

**Workers  
of the World  
Unite!**

# Socialist Appeal

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## WORKERS CAN DEFEAT HITLER

### They Can End the Threat of Fascism By Crushing the Capitalist System

Every worker in this country and in other countries, where fascism has not yet succeeded in destroying every bit of freedom possessed by the working class, is anxious to stop Hitler at all costs. That is as it should be. There is nothing more urgent at the present moment than to stop Hitler.

But the all-important question remains: How can the workers stop Hitler? The workers must be absolutely clear about the answer to this question. Otherwise, they will struggle in vain and like tens of thousands of Austrian and Spanish workers they will sacrifice their lives without accomplishing their purpose.

To struggle to the death against fascism is absolutely necessary. But we must win in that struggle.

Chamberlain, the prime minister of England, Daladier the premier of France and President Roosevelt are threatening to fight and stop Hitler. Should not, then, the workers back the heads of these "democratic" governments and try to stop Hitler in that way?

That is what the Stalinists and social-democrats, the liberals and conservative trade union leaders advise us to do.

#### THAT WAY LIES FASCISM

We can say with absolute certainty that if the workers follow such advice, they are doomed. Like their brothers in Austria and Spain they will sacrifice their lives in vain.

In any war by the democratic capitalist countries against Germany, Hitler might be defeated and stopped. But Hitlerism, fascism, will remain, will become the prevailing system in the democratic countries as a result of the war.

For if Chamberlain wants to stop Hitler, it is not because Hitler crushes the working class of Germany, but because Hitler threatens England's colonies. If Daladier wants to stop Hitler, it is not because Hitler has destroyed the liberty of the German workers, but because he is afraid to lose some French colonies.

If Roosevelt is so pugnacious against Hitler it is not because Hitler has made virtual slaves out of the German workers, but because Germany threatens to take away much of the South American trade which is now in the possession of American capitalists.

The democratic capitalist governments are interested in fighting Hitler only to protect their right to rob and exploit the

colonial and semi-colonial slaves and the workers in the home countries.

It is not worth a single drop of the blood of any worker to stop Hitler for the benefit of the capitalists in the "democratic" countries. It is worth everything to destroy Hitlerism throughout the world.

The workers can stop Hitler in only one way. They must begin the job in their

#### The Principle of the Thing



Carlo

### Nazis Established On Soviet Border

Pact With Rumania Gives Hitler New  
Outpost; Stalin Still Playing  
For Deal With Reich

#### U.S.S.R. IN PERILOUS SPOT

By establishing German economic domination over Rumania, Adolf Hitler last week had virtually planted his pirate flag on the borders of the Soviet Union.

Hitler, gobbling up Memel in his stride, forced Rumania to sign an agreement which virtually establishes full German control over Rumania's rich resources, yoking them to German needs and placing the whole of Rumanian economy in subordination to the Greater Reich.

The hesitation and uncertainty that existed earlier in the week over the precise status of this German-Rumanian agreement apparently arose out of the Rumanian government's uncertainty as to the course British and French imperialism would pursue.

There appeared every reason to believe that Rumania waited to see if it could count on British, French, or Russian aid and when it saw that no such aid would be forthcoming, it signed on the dotted line. Whether this would save it from actual invasion only Adolf Hitler knew.

#### Hungary's Moves

For while the Rumanian agreement was being crammed down the throats of King Carol and his friends, Hungary continued mobilizing troops on the Rumanian border and late Thursday made a provocative foray into Slovakia, the tremulously "independent" state over which Hitler has assumed a "protectorate" and which he is using as bait to keep Rumania and Hungary at swords' points.

Hungary presumably invaded Slovakia to secure an extension of its new common border with Poland. The Slovaks Thursday night were offering considerable resistance, creating a perfect set-up for Hitler to move in with his army if it suits his needs.

Meanwhile London and Paris, more uncertain than ever of what

#### FRANCE SPEEDS TREND TOWARDS A DICTATORSHIP

Foretaste of War-  
Time Regime in  
Decrees

Preparing for war in the name of "democracy," the former People's Front Government of France is swiftly converting itself into a totalitarian dictatorship.

Acting with the powers granted him by Parliament, Premier Edouard Daladier last week began the process of lacing the workers of France into a totalitarian strait-jacket and at the same time began mobilizing the French army on the frontiers.

Under the decrees issued last Tuesday, labor in all heavy industry found itself saddled with a 60-hour week at greatly reduced wage rates. Labor is faced with prosecution for treason if it objects. The French unemployed were made subject to government-al conscription for "national defense" purposes.

#### The "New" Regime

According to the New York Times report, "nearly all of the labor system now in vogue has been temporarily (!) set aside and a completely new regime will be established." This "new regime" means the whittling away and before long the complete suppression of the meager rights that the workers and their organizations still possess.

The first set of decrees applies to the "national defense" industries. This does not merely mean the plants manufacturing arms, planes, and munitions, but to the mines, power plants, the oil and fuel industries, the entire transport system and all other phases of French industrial life that directly affect the war machine.

These industries are placed under (Continued on Page 3)

See article on page 4 for a discussion of the possibilities of agreement between Hitler and Stalin in the present world crisis.

the Soviet Union's position actually is, groped fearfully for a way of checking the Hitlerite drive. In both western capitals there was much verbal indignation and France moved ahead speedily to convert itself into a totalitarian regime, geared for war, but they still seemed to be hesitating before taking the plunge into a war that the French and British bosses know will mean the end of their empires as they now exist.

London asked Poland and Moscow to sign a common declaration against Hitlerite aggression. Poland wanted an immediate commitment from the French and British that they would fight. This they could not get, so rather than offend the Nazi colossus they kept out of the joint declaration. For several days Moscow remained equally coy, first proposing a conference and, when this was rejected by the British, finally—when Rumania capitulated—agreeing to the proposed common declaration.

At the same time the Russians have made it plain that they will still entertain any bid from Hitler that will turn the edge of the Nazi sword westward. Water Durenty has been singing this tune every day in the pages of the New York Times. It is virtually certain that Moscow's agreement to the British-proposed declaration is one step in the attempt to extract a bargain out of the German Nazi Fuehrer.

#### Situation Is Fluid

In other words, the situation remains as fluid as the borderlines have been during the last 14 days. The Stalin government in the U.S.S.R., weakened by two years of frightful purging that has sapped morale in general and in the army in particular, is still hoping to buy Hitler off with a deal. On the other side of Europe the British and French are apparently making another stab at trying to wean Mussolini away from Hitler before concluding that they have no alternative left but war.

In either case the initiative is (Continued on Page 3)

### U. S. 'Democracy' Bared In Report

Rifles, Revolvers, Tear Gas, Shot Guns  
Used By Employers, Says Senate  
Civil Liberties Committee

President Roosevelt has pumped into the war machine more money than any previous peace-time president in the history of the United States. His propaganda machine has taken over the headlines of the entire capitalist press in his drive to ram down the throats of the workers the idea that they will presently be fighting a glorious cause, saving democracy once again for the world, dying for freedom of speech and the Star Spangled Banner.

And while Roosevelt launches the imperialist offensive on a world-wide scale, the industrial leaders of his own class are waging an armed conflict against the workers who will presently be sent abroad to die for their bosses' profits.

On the front pages of the major newspapers—headlines about the new fight for democracy. Buried far back in the final pages—a report from the La Follette Civil Liberties Committee that shows exactly the story of the real warfare being waged by the present owners of industry against the workers.

#### Private Arms

From 1933 to 1937 tremendous sums were spent by big industry to arm their own private troops for a war right at home. They bought more tear and nauseating gas than all the regular law-enforcement agencies of the United States combined.

One outfit alone, the Republic Steel Corporation, bought four times more poison gas equipment than the largest law-enforcement purchaser in the entire United States.

These are sober facts, made public on March 20 by the Senate

Civil Liberties Committee, which has studied industrial disputes for two years and a half under the chairmanship of Senator La Follette, and which is now asking for legislation that would forbid the sale of gas or firearms to industrial concerns for use in any kind of labor dispute.

The facts bared by the La Follette Committee are as eloquent as a sawed-off shot gun in the hands of a high-paid company guard in exposing the brutality, the coldly calculated use of violence and terrorism and bloodshed by America's corporate interests.

#### Company Terrorism

Eighty corporations and associations during the years studied purchased more than \$1,000 worth of tear and sickening gas and these corporations "form the backbone of large scale industry of the country," says the report. The single largest purchaser of tear and nauseating gas listed as

(Continued on Page 3)

### Madrid Surrender Near; Negrin Works With Miaja

The surrender of central Spain to Franco is practically arranged, and former Premier Negrin is working closely to this end with the Madrid Junta's Paris representative, according to a dispatch from Paris to La Voz, Spanish-language Popular Frontist daily in New York, March 23.

On the 22nd, conversations between the Junta and Burgos had been proceeding for three days, according to Trifon Gomez, Spanish Socialist leader and Paris representative of the Junta. "Everything will be concluded favorably," he said, "for I do not expect differences to arise which will oblige us to suspend negotiations." The main point being worked out is evacuation from Spain of the Popular Front leadership.

"Naturally we are trying to evacuate only those persons who have been included by Burgos among those guilty under the Law of Responsibilities, and not those who may have committed common crimes, with whom we have no solidarity whatsoever. All compromised Spaniards will depart by agreement with the Junta and with Burgos' wishes."

### Office Workers Quit CIO; Protest Union Bureaucracy

(Special to the Socialist Appeal)

NEW YORK, March 21.—Five hundred members of the Stalin-dominated United Office and Professional Workers Union, Local 16, a C.I.O. affiliate, met last night in Manhattan Center and voted to sever all connections with the organization and to join the A. F. of L. union, the Bookkeepers, Stenographers and Accountants Union.

