

# Socialist Appeal

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

VOL. III, NO. 25

TUESDAY, APRIL 18, 1939

## KILL OFF THE UNEMPLOYED!

Retired U. S. Army Major Edward L. Dyer has the simplest way of lightening the relief burden: all the aged on relief should be humanely killed. Dyer proposes an age limit of 70 or 75. Without insisting on it, we suggest that the experiment be started with Major Dyer, even though he is now living on a comfortable pension. Just a

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

Set up and Printed by Union Labor.

Application for Label Pending

3c a Copy

# READY TO PLUNGE U. S. INTO WAR

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

### Krivitsky's Story

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

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

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

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

"Stalin himself had contemptuously described the Comintern

(Continued on Page 2)

## There IS Another Choice!

AN EDITORIAL

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

Three possible courses were outlined by the "spokesman":

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

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

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

### Heads He Wins, Tails We Lose

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

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

### His Latest Alibi

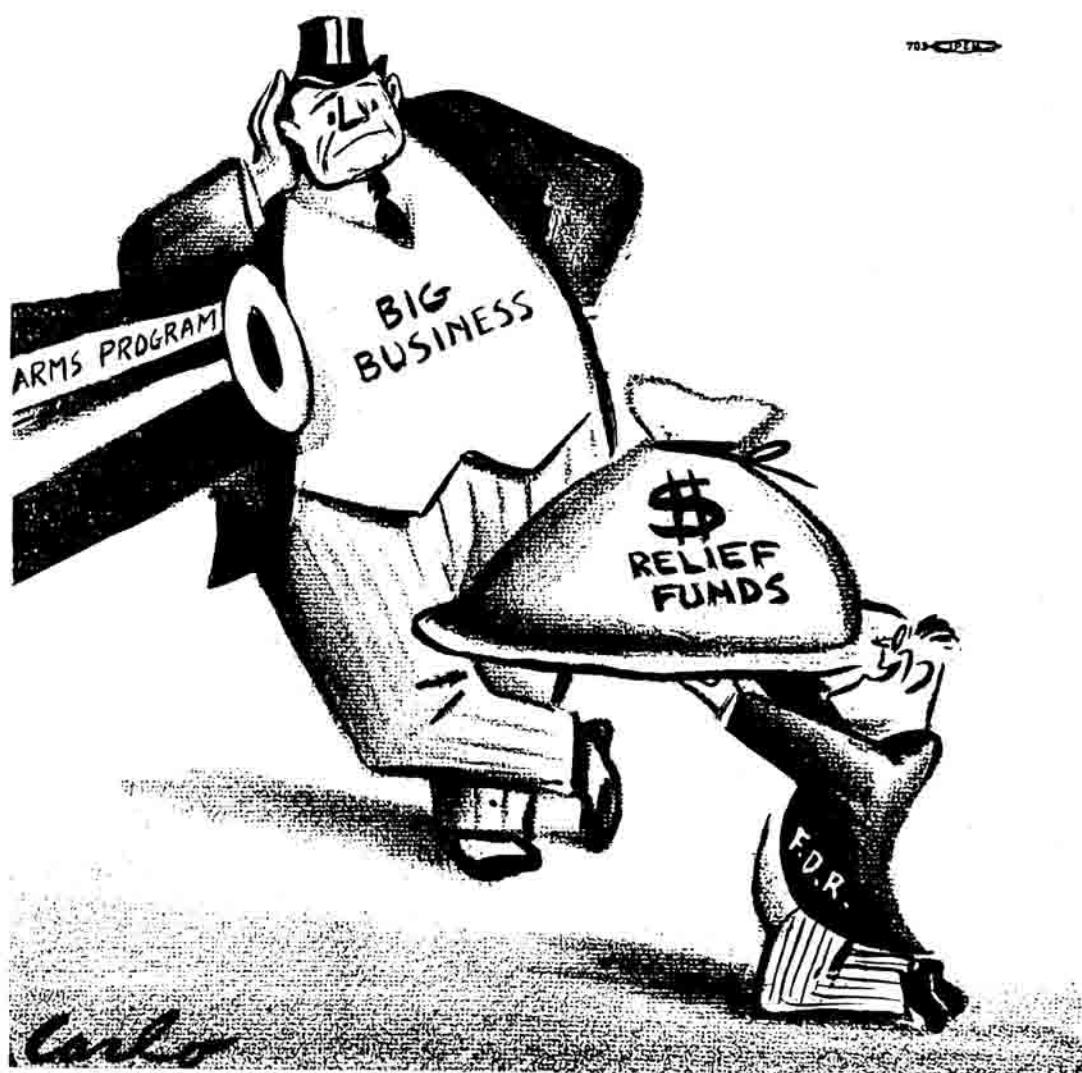
Another purpose that Roosevelt had in warning the masses what was in store for them if they did not rush into a war against the fascist nations, was to prepare an alibi. Not so long ago it was the "Economic Royalists" who were to blame for the bad conditions under which the workers had to exist. Roosevelt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

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

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

(Continued on Page 3)

## Roosevelt's Appeasement Policy



## PASSPORT TRIAL OF THREE OPENS IN RUBENS CASE

**Defense, Prosecution Agree Trial Is Political**

By NAT LEVINE

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

Over a year and a half ago Aaron Sharfin, Ossip Garber and Edward Blatt were indicted for conspiracy to fraudulently obtain passports. The indictments were handed down by a grand jury which investigated the mysterious means by which "Donald Lewis Robinson" and "Ruth Marie Rubens" had obtained their passports.

