

The Unemployed Are Not Guinea Pigs!

AN EDITORIAL

On November 5, 1938, the W.P.A. enrollment stood at 3,262,000 persons.

On February 11, 1939, W.P.A. Administrator Harrington announced that the relief enrollment had gone down to 2,985,881.

In three months, more than a quarter of million persons have been thrown off the rolls—and into utter misery.

That's the first result of the Billion-Dollar relief cut of Roosevelt and Congress.

A week ago, Congressman Dudley A. White of Ohio, speaking at the Hotel Pennsylvania in New York, said that the Congressional Relief Bill reduction was "an experiment to see whether relief expenditures could not be cut down somewhat as economic recovery progressed."

Only a scientific experiment, you understand!

When you experiment with cutting up guinea pigs—it doesn't matter much. If the pigs die, you can get millions more cheap.

But the millions of unemployed and their families are not guinea pigs you can experiment with, or cut up, and leave to die!

Guinea pigs can't fight. Workers can. They must. They will!

Unite to smash the "experimenters"! Don't be a guinea pig!

Demand all war funds to the unemployed!

California Labor Protests Oakland Police Brutality

Myra Tanner, Y. P. S. L. Organizer,
Slugged by Cops for Aiding
Roland Bates

(Special to the Socialist Appeal)

SAN FRANCISCO, Feb. 16.—The brutal slugging of Myra Tanner and Roland Bates by Oakland police has aroused intense indignation in labor circles here.

Long notorious for anti-labor brutality and frame-ups, this last attack upon a picket line by the Oakland police force has brought fresh realization to the labor movement that Workers Defense Guards must be formed if so much as the elementary right to picket is to be safeguarded.

Funds are being rushed to the Defense Committee as the first step in the fight to save the picketers.

California labor is determined that Myra Tanner and Roland Bates shall not be railroaded to prison in a new Tom Mooney frame-up case.

(Special to the Socialist Appeal)

OAKLAND, Calif.—Myra Tanner, Division Organizer for the Y.P.S.L., and Roland Bates, University of California student and Y.P.S.L. member, face charges carrying penitentiary sentence of up to five years as a result of an anti-fascist demonstration held here last Friday night, February 10. Comrade Bates was clubbed unmercifully by the police and lies in the hospital as physicians fear a possible skull fracture.

Despite the fact that he was the victim of unprovoked police brutality and that comrade Tanner's only "crime" was an attempt to go to his assistance as he lay unconscious and bleeding in the street, both are charged with assault and battery, inciting to riot and resisting arrest.

Stalinists Twin Copper

Meanwhile the leading Stalinist functionaries involved in the situation have given every indication of an intent to turn copper by issuing statements published in the entire Bay area capitalist press charging the Yipsels with "disobeying orders" and "provoking a riot!"

The protest demonstration was directed against a meeting sponsored by Catholic women's clubs for a Miss Aileen O'Brien speaking on "Social Reconstruction in Spain Under General Franco." The Young Socialist League, together with many anti-fascist workers and students, turned out to protest this brazen fascist propaganda. A picket line was formed early in the evening and grew steadily until the top Stalinist functionaries moved in to "restore order."

On the pretence of "reorganizing the line" they diverted the crowd away from the doors and across and down the street where they launched a seemingly interminable meeting chiefly devoted to the theme that the "real Catholics are for democracy."

Police Close In

In the meantime, the hall was unpicketed except for a single ex-Lincoln Brigader who refused to follow the lead of the Stalinist chiefs. The crowd grew more and more restless as "reorganization" threatened to go on all night. Our comrades protested and many of the crowd took up their slogan of "You can't fight fascism with words."

The police, given time to gain reinforcement, closed in on the Spanish Veteran and hustled him into the wagon. Thereupon the bulk of the crowd, despite the pleas of the Stalinist speakers that they disperse, surged back toward the scene of the picket line they had been tricked away from. Three of the chief tricksters, including Estolvi Ward, Alameda County C.I.O. and C.P. offi-

Shachtman Will Debate Bohn on F. D. R. Support

Max Shachtman, editor of the Socialist Appeal, will debate Dr. William E. Bohn, prominent social democrat and educational director of the Rand School, on the vital question: "Should Labor Support Roosevelt's War Preparedness Program?"

Bohn answers "Yes!" while Shachtman will argue for opposing position.

The debate will take place at the Rand School, 7 East 15th St., New York City, on Thursday, Feb. 23 at 8:15 P.M. sharp. Mr. Elias T. Tartak, director of the School Forum, will act as chairman. Admission will be 25 cents.

LABOR! PICKET THE FASCIST GARDEN RALLY ON FEBRUARY 20!

Workers of New York!

Rally to stop the Fascists!

They are mobilizing at Madison Square Garden Monday night, February 20.

Hitler's German-American Bund gangsters, Pelley's Silver Shirt scum and Coughlin's mob of labor-haters have hurled a brazen challenge at the workers of New York.

Wrapping themselves in the cloak of patriotism and "Americanism," the Fas-

cists prepare to spew their anti-labor and anti-Jewish poison throughout New York City.

These gangs have already gone too far. They must be stopped.

What are you going to do to stop this murderous crew?

We must not let this filthy, creeping slime get a foothold in New York.

Gather in front of Madison Square Garden Monday by the thousands!

Be there at 6:00 P.M. sharp!

Let the Fascists feel the anger and the might of the working class—Get out and picket!

Don't wait for the concentration camps—Act now!

On to Madison Square Garden Monday night!

—Socialist Workers Party
N. Y. District

Socialist Appeal

Official Organ of the Socialist Workers Party, Section of the Fourth International

Issued Twice Weekly

NOW

3 Cents
A Copy

VOL. III—No. 9

TUESDAY, FEBRUARY 21 1939

375

3¢ per copy

JAPAN MENACES USSR

Azana, Negrin Seek Joint Peace Action

Popular Front Leaders At Madrid Said To Agree That New Minister Shall Replace Negrin

DEMOCRACIES WOO FRANCO

President Manuel Azana, who has declared for immediate peace with Franco, and Foreign Minister Alvarez del Vayo, Negrin's spokesman, were closeted together in the Spanish Embassy last weekend in Paris, seeking agreement for joint action.

Azana has proposed that Negrin resign, to make way for a government further to the right. Negrin is reported to have agreed

to this point, according to a United Press dispatch. It is significant that it was published without comment by "La Voz," Spanish-language Popular Frontist New York daily. The dispatch said that Negrin is disposed to agree, "if the naming of a new prime minister will facilitate negotiations that would bring peace to Spain."

That Azana and Negrin are not far apart in their perspectives is indicated by the very fact that Negrin's representatives are conferring with Azana after the latter has openly indicated his treachery to the fight against fascism. Instead of denouncing him for the rat he is, the other Popular Front leaders find themselves close enough to him to seek a common basis for the next steps.

'Democracies' For Franco
Meanwhile the British government decided to grant the fascists de facto recognition while, in close cooperation, France paved the way for a similar step. Its emissary to Burgos, Leon Bernard, being instructed to inform Franco of France's intention to recognize his government.

Chamberlain and Daladier, once an understanding is reached with Franco, plan to utilize a formal resignation of the presidency by Azana as the pretext for according juridical recognition to Franco, even if any forces are still holding out in Loyalist Spain.

Refugees Persecuted
Spanish refugees in France felt the weight of the Anglo-French orientation. They were subjected to harsh treatment and short rations, unless they elected to be sent to fascist Spain. Those dragged into agreeing to go to Franco-controlled territory were immediately taken to the frontier, while those insisting on remaining loyal to the fight against fascism were informed that they would be interned for the duration of the war.

Accuse... the Y.P.S.L.
Saturday's aftermath showed the Stalinist leaders leaping into print with a demand on the City Manager for an investigation, not of police brutality, but of the Young People's Socialist League.

In the same statement they charged the Y.P.S.L. with responsibility for the "riot," and admitted...
(Continued on Page 2)

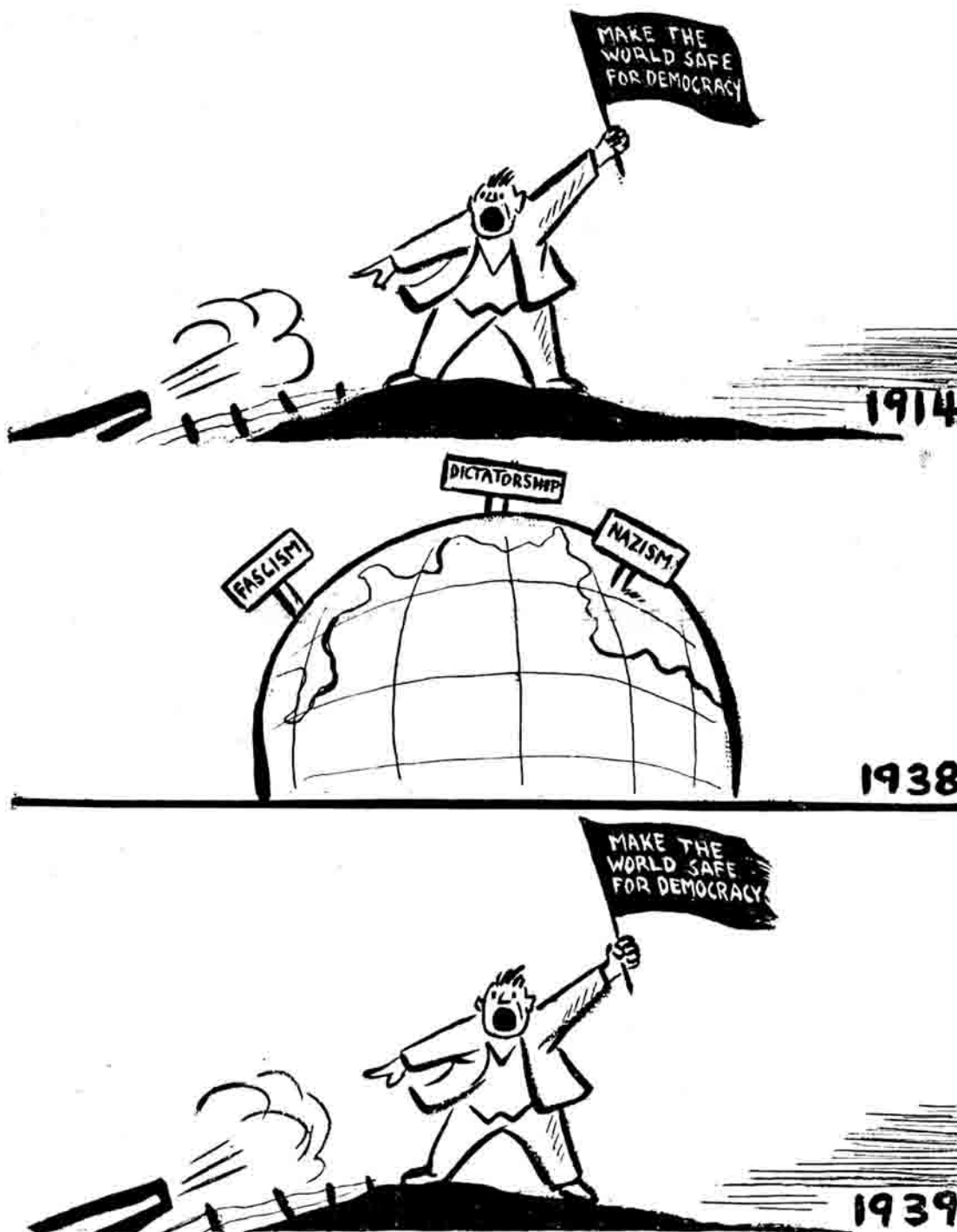
Shachtman Will Debate Bohn on F. D. R. Support

At the conclusion of the debate, questions from the audience will be answered by the two speakers in turn.

