preventing the re-establishment of the capitalist equilibrium in Europe. But the principal target of the new American policy is Japan. Scarcely any attempt is made to conceal that fact. For it is in the Far East that the interests of American imperialism, both actual and potential, are being most gravely menaced. Japanese domination of China will close that country to American trade (following the example of Manchuria, destroy the value of American investments in China, and virtually end the role of American imperialism in the Far East.

### Stimson Spills Beans

Moreover, a Japan economically strengthened by conquest of a vast colonial empire in eastern Asia would threaten American commercial interests in Central and South America, and ultimately the States of the Union situated on the Pacific seaboard.

This is recognized by none other than Henry L. Stimson, secretary of state under Hoover, in a letter to the *New York Times* on October 7, written as if in anticipation of Roosevelt's Chicago speech. Stimson, out of office, can afford to be more direct and specific than Cordell Hull or Roosevelt. The latter feels it necessary to motivate the new foreign policy of American imperialism on idealistic or altruistic grounds. Stimson can speak plainly in the interests of the money bags.

"Japan," Stimson wrote, "can cause immense loss to all nations commercially interested in China, and for a time she may make herself a stronger military power than she is at present, with the result of causing great apprehension and danger in the area of the North Pacific. For a considerable time, if Japan is able to proceed in her own way, there will be a great storm center in Northeastern Asia, with grave possible threats and disturbances to us and our own interests. For our Pacific States already occupy ringside seats at this battle."

Against this "danger" to American imperialist interests the Washington government is now preparing to act, but the action, when it comes, will be publicly justified on the most altruistic grounds, as imperialist wars are always justified. Roosevelt has already given the cue to the capitalist press. The working youth of America will be deceived into believing that it is fighting to aid weak, defenseless nations against ravenous aggressors and treaty-violators. In this work of deception the Stalinists, themselves the authors of the slogans under which the coming imperialist war will be fought, are already giving not inconsiderable assistance.

### U. S. Trade in Far East

What are the immediate Far Eastern interests of American imperialism which are to be defended? In total trade with China, the United States has held the leading place for several years, outstripping both Great Britain and Japan. Taking China's imports, American trade supremacy is shown in the figures for January-April, 1937: United States—\$76,131,000; Japan—\$70,423,000; Germany—\$55,390,000; Great Britain—\$45,191,000. China's exports to the United States in the same period tell a similar story: United States—\$103,095,000; Great Britain (including Hongkong)—\$65,847,000; Japan—\$44,968,000; Germany—\$26,004,000.

These figures are revealing enough in themselves, yet their significance is modified somewhat when we consider that America's trade with China accounts for only a tiny percentage of America's total foreign trade. For the years 1930-31 (and the proportion has altered very little since) it represented only three

per cent of the total. American trade with Japan, however, is much more considerable. In 1930 it amounted to seven per cent of America's total foreign trade, or more than twice the amount of America's trade with China. This proportion, too, has altered but little.

These facts go far in explaining the hitherto seemingly contradictory and obviously vacillating and hesitant policy which the imperialist governments at Washington have purchased in the Far East in recent years. In defiance of the "Open Door" policy in China enunciated many years ago by Secretary of State John Hay, Japan has been scheming and fighting to make of all China her own exclusive preserve for trade and investments. When Japan seized Manchuria in 1931, the Hoover administration did nothing beyond reaffirming the Hay doctrine. His successor, Roosevelt, continued the policy of watchful waiting. In large part, inactivity in face of Japan's continental advance was a simple reflection of the fact that the principal immediate interests of American imperialism in the Far East resided with Japan rather than with China. But also reflected the hope that Japan would break her neck in Manchuria with Russia's help.

### U. S. Interests Commercial

American imperialist interests in the Far East are primarily commercial. This is why the Washington governments felt they could not afford to alienate Japanese trade (especially during the early period of American "recovery") actively championing China's cause when Japan invaded Manchuria. To have done so would have meant a costly war for which Washington was not in any sense prepared. American investments in China are comparatively negligible. Estimates made in 1931 placed the total at a mere \$196,800,000 as compared with Great Britain's \$1,189,200,000 and Japan's \$1,136,900,000. The American share in total foreign investments in China was only 6.1 per cent as compared with Britain's 36.7 per cent and Japan's 35.1 per cent. In the ensuing six years, Japan has outstripped Britain and now occupies the leading place.