(Continued on Page 4)

## Big Battles Loom Ahead For Automobile Workers

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

(Special to the Socialist Appeal)

DETROIT, April 10—What is the situation in the automobile industry today? Both the Martin and the C.I.O. conventions are now behind us and it is possible to sum up the composition and the state of affairs of the two unions in the language of cold figures.

The Martin Union reported a genuine membership of 62,000 workers at its Detroit convention. Of this number, some 25,000 workers were listed in the six large local unions represented at the Detroit convention, Plymouth, Packard, Flint and Pontiac G. M. locals. The bulk of these 25,000 workers have left and are leaving the Martin Union for the C.I.O. organization.

The Martin Union consists therefore of some 35,000 to 40,000 members, located chiefly in the parts plants. Of the important automobile plants, Martin's strength is limited to the Plymouth shop of the Chrysler division.

### Key Sections with C.I.O.

The C.I.O.-U.A.W. reported at its convention a genuine membership of some 170,000 workers. At the Cleveland Convention were represented practically all of the key, decisive sections of the organized automobile workers. The bulk of the Flint and Pontiac G. M. workers of Saginaw, Bay City, Detroit, Toledo, Cleveland, Indiana and California. The overwhelming portion of the Chrysler Corporation—all of Dodge, all of De Soto, all of Chrysler and at least 50% of Plymouth; all of the important independent: Hudson, Nash, Studebaker; the majority of Packard; all of the important body manufacturers: Briggs, Murray Body and Seaman Body.

The composition of the two unions explains the difference between the Detroit and the Cleveland conventions. The Detroit delegates have all gone through a highly selective process in the last six months of the factional battle that raged in the U.A.W. By and large, only the most conservative and backward locals remained with Martin. That is why the Detroit gathering took on such a reactionary appearance and gave voice to so many reactionary measures.

The vast majority of the large, decisive locals of the automobile union were represented at the Cleveland convention. The automobile union was organized and built up during the fiercest class battles with the automobile manufacturers. In spite of the year and a half of ruinous, clique factionalism, the delegations to the Cleveland convention still gave voice to the militancy and the fighting courage which built and made famous the Automobile Workers Union.

**Martin-AFL Alliance**  
Martin, representing a discredited minority of the automobile union, is driven to an

(Continued on Page 3)

## Roosevelt Takes Open War Stand; Europe on Brink

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

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

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

Speaking to the governing board of the Pan-American Union, Roosevelt declared that the United States, apparently regarding all the countries of the two American continents as Washington's private protectorates, would defend its rule over the Western hemisphere "to the fullest extent of our strength, matching force to force if any attempt is made to subvert our institutions, or to impair the independence of any of our groups."

The bland hypocrisy of the reference to "the independence of any of our groups"—meaning the countries of Latin America—may be judged from the fact that to this day the United States rules over a number of these countries by open or concealed violence, leaving them a purely nominal independence.

**Sordid Imperialism**  
That the actual interests which Roosevelt expressed were anything but idealistic, was recognized even by so conservative a statesman as Senator William E. Borah of Idaho. Referring to the coming world war, he writes:

"A thorough investigation will disclose to you that a more sordid, imperialist war could hardly be imagined than this war should it unfortunately come.

"This is not a war over the question of democracy or totalitarianism. It was the democracies of Europe which wrote the secret treaties by which all spoils were divided even before the war was closed. It was the democracies of Europe which wrote the Versailles Treaty, not a peace treaty but a spoils treaty."

"These European powers, whatever may be their idea of ideology or political views, pursue one and the same course when they come to deal with international affairs. They all alike violate treaties, disregard the most fundamental principles of rights, pursue methods which inevitably lead to war, and then call upon the United States, Canada and other nations to save them from their own intolerable and vicious methods."

**Alliances Shape Up**  
Meanwhile, the war alliances of the rival imperialist camps of Europe are taking ever clearer shape, in preparation for the showdown.

Speaking in the House of Commons, Prime Minister Chamberlain expanded the war frontiers of Britain to Rumania, Greece and Turkey. His speech followed only a few days after the "frontiers of Poland" had likewise been taken under the protectorate of British imperialism.

Premier Daladier of France, another of the professional "democrats" who is concerned with the "independence of small nations"—except of course those small nations over which French imperialism exercises its own brutal dominion—followed right in Chamberlain's footsteps by a virtually identical declaration concerning Rumania and Greece.

The two latter countries, meanwhile, were somewhat fearful of these "assurances," in view of the enormous pres-

(Continued on Page 3)

(Continued on Page 2)



## CRACK CONTROL OF C.P. IN FOOD UNION ELECTION

### Progressives Win Two Chief Posts in Sharp Contest

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

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

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

#### Election Issues Clear

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

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

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

## AKRON YIPSELS REJECTING DEAL ASK JURY TRIAL

(Special to the Socialist Appeal)

AKRON, O., April 13.—Akron branch of the Young People's Socialist League (Fourth International) intensified its jobs for youth campaign today by picketing district N.Y.A. offices and distributing leaflets, despite school and police attempts to hamper its activities.

Meanwhile, the Y.P.S.L. prepared its case against the school officialdom and police by demanding a jury trial for five youths who were arrested March 31, while distributing leaflets of the Y.P.S.L.

