

WORLD AWAITS MARCHING ORDER

Thrust at Relief Is Congress Plan

Lasser-Benjamin Testimony Aids Reactionary Schemes By Foreswearing Militant Action of Unemployed

LABOR STANDARDS FACE WIDE BARRAGE

(Special to the Socialist Appeal)
WASHINGTON, April 20.—A major thrust in the advancing offensive against the unemployed has been projected for early next week, according to Congressmen who have been leading the campaign of the Roosevelt Administration to slash relief appropriations and dump the money into the war machine.

This attack on the unemployed and their organizations is proceeding hand in hand with the developing offensive against unions and union rights through court decisions and through the barrage laid down against the provisions of the Wagner Act.

First, Colonel F. C. Harrington, W.P.A. Administrator, will be called before the House Appropriations subcommittee which is now "investigating" relief and W.P.A. under the leadership of Representative Woodrum and demanded to brand the Workers Alliance as an "improper" representative of the relief workers.

If Harrington "recognizes" the Workers Alliance as an organization of the unemployed, then the second move will be initiated. Legislation will be introduced in Congress refusing to grant relief funds to any member of the Workers Alliance.

Blow Against Jobless
This is a deliberate blow cold-bloodedly designed against all the unemployed, whether they belong to any particular unemployed organization or not.

It comes as an immediate result of the admissions by Workers Alliance bureaucrats Lasser and Benjamin before Woodrum's "investigating" committee that they no longer believe in militant action and support no strike action by unemployed workers.

Ignores Loyalty Oaths
Woodrum, who has long been notorious for his bitter opposition to any appropriations whatever for the relief of the unemployed, contemptuously brushed aside all Lasser's and Benjamin's protestations of loyalty to the U. S. government. Woodrum is not interested in listening to oaths of allegiance to the flag but in squeezing down relief appropriations to the last possible notch of starvation.

The seriousness of the offensive under way against the unemployed is thus demonstrated in inescapable terms. Unless immediate protests of a militant nature are launched by the unemployed on a nation-wide scale, the unemployed will find their organizations shattered, every cent of the funds which is theirs diverted into the war machine, and the most terrible hunger and suffering inflicted on their ranks.

BENJAMIN SAYS 'UNITED STATES NOT CAPITALIST'

(Special to the Socialist Appeal)
WASHINGTON, April 19.—Herbert Benjamin and David Lasser in testifying at the hearings held during the past two days by the House W.P.A. "Investigating" Committee headed by Representative Woodrum have groveled about as low as it is possible to go without leaving the toe caps and getting down under the sole of the boot.

Herbert Benjamin and David Lasser are the topmost bureaucrats in the Workers Alliance, Stalinist-controlled unemployed organization. Representative Woodrum, one of the most violent and ferocious opponents in

NATIONAL COAL STRIKE THREAT MADE BY LEWIS

Government Fears Blow At War Preparation Program

(Special to the Socialist Appeal)
WASHINGTON, D.C.—Threat of a nation-wide coal industry shut-down was hurled this week by John L. Lewis, president of the United Mine Workers of America, in an effort to break the deadlock reached in negotiations with the Appalachian soft coal operators.

It would add 50,000 more strikers in Iowa, Kentucky, Indiana, and Illinois to the 320,000 who walked out of the mines on April 1. Union notices were served to the mid-west operators informing them of the pending shut-down on May 1, if the present dispute is not settled.

Another 100,000 anthracite miners and soft-coal miners who are not directly engaged in the present strike might also be called out, Lewis declared. Combined with the acute shortage of coal in the railroad industry, in large cities like New York, and in mid-west in-

(Continued on Page 2)

C.I.O. Auto Union Faces Attack from Many Sides

(Special to the Socialist Appeal)
The Auto Union now finds itself in the strange position of possessing a highly democratic union constitution and an unscrupulous, autocratic gang of Stalinist machine politicians running its leading executive board. How did this bizarre combination ever come into existence?

The recent Cleveland convention, representing the overwhelming majority of the organized automobile workers, saw a great opposition movement on the part of the rank and file delegates who were indignant at the incompetence and treachery of their top union leadership. They had witnessed, since their historic meeting in Milwaukee, autocratic abuse of power on the part of both Homer Martin and his opponents and had seen their union being torn to pieces by an unscrupulous factional battle of union cliques and politicians.