The unfolding of Japan's "continental policy," which aims to bring all eastern Asia under the banner of the Rising Sun, had inevitably, sooner or later, to effect a change in America's Far Eastern policy. American trade with Japan, as we have shown, is important. And it is as vital to Japan, as it is important to America.

### Japanese Depend on Rivals

Japanese imperialism, however, is in the peculiar position of being dependent on its rivals in vital economic spheres while struggling against these same rivals for hegemony on the Asiatic continent. Thus last year, according to the United States Department of Commerce, Japan imported from the United States alone 52 per cent of her iron and steel (including scrap), 76.6 per cent of her oil, 43.8 per cent of her raw cotton, 42.3 per cent of her machinery, 94.3 per cent of her automobiles, 47.3 per cent of her wood pulp.

Among other things, Japan aims to end this economic dependence by means of her "continental policy." But this policy, if permitted to proceed to its specified conclusions, will have disastrous consequences for Am-

erican imperialism:

1. In seizing all of China and converting it into a Japanese colony, Japan will strike a deadly blow at America's growing trade with that country, force American capital enterprises from the scene (as in Manchuria), and kill all possibility of fresh investments in China.

2. With all China at its disposal, Japanese imperialism will have tremendous sources of supply of most of the vital raw materials which it needs (Manchuria did not come up to expectations), in addition to a vast monopolized market in which to dispose of the products of a greatly expanded industry. Japan will become virtually independent of American trade.

Thus United States imperialism, unless Japan is halted, will lose both its actual present trade with China and Japan, and therefore all its potential economic interests in the Far East. And a greatly strengthened Japan, as we have already pointed out,

would be in a position to challenge the American colossus on the latter's own home territory.

### War Impends

Hence Roosevelt's new and aggressive policy in Far Eastern affairs. How soon and in what manner that policy will be implemented remains to be seen. The spokesmen for American imperialism, both official and unofficial, have concluded that Japan can be stopped only by force or the threat of it. In any case, they understand that the Washington government can continue to allow Japan a "free hand" in China only at the cost of sacrificing, not only present economic interests, but the whole future role of American imperialism.

The new Roosevelt policy makes it clear that that role is not going to be sacrificed. American imperialism is preparing to defend and extend its Far Eastern interests arms in hand.

## Beginning of the End

(Continued from page 3) nobody. Should the bureaucracy succeed in extruding from itself a new property owning class by revamping the forms of property, this new class will find itself other leaders who are not tied with the revolutionary past and who are more literate. It is hardly likely that Stalin will thereupon receive a single word of gratitude for the work he has accomplished. Open counter-revolution will make short shrift of him, most probably on the charge of—Trotskyism. In that event Stalin will fall victim to the type of amalgam he has himself instituted. This path, however, is not at all predestined. Mankind is once again entering an epoch of wars and revolutions. Not only political but also social regimes will topple like houses-of-cards. It is quite probable that revolutionary convulsions in Asia and Europe will forestall the overthrow of the Stalin clique by the capitalist counter-revolution and prepare its downfall under the blows of the tailing masses. In that event Stalin will have even less cause to count on gratitude.

is still indispensable to Stalin for disciplining his clique. On the morrow Stalin will become a burden to the ruling stratum.

Infinitely more important, however, is the fact that the bureaucracy is being purged of its motley elements at the cost of an ever widening gap between the bureaucracy and the people. It is no exaggeration to say that the atmosphere of Soviet society is surcharged with hatred of the privileged tops. Stalin will have the occasion to convince himself at every step that resoluteness and firing-squads alone do not suffice for the salvation of a regime that has outlived itself. The purges in the army and the G.P.U. are all too eloquent reminders of the fact that the apparatus of coercion itself is made up of living beings who are subject to the influence of their environment. The growing hatred of the bureaucracy by the masses, as well as the muffled hostility of the majority of the bureaucracy toward Stalin corroded inevitably the apparatus of coercion, preparing thereby one of the conditions for the downfall of the regime.