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

#### City Offers Deal

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

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

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

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

# Former G.P.U. Head Exposes Stalin Record Of Treachery in Spanish Loyalist Struggle

## BARCELONA MAY DAY UPRISING DELIBERATELY PROVOKED BY MOSCOW AGENTS

(Continued from Page 1)

as a *lavochka*—a "gyp joint"—and this epithet was its nickname in high Soviet circles.

### Degeneration of the Comintern

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

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

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

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

### Stalin Refuses Arms for Spain

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

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

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

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

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

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

### Finally Acts—For Anglo-French Pact

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

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

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

### Exporting the Ogpu to Spain

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

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

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

"By the middle of October, shiploads of arms

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

### Arms Only for Stalin's Tools

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

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

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

### No Russian Arms for Catalonia

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

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

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

### Moscow Appoints Miaja Supreme Chief

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

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

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

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

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

### Slutski Organizes the Murder Gangs

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

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

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

## KREMLIN GANG ACTED IN SPAIN LIKE THE OVERLORDS OF A FOREIGN COLONY

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

### Pravda Decrees the Murder of Nin

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

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

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

### Organizing to Overthrow Caballero

"Premier Caballero had no stomach for the Soviet terror which was decimating his own party and striking at his political allies. The autonomous government of Catalonia was resisting the Ogpu purge, tooth and nail, without the blessings of Caballero. An internal crisis was ripening in Spain.

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

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

### "Fighting Fascism"

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

"After the bloodshed in Barcelona, the Spanish Communists led by Diaz demanded the suppression of all other parties and of the trade-unions in Catalonia; the placing of newspapers, radio stations and meeting halls under Ogpu control, and the immediate and complete extinction of all anti-Stalinist movements throughout Loyalist territory.

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

### Stalin Abandons Spain to Franco

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

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

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

## Rumor . . .

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



### THE WINNERS

This week we are glad to announce the results of our subscription drive for 1,000 new readers and those branches that have won the prizes we offered.

A grand total of 700 new subscriptions were obtained. We completed 70% of our quota. We're convinced that a lot better could have been done and will be done next time, but still, a lot of branches did very fine work and more than completed their quotas.

The following branches fulfilled their assigned quotas. Some of them went over the top. Youngstown, Austin, Boston, Houston, Berkeley, New Haven, Minneapolis, and Quakertown.

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

And now, here are the four prize winners:

First prize to Minneapolis—a complete set of Lenin's writings.

Second prize to Boston—a complete set of Trotsky's writings.

Third and Fourth prizes to Youngstown and Quakertown branches, both of which will receive 1937 and 1938 bound volumes of the Socialist Appeal, plus a set of newsboy aprons for their street sales activity.

All prizes will be mailed out within a week. These four branches did a fine job and deserve the best wishes of the entire party.

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

### THE BRANCHES AT WORK:

"We're breaking down Appeal resistance around here, so will you please increase our bundle order to 35 (10 more). Also, I'm putting in our order for 65 extra of the May Day issue."—Sara Turner, Y.P.S.L. agent of Berkeley, Calif.

John Murphy, who has resumed the control of Los Angeles literature department writes us: "We are hitting the streets regularly with the Appeal. I have obtained a few reliable guys and they will be my street salesmen."

"I am mobilizing every possible person for house to house sales on Sunday mornings, the old Red Sunday business. An attempt will be made to get regular readers in this way." "The sub drive will be continued."

Appeal readers will be glad to learn that Chester Johnson, Minneapolis literature agent, has fully recovered from the vicious attack made upon him by the Stalinists. Comrade Johnson writes: "The real answer to the Stalinists on this thing must be to sell the Appeal by hundreds and thousands where we now only sell tens. We will take the necessary precautions which will enable us to go forward with such a program without suffering any more casualties."

Here's the list of subs obtained this week—the last week of our subscription drive:

|                |    |
|----------------|----|
| NEW YORK CITY  | 11 |
| California     | 8  |
| Pennsylvania   | 6  |
| Minneapolis    | 6  |
| Los Angeles    | 5  |
| Chicago        | 2  |
| Texas          | 2  |
| Detroit        | 2  |
| Newark         | 1  |
| Massachusetts  | 1  |
| New York State | 1  |
| Foreign        | 1  |
| Total          | 46 |

Bundle order increases have come from the Berkeley Y.P.S.L. and the St. Louis Party branch—both of which have increased their bundle by 10 copies per issue.

We should have mentioned that John Murphy of Los Angeles has two able assistants in the person of Manny Fischer and Leon Hassell who devote their main activities towards taking care of all literature. John says that they're A-1 assistants!

### MAY DAY APPEAL:

There are two weeks left to send in your May Day Greetings and order your extra bundle orders!

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

The April issue of the New Internationalist is now on sale. The April number is of exceptional interest with respect to reviews and comments on the war crisis. The editors graphically pose the problem of the war danger. "The question is no longer: 'Will there be a New World Imperialist War?' but merely, 'Exactly when, and how, and with what lineup, will the war start?' And now that we are asked to give our lives for Democracy, it is well to understand what millions will be dying for."