Broad sections of the rank and file delegates, representing the genuine desires and aspirations of their memberships back home came down to Cleveland determined to make the union constitution "air-light" to prevent, in their opinion, a repetition of any attempts to set up a dictatorship in the union.

How Reorganize Union?
How was the union to be reorganized and set moving on the right road? The rank and file delegates believed the problem would be solved by writing up a model constitution providing for faultless democratic procedures and rules. What about the problem of the leadership of the union? Chrysler local No. 7 said "Clean House. Out with the present 24 executive board members."

The Difference in "Principle!"



Sailors Victorious in Government Pledge to Discontinue Hiring Halls

(Special to the Socialist Appeal)
SAN FRANCISCO—The long fight of the Sailors Union of the Pacific against government-controlled hiring halls resulted in a signal victory last week when, in response to the demand of the union, Harry Hopkins, Secretary of Commerce, gave a written pledge to discontinue government hiring halls.

It was in the midst of a coast-wide strike vote being taken by the Sailors Union that Hopkins gave his word that the shipping commissioners, who are under the jurisdiction of the Department of Commerce, would no longer maintain hiring halls.

(Continued on Page 2)

The strike vote was initiated as the union's answer to the announcement by the United States Maritime Commission that it was planning to arrange for the opening of a government-controlled hiring hall in Seattle, Washington. Such hiring halls have been operating for some time on the East Coast and, encouraged by its success in putting them over on East Coast seamen the commission had deemed the time ripe to invade the West Coast in spite of the warnings issued by the Sailors Union of the Pacific.

Union Hiring Halls
The S.U.P. won the fundamental right to union hiring halls as the result of the famous 99-day maritime strike in 1936-1937. The Stalinist-controlled seamen on the East Coast never achieved this basic right.

The entire fight against government-controlled hiring halls has been led and almost entirely limited to the Sailors Union on the Pacific, except for considerable rank-and-file support from seamen and firemen on both coasts. The only picket lines against the East Coast commission hiring-halls were conducted by the S.U.P. The pro-Roosevelt and pro-war orientation of the Stalinists made it impossible for them to support this militant action.

Commission's Alibi
The U.S. Maritime Commission had justified its attempt to foist hiring halls on the sailors by the contention, enunciated by the commission's chairman, Admiral Land, that the merchant marine must be considered "an auxiliary to the Navy."

While the strike vote was being taken on the seven seas, Harry Lundberg, secretary treasurer of the S.U.P., was sent to Washington by the Union. He was first able to secure backing of Department of Labor officials for the union's position. "Madame Perkins has dealt with the S.U.P. before and she knows our action on the Copeland Fink Book," Lundberg reported. "So she knows the S.U.P. is one organization that is not bluffing when they say they are striking the coast. . . . It is admitted by Admiral Land and everybody that the (commission) ships would have been on the way to the west coast with fink-hall crews by now, had it not been for the action of the sailors union."

The Maritime Commission—a recent creation of President Roosevelt—utilized a law dat-

ing since 1872, which authorizes the Department of Commerce, through its Bureau of Marine Inspection, to register lists of seamen. On this peg, the commission—which runs fleets of ships—hung a regular hiring hall system, situated in the various offices of the shipping commissioners of the Bureau of Marine Inspection.

Hopkins' Promise
Hopkins' answer to Lundberg accepted the union's contention that the 1872 authorization was purely optional. "I can state that the shipping commissioner's office will not be used as a hiring hall for anyone," wrote Hopkins, and "If shipping commissioners are at the present time maintaining hiring halls, it is the intention of the Department of Commerce to discontinue this practice."

Not content with this, however, the union will complete its strike vote, as "an ace in the hole" against any governmental reneging. The union is also pressing for an amendment to wipe out of the shipping laws any provisions for registering of sailors.

Victory Undermines Bridges
This hard-won victory of the S.U.P. is not only a blow to the plans of the Maritime Commission to make the sailors an auxiliary to the Navy, but is also a serious blow to the prestige of the Stalinists in maritime, especially to Harry Bridges, West Coast longshore chieftain.

When the Maritime Commission came to the West Coast for the "investigation" which preceded its announcement that it was opening a hiring hall in Seattle, it was handsomely entertained in Hollywood by Lionel Stander, Stalinist front in the cinema world, and met with Harry Bridges.