Considerable interest is attached to this debate, as it is probably the first time that the revolutionary Trotskyist position will be counterposed to the social-democratic stand on the burning question of the Roosevelt arms program, and related to it, the question of the Administration's foreign policy and the attitude of the working class towards war.

It is urged that all who plan to attend the debate come early in view of the limited number of seats available in the hall.

History of Social Patriotism



British Head Jobless for Compulsory Labor Camps

The British government is preparing to herd the jobless millions of Britain into compulsory labor camps just like those in Nazi Germany.

Parliament opened debate in London this week on proposals designed to set up a compulsory labor service as a means of priming the unemployed workers for service in the army.

Prominent Conservatives in Parliament have come forward openly with the proposals that the government does not yet dare sponsor. These conservatives, led by Sir Percy Hurd, speak with shameless cynicism of utilizing skillful propaganda and a proper amount of "persuasion" to lure the young workers into the armed forces. The next step would be enforced conscription.

These proposals are similar to those in such American newspapers as the Daily News which advocates the complete militarization of C.C.C. camps in the United States.

At the same time, the plans for converting England, Scotland, and Wales into twelve regions ruled by twelve absolute dictators upon the declaration of war proceeded methodically with the appointment of four dictators, despite widespread opposition from the majority of the population.

Said Sir John Anderson, Minister for Civilian Defense, to a hostile audience at Glasgow: "We are simply forging another link in the chain of preparations we are making to meet any emergency that may arise under the circumstances of war."

Many local authorities were reported in opposition to the plan since it abrogates their power as elected officials.

The establishment of concentration camps for the unemployed and youth of England will give tremendous impetus to the forces advocating similar measures in the United States.

NEW YORK — Stalinist gangsters invaded a meeting of trade unionists, broke it up and with knives destroyed a score of cane chairs, last Friday.

The United Progressive Front, the opposition groups in the Stalinist-controlled Fur Workers Union, were holding a meeting attended by about 300 workers, at the Greek Trade Union Educational Center, 167 West 29 Street, when a gang of Stalinists marched in and attempted to take charge of the meeting. When the workers insisted on continuing their own meeting, the Stalinists drew knives and proceeded to wreck the place.

FAR EAST CRISIS PUSHES WORLD CLOSER TO WAR

European Diplomats in Wrangle Over Spain Pickings

WAR FUNDS JUMP

The long-awaited Spring war crisis is developing swiftly both in Europe and in the Far East.

On Thursday Japan served a thinly-veiled ultimatum on the Soviet Government over the Siberian fisheries. But it is precisely upon this issue that Japan is preparing a fresh test of strength between itself and the Soviet Union and for this purpose has mobilized troops along the Siberian frontier and warships near Sakhalin, opposite Vladivostok.

In Europe the final stages of the strangulation of the Spanish revolution are paving the way for the resumption of the military and diplomatic see-saw between the London-Paris and Rome-Berlin axes which will have to end either in another Munich conference or this time in war.

Mussolini was expected to formulate openly his Mediterranean demands this week. In anticipation of these demands both the British and French governments have been tumbling all over themselves to secure footholds in Franco's capital, to speed up the final abdication of the Loyalist government, and to wean Franco away from his German and Italian mentors.

Arms Increase

In hopes of either extracting a better bargain this time—or of better preparing for an armed showdown proves unavoidable—Great Britain has stepped up its arms outlay for this year alone to \$580,000,000 (\$2,900,000,000) and has increased its borrowing plans from \$2,000,000,000 to \$4,000,000,000 to complete the five-year arms program due for completion in 1942. This includes provision for naval building which, if completed, would give Britain a fleet in capital ships larger than those of Germany, Italy, and Japan combined.

In Washington this week Congress voted \$376,000,000 to add 3,000 fighting planes to the Army Air Corps, making a total of 5,500 planes. Secretary of State Hull indicated to Congress that the Neutrality legislation would have to undergo revision in the direction of freeing the hands of the Administration to sweep the country into the war that was accepted by all the spokesmen in Congress as inevitable and close.

With the rapid development of the war crisis in all quarters the imperialist powers in the "democratic" camp are more and more unashamedly abandoning the few, thin trappings of democracy which still adorn their capitalist nakedness. In Britain the establishment of compulsory labor camps and forced conscription is openly on the order of the day. In France the press is already under censorship and demonstrators are arrested for merely criticizing the government in public! In this country, we may be sure, the screws will be tightened in direct ratio as the crisis sharpens.

LIBERTIES REPORT PROVES NEED FOR WORKERS GUARDS

LaFollette Facts Show Anti-Union Violence

(Special to the Socialist Appeal)

WASHINGTON, D. C.—If ever the crying need to form Workers Defense Guards was obscure to any worker, that obscurity should now be completely peeled from his eyes.

After the most thorough exposure ever made in this country of the employers' use of organized and armed force in repressing workers, the Senate Civil Liberties Committee under the leadership of Senators LaFollette and Thomas recommended to Congress on Feb. 13 that the evil be overcome by legislation prohibiting companies from employing armed company guards "who have previous criminal records showing a tendency toward violence or the dangerous use of deadly weapons."

Nothing on Private Armies
They further propose that leg-

(Continued on Page 3)

Sailors See Lesson for All Workers in Auto Situation

Martin Ruined Chance to Fight Communist Party Clique

What the organized and militant sailors of the United States think of the situation that has developed in the Auto Workers Union is made clear in an editorial appearing in the current issue of the West Coast Sailor, weekly journal of the Sailors' Union of the Pacific.

The S.U.P., which passed through a long period of stormy battle to preserve itself and its militant program from the disruptive attacks of the Stalinist wreckers on the West Coast, led by Harry Bridges, finally accepted a charter from the A.F.L.

Although the West Coast Sailor does not spare the Stalinists in judging the Auto Union crisis, it takes the position that Homer Martin ruined his chances by fail-

industry has stopped dead is also undeniable. That the automobile workers are threatened with a resumption of the open shop is equally true. And that this will set back trade unionism, not only in the automobile industry, but throughout the country, is a consequence that must be looked at squarely unless the membership of the union is able to break the Communist Party's death hold.

If anyone had any doubts about the C.I.O. big-shots playing the old labor game by sticking with those that look the strongest and the most dangerous, as far as controlling the per capita income is concerned, then the action of Hillman-Murray in backing up the Party-Liners should be as awakening as a bucket full of ice cold water.

Learn from Sailor's Union

The present mess in the Automobile Workers could have been avoided if Martin had taken enough time and interest to study the experiences of the Sailors' Union with the Party-Liners. He would have learned that you do not fight wreckers by using the wreckers' tactics. He would have found out that a real educational campaign, based on real issues of benefit to the membership of the Union is the only method of getting rid of the Party wreckers.

He would also have learned that instead of making deals with the higher-ups in the C.I.O., and resorting to bureaucratic measures as a way of fighting the C.P., it would have been much better to depend only upon the rank and file, by coming out openly, putting all the cards on the table, and realizing that fundamental principle upon which the Sailors' Union works—that it is never too early nor too late to tell the membership of the union everything.

Danger Still Here

Although the danger, for the time being, is behind the Sailors' Union, it still exists. And if any sincere trade-unionist is ever tempted to listen to the siren voices of the Party-Liners, all he has to do is to look toward Detroit, and there he will see the answer. The Communist Party's role in the trade union movement is like that of a wild pig which devours everything in sight and can never have enough. And as to the "innocents" of the Party-Line, we would like to remind them that it is inglorious as well as thankless to be a tail to a glutinous pig.

UNEMPLOYED UNION VICTORIOUS IN LONG FOUGHT MARCUS CASE

(Special to the Socialist Appeal)
NEW YORK—A victory for Local 5 of the Unemployed and Project Workers Union of New York was registered this week after more than six weeks continuous struggle in which three workers were arrested and the client evicted by the relief officials.

University Official Stoooges For Big Rubber Companies

Classifies Leadlet Distribution As "Anti-Social"

(Special to the Socialist Appeal)
AKRON, Ohio—Sol Goldberg, a student at Akron University, is the victim of a flagrant case of discrimination against him by university officials, who have refused him permission to act as cadet-teacher in the public school system, because of his alleged "anti-social" attitude.

University officials cracked down on Goldberg, a senior in the Teachers College, immediately after he had distributed Young Peoples Socialist League leaflets in front of Central High School, where he was to have been a cadet-teacher.

When Goldberg pressed Dean Howard Evans of Teachers College to be more specific about his alleged "anti-social" attitude, he was told he owed a library fine.

The action against Goldberg was instigated by J. Ray Stine, principal of Central High.

Thus, after three and a half years of academic training, Goldberg is unable to obtain a teaching certificate, because he is denied access to the public schools to obtain teaching experience.

Rubber Lords Run U.

The university officials are under the domination of the rubber companies, whose representatives sit on the board of trustees.

Stool-pigeoning for the rubber companies is not the only activity of Principal Stine, whose unpopularity with the high school students has been manifested by several demonstrations and a strike against him.

WILSON-JONES STRIKE VICTORY

(Special to the Socialist Appeal)
CHICAGO, Feb. 13.—The United Loose, Leaf and Blank Book Workers Union today concluded its strike against the Wilson-Jones Co. with a signal victory, thus completely smashing the company's attempt to break the union.

Emerging from the strike, which began on Jan. 10, with a strengthened union, the Wilson-Jones workers won their demand for the reinstatement of two discharged union officers without loss of seniority and with back pay.

Arbitration is provided for the settlement with respect to other disagreements.

During the strike, production was at a complete standstill. In an effort to break the solidarity of the strikers' lines, both in the Elizabeth, N. J. and in Chicago plants, the company resorted to brutal assaults against union men.

LIBERTIES REPORT PROVES NEED FOR WORKERS GUARDS

(Continued from Page 1)

Isolation be passed which would prohibit labor espionage, shadowing, coercion and intimidation of workers "in ordinary times" and "restrict company police to company property during times of strike."

In brief, the LaFollette Civil Liberties Committee proposes to do absolutely nothing about disarming the employers' private armies. Under this legislation the company would have the legal right to hire a guard and arm him if his criminal record showed to the company's satisfaction or the forces of law and order under company domination that he had no tendency toward violence or the dangerous use of deadly weapons.

Exceptions Vitalize Bill

Again if the company or the forces of law and order under company domination decide that it is not an "ordinary time" they would have the complete right to use labor espionage, shadowing, coercion and intimidation of workers.

In making its recommendations the Committee summarized its findings briefly. "The experiences in Harlan County, Ky., and the industrial communities where Republic Steel Corp. operates indicate clearly that where private police systems are used as instruments of anti-union policy they:—

(a) Abridge and violate the civil liberties of workers and other individuals.