The Bonapartist rule grew out of the fundamental contradiction between the bureaucracy and the people, and the supplementary contradiction between the revolutionists and the Thermidorians within the bureaucracy. Stalin rose by supporting himself primarily on the bureaucracy against the people, on the Thermidorians against the revolutionists. But at certain critical moments he was compelled to seek support among the revolutionary elements, and, with their assistance, among the people against the over-precipitate offensive of the privileged ones. But it is impossible to support oneself on a social contradiction that is turning into an abyss. Hence flows the forced transition to Thermidorian "monolithism" through the destruction of all vestiges of the revolutionary spirit and of the slightest manifestations of political self-activity on the part of the masses. Saving temporarily Stalin's rule, the bloody purge has shaken asunder the social and political props of Bonapartism.

Stalin is drawing close to the termination of his tragic mission. The more it seems to him that he no longer needs anybody, the closer draws the hour when he himself will prove needed by

nobody. Should the bureaucracy succeed in extruding from itself a new property owning class by revamping the forms of property, this new class will find itself other leaders who are not tied with the revolutionary past and who are more literate. It is hardly likely that Stalin will thereupon receive a single word of gratitude for the work he has accomplished. Open counter-revolution will make short shrift of him, most probably on the charge of—Trotskyism. In that event Stalin will fall victim to the type of amalgam he has himself instituted. This path, however, is not at all predestined. Mankind is once again entering an epoch of wars and revolutions. Not only political but also social regimes will topple like houses-of-cards. It is quite probable that revolutionary convulsions in Asia and Europe will forestall the overthrow of the Stalin clique by the capitalist counter-revolution and prepare its downfall under the blows of the tailing masses. In that event Stalin will have even less cause to count on gratitude.

The memory of mankind is magnanimous as regards the application of harsh measures in the service of great historical goals. But history will not pardon a single drop of blood shed in sacrifice to the new Moloch of self-will and privilege. Moral sensibility finds its highest satisfaction in the immutable conviction that historical retribution will correspond to the scope of the crime. Revolution will unlock all the secret compartments, review all the trials, rehabilitate the slandered, raise memorials to the victims of wantonness and cover with eternal infamy the names of the executioners. Stalin will depart from the scene laden with all the crimes which he has committed—not only as the grave-digger of the revolution but as the most sinister figure in the history of mankind.

### New Headquarters

The "Socialist Appeal" Office have moved to 116 University Place, New York City. All correspondence should be mailed to this new Address.

The local office of the New York Socialist Party (Left Wing Branches) and the National Offices of the Young Peoples Socialist League are now also located at this address.

# Roosevelt Prepares for New Imperialist War in Far-East Against Japan

(Cont. from page 1) shall kill him, we shall ourselves die, taking concerted, collective action against this vicious aggressor—for justice, for freedom, for the sanctity of international obligations, and for peace.

Above all, for peace "Peace" is the theme that runs through this Chicago war-cry. With a grim and bitter irony, it is for peace that the United States will wage the coming war, the war that will be more completely devastating than anything before known in history.

Absurd and intellectually contradictory as it may seem, the chief war slogan is the call for peace. And yet not so absurd nor so contradictory when "peace" is but a phase of the policy of imperialism. Already during the Ethiopian affair we saw in England how the search for peace becomes the demand for war. The great League of Nations "peace" society, comprising the bulk of adult English citizens, in a few weeks was transformed into a body

clamoring for war. They wanted peace; and to get it they demanded "action"—boycott, sanctions—against the "peace-breaking aggressor," Italy. But effective sanctions could be carried out only backed by military and naval force, only by war. Thus their conception of peace, bounded by an acceptance of imperialist society, leads straight toward war.

## Roosevelt Leads to War

It is not in the least different with Roosevelt's programs. How is the United States to "ensure peace"? Not by talk or pleading. The "aggressor nations" do not go to war by accident or for amusement. They go because driven by intolerable necessity, by the overpowering strain of their internal conflicts. For them it is a life and death question. They can be stopped, therefore, only by acts. And what acts? Only by force, by a force more powerful than their force: by guns, ships, airplanes. Only, that is to say, by war.

How easy it would be if the struggle were in truth over "peace", "justice", "morality", "respect for obligations", these easy rhetorical generalities that slip so readily from the tongues of statesmen. All could be settled in church or by a philosophical debate. Unfortunately, the genuine stakes are more palpable: markets, colonies, raw materials, fields for investment. And what one gets means that much less for the others; and there are not enough to go around. It is these that are at issue, the chances to utilize these to keep the profits of finance-capital threatened ever more roughly by the decay of the world capitalist order, from disappearing altogether. The Chicago address only anoints these real issues with the sacred oil of noble phrases.