A timely and significant article by Dwight Macdonald on the work of the Temporary National Economic Committee, better known as the Monopoly Committee, is an important feature of the current number. George M. Whiteside of Kansas exposes the utopianism of the latest crack-pot scheme to solve capitalism's ills—the program of the so-called American Foundation for Abundance, the latest product of Oscar Ameringer and William Zuehl, late of the New Deal.

Zinoviev on War Comrade Casanova, for several years a leading member of the Spanish section of the 4th International, but who managed to escape to France at the time of the fall of Catalonia, vividly portrays and explains "The Popular Front's Flight from Spain." The splendid series of articles on "Wars—Defensive and Aggressive" by Gregory Zinoviev is continued. This series has aroused great interest among all New Internationalist circles.

Jerry Pytlak presents a thorough-going study on "The Economics of Cotton Farming," the first of a series of articles on the agricultural problem. Charles Crompton contributes a thesis on the Jewish question.

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

Jadunandan Sharma, a left wing socialist of India and leader of the peasants, describes some aspects of the peasant problem in India. William Morgan reviews the struggle for Irish Independence, now being renewed.

Other interesting articles complete one of the most splendid of all issues of the New Internationalist. Those who have not yet obtained this issue may still do so by writing to the business office of the magazine. Single copies are 20c. The subscription rate is \$2 per year.

Address: The New Internationalist, 116 University Place, New York, N. Y.

### ANNOUNCEMENTS

PENNY PARTY! Another rip-roaring swing fest Saturday, April 15, 8:30 P.M. Lower East Side Headquarters, 163 Norfolk Street. HOT music—games—songs—refreshments. Subscription: 21c.

BEER PARTY & DANCE; Saturday night, April 22 at 9 P.M. Greek Workers Center—107 W. 29th St. FREE BEER! Admission: Men 50c Ladies Free. Auspices: Progressive Cafeteria Workers.

### MARXIST SCHOOL

"Fascism or Revolutionary Marxism, Which Way for the U. S.?"

A Lecture by MAX SHACHTMAN Monday, April 17, 8:50 p.m. at Irving Plaza

Irving Pl. & 15th St., N.Y.C. Admission 25 cents

### ANTI-WAR STRIKE SET FOR APRIL 20

(Continued from Page 1)

students with Y.P.S.L. banners and torches. Uniformed units of the Y.P.S.L. will march in the demonstration. Ben Herman, City College student expelled for anti-war activity, who is now the Division Organizer for the Y.P.S.L. will speak at this meeting.

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

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

Get Your APPEAL At the Newsstand



By Dwight Macdonald

## SPARKS IN THE NEWS

## Where is Walter Duranty?

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

## Social Justice, a la Scab

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

## Spontaneity Again

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

## Mr. Mumford Sees the Light

The N. Y. Times had occasion recently to rebuke the Hollywood producers, of all people, for lack of patriotism. The Times pointed out indignantly that in such recent films as Jesse James and Stagecoach, the "bad men" of Western history are shown to have been Robin

Hoods waging heroic war against the wicked bankers and land-grabbing railroad builders. "The thing makes good melodrama," conceded the Times, "but it is not very effective propaganda for democracy. If the American people today are to have their hearts set aglow for Americanism and the American Way, it does not help matters to show that America's great West was built up by pirates and assassins operating under railway charters from the government."

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

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

## Add: Defense of Reimann

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

## MEN AND WOMEN OF LABOR

## OUT OF THE PAST

By EMANUEL GARRETT

## GRACCHUS BABEUF

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

Francois Noel Babeuf (he later changed his name to Gracchus after the ancient Roman rebel) turned to the revolution with all his energy. He had been employed up to then by nobles in asserting their feudal rights against the peasants from whom it had become increasingly difficult to exact feudal payments and obligations. And, "in the dust of the manorial archives I discovered the horrible secrets of the usurpations of the nobility."

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

## For "Equality without Illusions"

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

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

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

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

political prisoners. Men like Darthe and Buonarroti (to whose great book on the "Society of the Equals" we are indebted for much of this information) were far to the left; others were merely bourgeois humanitarians. As workers joined the Club, the bourgeois elements were submerged, the Club became more militant.

With laws and lies the Directory (which ruled France until Napoleon was crowned Emperor) sought to suppress the Babouvists. Like every group of despots before and since they accused the revolutionary opposition with being in the pay of the enemy—in this case, the monarchists.

## Insurrection by Force

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

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

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

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

## "Last Episode" of the Revolution

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

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

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

## Big Battles Ahead For Auto Workers

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

(Continued from Page 1)  
The alliance with the reactionary leadership of the A.F. of L. Council, Martin must have funds, if he is to survive. The whole character of his union and his present position forces him into attempted alliances and deals with the automobile manufacturers. It is fairly certain that he will formally join the A.F. of L. in the next weeks or months.

The C.I.O.-U.A.W., while representing the automobile workers, is headed by a Stalinist leadership, which will unquestionably continue to practice its suicidal, wrecking activities and will eventually destroy the U.A.W., if allowed to run the union, unchecked by the membership.

**Rank and File Bloc**  
The militancy and courage displayed by the rank and file delegates at the Cleveland convention has now got to be organized into a large bloc of honest, progressive union men

to see that the tasks of the automobile union are carried out and that the Stalinist cancer is isolated and discredited in the ranks of the automobile workers. The fight that the west side, Chrysler, Briggs and Hudson locals started at the Cleveland convention around the question of the vice-presidents has now got to be deepened and extended around a genuine union building program, which will be able to mobilize the great majority of the automobile workers, behind the program, launch the necessary measures to isolate the unscrupulous Stalinist politicians and then to go forward towards rebuilding the union into a powerful instrument to defend the interests of the automobile workers.