(b) Violate the rights of labor guaranteed by federal statutes.

(c) Result in riots and bloodshed, causing loss of life and injury to persons and property.

(d) Endanger the public safety.

Oppress Large Groups

"The use of private deputies in an anti-union campaign is inimical to the maintenance of orderly representative government. It leads to private usurpation of authority, corruption of public officials, oppression of large groups of citizens under the authority of the State, and perversion of representative government." The recommendations of the Committee would legalize the forces that lead to these evils.

The Committee characterized the use of private police against workers as the attempt to "impose upon labor a selfish private interest by means of private armies."

Violence Against Labor

"The utilization of organized forces of men, women, and munitions by employers against employees," said the Committee, "to frustrate their attempt at self-organization results in violent struggle instead of peaceful negotiations between labor and management."

The Committee recalled the Harlan County events where the coal operators "subverted and corrupted the office of High Sheriff in the years of 1934-37 through many extraordinary financial favors rendered to High-Sheriff Theodore R. Middleton, who entered upon his term of public office as a man of small means and in three years amassed a fortune of over \$100,000."

49¢ SPECIAL (Limited Supply)

Karl Marx—Man and Fighter—Nicolaelevsky and Maenschen—Helfen (\$3.50)

Biology and Human Behavior—Mark Graubard (\$2.50)

The Coming World War—T. H. Winttingham (\$2.50)

The Web of Thought and Action—H. Levy (\$2.50)

The Case of Leon Trotsky—(\$1.50)

The Gay Reformer—Mauritz A. Hallgren (\$2.75)

Special: THE RED ARMY—Erich Wollenberg (\$3.00)

LABOR BOOK SHOP

28 East 12th St., N.Y.C.

Open 10 A.M. to 8 P.M.

Wreckers Raid Sea Radio Union Local, Oust Sec'y.

Rank and File Raise Defense Fund Against Illegal Action

(Special to the Socialist Appeal)
NEW YORK.—Another demonstration of what happens in a union under the domination of the Stalinist wrecking crew occurred in the American Radio Telegraphers Association last week when Stalinist wreckers Mervyn Rathborne, A.R.T.A. president, and Pyle and Jordan of the International Executive Board raided the offices of Marine Local No. 2 with a Joe Curran gon squad and suspended Fred Howe, newly elected local secretary.

This action climaxed a long series of maneuvers by this Stalinist clique to smash all opposition to their wrecking policies. The officers and members of Local No. 2 are leaders of the rank and file movement to oust Rathborne and his Kremlin cohorts and to restore democracy and militancy to the union.

Illegal Action

The suspension of Secretary Howe constitutes a flagrant violation of the constitution of the A.R.T.A. which permits the International to intervene in local affairs only to the extent of sus-

pending a local charter, and then only after the offending local has been given an opportunity to appear before the International Executive Board to defend itself against whatever charges have been leveled against it.

As the basis for his illegal action Rathborne charged that Fred Howe as local secretary had signed agreements without the approval of the International office. He gave Howe absolutely no opportunity to answer the charge but seized the local's records and property in true G.P.U. gangster fashion.

At the present time the rank and file, who in the overwhelming majority oppose the Stalinists, are raising a defense fund. Stalinists have been circulating a petition calling for suspension and trial of Secretary Howe in the local, but have been unable to obtain any signatures from the membership.

An unfortunate phase of the rank and file fight against the Stalinist crew was their threat, under the pressure of Stalinist provocation, to withdraw from the International if gangster tactics on the part of Rathborne, Pyle, and Jordan continued. Such a threat on the part of a local could only play into the hands of the wreckers. In place of threats to withdraw they must extend their fight by appealing to the entire membership of the A.R.T.A. to support them in their fight against the wreckers.

Get Standard Scale

Drivers will receive the standard scale of 75c hourly for pick-ups, except on the Kansas City run where a pickup scale of 55c will prevail. Runs within a 75-mile radius of the various Nebraska terminals will pay 55c per hour. Other runs inside Nebraska and from Nebraska to Sioux City, Carroll and Anita, Iowa, will pay 60c hourly.

The closed shop, with a modification on hiring new men, will prevail, and all teamsters will return to their jobs according to their seniority as of September 9, 1938, the day the trucking tie-up began.

The over-road contract with the Omaha operators will run until October 31, 1940, a year beyond the expiration date of the standard pact. However, in case wage scales in the area are raised in the meantime, corresponding changes will be made by the Omaha bosses on all operations involved.

City Wage Gains

Under the new Omaha city contract, both drivers and dockmen receive a straight 7½c hourly increase, from 45c to 52½c, which amounts to a 16.7% wage increase of \$4.05. The 9-hour day, 54-hour week, with time and one-half for overtime, will prevail in the city.

STALINIST ATTEMPT ON JAMES MEETING DEFEATED

DENVER, Col.—An attempt by the Stalinists to prevent C. L. R. James from addressing a meeting in this city on Feb. 13 by calling the police, failed when pastor Rev. Edgar Wahlberg in whose church the meeting was being held intervened.

Their use in calling the police having proved fruitless, the Stalinists tried to discredit the speaker by moving about, and leaving the hall one by one. The audience of over 300 people which had gathered to hear James despite the inclement weather were only relieved by the departure of the Stalinists.

James showed in his speech that the desperate attempt by England's rulers to maintain the status quo cannot save the Empire from wreckage on the rocks of colonial revolt. As everywhere where James has spoken, his lecture was enthusiastically received.

REGISTER NOW

The MARXIST SCHOOL will be held at Irving Plaza, Irving Place and 15th Street, N. Y. C. Classes begin Feb. 27.

I. PRACTICAL TRADE UNIONISM—Sam Gordon, B. J. Widick. Lectures on the day to day activity of the trade unionist. Mondays, 7:15 P.M.—8:40 P.M. 6 lectures—\$1.00

II. PROBLEMS OF AMERICAN POLITICS—James Burnham, Albert Goldman, Max Shachtman. Marxist analyses of the shifting American political scene. Mondays, 8:50 P.M.—10:15 P.M. 6 lectures—\$1.00

III. WHAT IS TROTSKYISM? John G. Wright. The truth about Trotskyism based on original documents. Tuesdays, 7:00 P.M.—8:40 P.M. 6 lectures—\$1.00

IV. ART AND POLITICS Six lectures by Phillip Rahv, Dwight Macdonald, James T. Farrell, F. W. Dupee, Delmore Schwartz and Will Phillips. (A half year's subscription to the Partisan Review will be given free to every registrant.) Tuesdays, 8:50 P.M.—10:15 P.M. 6 lectures—\$1.25

V. LABOR JOURNALISM James Casey. Wednesdays, 7:15 P.M.—8:40 P.M. 6 lectures—\$1.00

VI. THE SECOND AMERICAN REVOLUTION—George Novack. The American Civil War. What it really was and meant. Wednesdays, 8:50—10:15 P.M. 6 lectures—\$1.00

Registration can be made at the school office, 116 University Place or at the Labor Bookshop, 28 East 12th Street, N. Y. C., between 1 p.m. and 8 p.m. Registrations may also be made by mail or by calling ST 9-0567.

HUNGRY MOTHER TRIES "HOLD UP"

Mrs. Mary Cusack, mother of two children, lives in the richest city of the world—New York City. Yet Mrs. Mary Cusack had no food in her home with which to feed her two children.

On Feb. 14, therefore, she walked out of her home in the Bay Ridge area, having first taken a toy pistol from among the playthings of her children. With this toy pistol she walked into the subway station at Fourth Avenue and Fifty-ninth St., and tried to hold up the station agent.

But Mrs. Mary Cusack is not a rich financier, or a politician-protected big-time gangster schooled in the ways of robbery. So her attempt at a "hold-up" failed. At the Fourth Avenue police station she was booked on charges of felonious assault and attempted robbery. Thus ended her "career in crime."

The newspapers reporting the case, have not yet published the news that money and food has been given to the hungry family. It may yet be given—now that their plight has been exposed before the public.

So does capitalism take care of its victims. Now it will either punish her, or show its magnanimity by letting her off easy—so that she may continue to starve.

In either event, the situation is perfectly clear. The crime committed, in the case of Mrs. Cusack, does not lie in the social system that deprived her of food. The crime is, of course, that she made a desperate attempt to get food.

With the five major companies now operating under union agreements, about 70 per cent of the teamsters have returned to their jobs. Only 35 or 40 small outfits continue to accept the dictates of the Omaha Business Men's Association and refuse to sign with General Drivers Union Local 554. Local 554 will mop up on the rest of the operators within the next few days.

22-Week Struggle

The strike was one of the hardest-fought struggles of recent years. There are no tougher boss organizations in the United States than the hide-bound Omaha Business Men's Association. During the tie-up, armed strike-breakers were set to attacking union members and union headquarters; strikers were denied relief; the vile Nebraska anti-picketing law was invoked; over 200 strikers were arrested; the banks, the landlords and the merchants were mobilized and used against the strikers; attempts were made to suppress the union's fighting weekly strike paper.

Even now, with the strike all but over, the Omaha Business Men's Association is refusing to recognize the settlement, and is trying to organize a boycott against those companies who have finally broken ranks and signed with Local 554. They fear the growth of unionism in the state, and are ready to resort to this sort of industrial cannibalism in the vain hope they can stay the onward-march of organized labor.

All during the struggle, the International Brotherhood of Teamsters gave generous financial and moral support to the embattled strikers and enabled them to maintain the unconquerable spirit which finally carried them through to victory. Members of the 11-state Area Negotiating Committee—Mike Healy of Chicago, "Red" O'Loughlin of Detroit, T. Neal of Kansas City, Joe Scizowski of Milwaukee, Carl Keul of Des Moines, and Farrell Dobbs of Minneapolis, secretary of the Committee—spent many days in the thick of the fight.

During the five-month tie-up in Omaha, the Area Committee pressed steadily forward with its campaign for the standard over-the-road pact. Since September, 1938, trucking operations out of Des Moines, Chicago, Sioux Falls, Kansas City and Detroit were brought under terms of the standard pact.

Special Combination Offer!

SOCIALIST APPEAL
America's leading socialist and revolutionary paper

THE NEW INTERNATIONAL
Outstanding theoretical monthly of the Fourth International

PARTISAN REVIEW

"I think Partisan Review is the best literary magazine in America and is keeping up its standards damn well."—John Dos Passos

All Three Together for a full year—\$4.00.

Or else the following combinations:

(1) Socialist Appeal and The New International together for one year—\$3.00.

(2) Socialist Appeal and Partisan Review together for one year—\$2.50.

Send all payments on the above to the Socialist Appeal.

AT YOUR SERVICE!

THE APPEAL
POSTER SHOP

ANNOUNCEMENTS

GIRL wants girl to share a cozy apartment. Located in Astoria, Long Island (15 minutes to Times Square). \$15.00 per month rent; write Edith Kimmel, c/o S. Stanley, 116 University Place.

ROOM FOR RENT: Comfortable, bright, steam heat, 5 mile view. \$4.00 per week. See S. Stanley at the Appeal office.