The meeting, called by the Progressive Group of Local 16, adopted a resolution denouncing the "rule or ruin" tactics used by the Stalinists to keep control and the gag-rule employed to prevent progressives from expressing opinions within the union.

#### Hoodlums Ejected

The resolution called on all

progressive office workers to join the American Federation of Labor. It was carried by an overwhelming majority while a small group of hoodlums from the Stalinist faction, who had gained entry into the meeting by forged invitations, attempted to break up the meeting by shouting and starting fights. Union ushers were on the job, however, and one administration stooge was quickly ejected from the hall, and more than a hundred others were refused admittance.

The resolution called Local 16 a sorry failure and declared that it had been captured by an organized machine which violated its oath to serve the membership by placing the political interests

(Continued on page 2)

### Pittman Bill Frees U. S. Hands for War

Congress Appropriates Huge Sums for  
Army and Navy as Propaganda  
Machine Works Overtime

(Special to the Socialist Appeal)

WASHINGTON.—While the well-greased machinery of Congress continued to grind out armament appropriations, the Roosevelt administration, supported by the Republicans, instituted several new moves on the road to war.

A \$358,000,000 arms bill, authorizing the army Air Corps to build up to 6,000 airplanes, secured final approval on March 22, while the House, the same day, voted an additional \$116,000,000 for the army for "critical items," including semi-automatic rifles, light and heavy artillery, tanks, anti-aircraft guns and gas masks.

Paving the way for still larger appropriations along the same line, the Appropriations Committee in recommending the latter bill to the House reported that, after the expenditure of the approved sum, the army would still be deficient 67% in these "critical items," indicating future huge outlays.

#### "Educational Orders"

The bill which secured final approval included a \$34,500,000 item for "educational orders." This money is primarily expended by private manufacturers, not on actual war materials produced, but on making new dies, tools and machinery, that is, on expanding the means of production of armaments. It paves the way for eventual expenditures of a billion on war materials for every million expended in thus preparing for mass production.

#### Munitions Expansion Bill

Prepared for by weeks of ballyhoo (Continued on page 3)

### SWP Picket Threat Stops Philadelphia Fascist Meet

(Special to the Socialist Appeal)

PHILADELPHIA, March 23.—The militant threat of a working class picket line and counter-demonstration forced a Fascist outfit here parading under the name of Committee for Defense of Constitutional Rights to cancel a meeting scheduled to take place tonight at the Metropolitan Opera House.

The workers, aroused as they had never been before by the stirring leaflets issued by the Socialist Workers Party and the Young Peoples Socialist League, threatened to pour by the thousands into the streets around the Metropolitan that night.

Several trade unions officially endorsed the picket line that was to be established and promised to send scores of workers to the

scene. Members of the Socialist Workers Party and the Young Peoples Socialist League went into various sections of the city, making short agitational speeches and arousing the population against the fascist meeting.

The news of this rising wrath of the working class was enough to scatter the fascists back to the gutters from which they came. Early on Wednesday morning, March 22, their leader, Thomas A. Blizard, Jr., announced that the meeting was "unavoidably postponed."

The workers of Philadelphia are not stopping here. A huge open-air demonstration will take place tonight at 7 P.M. to celebrate the victory of the working class. It will be held on the very spot where the fascists were to have held their meeting.



# LEFT JABS

Oh! Upright Judge

Since Attorney Tom Dewey showed that in this era of Roosevelt prosperity prosecution of notorious gangsters and "honest" New Deal bosses like Jimmie Hines is a likely road to political power, even to the Presidency, special prosecutors are becoming so persistent that a grafter has no more privacy than a gold fish. But the supply of gangsters with famous names being limited, late arriving special prosecutors had to turn to other fields for their crooks. And they seem to have found an inexhaustible supply in our highly honored and honorable courts of justice. Special Assistant Attorney General John Harlan Amen following the trail of a prostitutes' bail bonding racket, has apparently bagged a couple more judges and a magistrate or two with the goods. And the reports are that the entire Brooklyn judiciary are showing signs of high blood pressure as Amen's ambition and the investigation expands. The thing has gone far enough. Something must be done to stop this exposure of bribe taking judges or the entire nation will be jailed for contempt of court.

## Preparing for the Slaughter

News Item: Washington, March 21—War Department officials denied today that a special selective conference to study methods of an army draft, which opens here Monday, has any connection with the current European war scare.

Officials said the purpose of the meeting is to review draft methods, consider types of physical examinations for men, physical requirements, and all kinds of administrative details in connection with conscription.

## France "Defends" Democracy

How a "democratic" nation defends democracy is being demonstrated in France. War Industries formerly working 40 hours were put on a 64 hour week. Jobless men on relief were ordered to take jobs in war factories. Another army division of Moroccan serfs was started. President Lebrun made a ceremonial visit to King George and Steel and Munitions profits soared.

## Solomon's Father-in-Law

Professor Montet of Strasbourg, excavating in Egypt, claims to have discovered a mummy believed to be the father-in-law of King Solomon. In view of the fact that Solomon had 999 wives to say nothing of an assortment of concubines, and presumably an equal number of fathers-in-law, we don't see how the Professor could miss digging up at least one of 'em.

## Stalinist Union Democracy

Preferring control by the Executive Council of the A.F. of L. to Stalinist gag rule in the Office and Professional Workers Union, 500 office workers in New York City voted 474-26 to leave the O.P.W.U. and rejoin an A.F. of L. federal union. This speaks volumes for the democracy of the Stalinist professional defenders of democracy.

## Daily Worker Reporter Returns

Art Shields, Daily Worker correspondent in Spain, is on his way back to the U.S., says the Daily Worker, March 20. "Interned by the military Junta headed by Mija and other generals, soon after his arrival in Madrid, the Daily Worker reporter was saved by the prompt action of Uncle Sam's representatives." Life becomes more complex with each passing day. Here we have a Daily Worker reporter arrested by "Comrade" Mija of the Communist Party of Spain being saved by Uncle Sam's embassy.

## "Concentration Camp"

The film, Concentration Camp, now showing in New York and produced in the Soviet Union is a truly graphic and moving indictment of life in a Concentration Camp. Filming of this picture was an easy matter for the Stalinist camera man. Plenty of props were already at hand, extending from Lubianka Prison to the Siberian concentration camps.

## Coughlin Apes the "Know Nothings"

In a dispute over Father Coughlin, columnist Westbrook Pegler quotes the following from "Has the Emigrant Kept the Faith?" a Catholic historical book:

"While this Catholic immigration was entering the country, it was greeted by growing hostility to foreigners and Irish Catholics, which crystallized in the infamous Know Nothing slogan 'America for American Protestants.' Its effect was manifest throughout the country in bigoted persecution of Catholic pupils in 'Nunery Inspection' laws and in mob violence in which churches were burned and Catholics assaulted and murdered. In some States hampering property laws were enacted."

# Reactionary Swing at Martin Auto Convention Swamps Lovestonites

## Get Kicked Despite Boot-Licking Of Representatives; Mass Of Auto Workers Reject Martin

(The article printed below is the second of two articles on the Martin auto convention, the first part of which appeared in issue of March 21. It was delayed in publication to make room for a discussion in our last issue of the C.I.O. auto convention which will open on March 27. The editors apologize for the delay.)

Even a relatively good resolution, obviously written by the Lovestonites, calling for continued organization of auto workers under the U.A.W.U. bore the imprint of the red-baiters as follows:

"Whereas if our U.A.W.U. had not set up a W.P.A. department to take care of these workers' needs, some radical organization would have taken these workers away from good honest American trade unionism and would have led them to more misery and chaos because of these parties' intentions to overthrow our American government. Misery is the only thing upon which some of these radical organizations exist."

Red-baiting was as native to this convention as snobbishness is to a Boston Back Bay Mayflower descendant.

**Depression Result**  
This reactionary monster is the direct product of the barren soil of America's permanent depression economy. A whole section of American workers have already been forced into quicksands of incipient fascism. They have been driven there by the inexorable pressure of insecurity and joblessness which is making for the desperate moods of a terrible upheaval. There is not yet a revolutionary force to enlist them into the army of workers' revolution, flying the great banners of socialism and abundance.

It would be unhealthy self-deception to say these delegates were a freak in American social life. No, they are the legitimate representatives of that growing section of workers who will be pliant material for the demagogues and hill-billy fascists, impatiently awaiting their cue to step on the American stage. Naturally, many of the delegates were honest and progressive workers misled into Martin's camp by the degenerate and bureaucratic regime of the Communist Party. But the convention as a whole was permeated by the poisonous fumes of newly awakened American reaction.

## Feeds Reaction

Martin has nurtured and fed this reactionary monster for months on end. His attacks on Stalinism, originally pseudo-progressive, had to seek the level of red-baiting. To attack the C.P. and to maintain a bureaucratic internal administration and to seek the road of peaceful collaboration with the motor companies was to arouse from inaction and passivity the most backward sections of the auto union.

# SERVEL STRIKE TIES UP PLANTS

(Special to the Socialist Appeal)

EVANSVILLE, Ind., March 18. Striking to compel the company to recognize Local 1002, United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers Union, as their regular bargaining agency, 1,800 workers employed by the Servel Electrolux Co. have shut the plant down tight. Considered the key to organizing Evansville, the workers are putting every effort into winning their strike.