(A full analysis of the situation in the automobile industry will be printed in an early issue of the Socialist Appeal.)

## FOURTH INT'L BUREAU ISSUES STATEMENT ON DIEGO RIVERA

In a statement issued April 5 by the All-American Bureau, sub-secretariat of the Fourth International, it was declared that the present political attitude of Diego Rivera is incompatible with membership in or loyalty to the Fourth International. The statement declared that "if Rivera would not have resigned, it would have been necessary to expel him from our ranks."

The immediate occasion of the break of Rivera with the Fourth International was the creation of a new political party in Mexico, the "Revolutionary Party of Workers and Peasants," for the purpose of supporting one of the candidates for the Mexican presidency. Rivera is political secretary of the new party. With reference to this, the statement declares:

"We consider a proletarian party as the main instrument in the liberation of the working class. The base of such a party must include not empirical and conjunctural demands but a program of transitional slogans and, what is more important, the program of social revolution. The idea that one can create a party 'ad hoc' for a concrete conjuncture is absolutely incredible and opportunist in its essence. A workers party with a so-called minimal program is eo ipso a bourgeois party. It is a party which makes the workers support bourgeois politics or bourgeois politicians."

**Deep Divergences**  
Imagine for a moment that our policy toward the (Mexican) elections is false; but it is an episodic question. Can one imagine that a Marxist puts the difference about this secondary or tertiary program above the program of the world revolution, breaks his international connections and

participates in a new party as political secretary?

"This fact alone shows that the divergences are incomparably deeper than comrade Rivera, in his fantastic impulsiveness, believes."

The statement concludes: "We all did everything in our power to restrain Diego Rivera from taking irreparable steps. We did not succeed. Driven by his temperament and his impulsive mind, he committed a series of errors; and every error was a further reason for him to look for some sort of miracle which could show people that he was right. In this way he tried to oppose the Casa del Pueblo (dissident trade union group) to the Fourth International, to win the Confederacion General de Trabajadores (anarchist-led union center) and now he is leading the Revolutionary Party of Workers and Peasants. It is absolutely clear to every Marxist that the new enterprise will be an inevitable fiasco for which we cannot carry the slightest responsibility before the workers of Mexico and the world. We must state openly that not only has Rivera resigned from the Fourth International, but that by his political activity he puts himself fundamentally outside the Fourth International. Where principles are involved we cannot permit any concessions, even toward such an important figure as Diego Rivera."

"We cannot guess whether the new inevitable debacle will teach comrade Rivera the road back to the Fourth International or whether he will be definitely absorbed by the current of intellectuals who are now breaking with Marxism in favor of a mixture of anarchism, liberalism, individualism and so on. Needless to say, we hope that the first alternative will be realized."

## THERE IS ANOTHER CHOICE!

(Continued from Page 1)

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

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

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

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

## WAR BY FALL IS ROOSEVELT POLICY BASIS

(Continued from Page 1)

All personal plans, all future projects both of a personal nature as well as national are absolutely subordinate to the fact that war is coming and the United States will be in it, said the editorial.

**Defines "We"**  
It then defined the pronoun "we" which Roosevelt used. "By 'we' he undoubtedly meant Western civilization," stated the editorial. Western civilization includes the empires of Great Britain, France, the United States and their oppressed colonial possessions.

The editorial whipped up the armaments race by declaring that only "serious resistance" can ease the "pressure" from the Berlin-Rome Axis. "Nothing less than the show of preponderant force will stop them, for force is the only language which they understand."

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

The editorial lauded the new British and French policy of stiffening their resistance to the Rome-Berlin Axis, and stated that it is only the application of this kind of reasoning which can stop war and that "President Roosevelt properly links the United States with the eleventh-hour effort to avert a shattering disaster."

Aside from the poppy-cock about saving peace at the eleventh hour, this is an absolutely unmistakable declaration of Roosevelt's intention to plunge the United States into the coming world war at the first possible moment. He intends to enter the war not to save "Western democracy" but to save American capitalist profits. That is why he fears a popular referendum on war and why he wishes full personal power to declare war without any checks from the people or from "neutrality" legislation.

**Only Way Out**  
Only the danger of internal revolution within the opposing nations can halt the new world war. Only the danger of a workers' revolution in the United States can save the American people from dying at Roosevelt's dictation on foreign battlefields for boss profits.

## "FORCE AGAINST FORCE" - THREAT BY PRESIDENT

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

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

The British imperialist camp—Conservatives and Liberals alike, to say nothing of the war-mongering Laborites—are also busily engaged in wooing the Soviet Union. Stalin, however, is acting coy. Despite the past few years of shouting about "collective security" and the "democratic front," Stalin is now playing a double game of trying to come to an agreement with Hitler on the one side and of squeezing whatever concessions he can out of the Anglo-French camp. His failure thus far to pronounce himself unequivocally for the Anglo-French imperialists is due to the feelers Moscow is secretly putting out to Berlin, and is concealed behind a high-sounding protestation that the British and French "guarantees to the small nations" are still "inadequate."