WEDNESDAY, February 22nd—Washington's Birthday—8 P.M.—No Admission Charge—Lecture by Dr. Luttinger on: "Sex Life Under Capitalism"—5 Washington Square North, N.Y.C. Auspices: Day Branch S.W.P.

MALE COMRADE desires to share an apartment. Manhattan preferred. Communicate with J. Barr, c/o S. Stanley, 116 University Place, N. Y. C.

Workers Educational Forum Presents KARL SCHOLZ. Noted economist on "Conflicting Forces in Europe Today" Thursday, Feb. 23rd, 8:30 P.M. 810 Locust Street PHILADELPHIA, Pa.

SHERIDAN SANDWICH SHOPPE 114 University Place next to headquarters. Special 25c Lunch! Soup, 15c Sandwich, Coffee or Milk with Pastry. "Union Food at a Union Place"

APPEAL ARMY

"I am enclosing for local Seattle the sum of \$8.00—the balance of our quota. It was difficult to make it, but we are proud to deliver our quota in this magnificent enterprise. . . . This victory gives us increased courage for the future."—C. E. Taylor for the Seattle, Wash. local of the S.W.P.

"Congratulations on that first swell issue of the semi-weekly paper."—O. K. of Columbus, Ohio.

"You are printing the best looking and most significant radical paper I have seen come from an American press."—R. C. of Chicago.

THE BRANCHES AT WORK:

"We are holding an affair to pay up our back bill tonight and you will get what we make by Wednesday."—Carl Hartman, Philadelphia.

"All the Appeals I have been receiving have been sold to auto workers. I have sold as high as 35 at one meeting! We are starting a sub drive and I am confident that the results will be very satisfactory."—Elsie Meyers, agent of East Oakland, Calif.

"The other comrades are being canvassed on subscriptions. Eloise Booth and I, in our work for the C. L. R. James meeting, are also asking for subs. We are doing our best to make this branch sub-conscious (sic)."

"We had two successful mobilizations. One for the W.A.A. parade, the other for an Abraham Lincoln Brigade meeting. Y.P.S.'s Myra Tanner and Osomoff starred as salespeople."—From San Francisco's agent.

"At two meetings of the U.A.W. yesterday and today our Appeal crew sold 81 papers—not a bad record for the first time we have sold the Appeal. We're going to start covering union meetings regularly."—Genora Johnson, Flint, Mich.

And from Ruth Querio of Allentown, Pa. fame we receive news that she has remodeled our newsboy aprons and is having great success selling papers outside steel mills in that part of the state.

THE 2-A-WEEK FUND DRIVE GOES ON!

The campaign to bring every branch to 100% of its quota is continuing and we hope that comrades will not let up until each branch has fulfilled its pledge.

Since the last Score Board appeared the following branches have come in with 100%: (1) Los Angeles; (2) Punta Gorda, Florida; (3) Rochester, N. Y.; and the following have sent in partial payments: (1) West Oakland, \$3.00—65%; (2) Louisville, \$2.00—35%;

Buy Your APPEALS at the Following Newsstands:

MANHATTAN
Cherry & Katherine Sts. Moore & Madison Sts.—K.K. Stationery Store. Near Knickerbocker Village—Villard's General Store, Essex & Delancey Sts.—S.E. Houston & Clinton. Meisel Bookshop—Grand & Attorney Sts. Clinton & E. B'way. 5th St. & Ave. B—N.W. 9th St. & Ave. D—Candy Store. 2nd Ave. & 2nd St.—N.W. 2nd Ave. & 4th St. 17 First Ave. 2nd Ave. & 9th St. (Stuyvesant Casino). Ave. B & 10th St.—N.E. 2nd Ave. & 12th St. (near Cafe Royal). Waverly Place & B'way—N.W. 18th St.—N.E. 18th St. & Univ. Pl. & 12th St.—N.E. 14th St. & Univ. Pl.—S.E. 14th St. & B'way—S.E. 14th St. & Ave. C. S.W. 14th St. & 4th Ave.—N.E. 14th St. & 4th Ave.—1st Stand—N.E. 14th St. & 4th Ave.—2nd Stand—S.E. 14th St. & 3rd Ave.—S.W. 14th St. & 3rd Ave.—N.W. 14th St. opp. Jefferson Theatre. 14th St. & 2nd Ave. S.W. 14th St. & Ave. A—14th St. & 8th Ave.—N.E. Labor Book Shop—29 E. 8th Ave.—N.E. 23rd St. & 7th Ave.—N.W. & S.W. 36th St. & 7th Ave.—N.E. 36th St. & 6th Ave.—8th St. & 8th Ave.—S.W. 7th Ave.—N.W. & S.W. B'way & 38th St.—N.E. 131 W. 33rd St.—Rm. 704. 75 Greenwich Ave. 8th St. & 6th Ave.—N.E. 51 University Place. Rand Book Store—7 E. 15th St. 23rd St. & 4th Ave.—S.W. 14th St. & 6th Ave.—N.E. 42nd St. 5th Ave.—

(3) Youngstown, \$4.00—80%; (4) Local New York, Bronx Branch, \$4.25—77%; Downtown Branch, \$3.00—75%; Upper West Side Branch, \$8.00—95%; the Astoria Branch was the first to come in with 100% and Lower East Side followed with 106%. The next highest is the Teachers' Branch with 96%.

From individuals since last report: M.C. of "Frisco"—\$3.00; J.R. Berkeley—\$2.00; M.J. of Pittsburgh—\$5.00.

SUBSCRIPTION CAMPAIGN PICKING UP:

This week's subscription list shows improvement over last, with several locals of the Party doing fine work—notably New York City, Berkeley and San Francisco. But we're still far below our quota of 100 per week! Everybody writes in how easy it is to get subs. We are expecting to hear from many branches soon on our special offer for installment plan subscriptions.

MORE APPEAL ARMY BULLETINS COMING OUT:

Beginning next week we intend to publish a series of bulletins designed to aid literature agents in their work. The first one will be "Organization of Mass Street Sales"; to be followed by a bulletin on "Building An Appeal Squad." Other bulletins on newsstand distribution; getting subscriptions and other circulation problems will follow soon. Watch for your bulletin!

Here's the list of new subs that came in during the week:

NEW YORK CITY	28
Minneapolis	4
San Francisco	4
Los Angeles	4
Berkeley	4
Allentown	2
Baltimore	2
Cleveland	2
North Dakota	2
Paterson, N. J.	1
Philadelphia	1
Ohio	1
Michigan	1
Foreign	2
Total	58

Two new bundle order agents came into existence last week:

Comrade A. A. in Salem, Ohio and Comrade R. G. in Kent, Ohio.

A FEW REMINDERS:

(1) A few new aprons are still left.
(2) Are you making regular payments on your Appeal bill?
(3) How many bold volumes have you sold?

S.W. 42nd St. opp. Stern's—South side, 42nd St. & 6th Ave.—S.E. S.W. 42nd St. & 7th Ave.—S.W. 64th St. & 6th St. & B'way—Candy Store. 66th St. & B'way. 72nd St. & B'way. 93rd St. & Columbus Ave. 96th St. & Cent'l. Pk. West. 110th St. & Columbus Ave.—N.E. 181st St. & St. Nicholas Ave. 175th St. & B'way. N.W. 145th St. & St. Nicholas Ave. (Wagoner's). Madison Ave. & 90th St.—N.W.

BRONX
Longwood Ave. & Southern Boulevard—S.W. 171st St. & S.W. 170th St. St. & Jerome Ave.—S.E. 167th St. & Jerome Ave. Jerome & Burnside Ave. 161st St. & Prospect Ave. Freeman St. & Southern Boulevard. 174th St. & Boston Road. Kingsbridge Rd. & Jerome Ave. East Moshulu Subway Station. 3897 Sedgewick Ave. McLean & Grand Concourse—S.E.

BROOKLYN
Strauss cor. Pitkin Ave. Tompkins cor. Myrtle Ave. Havermeer cor. S. 4th St. Sutter cor. Van Sinderen. Rockaway cor. Pitkin Ave. 475 Sutter Ave. Bay Parkway & 86th St. Ave. "O" & 66th St. Brighton Beach Ave. & 5th St. 50th St. & New Utrecht Ave. 1510 Kings Highway. Macdonald & Dimars Ave. 9th Ave. & 40th St. QUEENS

3023 Grand Ave. 31-10 Broadway. 38-13 Broadway.

A complete national list of newsstands that sell the SOCIALIST APPEAL will appear in the next issue.

Akron Council Voids Fake Ballots for Stalinist Bloc

By R. FERGUSON

(Special to the Socialist Appeal)

AKRON, O., Feb. 15.—Voting 51 to 48, the Akron Industrial Union Council at a special meeting here Feb. 10 declared the results of its previous elections null and void, and set up a special credential committee to insure that no illegal delegates vote for officers and executive committee at their coming election.

This unprecedented action came after delegates learned that some delegates were seated improperly at the Jan. 23 elections, in which most of the officers and the executive committee were voted in by a tiny majority. Most of these officers-elect were representatives of an anti-progressive Stalinist bloc. The throwing out of the election results stands as a repudiation of Stalinist activity in the C.I.O. Council for the past months, as well as Stalinist election practices, in the opinion of observers here.

Smoke-Screen Falls

The Stalinist cry of "splitting the labor movement" was thrown in the face of the progressives as the question of nullifying the elections because of the voting of irregular delegates. This typical Stalinist smoke-screen did not

OFF THE RECORD

By Dwight Macdonald

The trouble with lying is that, as Gainsborough remarked of Mrs. Siddons' nose, there's no end to it. What begins as a simple, unassuming frame-up is likely to end up by requiring a wholesale revision of history and art. Having successfully used the Moscow trials to destroy all potential leaders of an opposition, the Kremlin now finds itself committed to the extraordinary thesis that all the great leaders of 1917, except Lenin and Stalin, were even then traitors and spies. This campaign of falsification, probably the most ambitious in all history, has corrupted every sphere of Soviet life. The cinema, above all has been pressed into service to document the trials in celluloid. A year ago the first of such films, *Lenin in October*, arrived over here. And now two more are being shown in the little cinemas: *Ermier's The Great Citizen* and *Yutkevitch's The Man With the Gun*. These are two of the leading directors in the so-called "Stalin School" which has come to dominate the Soviet cinema in recent years. In 1932 they worked together on *Counterplan*, a monumentally dull and now forgotten film which was the first major effort to introduce "Socialist Realism" into the cinema. There is no point in analyzing their films from a cinematic point of view; there is nothing in either of them that will get their creators into trouble with the authorities, which is to say they are the tamest, flattest, most banal sort of Hollywood realism. But they are more interesting from a political standpoint.

Down with Tractors!

Ermier's film shows us the struggle of "The Great Citizen"—evidently intended to be Kirov—against a sinister clique of saboteurs, evidently meant to represent the Bukharinist right-wing opposition to the first Five Year Plan. The plots and counterplots revolve around what would seem to be a simple enough question: whether it was desirable that the level of production should be raised. The Great Citizen takes a firm stand for industrialization, and also comes out strongly in favor of more tractors. The Bukharinists, motivated by that paranoiac malignancy which seems to afflict the opponents of Stalin, try to persuade the workers that tractors are evil and industrialization a curse. It is never made clear why they take this position, nor, for that matter, why they are willing to gamble, and as it chances to lose, their high governmental posts in this campaign for a lower productive level. It seems to be a matter of art for art's sake.