When the S.U.P. issued its first warning to the commission, Bridges countered by declaring that the only picket lines of the sailors that he recognized by the longshoremen would be those for "bonafide" beefs—i.e., Bridges would decide what the sailors had a right to strike for. Coupled with acceptance of the hiring halls on the East Coast by Bridges' party cronies, it was clear that Bridges was moving to an open alliance with the fink-hall commissioners.

The victory of the sailors is therefore a blow to Bridges' prestige of such proportions that it may topple him from his official post as C.I.O. West Coast director.

Peoples of All Nations Face Ghastly Slaughter

Krivitsky Reveals Stalin Attempts to Woo Hitler

Disclosures by Former G.P.U. Chief Show How Gestapo Helped Frame-Up Case Against Tukhachevsky

Anglo-French diplomacy is making the most intensive effort to woo the Soviet Union into their bloc against Hitler. So far, however, Moscow has continued to preserve the cautious middle-of-the-road position it has occupied in European politics ever since Munich.

Ever since 1933 when Stalin openly offered friendship to Hitler and was rebuffed, it has been understood that some kind of deal with Hitler remained in the background of Stalin's calculations. When the People's Front set-up collapsed after Munich and in Spain, Stalin returned to this project as a possible way out of the horribly isolated and perilously exposed position in which the U.S.S.R. found itself as a result of Stalin's abandonment of the international revolutionary movement.

Krivitsky's Disclosures
At this moment, when the question of Russia's orientation in the coming war remains suspended on the narrow edge of the imperialist crisis, startling confirmation has come of Stalin's previous efforts to find common ground with Hitler.

These efforts are described in a sensational article by Walter Krivitsky, former head of the Soviet Military Intelligence in Western Europe, published in the Saturday Evening Post.

Krivitsky provides a whole new mass of information linking the massacre of Marshal Tukhachevsky and other Red Army generals and high officers in 1937 to Stalin's secret negotiations with the Nazi dictator.

Seeking a Deal
The former intelligence chief, who broke with Stalin as a result of the purge in the Red Army high command, shows that Stalin, far from being concerned with any struggle between "democracy and dictatorship" has actually been trying over a period of years to

(Continued on Page 3)

Y.P.S.L. Leads Militant Student Anti-War Strike

(Special to the Socialist Appeal)
NEW YORK, April 21.—The cleavage between the anti-war and the pro-war forces was clearly demonstrated Thursday on every college campus.

For the past few years, in April, students have quit their classrooms in protest against imperialist war moves. This year the students were confronted by the pro-war Stalinists and the American Student Union vociferously proclaiming their intention to support Roosevelt in a new "war for democracy." They were, however, supported by much smaller crowds than last year.

In most schools the Young People's Socialist League (4th international) led the anti-war forces. The key slogan was the Oxford Pledge which is a pledge not to support any war which the United States government may undertake.

The Y.P.S.L. (4th International) gave a demonstration of what an anti-war strike can be like at City College on Wednesday night. 150 Yipsels, in uniform, carrying hundreds of placards and torches marched, sang and shouted slogans. Over 300 people heard James Burnham, editor of the New Internationalist, and Nathan Gould, National Secretary of the Y.P.S.L. Stalinists tried to drown out the speakers by heckling but they were quickly shut up. A march around the Campus and the singing of the Internationale wound up a colorful meeting.

Shachtman at C.C.N.Y.
At City College 400 students thunderously applauded Max

Politicians Stage Final Maneuvers for War Alliances

ARMIES ON MOVE

Helpless millions throughout the world are waiting for the war clouds to break over their heads.

A handful of politicians, generals, bankers, and big capitalists are moving huge armies and navies across land and sea and manipulating whole populations like so many chips in a poker game.

Britain and France have made it plain that they intend now to fight to hold on to the colonies, the markets, the natural resources and the millions of black, brown, and yellow slaves in Africa and Asia upon whom their power rests.

Germany and Italy have played their own hijacking game just about as far as it can go without a war. Danzig may be the last thing Hitler will be able to rake in without having to draw his guns—and perhaps not even Danzig.

F.D.R. Serves Notice
President Roosevelt has already served notice on the American people that he intends to throw this country's forces into the impending conflict over the world's riches. He talks about "democracy" but what he means is that Wall Street imperialism intends this time to snatch a major part of the world's swag for itself and to complete its world financial domination with even more direct political control of the major markets, especially in the Far East and in Latin America.