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

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

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

## Mass Drive for Jobs Blocked by C.P.ers

Resort to Hoodlumism Against Militants Who Gain Workers' Support

(Special to the Socialist Appeal)

TOLEDO, Ohio—Eight hundred workers turned out for a mass meeting, April 6, to prepare for action to stop the mass firings on the W.P.A. The meeting was called by the officers and job stewards of the W.P.A. Auxiliary of the local C.I.O., the W.P.A. Division of Local 29 of the United Office and Professional Workers Union, and the C.I.O. owner-driver truckers union.

The workers came prepared to carry through a real mass drive for jobs. Their campaign had already been launched a week previously at an overflow mass meeting, and by a militant picket-line and demonstration at the W.P.A. headquarters, Safety Building (city hall) and Lucas County Court House on April 1. The April 6 meeting and the previous actions had all been organized entirely by the W.P.A. organizations.

But the meeting was moved in on by the Stalinist leaders of the Toledo C.I.O. Council executive board who, here as everywhere, by virtue of their pro-Roosevelt line, oppose militant action against W.P.A. cuts.

When they called the meeting to order, not a single representative of the W.P.A. office workers was included in the list of speakers drawn up by the C.I.O. executive officials.

**Smother Action Proposals**  
As speaker after speaker took the "mike" it became clear that a deliberate attempt was being made to prevent any real discussion on the W.P.A. issue.

Finally Kenneth Cole, C.I.O. executive secretary, told the history of the C.I.O., denounced the "Tories," lauded Roosevelt, skipped over the W.P.A. administration and ended with a resolution calling for "loyalty to President Roosevelt and the New Deal" and "support of the President's action on an additional \$150,000,000 W.P.A. appropriation."

At this point Ted Selander, vice-president of Local 29 and a delegate to the C.I.O. Council, attempted to have the W.P.A. workers' own resolution before the meeting—brought forward. He was ruled out of order, and Cole's resolution carried by a weak smattering of ayes.

**C. P. Goon Squads**  
When Selander asked to be permitted to present his local's resolution for a parade and 15-minute stoppage, a hoodlum squad, led by Kenneth Eggert, Communist Party organizer, began a tumult. But they were soon out-shouted by the real workers present, who drowned the disrupters in a chorus of "Let's have the resolution!"

Finally Selander got the floor, read the resolution, and moved its adoption, which was quickly seconded from all over the hall. Cole then went to the "mike" and said he favored the resolution except for the section placing responsibility for the lay-offs on the Roosevelt administration and that he was

opposed to the march being directed at W.P.A. headquarters. Nelson Meagley, W.P.A. office workers' chairman, then took the platform for a militant talk about the role of the Roosevelt administration in paying the way for cuts, and called for support to the resolution.

Whereupon Eddie Cheyfitz, official Communist Party "Whip" in the C.I.O., delivered a slanderous attack on the militants, labelling them as "scabs," "stool pigeons," and "Franco's fifth column." He said he would bring charges against Selander.

**McCormick Protests**  
Tim McCormick, C.I.O. executive board member and one of the most popular figures in the Toledo labor movement, an unimpeachable militant leader for years, demanded for Selander the right to answer these vicious lies.

Selander answered by pointing to his record of six years on Toledo's picket lines, his numerous arrests in strikes and demonstrations; he pointed out that the attack was launched against him to divert the discussion from the question of action against the lay-offs. He challenged Cheyfitz to bring charges against him.

As Selander returned to his seat, with many workers going up to him to assure him of their support, Cheyfitz gave a signal, and Eggert's goon squads attempted to evict from the meeting Clayton Rusch, an officer of Local 29. A group of workers intervened and prevented this hoodlumism. In the disturbance Eggert sneaked up behind one of the Local 29 executive board members, Alex Feldstein, and gave him a blow on the head.

Infuriated by these scandalous actions, Tim McCormick strode across the platform to Cheyfitz, seized him by the collar and said: "You're going to pay for this dirty business." When Cheyfitz attempted to kick him in the groin, McCormick countered with a right to the jaw that finished Cheyfitz for the evening.

After the meeting, hundreds of rank and file workers surrounded Selander and McCormick and pledged their support to "drive out this crew who are holding us down every time we need action."

The Stalinist-controlled executive board of the C.I.O. Council met the following night and took no action to organize the fight against lay-offs. But they did work out a scheme to victimize Selander and other militants without permitting open hearings on any charges. They are going to call upon the Stalinist-controlled international office of the office workers to "reorganize Local 29" as that crew has already done in San Francisco, the New York insurance agents, etc.

The Stalinists may attempt in this fight to send their goon squads against the leading progressives. In that event, the progressive trade unions are determined that they will not be passive victims of assault.

## SOCIETY NOTES

## Stockholders Enjoy Lovely Easter

"Every year we say firmly 'THIS is the most elaborate Easter Parade of all time—it couldn't possibly ever be more impressive!' And every year we prove ourselves wrong, for the Easter Parade steadily gets bigger and bigger, lovelier and lovelier. What it will be in 1940 we tremble to think!"

"You'd have thought the cold weather would, in some measure, have chilled the thought of wearing Spring attire—but no! Even the ladies who encased themselves in mink had on their Springiest frocks and their brightest new hats. Many were in suits; many wore dark frocks with accents of flamboyant color in their accessories."