Everything comes to a head in a mass meeting, at which the Bukharinists are sandbagged with everything from mother love to the theory of socialism in one country, and are finally driven from the platform in deep and well-merited disgrace. After that, there is only one course left. The film ends with their first meeting with the emissary of an unnamed foreign power. As they plot, loud bursts of band music come in the windows from a passing demonstration of workers (who are celebrating the birth of a tractor), drowning out their talk. This is supposed to symbolize the ultimate triumph of the healthy masses. But I could not but remember that this music, the cheapest sort of Sousa brass band stuff, was advertised as by Dimitri Shostakovich, the once-brilliant young composer who was admonished by Stalin several years ago to "write tunes the workers can whistle." And the offstage

music seemed to be a symbol, in its noisy triviality, of something else again.

Those Men Are Here Again

In Yutkevitch's *The Man With the Gun* we see once more those twin demigods, Lenin and Stalin, pulling off the 1917 revolution practically single-handed. Their first appearance was in *Lenin in October*. Here once more, they steer the revolution to safe harbor in the teeth of treacherous opposition from their close collaborators. "Never mind Zinoviev and Kameney," Lenin tells Stalin on the phone. "They are fleas which will always irritate us." (He fails to explain why he didn't crush these "fleas" then and there.) He takes Trotsky more seriously, however. "Keep a close watch on Trotsky!" he counsels Stalin. But later on it appears that Trotsky has escaped from his keepers long enough to see to it that the wrong calibre shells are sent to a crucial sector of the battle front. When the news is brought to Lenin, he makes it clear that he suspects the fine Italian hand of the commander-in-chief of his army. Stalin bustles off to repair the damage at once.

By now such films have worked out a formula for portraying Lenin. On the one hand, he is shown as a simple, homey sort of old fellow—in the memorable phrase of Robert Forsythe in the *New Masses*: "a man who might easily have played third base for the Brooklyn Dodgers." He is constantly slapping people (usually Stalin) on the back, sharing their joys and sorrows, munching apples or cold boiled potatoes in democratic fashion, and otherwise demonstrating that he's a regular fellow. But this unprepossessing old gentleman has the most extraordinary effect on all who come into contact with him. Their awe and reverence approaches the mystical; their faith in him is the complete, touching faith of little children. When the simple soldier who is the hero of *The Man With the Gun* learns that he has been talking, quite unsuspecting, to Lenin, he rushes back to his comrades, assembles them around him and stammers out, "I have just talked to . . . LENIN!" Quick fadeout on his crazed, ecstatic face. Later on, he persuades a whole company of enemy soldiers to join the Reds simply by telling them he has talked to Lenin and that Lenin is O.K. and has their interests at heart. Thus on the one hand, Lenin is made human, all too human—to the point of vulgarization; and on the other, he is elevated to a living ikon, a leader whose mere presence, whose very name indeed, has magical powers. Both sides of the contradiction serve well the interests of the Kremlin today.

Uncomfortable Posts

I don't envy the actors who have to play "Lenin" and "Stalin" in these tableaux. In this film, both parts are taken by different performers from those who played in *Lenin in October*. This Lenin is Comrade Strauchuk (Honored Artist of the Republic), and he has evidently taken to heart Krupskaya's criticism of his predecessor's ever-expansive gesturing. He seems none too easy in his part. Nor does Comrade Gelovani, who plays Stalin, seem to be having a good time. These are posts uncomfortably close to the lightning. What has happened, to Comrade Gelovani's predecessor I do not know, but the *Times* recently reported that Comrade Schushkin, who played "Lenin" in the earlier film, has been placed under arrest. Perhaps he took a Leninist line off as well as on the stage.

PRESIDENT AZANA AND NEGRIN SEEK JOINT BETRAYAL

Would Trade Spain For Personal Safety

(Continued from Page 1)

Irate comments in the Italian press testified to the progress made by the Anglo-French bloc in wooing Franco away from Mussolini and Hitler. Anglo-French offers of big loans, which the Italo-German bloc are unable to duplicate, are irritatingly referred to, and the uneasiness which the fascist powers feel in the face of these moves of the democracies is clearly apparent.

Democracies Sought This End

Thus the "great democracies" are seeking to achieve the objective they set for themselves when the civil war broke out: to prevent a victory of the Spanish masses over the fascists resulting in a Socialist Spain, while assuring Anglo-French spheres of influence in a "safe" Spain.

That the British had a definite understanding with Franco was apparent as early as July, 1937, when Bilbao was surrendered by the Basque bourgeoisie without a fight, and Franco entered into an amicable arrangement for joint exploitation with Britain of the mineral resources of the area.

The main problem the Anglo-French bloc faced was, not in its dealings with Franco, but in preventing Loyalist Spain from embarking on an effective war against Franco. The Anglo-French feared, above all, that if the Spanish workers and peasants took over the direction of the war, they would decree independence for Morocco, thereby instigating revolts behind Franco's lines which would spread through the African colonies, and would rouse the Spanish peasantry on both sides by decreeing that the land was to belong to the peasantry.

Stalin Served Chamberlain

How prevent the masses from pursuing this obvious course? The Popular Front, inspired by the Stalinists, provided the way. Stalin was seeking an alliance with "the democracies"; let him demonstrate his usefulness by strangling the Spanish revolution. He did so. In the name of securing the good-will of the "great democracies," the masses were exhorted by the Stalinists to refrain from revolutionary methods. Over and over again, throughout the civil war, every proposal to conduct the war in a revolutionary way was frustrated on the basis that the favor of England and France must be courted.

The Stalinists, backed by the "liberal" bourgeoisie and the Socialist and Anarchist leadership, went to any lengths to curb the workers and peasants. Thousands of revolutionists were executed or imprisoned, their "collectivized" factories and farms returned to private ownership.

All this, to the end that the "great democracies" can now buy off Franco from his Italo-German backers.

CARDENAS GOV'T. CONDEMNS LAND OF U. S. OWNERS

Sugar Holdings Are Expropriated In Mexico

MEXICO CITY, Feb. 14—Effective today, approximately 50,000 acres of sugar lands were expropriated by the Cardenas government in a decree made public in *The Official Gazette* this morning.

The lands had been held until today principally by the United States Sugar Co., an imperialist outfit whose stockholders reside in the United States. The company is notorious for its anti-labor policy and for the high profits it has wrung from its holdings in Latin America.

Land to Exploited

The expropriating decree charged the company specifically with maintaining unsatisfactory living conditions for its employees, with paying inadequate wages, and with maintaining an absolute lack of sanitary facilities.

Between 2,500 and 4,000 persons were being exploited by the imperialist concern at the time of the expropriation. The land will be divided for their benefit.

Secretary Hull, representing the interests of the American stockholders, asserted that the commission set up last November for adjustment and compensation of expropriated agricultural lands, would consider this new expropriation with the hope of obtaining compensation for the former American holders.

Preliminary steps for the expropriation began three years ago and were completed December 8.

Refugee Committee Decides To Abandon All Its Efforts

The Inter-governmental Committee on Refugees, after weeks of parleying in Berlin and London, wound up last Monday by deciding that the work of handling emigration of Jewish refugees from Germany was "beyond its scope."

Just what took place at the committee's secret sessions is unknown, the press being informed only that "one or two members of the committee had unexpectedly expressed reluctance to incur any financial responsibility."

Even a plea of leading British Jews for the committee's endorsement of a private corporation to facilitate emigration was not acceded to, the committee merely "lacking cognizance" of the plans for the corporation. With most of the money coming from private citizens, the corporation is expected to be capitalized at \$100,000,000.

British Officials Prepare To Dash Zionist Hopes

By FELIX MORROW

A well-nigh fatal blow at Zionist hopes in Palestine is about to be struck by the British government, it was indicated by developments this week at the London conference of British officials with Arab and Zionist delegations.

Malcolm MacDonald, British spokesman, informed the Zionist delegation that preparations for the coming war necessitated substantial concessions to the 16,000-000 Arabs in Palestine and the neighboring Arab states, whose leaders are demanding an end to Jewish immigration into Palestine and a ban on further land sales to the Jews.

That concessions would be made was plainly indicated on Tuesday, when Prime Minister Chamberlain informed Parliament that he had agreed to the Arab delegation's request for the publication of the documents relating to the 1915 negotiations between Sir Henry McMahon and Sherif Hussein of Mecca, in which, the Arabs claim, Britain pledged recognition of all Arab areas as independent nations in return for Arab support in the war.

Typical British Hypocrisy

For 20 years the Arabs have vainly endeavored to get the British government to publish the McMahon documents. But Britain's war promises to the Arabs were in direct conflict with the equally deceitful promises made to the Jews in the Balfour Declaration of 1917, and Britain's rulership of Palestine was formalized based on a Mandate issued in 1922 by the League of Nations, delegating Britain to "secure the establishment of the Jewish National Home." Fearful of Arab demands for independence, Britain justified her occupation of Palestine on the Mandate, and refused to publish the McMahon documents.

Now, however, the Arab nationalist movement, ever more turbulent, has forced imperial Britain to seek a compromise with the Arab landowners and capitalists who lead the movement. The compromise is to be arranged in accordance with the usual British combination of imperialist realism and moral hypocrisy. Chamberlain will now "discover" the juridical validity of the Arab claims as exemplified by McMahon's promises, and will render justice with Olympian "impartiality."

There is stark tragedy in the plight of the "Yishub," the 400,000 Jews in Palestine. Fleeing from persecution, they came to their "Homeland," more than willing to work with their hands in field and factory. Their labors are embodied in fertile gardens wrested from the desert and in the most modern factories of the Near East.

Zionism in Blind Alley

But while they labored, they surrendered political direction of their course to the Zionist leadership which, whether of the bourgeois Chaim Weizmann or the "Socialist-Zionist" stripe of Ben-Gurion, sought to assure itself permanence in Palestine by currying favor with British imperialism instead of establishing an alliance with the Arab workers and peasants.

British Recruiting Sergeants

The logical culmination of this road came when the Zionist delegation in London last Monday offered to provide a Jewish army to help Britain in event of another world war! They pledged that

Pity the Companies!

AKRON, Feb. 14—Profits for 1938 were the best for the last ten years, reported the Mohawk Rubber Company when it filed its report today. Net earnings were \$273,230 or \$2.07 for each share of common stock.

This was almost 19 times the earnings for 1937.

OLD GUARD - S. P. UNITY PUSHED BY READING SCHEME

Groups Ask National Office for Single Charter

(Special to the Socialist Appeal)

READING.—What is undoubtedly the first step of the formal National unification of the Socialist Party and the Social Democratic Federation has taken place in Berks County. Sixty S.D.F. leaders and 28 S.P. leaders will jointly petition the N.E.C. of the S.P. for a charter. Negotiations have been under way for more than four months with the approval of the N.E.C. of both the S.P. and S.D.F. The Executive Committee of Local Berks S.D.F. has given its approval of the unity move.

If the charter is granted a more general unification will be attempted at a state-wide conference to be called early next summer. The S.D.F. group will retain dual membership in the S.D.F. until the conference at least.