The union's principal demand is that the company meet with the union committee to discuss the workers' grievances, chief of which is the "group-work" system of pay whereby wages are paid on a piece-work basis, but are divided equally among a number of workers who constitute a group. Up to now the plant management has consistently refused to meet with the union representatives, and has struck at the union by firing union men, and sponsoring a company union. Told by the N.L.R.B. to recognize the U.E.L.R.M.W. as the workers' bargaining agency, the company has appealed the decision to the courts.

Organization of the Servel workers began in 1937 when the refrigerator business was reaching its saturation point. Plant conditions were becoming increasingly bad. From an original force of 3,500 men, for example, the number of workers in the plant was reduced to 1,800.

Servel is the largest factory in Evansville. Its manager, Louis Ruthenburg, is consequently very influential in the city's politics and in the manufacturer's associations. Hence the importance of the strike for organizing the unorganized plants in the city.

# FIGHTING JOBLESS UNION PREPARES APRIL 1st ACTION

## Leader Asks Relief, Not "Pie-Crust" Promises

(Special to the Socialist Appeal)  
NEW YORK—The fight against the proposed layoff of 100,000 New York W.P.A. workers has begun! The Unemployed and Project Workers Union, representing more than 3,000 W.P.A. and relief workers, has issued a call for a demonstration to take place on April 1 at 70 Columbus Avenue—the headquarters of the Local W.P.A. administration.

Calling on all workers to rally in one mighty demonstration to show the Roosevelt fakers and the Republican bosses how the workers are prepared to fight against any and all reductions of work relief and home relief, the U.P.W.U. is mobilizing all its forces from Jamaica and Astoria, Long Island to Brooklyn, Bronx and Manhattan. Unemployed workers and W.P.A. mechanics and chauffeurs will march side by side shouting militant slogans and singing working class songs.

**Prepare Real Fight**  
While the Stalinist-controlled company union, the Workers Alliance, is trying frantically to sidetrack the uprising of militancy and determination of the workers by a post card and telegram campaign, the U.P.W.U. is issuing thousands of leaflets and holding mass-meetings in preparation for a real fight for jobs at union wages and an increase in relief.

"We are not depending on the promises of any politicians," says Abe Dollinger, leader of the unemployed in Long Island City. "We know in advance that only a real fight and a big one will make an impression in Washington, D. C. Why, the waste-baskets and garbage pail must be overflowing with post cards and telegrams. Those birds know the situation and unless we send 'em a petition with boots on it, unless we organize for a real fight, the government will continue to ignore the unemployed."

"Promises," says Dollinger, "are like pie-crusts—they are made to be broken. We don't want promises—we want jobs."

While thousands of workers are daily leaving the W.A. because it refuses to act in the face of impending disaster—while hundreds of locals are breaking with the Stalinists because they have hogged the workers to Roosevelt's war machine and its billion dollar budget, the unemployed workers in every state and township are clamoring for a new national organization to lead the fight against the layoffs, the discriminations and the script-voucher plan which would blacklist all relief workers while jacking up the profits of the merchants.

Join the Unemployed and Project Workers Union! Join the picket line on April 1!

support or these finances?

Will he get it from Dubinsky? It is highly questionable that hard-headed Dubinsky would invest—or has—in this shell of a union any more than he would buy the Brooklyn Bridge.

Will he get this support from the A.F.L.? Martin strained every muscle to create a situation at the convention that would lead to a vote of affiliation to the A.F.L. But even his own convention turned him down and the best he could get was a resolution providing for membership referendum on any future affiliation.

Yet it is doubtful that the A.F.L. would put its money on Martin's deuces unless he can get a contract from the Ford Motor Co. Will he get this agreement from Ford? Perhaps. But judging from past policy, it would seem that Ford would prefer to be without an union if he can get away with it. Moreover, if Ford recognizes Martin, he must count on C.I.O. infiltration and the consequent struggle for power in the Ford plant. The prospects do not look very bright for Martin even in this direction.

## On a Sinking Ship

Unquestionably Martin will continue to be a source of annoyance for some time to come. Between his court cases and his demands for a referendum and his appeals to the N.L.R.B. he will be able to keep the kettle boiling. But unless he is directly hired by the manufacturers—and that step would spell immediate doom—Martin has shot his wad in the auto union.

Martin's opportunity came to him more than once—he might have been America's greatest progressive labor leader. He missed that boat. Instead he climbed aboard the ship of reaction—but the ship was gutted and leaking when he got on.

# Stalinists Beat Appeal Salesmen; 'Last Time', Says Minneapolis

(Special to the Socialist Appeal)

MINNEAPOLIS—For years Chester Johnson has been literature agent for the Fourth Internationalist press in Minneapolis, and no party branch has had a more loyal and efficient comrade in charge of this important work.

Friday evening, March 17, Comrade Johnson was covering the C.I.O. hall with the current Socialist Appeal. Despite the fact that the Stalinists completely dominate what there is of the C.I.O. movement locally—the main movement here is A.F.L.—and despite the poisonous lies about the Trotskyites the Communist Party had fed the C.I.O. ranks, many of these workers purchase the Appeal regularly.

After having sold a few papers, Chester was leaving the C.I.O. hall. As he entered the vestibule—a boarded-up nook hidden from view of the street—two Stalinist thugs followed him from the hall, tore the papers from his hands, swore at him for selling "that Trotskyite rag" and in professional fashion proceeded to do a "hospital job" on our comrade.

The Communist Party gangsters smashed his nose, broke three of his teeth, closed both eyes and battered him about the head.

Comrade Johnson never had a chance to defend himself. Bleeding and half-stunned, Chester made his way back to the Party headquarters.

This is the last victim the Socialist Workers Party in Minneapolis will give to the Stalinist rats.

(Special to the Socialist Appeal)

PHILADELPHIA, March 23.—Stalinists last night attacked members of the Socialist Workers Party and the Young People's Socialist League who were distributing leaflets at the entrance to a Stalinist meeting.

Although an entire gang of Stalinists led the attack, they were successfully repulsed by Defense Guards organized by the Fourth Internationalists.

The Stalinists immediately called the cops. One of the Fourth Internationalists was arrested and charged by a Stalinist hero with "assault and battery" and "inciting to riot." The case was dismissed.

# OFFICE WORKERS QUIT C.I.O.; GET CHARTER IN A.F.L.

## Driven Out of C.I.O. By Stalinist Wreckers

(Continued from Page 1)

of the Communist Party above those of the union.

It charged that the officers were making the union subservient to a line incompatible with the needs of office workers, that the policy pursued deterred workers from joining, and alienated the cooperation of other trade union and progressive organizations, which was essential to the union's growth.

## Refer to Intimidation

The Stalinists had forced their anti-labor views on the membership and inflicted punitive reprisals on progressives. This included, wholesale threats, filling of jobs and the purging of all appointed committees.

The recent election was a complete fraud and the new constitution was designed to perpetuate the Stalinist administration, according to the resolution. It added that any and all attempts to change these conditions were met with open hostilities and attempted frame-ups.

## Cold Reception for Hawley

Peter K. Hawley, President of Local 16, was present and denied the charges and claimed that the A. F. of L. was undemocratic and dictatorial. Hawley offered a separate charter to the progressives if only they would not bolt. However, his rise was easily seen through by the union men and women. They realized that Hawley was simply proposing to segregate all the progressives into a separate local which would continue to pay revenue to the bankrupt union leadership, while they would be isolated from the union membership.

# TENANT FARMERS QUIT CIO UNION

Several days before the New York office workers registered their disgust with Stalinist union-busting leadership, the Southern Tenant Farmers' Union had taken similar action after a referendum among 35,000 members in 200 locals in five southern states.

Acting in accord with the results of the referendum, the Executive Committee ordered all its locals to withdraw from the C.I.O.'s United Cannery, Agricultural and Allied Workers of America, to which it had affiliated in 1937. As in the case of the office workers, the S.T.F.U., which embraces the greatest bloc of organized agricultural workers in the south, found it impossible to continue functioning under the anti-democratic regime which the Stalinists have imposed on the United Cannery Workers. Donald Henderson, a well-known Stalinist functionary, is president of the U.C.W.

In a statement issued to the press the union said that the referendum indicated "an overwhelming support for disaffiliation thus separating the union from the control by the Communists who think in terms of their own necessities and not of the welfare of the sharecroppers in their union."

## SHERIDAN SANDWICH SHOPPE

114 University Place  
next to headquarters  
Special 25c Lunch!  
Soup, 15c Sandwich, Coffee or Milk  
"Union Food at a Union Place"

# APPEAL ARMY

(A group of German workers of Yorkville (New York City) wish to congratulate your Party on the splendid anti-Nazi demonstration held on Feb. 20 outside Madison Square Garden. The S.W.P. won the sympathy and respect of thousands in our neighborhood—the centre of Nazi influence.)

"This action served as an eye-opener for many rank-and-file members and sympathizers of the Communist Party. Only a Party which is completely independent and clean of capitalist politicians and follows the class struggle programme of Marx and Lenin can lead the workers in the struggle against fascism and to the victory of socialism. That party is now the Socialist Workers Party. We are with you. Enclosed find \$15.00 for the Socialist Appeal."

Thank you, comrades. Your letter eloquently speaks for itself. GREETINGS FROM FOURTH INTERNATIONAL PARTIES.

"Today the Socialist Appeal—a splendid paper from all standpoints: editorial and presentation, and which we would like to serve as a model for our 'Lutte'—appears twice each week. . . .

"Moreover, this success doesn't satisfy our comrades who want to do better by making the Appeal a great daily paper.

"Audacity, more audacity, still more audacity! Such is the slogan of our comrades.

"We wish our comrades, our brother Party—the S.W.P.—a prompt and complete success in this campaign for 1,000 new readers, and hope this will be another step forward on the road to a daily!"