## Pacifism Aids War

How ruthlessly does Roosevelt's address expose the true meaning of pacifism and social-patriotism! Here he springs the trap which imperialism has in readiness for pacifism, when the issue comes. What is left now of all shades and varieties of pacifism? Is not the leader of American imperialism the greatest pacifist of them all? Does not the call for Peace sound more roundly from his lips? He is one who takes his pacifism seriously. Yes, he is ready to make war for peace. And behind the chariot of his slogans he draws the whole motley of the pacifist groups and organizations; into his mobilization of opinion for the war he incorporates all of their ideology.

This, indeed, is the function of

pacifism under imperialism: to aid in the ideological preparation for war. And this is what is shown so bluntly by Roosevelt's speech. All of the publications, meetings, articles, propaganda of the pacifists have only given moral standing to the slogans of war.

Far more directly, even, is this the case with the treachery of the social-patriots. What have they said that Roosevelt does not now say with more assurance and more authority? Their policy has been, in fact, merely the anticipation of the not yet publicly announced policy of American imperialism. And now, with the Chicago address, the alignment is far clearer: they stand there together, the head of the government and the social-patriots, ready to make the war.

Can this be doubted? Let anyone who doubts read the *Daily Worker* for the day following the Chicago address. Earl Browder writes on the front page:

"The Communist Party welcomes the President's declaration of a positive peace policy for the United States. There is not the slightest doubt that it embodies the essential features of what is the only way by which American can be kept out of war... Such a policy has been called for in the United States by the Communist Party, as well as by all clear-headed peace advocates. We can therefore only express our gratification that the President has given such a sharply formulated and popular expression to such a policy, and put it forward as his own." And the next day, the headline: "The President Has Spoken: Let the People Act."

## Traitors in Labor's Ranks

Let their be no illusions. Even Roosevelt and his class associates, with all their great popularity, could not unaided carry out the mobilization of public opinion for the war. They are the direct representatives of the bourgeoisie, and the masses, even in a country so little developed in class consciousness as this, are at least sufficiently aware of this to distrust them when face to face with the war. It is the traitors within the working class, the agents of Roosevelt and his class among the masses, the Greens, Lewises, Waldmans, Browders, who alone can complete the winning of the support of the masses to the war.

Among the traitors, the first place is taken most viciously by the Stalinists. Internationally as well as nationally, their entire policy centers around preparation for the war; acting as agents of the hangmen of the Kremlin, they concentrate their

every effort in the attempt to line up popular enthusiasm within the democratic imperialist powers for a war against the nations which Stalin expects will be his enemies. This is the bloody thread that runs through the Moscow frame-ups the crushing of the Spanish revolution, the lynching of Nin, the kidnapping of Wolf, the gangster murder of Reiss in Switzerland, the strike-breaking and flag-waving in France, the boot-licking of the American Legion, the labor bureaucrats and the capitalist politicians in this country.

And let no one imagine that their support of the war in this country will stop with words, with speeches on the virtues of the Constitution, and articles on the American Home. The vigilante groups and the American Legion will find time hanging on their hands as the war draws nearer and finally begins: for the Stalinists will be ahead of them at their work. The Stalinists will take the lead in building the lynch spirit against all those who oppose the war, and in the actual lynching as well.

Does this seem an exaggeration? Listen to Browder once more, to his speech to the Massachusetts State Convention of the Communist Party:

## Asks for Lyncher's Job

"The Communist Party repudiates now as in the past, all theories or proposals looking toward a forcible imposition of Socialism or any utopia upon the majority of the people. We repudiate the 'reckless resolve to seize power' by any minority. If there should arise in America anything similar to the situation in Spain, where the democratic republic while repulsing the fascist invasion was stabbed in the back by the 'uncontrollable extremists' (a minority of the anarchists and the Trotskyist P. O. U. M.) then we, like our brothers of the Spanish Communist Party would be in the forefront of the struggle to suppress such 'extremists', who are really agents of fascism, and render them harmless."

Here is Browder's written guarantee to the ruling class, signed in the blood of the Spanish revolutionists.