Instigators of the move include the S.D.F. leaders Mayor J. Henry Stump, James A. Maurer, "War Horse of Socialism," Raymond F. Hofes, editor of the "Reading Labor Advocate," and George Rhoades, President of the Federated Trades Council (A.F.L.).

The S.P. is led by Mark Brown, erstwhile radical, and member of the N.E.C. of the S.P. youth.

A Planned Move

Although the S.D.F. members are technically acting only as individuals, the fact that the action followed negotiations of over four months, involving consultations between local and national S.D.F. leaders; conferences attended by Paul Porter, Arthur Medowell and Roy Burt and local leaders of the S.D.F. and S.P.; a volume of correspondence between both groups, indicates that the move was planned by national leaders as a means toward hastening further state and national unifications. The hand of the extreme right wing of the S.P. is immensely strengthened by this move.

Spokesmen for the S.D.F. state that the political differences which caused the split have been largely removed as a result of the changes in policy of the S.P. Your correspondent knew that something big was in the offing by a conversation with Mark Brown, S.P. leader. But it was only until the capitalist press carried the news that the facts were made known.

"Leftists" Not Affected

A group of "leftists" led by former Councilman Charles Sands and Ralph Bigony is not affected by the move. They opposed the unification moves from the start. However, their opposition to the action is based purely on personal consideration and hate and does not constitute a progressive factor.

About six months ago a break between the Bigony group and the Brown group occurred as the final result of a bitter factional fight which began several months after the August 1936 split with the Old Guard. At the time of the Nov. 1938 elections Local Berks of the S.P. was suspended as a result of the refusal of the Bigonyites to support the S.D.F. candidates at the polls as ordered by the State Committee of the S.P. The organization was ordered into a state of reorganization. The present action is the product of the process of reorganization. The Bigony group has no further basis or purpose for existence. Many of its members will go to the Democratic party.

So confident are the local S.D.F. leaders of unity that they are already making plans to bring Norman Thomas to speak at Socialist Park next summer.

On the Way to the Trenches

Within a few months the United States will have in various countries of Latin America twenty-nine army officers, including the air force, in addition to naval attaches and missions already there. These men will in many cases direct or assist in the military colleges of the republics. Their purpose will be to "offset the attempts by totalitarian states to penetrate Latin America" N. Y. Times, Feb. 15)—i.e., their purpose will be to prepare intercession in Latin America for protection of Yankee business interests. This is in line, says the Times, with the policies adopted at Lima.

Brazilian Foreign Minister, Oswaldo Aranha, is now in Washington, discussing "defense" and other questions with U.S. officials.

As an answer to Germany's navy building program, the British have announced plans for the construction of a number of destroyers during the coming year. Sixteen "trawlers" . . . which would be most useful in wartime for minesweeping and minelay-

ing," according to the financial secretary of the British Admiralty, have already been purchased.

Indications that "war may come in Europe at an early date" were the chief reasons advanced by the House Military Affairs Commission for presenting a bill authorizing the increase in the air corps from 4,000 (already voted) to 5,500 serviceable planes. \$300,000,000 would be spent for this purpose—exclusive of the money needed to train an augmented air force.

\$32,500,000 is asked for "educational orders" to familiarize industrial plants with the duties they will have to perform in war time.

Two mighty fleets, composed of 140 warships, are now in Caribbean waters for a three weeks battle to test Panama Canal defenses.

The N. Y. Times has this to say about the plan to fortify Guam which lies in the midst of 1,400 Japanese mandated is-

Seeing the Plays

THE AMERICAN WAY, by George S. Kaufman and Moss Hart, with Fredric March and Florence Eldridge, staged by Mr. Kaufman and presented at the Center Theatre.

Messrs. George S. Kaufman and Moss Hart have written and staged a star-spangled cavalcade of America. It is, in every sense, a spectacle, staggering in its size, in its talents, in the amount of money that has been poured into it. It is housed in no less a playhouse than in the colossal Center Theatre built by the Rockefeller.

With the strange exception of Robert Benchley, the critics have given "The American Way" a unanimous and, in the case of some, a wild and eulogistic endorsement.

Immigrant to Industrialist

"The American Way" is the "way" of the immigrant entrepreneur who comes to the land of the free and the home of the brave and through honest individual effort rises to become a benevolent industrialist, thankful for the inalienable freedom one enjoys on these shores. So thankful, indeed, is our immigrant boy who made good that he (Fredric March) makes a personal appearance at a rally of Nazis to denounce "the pirate flag that flies over Germany" and is mercilessly beaten to death by the uniformed brownshirts. Moral: The Democratic forces of every color, creed, race and nationality will avenge him, all roads from now on leading to Berlin.

Appropriately enough, the play ends with singing of the national anthem, the audience joining the actors.

No Mention of Labor

There is a history of democracy and progress during the last four decades without so much as a word or whisper of labor's struggle for unionism let alone its struggle for emancipation from capitalism.

What makes their silence on labor even more remarkable is that Kaufman and Hart pretend to be anti-fascist; presumably they are unaware of the role of labor in the struggle against fascism!

There is a scene depicting the Liberty Loan campaigns during the war. One is overtaken with horror at the sum effect of the spirit which it so completely recaptures. What bloody insanity! Who could ever again want to experience such fanatical days! And then there appears a mother dressed in mourning watching the soldiers return, while her husband reassures her that their son died that democracy might live on.

No Longer the Satirist

One remembers the same Kaufman writing his satire of the American way as he knew it to be in 1932. One remembers his "Of Thee I Sing" which dealt such stabs at the America of seven years ago. But that was 1932. Satire was then an easy luxury and the halcyon days of the middle Twenties were still fresh in their minds, if indeed it wasn't just around the corner again. But it is now a long way since 1932. Satire in these troubled times is in strictly bad taste. There are more serious things to occupy the bright boys of the theatre. By gad, the blighters must be stopped, by war if by anything.

A Manifesto for War

In short, Kaufman and Hart have written a manifesto declaring for a democratic war against fascism and a prayer that all good Americans will see their way clear to fighting it out for Rockefeller and Standard Oil.

—Nat Levine

lands: the development of Guam as "a strong advanced fell base" will fundamentally alter the Pacific picture, "and we will enter upon a struggle with Japan for predominance in the Western Pacific. Our influence in the Pacific already secure in the East and made even more so by the other base developments now projected, we will be pushing further westward; the idea of 'Hemispherical defense' will have to be modified, a new, more far reaching formula for 'defense,' and a new phase of foreign policy initiated. And above all we shall have definitely committed ourselves to the Orient and its problems." (Feb. 12.) Which is by way of indicating that "we" are already sufficiently committed—by investments, by loans made for diplomatic purposes, etc.

Ready for Delivery!

Bound Volumes of the Appeal, 1938

All 56 copies of last year's APPEAL

Neatly Bound in Black and Red Covering PRICE (incl. postage) \$3.00

MEN AND WOMEN OF LABOR

Out of the Past

By EMANUEL GARRETT

AUGUST BEBEL

Feb. 22, 1840—Aug. 13, 1913

There was a time, and not so long ago, when the name of August Bebel was among the best-known of the international socialist movement. Today, time, the sweep of tremendous events since his death, and above all the degeneration of the party which he helped create and build, have contributed to the shrouding of his one-time prominence in the gallery of socialist giants.

Bebel was the rather unusual leader, especially for the pre-war days—a proletarian who without formal education, but with intensive reading and study added to a brilliant capacity, became one of the first-rank leaders of German socialism, "the father of the Social Democratic Party."

Guided Workers' First

Strides in Organization

He was not a creative theorist, and his main and lasting contributions to socialism lie not in his books and tracts ("Women and Socialism," etc.). They lie in the magnificent ability which stirred the German proletariat to organization—in trade unions, and above all in a party which expressed their social hopes.

The first gigantic strides towards mobilizing the workers of Germany to express in political activity the interests of their own class were guided by Bebel. By Bebel who began his adult life as a journeyman turner, working in Leipzig, and who remained the worker, acutely conscious of the needs of his class; so that, where other, and later, leaders of the German socialist movement sought to dilute the stream of socialism with class-collaboration, he, the "simple" worker remained steadfast.

While already an active and leading figure in the German working-class movements (the Worker's Improvement Society, the Congress of Workers' Societies, the Association of German Workers, of which he was president), which were then only beginning to feel their way, to spread, Bebel studied the doctrines of socialism, the works of Marx. Sometime about 1865 he met Wilhelm Liebknecht, father of our great martyr, Karl. Well on the road towards socialism he was further influenced by his contact with the elder Liebknecht. Together they founded the German Social Democratic Party in 1869.

As a representative of this party, Bebel served 1871 to defend the Paris Commune, the defeat in the Reichstag with few interruptions for the remainder of his life. And it was from the tri-

bune of the Reichstag that some of his most inspiring speeches were delivered. A forthright representative of the workers he reviled the interloppers, the "Swamp"—the "Wise Guys" who always prick up their ears as if to say "which way is the wind blowing now?"

It was on this tribute that he rose on May 25, of which was being celebrated by bourgeois Germany:

"Even though Paris may now have been put down, I must tell you that the struggle in Paris is only a small outpost skirmish, that the main affair in Europe is still ahead of us, and that before a few decades have passed the battle cry of the Paris proletariat: 'War on the palaces, peace to the cottages, death to poverty and idleness!' will become the battle cry of the entire European proletariat."

Bismarck who heard the speech, called it the "ray of light" which showed him that socialism was an enemy to be crushed. He eventually saw to it that Bebel was incarcerated for two years for "high treason," and nine months for "lese majeste."

Workers Flocked to

Hear Him Speak

Bebel's two outstanding abilities were as organizer and as orator. When Bebel spoke, there was a packed auditorium—of workers come to hear his relentless denunciations of Junker tyranny, his impassioned words. There was even an occasion when, the auditorium packed beyond stuffing, workers lifted the tiles off the roof so that they might hear him. The splendid vigor, the surge of his speeches did more than attract listeners—they were the eloquent instruments for proletarian organization.

The span of his life encompassed the first and feeble beginnings of the world's workers toward international organization (the First International) and the lusty, self-confident strides into mass organization (the Social Democratic party, the Second International). Under his guidance, the socialist movement grew, workers learned the importance and strength of organization.

Bebel did not live to see the organization he had created yield its life into the hands of German imperialism. He, whose proletarian firmness, whose hatred of German militarism stood out, did not live to deny and condemn the social-patriotic calumny which impudently sought to justify its own vile course by an appeal to his name. The Second International, one might say, died when he did. A whole period in the development of international socialism was at an end.

SOCIALIST APPEAL

Vol. III, No. 9

February 21, 1939

Published twice a week by the
SOCIALIST APPEAL PUBLISHING ASS'N
at 116 University Place, New York, N. Y.
Telephone: ALgonquin 4-8547

Subscriptions: \$2.00 per year; \$1.00 for six months.
Foreign: \$3.00 per year, \$1.50 for six months. Bundle
orders: 2 cents per copy in United States; 3 cents per
copy in all foreign countries. Single copies: 3 cents.

Entered as second-class matter September 1, 1937
at the post office at New York, New York, under
the act of March 3, 1879.