—La Lutte Ouvrière, organ of the Belgian Fourth Internationalists. Our French party—the Workers' Internationalist Party—now engaged in a life-and-death battle with Daladier's military dictatorship find time, in reporting the Madison Square Garden anti-fascist demonstration, to say: "Let us add that the Socialist Appeal now appears twice each week. This magnificent success is due to the enthusiasm and spirit of sacrifice of our militants. From here we send our fraternal salute to the Appeal, the splendid paper of the Fourth International in the U.S."

—La Lutte Ouvrière

TOLEDO ORGANIZES BRANCH COMPETITION.  
"We have divided the branch into two teams so that now the Lenin team will vie with the Trotsky team in a smashing sub-drive. The losers are to give a party for the winners. We hope in this way to stimulate the sub-campaign."—D.C. of Toledo, Ohio. THE SUB-DRIVE RINGS THE BELL AGAIN!

As we predicted earlier this week, we have another all-time record-breaking subscription list to report.

The work of Minneapolis, New York City, and the California branches stands in front. Particularly the individual work of comrade Bob Ontell of Los Angeles who has sent us in a half dozen subs already.

Next week we'll publish the list of branch quota achievements up to April 1. Remember that the contest now extends until April 15 with a host of new prizes being offered.

Here's this week's list:

MINNEAPOLIS ..... 43  
New York City ..... 22  
California ..... 18  
Massachusetts ..... 6  
Bohemia ..... 5  
Chicago ..... 4  
Detroit ..... 3  
Connecticut ..... 3  
Newark ..... 3  
St. Paul ..... 3  
North Dakota ..... 2  
Texas ..... 2  
Philadelphia ..... 2  
Foreign ..... 2  
Maryland ..... 2  
Kansas ..... 1  
Illinois ..... 1  
Indiana ..... 1  
Tennessee ..... 1  
Pennsylvania ..... 3  
Total ..... 123

We have a new bundle-order agent for the Y.P.S.L. unit in Madison, Wisconsin. Melvin Tumin who starts with a bundle of 10 per issue.

REMINDER:  
May Day is ONE month off!  
Have you sent in your branch greeting yet?

Are you taking care of your collection lists?  
Have you placed your extra May-Day bundle order?

## JUST PUBLISHED

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# This Week at the Marxist School

MONDAY, MARCH 27, 7:15 P.M.:  
SAM GORDON—"Party and Trade Union Relations."

MONDAY, MARCH 27, 8:30 P.M.:  
JAMES BURNHAM—"Third Party Movements—Middle Class Politics."

TUESDAY, MARCH 28, 7:00 P.M.:  
JOHN G. WRIGHT—"The Chinese Revolution, 1925-1927."

TUESDAY, MARCH 28, 8:30 P.M.:  
WILLIAM PHILIPS—"Marxism and Literary Criticism."

WEDNESDAY, MARCH 29, 8:00 P.M.:  
GEORGE NOVACK—"The Role of the Working Class in the American Civil War."

All lectures held at IRVING PLAZA, Irving Place and 15th St.  
Admission 25c per lecture



# OFF THE RECORD

By Dwight Macdonald

## The Wallace Plan

Several months ago, in my New International column, I quoted a Washington "confidential News Letter" on an embryonic New Deal scheme. "Idea," ran the report, "is to find ways of enabling more people to eat more food. . . . It appears to be a fact that 1-3 of our people, perhaps even 1/2, don't get enough to eat. . . . So, step up consumption, eat up surpluses, thus aid farmers. That's the basis idea. How? One way might be by socialism or communism. Another way is by improving existing distribution methods WITHIN the profit system." What interested me at the time was the frank admission that (1) the American masses don't get enough to eat under capitalism; and (2) communism would mean, for them, more food. But now the "other" way, WITHIN the profit system, has materialized. It makes a neat rounding out of the story.

The alternative to communism turns out to be Secretary Wallace's ingenious orange and blue food card system, which was lately saluted in an Appeal editorial. On the surface, the Wallace Plan is designed actually to give the unemployed, in this seventh year of the New Deal, enough to eat. General Hugh Johnson, an admirer of the Wallace Plan, admitted recently in his daily column: "Government studies of W.P.A. wages have shown that, while the amount available for food for a family of four, for example, is enough to prevent starvation [Who says democracy doesn't work?—D.M.] it is not enough to provide a minimum balanced diet, especially for children, in some of the foods of which there is a surplus—dairy products, eggs, fruit and vegetables." (And let it not be forgotten that W.P.A. wages, just above the starvation level, are much higher than home and local relief.)

For their above-starvation foodstuffs, the unemployed have had to depend on the erratic bounty of the Federal Surplus Commodities Corporation, which buys up big lots of surplus farm products and gives them to the unemployed. The system is designed to stabilize farm markets rather than to meet human needs, and so the unemployed function as a sort of refuse dump for whatever our insane economic system overproduces at any given moment.

The Wallace Plan continues to use the unemployed as a dump for surplus farm products. But instead of the Government giving the food direct to the relievers, it gives them blue cards, which are exchangeable at their grocers for whatever foodstuffs are officially designated "surplus" that week. The beauty of this new arrangement is that every one—except, of course, the ultimate consumer—gets his cut of profit, from wholesaler to retailer.

Nor is this all. Secretary Wallace has decided that the unemployed cannot be trusted to spend their nickels wisely, and so he also proposes that the amount of each relief check which he and the other New Deal supermen in their all-wisdom decide should be spent for food—that this amount be paid not in cash but in orange tick-

ets. Like the blue tickets—which apply only to surplus commodities—these will be redeemable in any store for food. The same Washington News Letter from which I originally quoted, in a later issue revealed that the Wallace Plan will be tried out first in a few selected cities and then, if it works, will be extended everywhere. "Clothing and other necessities are not included in the plan now, but it is freely said they will be added later, IF the plan works on food." I hope the unemployed workers of the country will show by demonstrations and by other suitable action that the Wallace Plan doesn't "work," that they are still adult enough to buy their own shoes and hats and food even if this cockeyed economic system prevents them from working productively. For their banners, I suggest two inscriptions: "Mother DOESN'T Know Best!" And this sentence from the Washington Letter: "Purpose of Plan is primarily farm relief, secondarily human relief."

## A Luxemburgite Objects

Some one who wants to remain anonymous writes in to endorse, on the whole, my recent remarks in this column on the S.W.P.'s handling of the Anti-Bund demonstration outside Madison Square Garden. But he also adds: "I wish to register, as a Luxemburgite, that the comparison with Fascist showmanship goes a bit too far, because there are limits to left showmanship that do not restrict fascism. These limits relate to the degree to which a genuine social revolution is in its actual occurrence—as distinguished from demonstrations, meetings, etc.—a self-induced mass act, rather than something, as Rosa said, 'led with a baton.' The fascist coup d'etat is always accomplished under the baton, and this is one of the signs that it is not a social revolution. While the socialist revolution, no matter what role the Party plays as a gear, overflows the rim of the ordered and assumes a ragged, uneven character—with even the most conscious elements running around wild and improvising. And this has to be prepared for, too."

"So, while I agree with your general criticism, I suggest you add to it the thought that if all the Party members had been on their toes, thinking of the total effect of their act, they would, even without preliminary preparation, which would have been preferable, have thought of various improvised means for letting the crowds know about the S.W.P., the Appeal, etc. In short, I just want to strike one note for the individual side, along with your chord on the organizational. Both ought to develop together. Of course, this is a big subject, and I'm just poking around in it here."

But I'd like to ask my Luxemburgian lover of spontaneity—and I'm all with him there, myself—just how the demonstrators, on their toes or not, could have improvised banners and placards out of thin air, or could have conjured up copies of the Appeal when none were sent from headquarters?

# Senate Committee Bares Terror Against Workers

(Continued from Page 1)

A law-enforcement agency (read strike-breaking agency) was the Ohio National Guard. It loaded up with \$20,234.59 worth of the poison. But much larger purchases were made by the Republic Steel Corporation, the United States Steel Corporation, the Youngstown Sheet and Tube Company, and the General Motors Corporation.

## They Armed the Police

"Over 80 per cent of these purchases were made during or in anticipation of labor trouble," states the report and goes on to explain that corporations not only armed private guards but supplied arms and gas to police departments.

Virtually all the weapons used in the forcible dispersal of a picket line at Monroe, Mich., during the Little Steel strike were furnished to law enforcement authorities by the Republic Steel Corporation.

## Right of Free Speech

The employers exercised their right to free speech in order to bring the workers around to their point of view . . . purely in the traditional democratic American way. During the Little Steel strike, for instance, the La Follette Committee reports that Republic Steel exercised the right of free speech with 552 revolvers, 64 rifles with 1,325 rounds of ammunition, 245 shotguns with 5,874 rounds of shotgun shells, 143 gas guns with 4,083 gas projectiles and 2,707 hand grenades.

These facts, which are as plain and unguessed as a crate of gas bombs, sound more like a violent Hearst editorial denouncing workers' revolution for its use of terrorism than the cautious understatement of a capitalist investigating committee. But Republic Steel does not stand alone, a unique and isolated instance. "The purchasing and storing of arsenals of firearms and tear and sickening gas weapons," states the report, "is a common practice by large employers who refuse to bargain collectively with legitimate labor unions."

## "Respectable" Business Outfits

The buyers of poison gas listed by the Committee constitute a Who's Who assembly of solid "respectable" American business concerns and organizations. The Chamber of Commerce in many American cities ostensibly exists in order to publish slick paper blurbs to beguile moneyed vac-

ationers, but according to the La Follette lists their basements are filled with enough tear gas, shotguns, and rifles to keep the American flag flying over the cash register no matter how many employees in the district may desert American institutions by asking for a rise in pay or recognition of their right to organize.