In the fight against the war, there is no task more crucial and all-important than the constant, unrelenting, uncompromising struggle against Stalinism.

In this country and in every imperialist nation, there is one force and one only that will compel the ruling class to draw back from the war. That force is the power of the revolutionary movement. The fear of revolution alone can delay for any lengthy

# Widick Runs for Mayor in Akron

By Ed Thorn

The Socialist Party of Akron, Ohio, today announced its entry into the Mayoralty campaign with the candidacy of B. J. Widick, left wing unionist.

The Socialist statement said:

"The campaign thus far between Republican Mayor Schroy and Democratic candidate G. L. Patterson has been a mere fight between two capitalist parties for the right to act as the political agent of the rubber companies in exploiting the working class of Akron. The credit of the two major parties being bankrupt, Labor's Non-Partisan League has been utilized as a new tool for the enslavement of the working class of Akron.

"The crucial immediate problem facing this community is a question of lay-offs in the rubber industry, throwing thousands of men into the camp of the unemployed and starving, and creating a severe economic crisis locally. Yet neither of the two candidates has offered, nor can they offer, the workers a constructive solution to this problem created by a declining capitalist system....

"The questions raised by the local campaign are merely a small reflection of the problems confronting Roosevelt's New Dealism nationally, in the 'solving' of which the working class of the United States is rapidly being led into an imperialist world war inconceivably more horrible than the last.

"Only revolutionary socialism can give working solutions to these questions. The accusation of 'Communism' on the part of

both Republicans and Democrats against each other is sheer demagoguery. It is merely a question of two capitalist parties, one of them supported by the so-called 'Communist' (Stalinist) party, now degenerating to the level of the two capitalist parties....

"Our slogan is: Elect a Socialist Mayor!"

## HALL RYAN

With great sorrow we learn of the death of Comrade Hall Ryan, a prominent and active member of the Revolutionary Socialist Party.

Formerly engaged in full-time work building the Salt Lake City organization, comrade Ryan a short time ago came to Oakland to re-enforce the work there. He gave invaluable service to the Young Peoples Socialist League and to the Socialist Party. His death is a loss to his comrades, his friends and to the movement.

## STALINISM and BOLSHEVISM

by Leon TROTSKY

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period the outbreak of the war. In war the ruling class plays for high stakes and risk much; but in revolution it risks everything. A conscious, organized revolutionary party, with the confidence of the decisive sections of the working class, will stop the war, will even be able to achieve the victory of the revolution before the war and thus remove war forever from the world. A revolutionary party, even if without great mass influence, will nevertheless delay the war, and will make certain that from the war itself will issue the socialist revolution.

## War and Revolution

This is the cold and sober fact: the fight against the war, the only possible fight, is the fight for the socialist revolution. There is no other struggle against the war save for the class struggle of the workers for power and for socialism.

There is a deep historic significance in the fact that Roosevelt's address, launching the drive for the mobilization of public opinion for the war, comes

in the midst of the preparation for the Convention whose task it is to organize for the rebuilding of the revolutionary socialist party in this country. Our Convention, small as it may seem in the eyes of the philistines when compared with the strength of the enemy, is the reply, the only reply, to the war-makers.

The Convention must be made a rallying point for all those who in word and act are against the war, who are resolved to carry the struggle against the war to the end. History has placed this task upon our shoulders. This responsibility cannot be avoided or shifted. We must face it firmly, clearly, unflinchingly and with the profound confidence that springs from our knowledge of the goal which destiny has placed within the reach of the men who have the courage to fight for and grasp it.

Against the War!  
Against the Roosevelt War Plans!  
Against Stalinism and every form of Social-Patriotism!  
For Peace through the World Socialist Revolution!

# Stalin's Terror Continues With Envoy's Recall

By Victor Serge

Antonov-Ovseyenko, consul-general of the U.S.S.R. in Barcelona, has just been named People's Commissar of Justice of the R.S.F.S.R. He is to leave Catalonia soon, and return to Russia. It is well-known that for some time numerous officials of the government of the U.S.S.R. have been disappearing in entire groups. Here are the latest of the verified news reports in this respect, dealing only with events of the past few weeks: Goloded, President of the Council of White Russia and a colleague in the administration of the late Chervikov, President of the Executive Committee, has, like the latter, also committed suicide. The recent suicide of Liubchenko, President of the Council of the Ukraine, has already been announced in the press for some time. The government of the Buriat-Mongolian, the Tadzhikistan, the Uzbekistan and Georgian republics have likewise been purged by numerous arrests which were most probably followed by executions.