Editor:

MAX SHACHTMAN

Associate Editors:

HAROLD ROBERTS FELIX MORROW
Staff Members:
EMANUEL GARRETT JOSEPH HANSEN
Business Manager:
S. STANLEY

FIGHT WITH THE SOCIALIST
WORKERS PARTY FOR:

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

Two Votes In The House

Roosevelt cut the relief appropriation to the tune of a billion dollars. No funds.

Congress cut the appropriation by another \$150,000,000. No funds.

The big majority of Congress, including Democrats and Republicans, were denounced as Tories, reactionaries, enemies of the people, heartless scoundrels—especially by the Stalinists.

But—
By almost unanimous vote (367 to 15), the House voted last Wednesday to increase the Army Air Corps to 5,500 serviceable airplanes. With other expenditures in the May bill, an outlay of more than a third of a billion dollars (about \$376,000,000) is involved.

No funds for the millions of hungry and homeless unemployed.

Plenty of funds with which to plunge the masses into the massacre of imperialist war.

The Stalinists leading the cheering squad for Roosevelt's war-arms program because it is in the "cause of democracy."

Then how does it happen that virtually every single Congressman, including all the Tories, reactionaries, Liberty Leaguers, enemies of the people, heartless scoundrels, and friends of Fascism in the House of Representatives—voted for this "democratic" war program?

The professional liars of the Communist Party try to explain away their embarrassing position by saying that the "reactionary Republicans" were afraid of the people, who are allegedly aching to leap into another war.

But, they weren't afraid of the people when they cut the relief budget right through the bone.

The real reason for the almost unanimous vote of the House is, as every child should know, that the Roosevelt arms program is a reactionary imperialist program.

Both the Democratic and Republican parties, and all their factions, are imperialist to the marrow.

They differ slightly on how much to starve the jobless.

They are solidly united in preparing a war to defend and extend Wall Street's imperialist interests throughout the world.

Exhuming Mr. Hoover

On fitting occasions such as high holidays and memorial ceremonies for capitalist politicians long ago laid under tombstones, the bourgeois press dedicates a few columns to Herbert Hoover, ex-president of the United States.

His photograph generally illustrates his statements, staring accusingly at the voter from above a profitable underwear advertisement, with all the expression of a fat man in a butcher shop window.

Everybody knows that Herbert Hoover is a political deluder of the workers and farmers is nothing but a memory. No one takes him seriously except possibly Bill Green, who is as fast on his feet as a sack of of coal, and even Bill must wonder sometimes if Hoover will ever really be president again.

The capitalist press prints Herbert's face and Herbert's statements with the same nostalgic longing for the good old days of the past that a doddering octogenarian exhibits when he turns back the pages of the family album. See, here's great-grandpaw; he shot the Indians. Grandpaw, there slaughtered the Mexicans.

Next to him is great-uncle. He got all the national forests, the richest deposits of minerals, the water power of the nation, and organized fraud, corruption and the big corporations.

And this is Herbert. He was the most promising of all. He promised us prosperity forever. If Herbert were in office now. . . . Do you remember how he ran the bonus army out of Washington?

Lincoln's birthday was the memorial occasion for Herbert's last appearance in the capitalist press. He gave a long speech accusing Franklin D. of usurping

the mantle of Abraham Lincoln. Herbert claims the mantle. We are not concerned about who wins this squabble over the mantle. Neither Franklin nor Herbert look much like the giant rail-splitter.

Yet it would be completely unrealistic not to see that unless a third alternative is presented before 1940, the Republican party, no doubt with a stream-lined New Dealer to replace Hoover, will stand good chances of winning the election.

The dissatisfaction of the workers and farmers expressed itself at the last election with substantial Republican victories. And Bill Green's criticisms of the New Deal fit nicely into that pattern.

So long as the people are presented with only two parties to choose from, the pendulum will shift further and further to the right.

Only a party that is really the workers' own can hope to break through this combination. The first step on the road to ending all capitalist politics whether of the Hoover, Roosevelt, or *Daily Worker* variety is the formation of a Labor Party.

The giant flying fortresses recently seen in Minneapolis "can perform feats unequalled by any other plane in the world," i.e., kill more damned workers per square yard than any other kind of plane.

Dividends and Profits Week

Thanksgiving Day and Christmas are celebrated by most people as the two days in the year when everyone should rejoice, give thanks, and overflow with peace and goodwill toward all living creatures, including the boss.

But the workers on starvation wages, for relief clients, the unemployed, and the 3,000,000 American youth permanently locked out from industry, the happiest days of the year come in January when the giant corporations of the country publish their reports of the year's shakedown.

We therefore add our voice to the happy rejoicing of our supporters over the rosy items in the financial sections of the capitalist press and move that an official holiday be declared the better to commemorate the agreeable profits and blessings capitalism has wrung from us during its year's exploitation of our labor power.

During DIVIDENDS AND PROFITS WEEK we celebrate gratefully the following sweet tidbits gouged from the point of production in 1938 (nothing less than a million dollar shakedown mentioned):

TO THE

Stockholders of National Biscuit Co. \$12,799,770
Stockholders of American Snuff Co. \$1,654,984
Stockholders of Beneficial Industrial... \$6,185,949
Stockholders of Cream of Wheat Corp. \$1,232,291
Stockholders of Link-Belt Co. \$1,106,041
Stockholders of Murphy Company... \$2,489,866
Stockholders of Nat'l Bond & Invest. \$1,213,450
Stockholders of National Lead Co. \$4,499,797

For SPECIAL GRATITUDE DAY during the festive time of DIVIDENDS AND PROFITS WEEK, we nominate the net profits of eight chain store corporations for the year 1937 (figures just released by the Securities and Exchange Commission): \$59,000,000.

When the shouts of joy and hallelujahs over this chunk of pie have died down, we propose commemorative exercises for the following profits in the years mentioned for these same eight corporations: 1936, \$61,000,000; 1935, \$57,000,000; 1934, \$56,000,000. Praise capitalism!

Now for those rolling in the wealth of a W.P.A. salary or spending their way to happiness on a relief check, we are happy to report that their fellow-workers on the Board of Directors of these eight companies were not far below them in benefits received during the year of capitalist economy.

For lolling in a mahogany chair at a few directors' meetings one company paid its board for a single year's slavery during the four year period covered by the Commission report, the sum of \$1,168,328.

The smallest of the eight companies during 1937, the worst year of the four, had to cut down to \$89,250 for the year, but the other companies made up for it in democratic fashion, paying anywhere from a half million to a million dollars to its directors and officers, to each according to his needs as the saying goes.

When we have cleared away the dollar signs, the ticker tape, and clipped coupons of this week's celebration, we will spread around the check stubs of some more corporations for another week of grateful thanks and joy for capitalism.

A world peace conference to settle once and for all the problems of international relationships remains the ultimate aim of the British government, prime Minister Neville Chamberlain indicated in the House of Commons. He reiterated that much "spade work must be done" and added that Great Britain was doing everything in its power to further these preparatory efforts. He and the other gang leaders are preparing to dig another ten million graves—and all in the cause of peace!

Fables For The Russians

In its issue of Feb. 15 the *Daily Worker* prints the text of an article cabled to the Moscow *Pravda* by Earl Browder, boss of the Communist party. Here is one of the little fables Browder tells the Russian masses:

"The progressive camp, with Roosevelt's leadership, has clearly come out for a policy of halting the aggressor powers, and for armaments adequate to support such a policy. Republicans and Tory Democrats have equally demonstrated their support to an American equivalent of the policy of Chamberlain, modified by opposition to American armaments. . . ."

The very same day, Feb. 15, the House of Representatives voted almost unanimously for the May war planes bill. All the Republicans (except 14) and all the Democrats, Tories included (except 1) voted for the Roosevelt Administration armaments bill.

The cable companies must have a grand time (and an honest profit) by carrying Stalin's lies about Russia to the United States and Browder's lies about the United States to Russia.

Is Stalinist Foreign Policy Moving
To Conciliation with the Fascists?Recent Steps by the Kremlin in the Trade Pact With
Italy Indicate A New Trend for 'Post-Munich' Times

Two weeks ago, a few days after the fall of Barcelona, the news appeared rather obscurely in the world press that the Soviet Union had just concluded a new trade pact with Italy. The report stated that Soviet-Italian trade was expected to increase under the new pact from around \$20,000,000 yearly to \$50,000,000.

Several years ago the then existing Italian-Soviet pact was broken off with recriminations from both sides, and the majority of the respective consulates and commercial representatives of the two countries were withdrawn. The new development thus sharply reverses the action taken at that time.

Notoriously Silent
on the Refugees

The pact with Italy seems to fit in with a number of incidents which have occurred, and rumors which have been circulated, since Munich. Several delegations have been travelling back and forth between Berlin and Moscow. During the autumn, Walter Duranty, unofficial but authoritative Kremlin spokesman, wrote several articles putting forward the notion that Germany, since the absorption of Austria and the Sudetenland, had become the major force in Europe for peace and stability—required by Germany, said Duranty, in order to consolidate its conquests and its new domination of the greater part of the Continent.

During the height of the Nazi persecutions this autumn and winter, the Kremlin notoriously omitted any offer of refuge, and in general had very little to say. In Hitler's recent speech, to the Reichstag, it was widely remarked that he turned his attention away from the Ukraine, and concentrated on Germany's need for exports and for colonies. Though he had a few standard phrases about "Bolshevism," he said nothing about Russia—in startling

contrast to almost all of his previous major speeches.

Franco Used
Russian Fuel

In the financial section of the *N. Y. Times* of Sunday, February 12, there appeared a solid and circumstantial article by the ace reporter Carmichael on the Soviet foreign trade policy, particularly with respect to petroleum. He showed the enormous sales of petroleum, and plans for sales, to Germany and Italy, and related these to the new Italian-Soviet pact.

No general criticism "in principle" can, of course, be made to Soviet trade with the fascist countries. The Soviet Union is isolated in the world economic market of imperialism, and it must attempt to utilize that market for its own purposes. That, in passing, is a basic reason for the absurdity of the Stalinist conception of "socialism in one country."

It must, however, be confessed that the signing of the new pact with Italy under the given circumstances and at the given time was an act, at the very least, of the most contemptible cynicism and hypocrisy. Russia supplies the fuel—which Italy otherwise lacks—with which the armies of Franco destroy Spain! But this was precisely foreshadowed by the fact that the fuel used by Italy in Ethiopia also came largely from Russia.

Munich Ended A
Period in Soviet Policy

Likewise are these incidents a sufficiently obvious commentary upon the Stalinist campaigns for boycotts of Italy or Germany carried on within the democratic imperialist nations.

But much more than this is involved. These events, serve to throw additional light on the present trend in the orientation of the foreign policy of the Kremlin, a

trend which set in immediately following Munich and which has been gathering strength.

Munich brought to a close one period of Kremlin policy—the policy of exclusive orientation on the democracies, the period of the Franco-Soviet Pact. This policy simply blew up at Munich.

Stalin turns, then, toward Hitler and Mussolini: there is no other way to read what has happened.

Two possible variants seem to be envisaged: The turn might fully succeed; a deal might be concluded with either Hitler or Mussolini or both, preferably the former; and in such a case, Stalin dreams (quite vainly) that he would be sitting safe and pretty.