The law enforcement agencies listed as purchasers of weapons of violence for use against workers are in almost every instance agencies under the control of corporations in the vicinity. Youngstown, Ohio, Flint, Mich., Salinas, Calif., Kohler, Wis., Mahoning County, Ohio, the Ohio National Guard—each one recalls a spectacular attack by the employers against the workers and the shedding of their blood.

San Francisco, for example, bought \$20,000 worth of equipment during the months of May, June, and July 1934 during the maritime and longshoremen's strike. That purchase of arms was climaxed by Bloody Thursday, the day police shot down strikers in the back on the San Francisco waterfront. Wreathes each year still keep fresh the memory of those stains on the sidewalks.

## Secret Diplomacy in Industry

The employers themselves are proud of their armed struggle for the democratic right to exploit workers—among their own class. But they are more cautious about what information reaches the workers. After all, the workers will soon have to go to war to die for corporation profits and it is smart diplomacy to keep some things secret.

"The fact that industrial purchasers of munitions frequently resort to all manner of subterfuge to conceal their purchase and possession of arms and gas from their own employees," states the report, "is significantly indicative of the purpose for which such munitions are bought."

"The munitions companies, in their business methods, accept this state of affairs and carry on their trade in a manner which approximates the secrecy and evasion that characterizes bootlegging."

## "Public Use" of Munitions

"Deliveries are made and invoices are mailed to the homes of officials far from the plants; records are kept in blind or in fragmentary form; payments are made through disreputable intermediaries and are in cash; invoices are written up in mislead-

## 'Liberty' A La Roosevelt



ing terms, and sometimes the munitions companies are not even informed of the identity of the actual purchasers."

And circumstances surrounding payment for gas equipment furnish "an extraordinary example of political intrigue and blackmail that are latent in the practice of private purchase of munitions for public use."

## The Only Answer

Excerpts from letters written by gas salesmen to their companies show vividly that the business of these munitions outfits depends upon employers creating a labor dispute. Here are a few of the statements: "With a hell of a strike would get under way." "I hope that this strike develops and matures and that it will be a damn bad one; we need the money." "We are surrounded with strikes but they are too peaceful to suit me."

The La Follette Report shows as clearly as the company violence it describes that there can be only one answer to the private armies of the American stockholders—and that answer is Workers Defense Guards.

## PITTMAN SEEKS TO PREPARE U.S. FOR COMING WAR

(Continued from Page 1)

hoo, the bill to abrogate existing neutrality legislation was finally introduced into the Senate on March 20 by Chairman Ray Pittman of the Foreign Relations Committee. In blandly hypocritical fashion, it was entitled, "Peace Act of 1939."

More frankly, Pittman in a radio speech last Sunday night described its main function as the expansion of the private munitions industry by permitting belligerents to purchase unlimited amounts of arms in this country. If adopted, the bill will immediately result in a vast expansion of the munitions industry, for the British and French governments are ready to place enormous orders but have hesitated for fear that, under existing legislation, the orders would not be delivered if war broke out meanwhile. Likewise munitions manufacturers have hesitated to accept orders under these conditions.

## Fake "Safeguards"

As a sop to the anti-war sentiment which originally forced adoption of legislation forbidding export of munitions in wartime, Pittman's new bill contains a "cash-and-carry" provision whereby, prior to export in wartime all right, title and interest in the war materials must have been transferred to the purchasing government. It is contended by the bill's sponsors that this provision, plus another prohibiting wartime loans to belligerents, will prevent American interests from becoming welded to the Anglo-French bloc and resulting in a repetition of America's entry into the war on their side as in 1917. But this is not true.

The fact is that the cautionary provisions can in no way prevent a repetition of 1917. First of all, large-scale cash orders from the Anglo-French bloc in the first months of the war will result in American industry organizing its production on the basis of these orders. Any threat to the continuation of these orders—such as important victories by Germany, or effective submarine warfare by Germany, or for that matter the inability of the Anglo-French bloc to continue paying in cash—would result in irresistible pressure by American financial and industrial interests for American entry into the war on the side of her customers.

## Evasion Made Easy

Secondly, the "cash-and-carry" provision could easily be evaded from the first. The Pittman bill itself provides a number of loopholes. Although it formally prohibits loans to belligerents, it gives the president the discretionary power, in extremely vague and broad terms, to permit extension by banks and industry to belligerents of "ordinary commercial credits and short-time obligations"; and the bill does not apply to "renewal or adjustment of such indebtedness as may exist" when war breaks out.

"Ordinary commercial credits" can be expanded to mean a great deal, while "renewal or adjustment" of indebtedness enables the Anglo-French bloc to arrange in advance for any amount of bank loans which will actually become operative only when war starts. Thus, at bottom, the Pittman

## RUMANIAN PACT PLACES HITLER AT SOVIET FRONTIERS

(Continued from Page 1)  
left in the hands of Hitler and just what his plans are the imperialist chancelleries apparently do not know, if we are to believe Angur, the well-known mouth-piece of the British Foreign Office, who writes in the New York Times.

By his successive coups of the last two weeks, Hitler has placed himself in a position from which he can either continue his eastward drive or else turn, as his ally Mussolini would like him to do, toward the rich colonial empires of Britain and France and press for a new partition of Africa and a revision of the "spheres of influence" in which the imperialist masters hold subject their hundreds of millions of colonial slaves.

## War In Either Case

In either case the end result will be a mad plunge into a new imperialist world war, with its attendant death, privation and misery for the masses of the world. The capitalist war-makers, of the democratic and Fascist stripe alike, are the instigators of this war. The last word will not belong to them, however, but to the masses aroused against the insane butchery for bosses' profits. To arouse, organize, and lead the masses to the transformation of the imperialist war into a war for the liberation of mankind from all tyranny is the task inscribed on the banners of the Fourth International.

bill paves the way for repetition of the events in America of 1914-1918.

The fundamental drive of American imperialism to war in 1917 and now, flowed and still flows from far more basic causes than its status as a creditor of the Anglo-French bloc. To the extent that this factor facilitated entry into war, however, it is now to be repeated again.

## Latin-America In Uniform

Another important Roosevelt administration war move is the Pittman resolution to "assist the governments of American republics to increase their military and naval establishments" by providing them with material unavailable in private munitions factories—in a word, with the most basic military secrets of the American armed forces.

This type of assistance is only given by one government to another on the basis of the closest possible military-political alliances, and indicates the real meaning of the Lima Declaration of "continental solidarity" which government spokesmen use to justify the Pittman resolution.

In hearings before the Foreign Relations Committee of the Senate March 22, spokesmen for the State, War and Navy Departments for the first time publicly advocated such "assistance" to the Latin-American governments.

It means nothing less than the military organization of the Western Hemisphere under the direction of the U.S. government, placing at its disposal the manpower and resources of the semi-colonial countries in the fight for mastery of the world.

## "Democratic" Dictators

The government spokesmen played upon the phrase, "the twenty-one republics" as though this signified a hemisphere of democracies. Actually the governments which the Roosevelt administration thus proposes to arm, and especially those most subservient to the administration's plans, are almost all military dictatorships—typified by such butchers as Vargas of Brazil and Batista of Cuba. These are the much-touted "forces of democracy!"

The Pittman resolution simply provides the mechanism whereby the enslaved masses of Latin-America shall be employed as cannon-fodder by the puppet dictators at the behest of the Colossus of the North.

## "War Without Profits"

As window-dressing for all this, there appears again the old fig-leaf of war-mongers, a bill to "tax the profits out of war."

Introduced into the Senate in the name of 50 Senators—more than a majority—the lack of seriousness of this move is indicated by the fact that the bill, as drafted, would result in Federal and state income taxes amounting in the higher brackets to a total of more than the income to be taxed. Sponsored also by the reactionary "Veterans of Foreign Wars," the bill is signed by New Dealers, conservative Democrats and Republicans alike—in other words it is a meaningless gesture.

A war tax of 99% on big incomes is a nice bit of pap to befuddle the workers while the enormous appropriations for armaments are being made. Not one signer of the bill really takes it seriously.

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## MEN AND WOMEN OF LABOR

# Out of the Past

BY EMANUEL GARRETT

## JAMES CONNOLLY

(June 5, 1870—executed May 12, 1916)

The newspapers report the resurgence of the Irish independence movement. "Up the Rebels," is again heard in the streets of Dublin—this time directed against a one-time rebel, Eamon De Valera, as well as the British tyrants. The anniversary of Red Easter Week is only a few weeks away.

Jim Connolly was once asked at a lecture how it was that he knew so much about revolutionary and military matters. "You forget," he replied, "that revolution is my business."

And that it was. For though he worked at any number of trades in Ireland and in this country—as baker, shoemaker, tiler, machinist, linotype, etc.—Jim Connolly was primarily a revolutionist, in the words of his biographer, Desmond Ryan, the "first builder of an insurgent barricade in war-wrecked Europe."

## Irish Question Is a Social Question

Himself a worker, and the son of a worker, Connolly sought to free the movement for Ireland's freedom from the petty-bourgeois and nationalist elements who dominated it at the time; he viewed with distrust the official nationalist leaders who had, he said, "bowed the knee to Eaal."

A student of Marxism, and proud to acknowledge that, he insisted that "only the Irish working class remains as the incorruptible inheritors of the fight for freedom in Ireland." For "As we have again and again pointed out, the Irish question is a social question, the whole age-long fight of the Irish people against their oppressors resolves itself in the last analysis into a fight for the mastery of the means of life, the sources of production." His great book, "Labor in Irish History," is based on that thesis.