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

"Marion Pearce, in tune with the Easter spirit, wore a complete black ensemble, broken by the white of her small turban. The newest note was in her black patent leather shoes with nose-ears of real valley lilies sprouting from each toe!"—New York Journal and American.

## Authorities Thrilled By Sharecropper Girl

MEMPHIS, Tenn.—Juvenile Court authorities found thrills in commonplace conveniences today as they demonstrated them to a sixteen-year-old Mississippi girl who said she had never seen an electric light, never talked over a telephone and didn't know Franklin D. Roosevelt was President.

Alma Mardis swung an axe and cut two cords of wood to earn \$8 so that she could visit Memphis from her farm home in northwest Mississippi. She arrived in Memphis nearly penniless and was taken by police to the Juvenile Court for temporary shelter.

Alma claimed that she was an expert cotton picker, although only sixteen years old and could pick as much as 150 pounds a day. But she hadn't had much chance to go to school or learn what the world was like.

She'd never heard a radio; never been higher than the second floor of a building and never even heard of an elevator; never seen a Christmas tree, didn't know the significance of Easter, never eaten an ice cream cone; never seen a motion picture; never owned a silk dress—and never heard of Hitler and Mussolini.—From an Associated Press dispatch.



## SOCIALIST APPEAL

Vol. III, No. 25 April 18, 1939

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

Subscriptions: 2.00 per year; \$1.00 for six months.  
Foreign: 3.00 per year, \$1.50 for six months. Bundle orders: 2 cents per copy in United States; 3 cents per copy in all foreign countries. Single copies: 3 cents.  
Bronx and Manhattan subscriptions are: 1.50 for six months; \$3.00 for one year.  
"Reentered as second class matter February 16, 1939, at the post office at New York, N. Y., under the Act of March 3, 1879."

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

## FIGHT WITH THE SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY FOR:

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

## Miaja's Sponsor

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

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

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

That is, until this appointee of a traitor committed his final stroke of treason.  
But the *Daily Worker* is still silent about its comrade!

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

## Roosevelt's Democracy

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

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

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

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

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

believer in democracy? Doesn't he believe in the democratic process of persuasion?

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

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

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

## Bankrupt

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

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

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

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

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

Capitalism means starvation for the millions.

Capitalism means slavery for the millions.

Capitalism means the physical extermination of the millions.

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

## A Place for Youth

"There is no place for youth in industry, in the professions, or in other areas," declared Dr. Caroline B. Zachry of the Progressive Association on April 5 in revealing the results of her five-year study of American youth.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

## British Imperialism Prepares For War to Save Its Spoils of Piracy

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

By SHERMAN STANLEY

One-fourth of the world's land area!  
One-fourth of the world's population!  
One-fourth of the world's food supplies!

So may we describe the imperial might and majesty of the British Empire today—that Empire which has reached the height of its historic course and upon which the sun is finally beginning to set.

British imperialism is preparing to go to war. The entire population of Great Britain is kept continuously on needle-edge by military notices, air-raid drills, conscription drives and feverish preparations for conscription of the laboring masses. The munition plants work around the clock, day in and day out. England's huge textile plants are being converted into war production units. Each ship of the British navy has steam up and is prepared to sail at a moment's notice to the military posts assigned by the Admirals.

The Empire was built by violence, conquest and pillage, terror and destruction. The same weapons keep it together over the opposition of the masses of people who compose it. But when it comes to preparing for war, then the world is told of British "democracy," British civilizing powers, British love of peace.

## SCOPE OF THE BRITISH EMPIRE

There is British territory in every portion of the globe. The Empire occupies a total land area of 12 million square miles.

In 1935, its population totaled 475,004,458 people. But this figure did not include the 76,000,000 people of the Indian Native States which are, in reality, under British control.

Under the Union Jack live the most diverse groups and races of people—ranging from the blacks of Africa to the pale whites of the London slums, who may be roughly divided into the Malay, Indo-Chinese, Indo-European, Semitic and Hamitic (African) groups.

## THE "DEMOCRACY" OF THE EMPIRE

What portion of these half a billion people are white? It is estimated that only 68 million

or about 12% belong to this dominant ruling race. And only about 40 million inhabit "mother" England, the imperialist nerve-center of this world Empire. It is this minority—about 1 to 13—that domineers over the lives and destinies of hundreds of millions of subject people.

British propagandists are accustomed to dividing the Empire and its tributaries under various headings: Mother England, the Dominions, the Crown Colonies, Protectorates and India, which they classify separately. But this is a superficial and false division. The British Empire consists of England—the industrial and financial ruling heart of the Empire, with London, the "City" as it is called in imperialist circles—at the center. Then there are the "dominions" of Canada and Australia which in reality have the status of independent, capitalist nations in their own right. These countries have developed an independent capitalist class and are not directly under the thumb of the British imperialists.

## HUGE EXTENT OF SUBJECT COUNTRIES

Of overwhelming importance in the British Empire are the numerous colonies where British might and force reign supreme.

Far Eastern Colonies: India, Ceylon, Malaya, Hongkong, Borneo, etc.  
West Indies: Jamaica, Trinidad, British Guiana, etc.

South Africa: The Union, Basutoland, Rhodesia.  
East Africa: Egypt, Anglo-Egyptian Sudan, Uganda, Kenya, Zanzibar, Nyasaland.

West Africa: Nigeria, Gold Coast, Sierra Leone, Gambia, Australasia: New Zealand, Fiji, Papua, etc.