(The Associated Press, in a Moscow dispatch dated Oct. 11, reports the ousting of Useyn Rakhmanoff as President of the Council of Azerbaidjan, another of the Soviet Republics. The same dispatch comments as follows on the removal of Rakhmanoff: "With his elimination, the President or Premier (President of the Council, and sometimes both, now have been ousted from each of the eleven republics making up the U.S.S.R."—Ed.)

## Rudzutak in Prison

Furthermore, confirmed reports have been released to the effect that Jan Rudzutak, a member of the Political Bureau and a Bolshevik of the Leninist generation, has been imprisoned. Sulimov, President of the Council of the Great Russian republic (R.S.F.S.R.) up to the beginning of the current year, is likewise in prison assuming that he has not been executed in the meantime.

Of the three secretaries of the Political Bureau of the Communist Party of the Ukraine—placed in office after last year's purge and following the fall from grace of Postyshev—two, namely, Khatayevitch and Popov, have disappeared.

A comrade who has just arrived from Russia tells me: "There were about a dozen of us celebrating the New Year in Moscow. All Stalinist functionaries, a few of whom can rightfully be called old revolutionists... All devoted to the regime, in spite of everything. Well, all of them have since disappeared, some are in prison, some certainly are not among the living any more..."

Well, Antonov-Ovseyenko is going back. He knows just what to expect. We do, too. His disappearance is only a matter of time.

He has a fine revolutionary past. An officer, he took part in the Novo-Alexandria mutiny of 1905. Escaping from Russia, he emigrated to Paris, where he took up residence. A Bolshevik in 1917, he was a member of the Revolutionary Military Committee under Trotsky's direction, which carried through the insurrection in October. Antonov-Ovseyenko led the assault on the Winter Palace and was the first to enter it. Shortly after that, he organized one of the first Red Armies of the Ukraine. Led the civil war struggle in that country together with Piatakov (shot), Kotziubins-

ky (disappeared, probably shot), Eugenie Bosh (suicide). From 1923 to 1927-28 he was among the leaders of the Left Opposition together with his friends Rakovsky (disappeared) and Piatakov (shot). Represented the Soviet in Prague and in Warsaw; in diplomacy, he was a collaborator of Rakovsky (disappeared), Krestinsky (disappeared), Sokolnikov (imprisoned), Karakhan (disappeared).

In Spain he collaborated with Marcel Rosenberg, ambassador at Madrid, who has since also disappeared. He is an old revolutionist, once famous for his personal courage and for his rebel spirit; he was last to escape, thanks to the revolution in Spain, among several groups of old Bolsheviks who were shot or imprisoned. He surrendered to Stalin in 1928 and has since made every effort to serve him well. But so has the majority of those shot or imprisoned.

## Capitulation No Aid

On the day after the execution of the Sixteen, he wrote—on being ordered to, it goes without saying—an unspeakable diatribe against his former comrades of the opposition, in which, outdoing Radek and Piatakov in his delirious prose, he declared that he had always been ready to shoot them. Taking his past into consideration, the Torquemadas of the Central Control Commission could hardly demand less of him. However, this type of prose has not saved a soul up to now. The fact that it is demanded of a person suffices to prove how suspect he is: marked for some future guillotine-cart.