Back in the 90's when Connolly first began his socialist work, the nationalist movement was in pretty bad shape. The British, riding the wave of imperialist prosperity, tossed the Irish a few crumbs and devitalized the movement for liberation into a mere plea for Home Rule. (Connolly was especially bitter against the Home Rulers.) Such revolutionary work as was being done, was done secretly. Connolly broke through this "ridiculous secrecy," and brought the socialist movement into the open. In 1896 he founded the Irish Socialist Republican Party, and became editor of its paper, the "Worker's Republic." (The paper bore on its masthead this legend: "The great appear great only because we are on our knees, let us arise!")

Emigrating to the United States in 1903, he immediately enrolled in the trade union and socialist movements of this country. An industrial unionist all his life, he became in America one of the earliest organizers of the I.W.O. For a time he was a member of the National Exec-

utive Committee of the Socialist Labor Party. Disagreeing with Daniel De Leon, leader of the S.L.P., over some questions of policy, he joined the newly formed Socialist Party, for which he worked as a national organizer.

## England's Crisis—Ireland's Opportunity

Returning to Ireland in 1913, he arrived at the very moment when the great strike battle, led by the Irish Transport and General Workers Union, against Dublin's united bosses was getting under way. 20,000 workers fought for six months to assert their right to join a union. Jim Larkin, a striking figure and orator, was the best-known leader of the strike. Connolly worked as Larkin's right-hand man.

Connolly judged crises according to their revolutionary possibilities. In England's war crisis, he saw revolutionary Ireland's opportunity. Realizing that collaboration of all the independence movements was absolutely vital, Connolly united, in preparation for action, the I.T.G.W.U., the Socialists, the Citizen's Army the Sinn Feiners, and the Republican Volunteers.

Both sides mobilized. April was stormy with preparations and preliminary skirmishes. Finally, the British moved in to disarm the Volunteers and the Citizen's Army. Connolly, who, as the most popular and undoubtedly most able person, had been appointed Commander-in-Chief of the revolutionary forces, gave the order for the rising on April 23. The petty-bourgeois leaders of the Volunteers rescinded the order, but the rising went on—their cowardice was too late. The "Provisional Government of an Independent Irish Republic" was proclaimed.

By the morning of April 24, virtually every important point of Dublin was in the hands of the rebels, so carefully had Connolly laid his plans. Facing the ruthless bombardment of British artillery which destroyed the center of the city, the rebels nevertheless fought fiercely for a week with inferior weapons. The uprising was crushed, and the democratic British immediately imposed a bloody reign of White Terror.

## Ours . . . Fighting and Hoping

The moment may not have been fully ripe for revolutionary action. But the valiant action led by Connolly was by no means an ill-considered, valueless stroke. Like the Russian 1905, it was a preliminary battle, preparatory to the final struggle. Weak-kneed traitors, and "I-Told-You-So" cowards can dismiss Red Easter as an adventurist putsch; but in the words of Lenin, "those who can term such a rising a putsch are either the worst kind of reactionaries or hopeless doctrinaires, incapable of imagining the social revolution as a living phenomenon."

Connolly was held prisoner in Kilmainham Jail (Eamon De Valera was privileged to be there with him). On May 12, wounded, carried out on a chair, "fighting and hoping" (he always ended his letters thus), courageous beyond finching, he faced a British firing squad.

## The 'War For Democracy' On the Home Front



## FRANCE SPEEDS TREND TOWARDS A DICTATORSHIP

(Continued from Page 1)

der the direct control of the state, although of course, private capital preserves its full equity and will profit enormously from the terrific speed-up imposed upon the workers.

This week Daladier is understood to be planning to issue a second set of decrees which will under-score the end of parliamentary "democratic" institutions in France, imposing on capital certain rules and regulations in the common interest of all the bosses, and infinitely more rigid and costly restrictions upon the workers—also in the common interest of all the bosses.

Daladier will move steadily, especially as the international situation worsens, toward suppression of all the remaining freedom of press, organization, and assembly. Strikes will become a crime punishable as treason against the State.

Last year when Daladier began his open attack on the 40 hour

week the protest among the workers was so great that the trade union bureaucracy, with the aid of the socialist and communist party leaders, had to call a foredoomed 24-hour "demonstration" general strike in order to help head off and disperse the rising spirit of revolt among the masses. As was to be expected, Daladier crushed that strike, because the workers' leaders kept it from becoming a generalized struggle against the regime. Since then the erstwhile hero of the French People's Front has steadily increased the iron hand of state control.

## No Opposition

Today the official leaderships of the workers' organizations give no sign of even attempting to resist the installation of the Daladier dictatorship. In Parliament the socialist and Stalinist deputies feebly protested and engaged in futile verbal arguments and fist-cuffs with rightist deputies while outside in the mills and factories the millions of French workers, deceived and befuddled and discouraged by this outcome of the two-year People's Front regime, still await a new leadership that will show them the way to save themselves from falling under the heel of Fascism at home on the pretext of "defense" against Fascist dictatorships abroad.

## Cops Admit Frame-Up Was Ordered Against Pickets

(Special to the Socialist Appeal)

NEW YORK—Police testifying in the case of Peter Shopes, Murray Nerewitz, and Abe Dollinger, who were arrested at the Feb. 20 anti-Nazi demonstration admitted to the court that the arrests had been made on the order of superiors, that none of the defendants had been seen committing the crimes with which they had been charged.

Magistrate Kross, before whom the case was heard at the 54th Street Court, dismissed the case after the admission of the police. The police testimony adds another segment to the picture of Feb. 20, when LaGuardia's "finest" were ordered out 1,700 strong to protect the fascists, and to prevent the workers from executing their democratic right to picket.

Defense was provided by the American Fund for Political Prisoners.



## SOCIALIST APPEAL

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### 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.

### Billions For Gunpowder

It is impossible for anyone to estimate at the present time the eventual amounts which Congress will divert from the pockets of the unemployed to the war machine. Conservative commentators in Washington believe that before the present Congress adjourns it will go down in history not as the "Economy" Congress which it would like to call itself, but the "National Defense" (Imperialist War) Congress.

They predict that authorizations for direct expenditures on war planes, battleships, submarines, long range guns and other instruments for the destruction of human life may reach \$3,000,000,000 for this session—with appropriations for indirect expenditures bringing the total to not less than \$4,000,000,000.

Hearings began this week, for instance, in a House committee upon one appropriation, the proposed naval budget, which alone, not considering other appropriations for the army, the air force, spies, secret diplomatic maneuvers, will amount to \$755,000,000. That is \$50,000,000 more than Congress has allowed for all the unemployed in the United States. And there is absolutely no indication whatsoever that the least cut will be made in this request for war funds.

Not since the last World War has any Congress dumped such vast sums of money down the gullet of the ravenous war beast.

And while these Washington representatives of the present ruling class shovel out funds by the billion in order to bomb cities, shoot down women and children, desolate whole nations in defense of their profits, they haggle among themselves over the possible repercussions still further reductions in the meager appropriations for the unemployed would bring about.

That the very person whom they now deny a meal, and a bed to sleep in will later die on a bayonet in defense of their profits does not move them in the least. "He's a sucker," they say among themselves. "So he fights and dies for the company stockholders. So what? If he's fool enough to do it, there's no one to blame but himself."

Billions upon billions of dollars, a mighty torrent of money taken from the workers, money stolen from the cupboards of the needy, wasted for war by these \$10,000 a year Congressmen. For the unemployed, a kick in the stomach. That's preliminary training for life in the army a little later. If the unemployed take it meekly, without saying anything, they deserve it don't they?

Congress has its hands on unlimited funds. It can use those funds for any purpose it thinks necessary.

But only DEMONSTRATIONS will convince these stockholders' watch dogs that it is necessary to feed people who are starving.

All war funds to the unemployed!

### The Plumbers Strike

The *Socialist Appeal* greets with enthusiasm the splendid struggle of Plumbers and Gasfitters Local No. 463 of Manhattan and the Bronx for the six-hour day and retention of the present wage rate.

This strike, brought about by a revolt of the membership against an attempt of the Master Plumbers with the assent of the International leadership to put over the 7-hour day and a 10% pay reduction, is but one indication of the rising temper of building trades workers against years of unemployment and chiselling on working conditions and wages.

Local No. 463 has elected a strike committee, secured strike headquarters, elected publicity, picket and other committees; picketing by the membership is carried on throughout the city and they have issued the first number of a strike bulletin. Remember this is the Plumbers union.

Building Trades Workers generally are reported to be in solidarity with the Plumbers. Pickets were enthusiastically greeted everywhere. Members of Local No. 1 Plumbers and Gas Fitters of Brooklyn and Queens, despite the fact that they have an agree-

ment granting the 6-hour day, walked off all jobs in their territory operated by the Master Plumbers of the Bronx and Manhattan. All plumbing work on new construction is tied up tight in Manhattan and the Bronx.

Work at the World's Fair is at a standstill. The Plumbers are in an excellent position to win all their demands. But they must keep a watchful eye on the International officers and guard against any attempt to arbitrate away the six hour day.

Encouraging indeed to labor everywhere is the whole-hearted support accorded the striking plumbers and helpers by Local No. 3 International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers. This local which has already won the 6-hour day is engaged in a big campaign to spread the fight. They have issued buttons, leaflets, stickers and sent out speakers to other locals. Their slogan is "The 30-hour Week—A Practical Solution for Unemployment."

The example shown by the Plumbers and Electrical workers must be followed by unions everywhere. With the same spirit and determination which the trade unions of America started the fight for the 8-hour day 53 years ago, organized labor must today take up the fight for the six-hour day and the 5-day week.