Outcome Depends
on Hitler

Or, assuming that a deal is unlikely or even impossible, the threat of such a deal can be used in an attempt to blackmail an alliance out of Great Britain and France. Stalin is trying to say to Chamberlain: you wouldn't play ball; very well, unless you come around I'll turn to a new friend and leave you on a limb, permit your empire to be plucked to pieces; and if you don't believe me, keep your eyes open.

The outcome, however, does not depend primarily on Stalin. That Hitler should make a deal with the Kremlin is not excluded; but his price would be high, very high, perhaps so high that Stalin's acceptance of it would mean his fall internally. But the first cards are now being played.

Above all the new events demonstrate again that Stalin and Stalinism can no longer in any sense defend the interests of the Soviet Union. That job belongs to the workers, of Russia and of the entire world; and to do their job they have got to finish once and for all with Stalin, and his gang, and their ways that have led and will lead only to defeat and disaster.

Colonel Batista Visits Mexico

The Man Who Established A Bloodthirsty Regime of
Terror Against the Cuban Masses is Being Dressed
Up by Stalin's Hirelings As A Snow-White Democrat

By MIGUEL SANCHEZ

The "good-will" tour is one of the standard commodities of the Latin-American politics of our time, and Colonel Fulgencio Batista's recent mission to Mexico, mostly glossed over in the bourgeois press was just this type of visit. At the same time it gave new prominence to issues which such tours are supposed to cloak.

The diplomatic intrigues his trip involved need command but little of our attention. Washington, for example, was supposed to disapprove of his visit, while Argentine watched it with malicious interest. Mexico, so it was said, angled to gain support for her expropriations policy; how, was never revealed. Batista's demagogic invocation of a Mexico City-Havana-Washington axis, the axis to end all axes, strove actually to give a phantom reality to the fiction of Cuban sovereignty. Over and above all this, there is for us another phase of the whole affair that is very much our immediate concern.

Whitewashed by Stalinists

For some months now the Communist Party of Cuba has striven mightily to sell Batista in his new guise of "democrat." The party press pictures him as a true son of the proletariat—a man in turn barber, tailor, carpenter, cane worker, railroad, soldier and stenographer—who, at this late date, after years of bloody rule as a dictator, is repenting his unsavory past and nostalgically recalling his humble origin. James Ford of the Communist Party of the United States, for instance, took an enthusiastic lead in the "ovation" tendered Batista on his return to Havana from Washington some months back.

The Stalinists in Mexico helped this cause along on the occasion of the official reception in Mexico City by putting on an impressive show of trade unionists, marching in review before the very man who, only three years ago in his own country, destroyed trade unionism, murdered its leaders, jailed and tortured the rest in what has been denounced as one of the most atrocious reigns of terror in the history of the New World.

Soothsayers for Russia

It is one thing for Mexican labor, at the bidding of its leaders, to parade its armed militia, even before Batista; for, in a way it proudly advertises thereby consciousness of its own deep reservoirs of strength. The Stalinist

leaders, however, who made open obedience to Batista the high point of his visit, made a public declaration of an entirely different order: namely, their kinship with a pan-Americanism, which harbors grave dangers for the millions of English and Spanish speaking workers of both Americas.

These dangers relate first, to the war plans of the "democratic" bloc of nations; second, and out from the same cloth, to the preparations by American finance capital for an economic stranglehold over the life of the "raw-material nations" to the south of us, actions, obviously, not at all contradictory. In this connection, a footnote can be written to the Lima conference, at which the United States made its deliberate bid for trade supremacy in Latin America, in that the strongest support and most vociferous praise for such a course was voiced in the Communist press throughout the United States and Ibero-America.

The reason behind this is clear: The Stalinist parties act not in the interests of the landless peasantry or the exploited proletariat, but as soothsayers for Russia's foreign policy.

Their vicious maneuvers are calculated to hold the United States in line as an ally of Stalin in a European war. Because of that they do not merely overlook American imperialist drives, lest they step on sensitive corns in Washington; they go much further and act as advance agents for that imperialism and as bulwarks for tottering straw-bosses like Batista.

The paramount fact in the currently seething Cuban sugar bowl is that the Communist party there is doing everything possible to prevent the emergence of the Cuban masses against Batista. It is ham-stringing the deep-felt wish for genuine trade unionism and militancy by a cynical policy of class collaborationism.

In the realignment of political forces now taking shape on the island, the Stalinists have the lead in the People's Front, formed on behalf of Batista, by the C. P., Sergio Carbo of the old Partido Revolucionario Cubano and the Partido Liberal, Machado's old party. Opposing this, is the so-called "Civilist Front," composed of Grau San Martin, Menocal, Miguel Gomez and the A.B.C., discredited politicians all. Between these two groups, the Cuban masses are ground as between two millstones. The difference between them is one of degree, not of kind.

Over-reach Themselves

Yet evidences are at hand that the Stalinists are over-reaching themselves in Latin America, and that hatred of Yankee imperialism is far from quenched. The beginning of political wisdom does not consist in playing Wall Street's looting game. Their meager success in palming off Batista as the "democratic" white hope of impoverished Cuba is a dangerous stimulant to Stalinists, who are even less lovely in waving the banner of "democracy" in the colonial and semi-colonial countries of Latin America than in draping themselves with the Stars and Stripes at home.

There Is an Answer to Fascism

A SERIES OF 3 SUNDAY EVENING LECTURES
YOU CAN'T AFFORD TO MISS

Fascism can be defeated. Reaction can be smashed. In this turbulent period, we need clear thinking as never before. For a clear authoritative picture of what happened in Spain—of what is happening in France—of what is ahead for us in the United States.

HEAR THE THREE LECTURES:

SPAIN—Felix Morrow, Sunday, Feb. 26
FRANCE—Max Shachtman, Sunday, March 5
UNITED STATES—James Burnham, Sun., March 12
—at 8 P. M.—

IRVING PLAZA, Irving Place at 15th St.

Auspices: Socialist Workers Party—Fourth International.

Subscription to the series, 50c. Single lectures, 25c. Tickets on sale at Labor Book Shop, 28 E. 12th St.

IN THIS
CORNER

By Max Shachtman

"A nation, no more than a woman, is excused for the unguarded hour when the first adventurer who comes along can do violence to her. . . . There remains to be explained how a nation of thirty-six millions can be surprised by three swindlers, and taken to prison without resistance."

What Karl Marx wrote about Louis Bonaparte's France of 1851 applies not only to the Czechoslovakia of 1938, or to nations and women in general, but to men and parties and all political leaders.

The liberal, of the Stalinist, social-democratic or old-fashioned persuasion, has thickened the atmosphere for months on end with a wall of agonized and bewildered grief. Like the incautious lady who is repeatedly yanked into an alley by escorts who turn out to be a bit on the caddish side, they continue, between exclaiming sobs, to tell soul-searing tales of how they were betrayed by the Democracies with whom they kept company.

You can hardly pick up a copy of the *Post* in New York, where Mr. Ludwig Lore runs a column of foreign news comment, or the *Daily Worker*, where Mr. Harry Gannes does the same, without reading a lurid confession of how they were done dirt—alas, not for the first time—by some Democratic statesman in whom they put their girlish trust.

Betrayed By Their
Best Friends

They hail "Schuschnigg, and he betrays them. General Sirovy betrays them. So do Chamberlain and Daladier. So does King Carol of Rumania. And it is all beyond their comprehension.

Why do Chamberlain and Daladier, spokesmen of British and French Democracy, allow Hitler to take first Austria and then Czechoslovakia without a fight? Why don't they send their mighty Armadas to prevent their rival, Mussolini, from swallowing up first Ethiopia and then Spain? Why does British Democracy sit by idly while the Japanese ogre carves up China and even encroaches directly upon the southern provinces in which millions of good English sterling are invested? Why has Browder failed thus far to convince Roosevelt and the Chamber of Commerce to send an expedition to Asia to protect Wall Street's investments in China?

Why, in a word, have not yet the Great Democracies started a Holy War against the Fascist Aggressors to protect the Little Democracies instead of "betraying" them?

Sassoon Explains. . .
Business Is Business

A thousandfold sander answer than you can find in any of the Stalinist, social-democratic or liberal press, was given the other day by a man who has more to say in deciding the foreign policy of the "democracies" than half a dozen Prime Ministers and two-thirds of the members of their respective Parliaments. They come and go and are forgotten. He and his like remain. We refer to the gentleman who recently passed through the United States on his way home, Sir Victor Sassoon, of the House of E. D. Sassoon and Co.

The House of Sassoon, international bankers and investors, has existed for generations. Its interests lie in Bombay, Shanghai, Istanbul, Cairo, Salonika, London—everywhere. It is part of that upper circle of moneyed overlords like the Lazards, Rothschilds, Baring, Goldschmids, Morgans, Ralls, etc., which dominates not only the counting rooms of the world, but most of its governments, and has dominated them for years.

He wants, he said in an interview with the *N. Y. Post* (Feb. 2) Great Britain to hack Japan and not Russia. And the United Democratic Front? Nonsense! Business is business.

"Suppose the Japanese crushed or won over its opposition in China. They'd have to have a great deal of money to develop or make anything of it. The only places to get those sums would be the United States and Britain and perhaps France. . . . They're facing what Italy faces after conquering Ethiopia: What can they do with it, lacking enormous capital? All the Japanese bankers, economists and diplomats I've talked to see that clearly. If the army doesn't."

Statesmen Are Loyal
To Their Class

But why doesn't this British patriot and banker advocate at least that economic embargo against Japan which, we are assured by the Champions of Democracy, would bring the Aggressor to his knees without resorting to war? The *Post* story explains that, too:

"Japan doesn't want to declare war on China, he explained, because that would bring down the American embargo on exports. Seventy percent of the essential materials for war that Japan must import have been coming from us, Great Britain and France—not the dictator nations."

"He admitted that if the democratic Powers clamped an economic embargo on Japan they could stop the undeclared war in China. However, this probably would bring on a Japanese economic collapse and that would likely bring Communism to Japan."

Three paragraphs from Sir Victor are, as we see, more important and more revealing than a Popular Front speech by Daladier plus a Fireside Chat by Roosevelt plus a House of Commons report by Chamberlain plus a Peace-Through-War manifesto by Browder, with a mauling Nation editorial thrown in.

We rise to defend the good name of the statesmen of Democratic capitalism. They are loyal to their class and its interests. They defend them stoutly. They are not traitors to their avowed cause. But the "labor leaders" who ask the masses to follow them, are!

Labor Looks Through
The Press

By ARTHUR HOPKINS

The Japanese finance ministry calls upon all Japanese women to stop eating sweet potatoes and help win the war. Potatoes are needed for conversion into badly needed alcohol. This applies only to the upper classes, of course, since the lower don't know what a sweet potato tastes like. All the latter is called upon to sacrifice is the blood of their male relatives.

In Louisville a hill-billy appealed to an attorney to take his case against a cigar salesman who sold him a cigar for \$1.50 with a guarantee that it would grow longer as he smoked it. The cigar burned down like an ordinary cigar, he complained. Don't laugh, gentle reader—this is no stupider than the theory that what goes into the bosses' pockets benefits the workers.