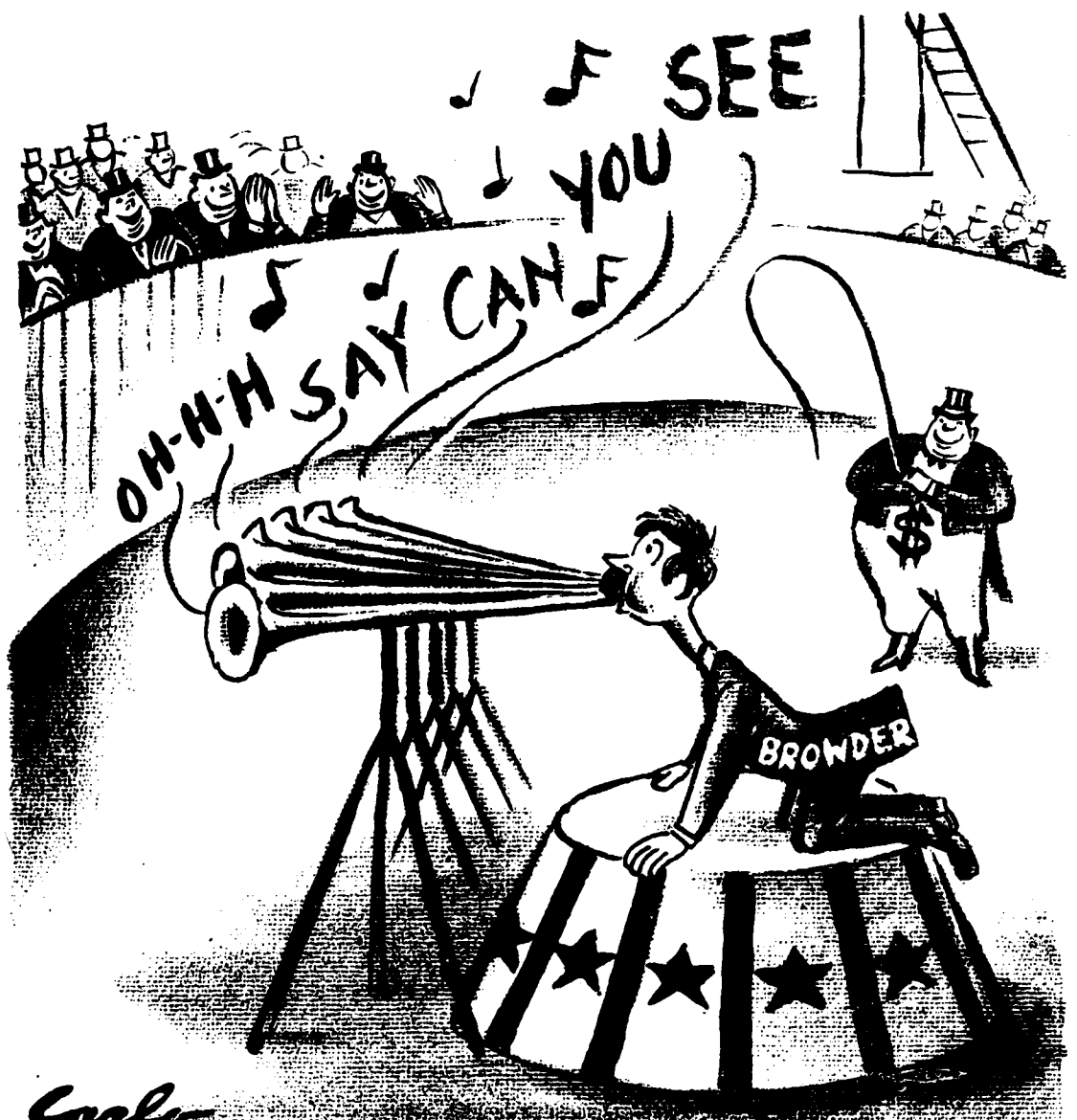
Not a man belonging to this generation can be spared. All, whether they like it or not, are considered in solidarity with the others; all are equally dangerous, in spite of their disgraceful self-vilification, to the new bureaucracy; for all are equally conscious of the crimes of the genial Chief, whom they feign to adore while filled with boundless hatred for him. It is inevitable for him to order their suppression.

Antonov-Ovseyenko will have to give an account of himself. He most certainly does not have any illusion about the dirty work he has been doing in Catalonia. Once the Russian revolution was defeated by the bureaucracy internally, the revolutionists who rallied to Stalinism out of weakness, short-sightedness or political cowardice have always sought refuge in Soviet patriotism in order to justify themselves.

They have said to themselves: Reaction has carried the day for some time to come but the Soviet country remains, with its new acquisitions in history (collective ownership of the means of production); reaction will pass, the regime will change; let us work to furnish it with good equipment, good schools, a powerful army, etc. The bureaucracy can't prevent us from serving conscientiously.

(That's where they were deceived: it is much more concern-

## The Crooner



"I see by the papers," I said as I rose to go, my time being up, "that a certain hotheaded dower of the Daughters of the American Revolution is sore that we sing the Star-Spangled Banner at our meetings."