Division in labor's ranks is an obstacle to that fight. For a United Labor Movement!  
Against unemployment and starvation!  
Forward to the 30-hour week!  
Hail the fighting ranks of Local No. 463!

### The Uses Of Terrorism

In a report just made public, the Senate Civil Liberties Committee reveals a picture of terrorism and violence in industrial warfare that should confound once and for all the assertions of apologists for capitalism that in America there are no classes and that the American way is the democratic and peaceful way.

We refer to the planned, deliberate, premeditated use of terrorism and violence by employers in the United States. We refer to their conscious, calculated purchase of revolvers, shot guns, rifles, gas guns, ammunition, and hand grenades with which they plan long in advance to spill the blood of the human beings who work under their domination.

The arming of the capitalist class is not just an isolated racket that can be stamped out with a few well meaning laws. Capitalists laugh at such laws. The use of arms, private thugs, organized murder, terrorism and violence forms the core of their strategy in maintaining their stream of super-profits.

The war for a peaceful system of life does not lie in the direction pointed out by Roosevelt. It is right here at home. And the enemy has been listed by name and individual corporation in the report of the Civil Liberties Committee.

### Stalinists Hurt C.I.O.

Following in close succession, two unions have quit the C.I.O. in protest against union-wrecking Stalinist leadership. First, the Executive Committee of the Southern Tenant Farmer's Union ordered all its locals to withdraw from the United Cannery Workers, a C.I.O. affiliate, after a referendum among its membership. Then, 500 office workers in New York voted to leave the United Office and Professional Workers Union, and to apply to the A.F.L. for a charter.

Both the office workers and the tenant farmers made it clear that they are firm believers in the principles of industrial unionism, that is to say, those principles upon which the C.I.O. was founded. But in both cases, the workers, who constitute the progressive element in their fields, found that the anti-democratic union leadership made the proper functioning of the union impossible. No union can function, certainly not militantly, under the stultifying whip of bureaucracy and class-collaboration which are the chief features of Communist Party union policy.

Those militants who flocked to the C.I.O. with the sincere hope of forging mighty mass unions have before them an object lesson. Unless the C.I.O., and those principles which it stood for at its founding, are to be completely lost, it is absolutely necessary to rid the unions of Stalinist influence. And that can best be accomplished by uniting in progressive groups which can pit organized resistance against Stalinist domination and policies. Where the structure of the union, or the control of the Stalinists, rules out the democratic expression of membership will, there is a union doomed to death.

A union cannot possibly function for the best interests of its membership if it is dominated by a clique which thinks in terms of its own reactionary, factional necessities. In such a case, progressive unionists are forced to seek a path which will free them from the blight of Stalinism. The sharecroppers, who returned to an independent status, and the office workers who returned to the A.F.L., acted in accord with that necessity.

### Curbing the Press

One of the "glorious principles of democracy" which we will presently be asked to "defend" with our lives, is freedom of the press. We are told that one of the features distinguishing a democratic nation from a dictatorial nation is the freedom which is granted the press in the democratic nation.

If all this is true, then France can be wiped from the list of the democracies. She has moved over into the company of those nations which supposedly have a monopoly on destruction of liberty and human rights.

As a direct result of the decree powers handed over to Daladier last week, a whole series of laws muzzling the press are now being formulated. These laws ostensibly are in the interests of "national defense"—but an idea of their true nature can be gained from the fact that among other things they will prohibit criticism of Hitler, Mussolini, or any other head of a government no matter how inhuman and brutal he may be. So far as the workers' press of France is concerned, these laws will completely suppress and muzzle it if they do not immediately wipe it out of existence.

## What Lies Behind Stalin Bid For Agreement With Hitler?

Diplomatic Circles Of All Capitalist Countries Are  
Now Considering A Possible Moscow - Berlin Axis;  
What Does It Mean To Workers Of The World?

In recent months, the newspapers have printed a good deal concerning secret negotiations between Berlin and Moscow. It has been rumored that a political and even a military agreement in the guise of an economic treaty is in preparation. It is difficult to judge as yet, just what is correct in these communications. At all events, there are quite unmistakable symptoms which testify to the fact that some sort of negotiations have been and are going on. In any case, the outcome of these secret negotiations, at the present stage, depends, not upon Stalin's loyalty to the principles of democracy nor upon Hitler's fealty to the banner of "anti-Marxism" but rather upon the international conjuncture. An agreement between Stalin and Hitler, if attained—and there is nothing impossible in that, could astonish only the most hopeless simpletons from among all the varieties of democratic "Fronts" and pacifist "Leagues."

### A FACTOR IN INTERNATIONAL POLITICS

We shall not dwell here on the question of how probable is an agreement between Stalin and Hitler, or, to put it more correctly, between Hitler and Stalin in the immediate future. This question would require a detailed analysis of the international situation in all its possible variants. But even if this were done, the answer would still have to be rigidly qualified, inasmuch as the players themselves could hardly state to-day with complete certainty just where the play will lead them.

But even before the rapprochement between Moscow and Berlin has been factually attained, it has become a factor in international politics, for all the diplomatic centers of Europe and the world are now taking this possibility into account. Let us, too, briefly consider this possibility.

### AN AGREEMENT WITH SLAVEHOLDERS

An agreement with an imperialist nation—regardless of whether it is fascist or democratic—is an agreement with slave-owners and exploiters. A temporary agreement of such nature may, of course, be rendered compulsory by circumstances. It is impossible to state once and for all time that agreements with imperialists are impermissible under all and any conditions, just as it is impossible to tell a trade union that it has no right under any conditions to conclude a compromise with the boss. "Irreconcilability" of such nature would be sheerly verbal.

So long as the workers' state remains isolated episodic agreements with the imperialists to one extent or another are inevitable. But we must clearly understand that the question reduces itself to profiting from the antagonisms between two gangs of imperialist powers, and nothing more. There cannot even be talk of disguising such agreements by means of common idealistic slogans, for example, the common "defense of democracy,"—slogans which involve nothing but the most infamous deceit of the workers. It is essential that the workers in capitalist countries be not bound in their class-struggle against their own bourgeoisie by the empiric agreements entered into by the worker's state. This fundamental rule was rigorously observed during the first period of the existence of the Soviet republic.

However, the question of whether agreements between a worker's state and an imperialist state, including a Fascist one, are in general permissible, and if so, just under what conditions,—this question—in its abstract form—has lost all meaning today. In question is not a worker's state, in general, but a degenerated and putrifying workers' state. The nature of an agreement, its aims and its limits, depend directly upon those who conclude such an agreement. Lenin's government might have been compelled in Erast-Litovsk to conclude a temporary agreement with Hohenlohe—in order to save the revolution. Stalin's government is capable of entering into agreements only in the interests of the ruling Kremlin clique and only to the detriment of the interests of the international working class.

The agreements between the Kremlin and the "democracies" meant for the respective sections of the Communist International the renunciation of the class struggle, the strangulation of revolutionary organizations, the support of social patriotism and, in consequence, the destruction of the Spanish revolution and sabotage of the class struggle of the French proletariat.

**KREMLIN CLIQUE  
CRUSHES WORKERS**  
The agreement with Chiang Kai-Shek signified the immediate liquidation of the revolutionary peasant movement, the renunciation by the Communist party of its last vestiges of independence and the official replacement of Marxism by Sun-Yat-Senism. The semi-agreement with Poland signified the destruction of the Polish Communist Party and the annihilation of its leadership. Every agreement of the Kremlin clique with a foreign bourgeoisie is immediately directed against the proletariat of that country with which the agreement is made, as well as against the proletariat of the U.S.S.R. The Bonapartist gang in the Kremlin cannot survive except by weakening, demoralizing, and crushing the proletariat everywhere within its reach.

**COMINTERN POLICY  
IN GREAT BRITAIN**  
In Great Britain the Comintern is nowadays conducting agitation in favor of creating a "People's Front" with the participation of the liberals. At first glance such a policy appears to be absolutely incomprehensible. The Labour Party represents a mighty organization. One could easily understand an urge on the part of the social-patriotic Comintern to draw closer to it. But the liberals represent an utterly compromised and politically second-rate force. Moreover they are split into several groups. In the struggle to maintain their influence the Labourites naturally reject any idea of a bloc with the liberals, so as not to infect themselves with a gangrenous poison. They are defending themselves rather energetically—by means of expulsions—against the idea of a "People's Front."

**WHY INCLUDE  
LIBERAL SHADOWS?**  
Why then doesn't the Comintern confine itself to fighting for a collaboration with the Labourites? Why does it instead invariably demand the inclusion of the liberal shadows of the past into the united front? The crux of the matter lies in this, that the policy of the Labour party is far too radical for the Kremlin. An alliance between the Communists and the Labourites might assume some shade of anti-imperialism

and would thereby render more difficult a rapprochement between Moscow and London. The presence of liberals in the "People's Front" signifies a direct and an immediate censorship exercised by imperialism over the actions of the Labour Party. Under the cover of such a censorship Stalin would be able to render all the necessary services to British imperialism.

**STALIN TRADES THE  
WORKERS' MOVEMENT**  
The fundamental trait of Stalin's international policy in recent years has been this: that he trades in the working class movement just as he trades in oil, manganese and other goods. In this statement there is not an iota of exaggeration. Stalin looks upon the sections of the Comintern in various countries and upon the liberating struggle of the oppressed nations as so much small change in deals with imperialist powers.