In addition, there are 81 other cities, island groups and small territories too numerous to list. The world is dotted with military bases, strategic centers and coaling stations that are a part of the gigantic "defense" apparatus these master imperialists have created. The Bermudas, Gibraltar, Malta, Aden, Corfu, Ceylon are but a few.

Thus lies the huge skeleton of the Empire. Within its reaches loil the Bantus of South Africa

extracting coal and gold from the mines of Transvaal, Indian laborers weaving jute products in the mills that line the shores of the Ganges, Scottish shipbuilders working on British Men-of-War in Glasgow harbor, Indian fur-trappers in Canada's Hudson Bay areas.

## HOW THE EMPIRE WAS BUILT

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

Since losing the 13 colonies that later evolved into capitalist America, the British imperialists have not given away or freed a single inch of land that came under their rule.

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

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

Ceylon, Hongkong, Egypt, South Africa—all were conquered by force of arms.

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

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

## HITLER AND FRANCO LEARNED FROM BRITAIN

Hitler learned from the practices of the British how to suppress local opposition movements and then move on to new grabs. The art of enlisting mercenary colonial troops with the aim of suppressing civil uprisings was taught to Franco by his British brothers.

The British Empire rose to its present position on a tidal wave of blood and violence never equalled. Before it gives a single one of its prizes to an imperialist rival, before it sets free a single one of its colonies it will fight with the ferocity born of desperation. That is the meaning of British foreign policy today: the determination to hold on to its world possessions.

## Rubens-Robinson Passport Fraud Trial Is Opened In New York City

(Continued from Page 1)

ens," apparently G.P.U. (Soviet secret police) agents, obtained passports. The investigation revealed that the names and other data in the passport application were fraudulent.

The investigation followed the arrest of the couple in Moscow, where they have been incommunicado ever since, if they are still alive.

A Political Trial  
That the present trial is deemed political by both prosecution and defense was revealed by the questions which they requested Judge Goddard to direct at the jurors. Jurors were asked whether they "hold membership in the Communist

Party—Stalinists or in the Trotskyists," whether they "hold policies in the International Workers Order," or have had "any business with Russia in recent years." Jurors were asked whether "any of them were born in Italy or Germany or subscribe to the political philosophy known as Fascism."

In outlining the prosecution's case, U. S. District Attorney Lester Dunigan described how the defendants secured certification of forged passports through New York County Clerk Al Marinelli's office, and their connections with persons in or close to that office. The defendants, Dunigan said, took

names of dead children from tombstones for use on passport applications.

## Robinson Expected Arrest

The prosecution identified defendant Edward Blatt as a close friend and attorney for the missing Robinson, who had deposited funds with Blatt to take care of Robinson's daughter if he were "detained abroad." This premeditation on Robinson's part lends weight to the conclusion that Robinson was a G.P.U. agent and aware that he was to be arrested in Moscow.

Aaron Sharfin, another defendant, was identified by labor papers during the initial Robinson investigation as having been in 1933 a member of the Communist Party of New York, District 15, Middle Bronx, and as having been active in the Unemployed Council unit at 1400 Boston Road near Claremont Parkway.

One of the first government witnesses on Thursday was Max Schwartz, who testified that he was secretary of the Marinelli Democratic Club and had transmitted to Marinelli passport applications handed him by the club's vice-president, Abie Katz, who in turn had received them from Harry Zuckerman, a friend of Sharfin.

Schwartz has been previously identified as Max or Mac Shaw, one-time star subscription salesman for Soviet Russia Today (as that, his picture appeared in its issue of December, 1933). Also, under the name Wershow, Schwartz was a supporter of the Stalinists in Retail Clerks Union Local 338.

Zuckerman, on the witness stand, testified he was an intimate friend of Sharfin's for the past eighteen years and was more than willing to accommodate him. When asked by the prosecutor if he could say whether Sharfin belonged to any political organization, Zuckerman said, no. Even stranger was Zuckerman's testimony that, although he thought the transactions innocent, he had given a fictitious name, Louis Epstein, for Sharfin when Federal agents got on Sharfin's trail.

In order to protect to some extent my own position and that of the aforementioned patient may I request that in the event of any publishing of the material contained herein my name and that of parent be not mentioned.  
G. N.

## IN THIS CORNER

By Max Shachtman

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

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

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

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

## One Must Look at Realities

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

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

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

## The Record of the Democracies

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

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

The last half-century, at least, records an uninterrupted series of British, French and American invasions and conquests, not one white less brutal and brazen—more so, if anything—similar to those just accomplished by Germany and Italy. Down to the present day, the record of imperialist France in Northern Africa and in Asia is far more atrocious than anything done to date by Hitler and Mussolini. The horrible record of British imperialism in India, China, Africa, Palestine, Egypt and Ireland, makes the Albanian invasion look like a Sunday school picnic. One day's bombing of Indian villages by England has produced more fatalities than Czechoslovakia and Albania put together.

The record of the United States is not purer. There are Filipinos living today who recall the gruesome brutalities of "Hard-boiled Smith," Sergeant of the United States army who practised the "water cure" on the natives who refused to submit to the American conquest of the Islands. Hitler has yet to match the American record in Haiti, Nicaragua, Cuba, Mexico and other fields of "our own" imperialist expansion.

## The Leopard Still Wears His Spots

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

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

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

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

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

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

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