"Why, that's nonsense," Browder answered, his eyes smiling. "We Communists are showing in our meeting just how the Star-Spangled Banner should really be sung. The reactionaries, the D.A.R.

ladies, always have to depend on brass bands or hired soloists to render our National Anthem. Our mass meetings give the only available model of a mass rendition of the revolutionary song. That's really the proper place to hear it nowadays."

"He was right. Any good Communist meeting can prove it. And the interview was at an end."

—Interview with Earl Browder in the Daily Worker, Oct. 6, 1937.

ed about its own interests than about those of the country; and its interests, being those of a usurping cast of rulers, have very rapidly become incompatible with the proper conduct of industry, with good administration in general, with the progress of education, even with the existence of a competent high command.)

In Spain, Antonov-Ovseyenko only wanted to serve the U.S.S.R., but in reality he served only the bureaucracy. What does it matter, he probably thought, in comparison with the interests of the socialist U.S.S.R. and its 170 million citizens, if the Spanish revolution is lost; it is far removed from the former geographically and in spirit; it is secondary from every point of view, Spain being only a small power. Stalin has a three-fold aim there: to prevent a Franco victory, that is, the encirclement of his probable ally, France; to prevent a socialist revolution which could become a source of too many European complications and of social complications in Russia itself; to impose upon the Spanish republic a sort of diplomatic and military domination. The patriotism of the ex-revolutionist Antonov-Ovseyenko easily accommodated itself to this policy. But what sort of balance sheet will he be able to present to his bosses?

## Assets and Liabilities

Among the assets: the Stalinist domination of policy, censorship and military command; the weakening of the revolutionary proletariat (death of Durutti, assassination of Andres Nin, persecution of the P.O.U.M., imprisonment of several thousand members of the C.N.T.); the defeat of the revolution begun in July 1936.

Among the liabilities: the re-

publican victory compromised; the anti-fascist front broken; the government discredited; the Stalinists, detested by all of advanced public opinion—from the radical bourgeoisie to the F.A.I. and including the left socialists. A patent social crisis. For, certain methods cannot be used with impunity: the interests of a nation of workers fighting for their lives cannot be sacrificed to alien interests without punishment for the perpetrators. The new People's Commissar of Justice of the R.S.F.S.R., replacing the demoted Krylenko (who is also bound to disappear), knows this, sees it, feels that he is lost. He will nevertheless return: for it is necessary for him

to go through with the bargain to the end, just as so many times in the past; because in ten years of capitulating against his conscience, he has burned all the bridges behind him, exhausted all his resources, lost all his chances of salvation; because he still clings to his hope of serving the Soviet fatherland, in spite of all the probability to the contrary.

Finally, those who refuse to return have received an object lesson which is quite precise: it is the course of Ignace Reiss. A high Stalinist functionary only yesterday, he went over to the opposition very courageously last June and was found on the bank of Lake Leman, murdered under the very windows of the Palace of the League of Nations.

## Anti-War Press

The first rumbling of the approaching war finds the entire bourgeois press firmly united. The powerful propaganda machine of American imperialism, the radio, magazines, moving pictures, church, school and newspapers have been swung into jingoist motion. A stew of war hysteria and patriotic blindness is being created! This juice is being sipped daily by millions of workers. It paralyzes the minds and bodies of all whom it reaches!

There is now an intensive campaign by the Stalinist social-patriots League for three daily papers. The Communist Party sounded an early signal of what its role is to be in the next war. "If America was forced into war against fascism," declared Browder, "I would certainly take up arms." The slogan remains unchanged! The treacherous communist will be the first to don Khaki. Three daily rags will

better serve their bourgeois masters against the workers!

Our conduct and obligations are only too clear. We are the sole expression of the independent aspirations and the future of the working class!

We alone will raise high the banner of proletarian struggle against all varieties of bourgeois enemies!

Our press must become the most effective combat mechanism against the war-mongers! Every day wasted makes the task of counter-acting the bourgeois chauvinist combination more difficult!

We must act quickly and solidly! Our strength depends upon your response! Lack of funds must not weaken the revolutionary front!

NOW! NOW! NOW!  
Rush your contribution to the SOCIALIST APPEAL!