When he requires the aid of France, he subjects the French proletariat to the Radical bourgeoisie. When he has to support China against Japan, he subjects the Chinese proletariat to the Kuomintang. What would he do in the event of an agreement with Hitler? Hitler, to be sure, does not particularly require Stalin's assistance to strangle the German Communist party. The insignificant state in which the latter finds itself has moreover been assured by its entire preceding policy. But it is very likely that Stalin would agree to cut off all subsidies for illegal work in Germany. This is one of the most minor concessions that he would have to make and he would be quite willing to make it.

**THE FEBRUARY 20  
ANTI-NAZI DEMONSTRATION**  
One should also assume that the noisy, hysterical and hollow campaign against Fascism which the Comintern has been conducting for the last few years will be slyly squelched. It is noteworthy that on February 20th when our American section mobilized considerable masses of workers to fight against the American Nazis, the Stalinists refused point-blank to participate in the counter-demonstration which had nationwide repercussions, and did everything in their power to minimize its importance, thereby giving aid to the American followers of Hitler.

What is there behind this truly treacherous policy? Is it only conservative stupidity and hatred of the Fourth International? Or is there also something new, for example, the latest instruction from Moscow—recommending to Messrs. "Anti-Fascists" that they muzzle themselves so as not to interfere with the negotiations between Moscow and Berlin diplomats? This supposition is by no means far-fetched. The next few weeks will bring their verification.

**WHAT THE AGREEMENT  
WOULD MEAN**  
We can state one thing with certainty. The agreement between Stalin and Hitler would essentially alter nothing in the counter-revolutionary function of the Kremlin oligarchy. It would only serve to lay bare this function, make it stand out more glaringly and hasten the collapse of illusions and falsifications. Our political task does not consist in "saving" Stalin from the embraces of Hitler but in overthrowing both of them.

**L.T.**  
March 6, 1939

## Canada 4th Internationalists Begin Publication of "Socialist Action"

Another weapon for the building of the Fourth International movement has just been forged with the formation in Canada of the Socialist Workers League as an independent organization, and the publication of its paper, "Socialist Action."

The Canadian Trotskyist movement which entered the Canadian Commonwealth Federation two years ago begins its independent existence at a crucial moment in world history. Huge possibilities lie before it.

The mere fact that it was able to publish a printed paper immediately upon its organization betokens great prospects. Already, it has had a demonstration of future successes in store for it with the adherence to its ranks of Carl Hichin who was formerly one of the most important journalists of the Canadian Communist Party. (See Appeal, March 14, 1939).

**Program of Action**  
The publication of "Socialist Action" is an especially signal deed. In its eight pages, "Action" presents to the Canadian working-class a Program of Action based on the principles and lessons of revolutionary socialism. "The

times are ripe for socialism," says the Program. And in a lucid discussion of the situation in Canada it lays down a course of action which the revolutionary militants must follow to achieve socialism.

In addition to the Program, the first issue of "Action" publishes among others, an article on the mine barons' assault against the living standards of the poor, and an article on the popular front in Canada. Particularly interesting, however, for American readers is an article on the "Daily Clarion's" (Stalinist sheet) handling of the Feb. 20 anti-Nazi demonstration.

Before they received the line from Browder's headquarters in New York, the Canadian scribes, reporting the news as they had read it in the papers, hailed the action of the thousands of anti-Nazis who had surrounded Madison Square Garden. To be sure, they didn't get the whole story straight. In accord with their own imaginings, and "cousinliness," the demonstration was reported as a protest "at the desecration of Washington's memory." Well, we know that that's quite a long way from the truth. But, in this first statement, the Cana-

dian C.P. scribbles did admit the size and the importance of the demonstration. Some time later, the "Clarionites" got the real line—that the New York C. P. had sabotaged the demonstration. In their next report, therefore, the great anti-Nazi demonstration was reduced to "disturbances organized by Trotskyite members of the Socialist Workers Party," while "2,000 police struggle to keep order among the thousands of spectators who crowded the streets."

We greet our brother section and publication with the warmest comradeship. Our hands are locked with theirs for the building of a gigantic edifice of revolutionary action on the American continent.

Forward to a weekly "Socialist Action."

Long live the Socialist Workers League of Canada!

Long live the Fourth International!

**AT YOUR SERVICE!**  
**THE APPEAL**  
**POSTER SHOP**

## IN THIS CORNER

—By Max Shachtman—

When they cannot conveniently find anything else to say against "Trotskyism," the amateur wits among our opponents in the labor movement try to make merry over our international organization. It does not, you see, have a million members in its ranks; it does not have a powerful and well-financed apparatus; and it does not always function with that perfect unanimity displayed, let us say, by a Stalinist Congress.

Now, all this is true. But it is no less true that our international, which has suffered for more than ten years from a double-barrelled persecution such as no section of the labor movement has ever experienced, has nevertheless succeeded in preserving and extending the only revolutionary organization functioning in the world today. It is simply a statement of fact when we say that the banner of the Fourth International is now unfurled in almost two-score countries, and on every continent of the globe. The Third International has no banner; its sections are able to wave only the pay-checks of the Kremlin bureaucracy or their respective national capitalist flags. As for the Second International, the only banner its sections have in common is the white flag of surrender.

### A Very Quiet Funeral

There is of course the Lovestone "International." More accurately, there was—for it is now at an end. And it would be hard to imagine a quieter funeral, so few are the mourners at its bier and so nonchalant the gravediggers. The announcement of the burial is made in the current issue of the *Workers Age*, and since it is a family affair in Potter's Field there is not even a request for flowers.

Although the death seems to have occurred in the bright daylight of December 19, 1938, there were evidently so many more important trifles to take care of that Lovestone didn't get around to making the announcement until three months later. In the intervening period Lovestone was so busy clinging to Homer Martin's heels, from which he has just been unceremoniously kicked away, that the corpse of his "International" was allowed to lie around without even public notice of its demise.

We learn now that last December 19, Lovestone's National Committee wrote a letter to the German Brandierites (C.P.O.) which, in effect, called the whole thing off. The reasons seem to be the mistaken "organizational methods" employed by Brandier in dealing with his own dissidents, and a dispute over the attitude of the International Communist Opposition (the Lovestone-Brandier organization) towards the British Independent Labour Party. Brandier appears to favor support to his own tiny "left wing" in the I.L.P.; Lovestone piously opposes "boring from within."

"If you are so ready to reject such people as Fenner Brockway as revolutionary socialists, where will you ever find the people with and through whom a new revolutionary International could possibly be built? Our attitude is quite different. Our experience with Fenner and others like him (it is not a case of Brockway personally) convinces us that it is here we must look for the cadres of the future."

### Painting Broadway Red

The mental picture of Lovestone making a revolutionary Marxist out of old Fenner Brockway by buttering his joints and stroking his locks, surpasses anything you can find in the comic strips. The real bosses of the I.L.P. are its incorrigible Parliamentarians, like Maxton. The party proposes, but Maxton disposes. He flouts the wordy "radical" decisions of the party with impunity, and doesn't hesitate to blackmail the membership into submission to his private policy by threats about what the party would be without the blessings of his presence.

Brockway's role in the past few years has been that of mediator between the Maxtonians and the militant I.L.P. membership—what's left of it. That is, he is the chain that binds the rank and file to Maxton's wagon. And Lovestone's whole policy in England centers around constructing a "revolutionary International" with this incurable centrist. When he gets through with Brockway—or rather, when Brockway is through with him—his recent experience in trying to make a militant labor leader out of Homer Martin, and by the same methods, will look like a model success.

Lovestone launches his inspiring campaign . . . by breaking with Brandier. "We have already notified you of our proposal to dissolve the I.C.O. altogether and to have the constituent elements join with the constituent elements of the London Bureau into a new International Center."

### A Balance-Sheet of Lovestoneism

The old-time Lovestoneite may well say: "This is where I came in!" He might also ask for an analytical balance-sheet of almost ten years of existence of the Lovestone-Brandier International, which was not, praise the Lord, as sectarian as the Trotskyist world movement. Since he will not get it from Lovestone (silence is golden), here it is in brief:

M. N. Roy, the "Indian section," is now a 100% Stalinist, without recognition from Stalin. David Wijnkoop, the "Dutch section," is now a 100% Stalinist, with recognition from Stalin. The whole Czech section went to the Second International years ago. Willi Schlamm, the "Austrian section," turned democratic patriot. The Swedish section turned social-democratic and is all but affiliated with the Second International. The Alsatian section, Huber and Co., is pure Alsatian nationalist and withdrew from the I.C.O. The hoped-for French section—Party of Proletarian Unity—just didn't materialize. The Swiss section—in Schaffhausen—is finished. The Mexican section—vanished years ago. In Latin America, nothing. In Africa, nothing. In Asia, nothing. In Australia, nothing.

Left in the I.C.O.? Lovestone plus Brandier. Now even that's at an end. What Lovestone couldn't accomplish with Brandier, Thalheimer, Hais, Roy, Samuelson and colleagues, he is starting all over again to accomplish with Brockway, Maxton, Gorkin . . . and Balabanova.

We would send condolences to him on the recent death if the coolness with which he takes the loss didn't show that he has no use for them.

We would wish him luck on his new enterprise if we didn't realize that not even Lovestone—he will pardon us the mangling of an old adage—can make a silk purse out of the London Bureau.

Says social leader Elsa Maxwell: "So utterly and irrevocably dead is the art of conversation in what Mr. Paul (Cholly Knickerbocker) nicknamed 'Cafe Society,' that I make it a point to have two orchestras at my parties because the twelve minute rest which the musicians' union insists on is sufficiently long to kill any party. Nobody wants to listen to anyone for twelve minutes in Cafe Society; and, if the truth were known, almost nobody in Cafe Society is able to talk