His "plea" to Hitler and Mussolini was primarily, as the New York Times was blunt enough to admit, for the "record." When he issues his war call he will be able to tell the American masses that he did everything possible to keep the peace.

"Breathing Space" Impossible
Mussolini, in his own squeaky little way, has already made his negative reply to the Roosevelt proposal for a ten-year armistice. But the real reply will come on April 28 when Hitler, the boss of the axis partnership, will in all probability serve on the world a sweeping series of axis demands as the price of terminating, for the time being, direct territorial grabs.

Neither Germany nor Italy can actually even consider a ten-year "breathing space" because the Fascist regimes could not withstand the terrific economic strain for that long, especially since there is no prospect of any general improvement in world economic conditions. They are driven to seek new markets, new colonies, new spheres of exploitation and to get them by any or all the foul means made familiar by the past history of imperialist expansion on the part of Britain, France, the United States, and all the other lesser freebooters.

"Democracy" Talk Bunk
The so-called "democracies" on their part are going to hold on to their empires with all the force they can muster. Big finance in London, Paris, and New York is ready to protect its millions from its rivals down to the last drop of workers' blood.

That is why we are today on the brink of a new ghastly world slaughter. All the rest about "democracy" and "civilization" and "freedom" is just so much bunk. Ask the peoples of India, the blacks of Africa, the Indo-Chinese, the peoples of Cuba, Puerto Rico, Nicaragua, Brazil, about the "democracy" of Britain, France, and the United States! Ask the workers of Great Britain who have already been told they are going to have forced labor and regional dictatorships in war—

(Continued on Page 2)

In the Trade Unions

By B. J. WIDICK

With the odds at 50-50 that war will break out this spring and 80-20 that it will begin by next fall, there isn't much time left to prepare the union movement for the trials and tribulations ahead under war-time conditions.

A study of the events in America in the last world war gave a clear picture of what can be expected tomorrow, and incidentally, shows how phoney the last war for "democracy" was.

Spearhead Against I.W.W.

It was inevitable that the spear-head of the bosses' drive against unionism should be concentrated on the I.W.W. with its militant traditions and unrelenting struggle for the oppressed.

Chief union strength of the I.W.W. was in the Lumber Workers of the Northwest, 30,000; the Metal Mine Workers, 40,000, primarily in the Rocky Mountain and Minnesota and Michigan iron ore regions; the Agricultural Workers, 24,000 and others.

In the spring of 1917 a number of small lumber strikes developed under the inhumane conditions and low wages that made work unbearable. They spread in Idaho, Washington, Oregon and Montana.

The government reply to the strikes was quick in coming. Infantry troops from Oregon were sent to leading strike centers and a round up of all picketers began. A concentration camp was erected at Ellensburg, Washington, where many strikers were held for months without any charge being placed against them!

Resentment over this brutal treatment spread to other lumber centers, and combined with agitation for an eight-hour day and sanitary camp conditions, a strike of 50,000 lumberworkers in the rich timber belt of Puget Sound resulted.

Miners Strike

At this time the country was scandalized to read about a disastrous fire at the Speculator mine in Butte, Montana that took the lives of 260 miners. 14,000 miners went out on strike to obtain union control of safety appliances underground and the abolition of the blacklist.

The whole Northwest and West was seething with unrest. It was then that the unionists got a real taste of the "democracy" for which American workers were losing their lives in Europe.

A vigilante "Loyalty League" in Jerome, Ariz., kidnapped 100 strikers and drove them out of the area. Police aided them by arresting the strikers after they were freed by the vigilantes.

In Bisbee, Ariz., 2,000 company officials, etc., armed with rifles, dragged 1,200 strikers from their beds early on July 12, 1917 and marched them to Lowell and other nearby cities. The strikers were corralled like cattle in railroad cars used for animals, amid beatings, etc.

After the train departed, U. S. soldiers took charge of it and put the strikers in an encampment at Columbus, N. M., where they stayed for over three months! Those who left and returned to the scene of the strike were arrested!

Whip Up Lynch Spirit

Meanwhile, the press of the country, as emphasized in the study made public recently by John Hopkins University, was whipping up additional lynch spirit by seeking to tie the Wobblies to the "German Huns." All Wobblies were German spies, according to the newspaper headlines.

The hysteria aroused by this campaign created the basis for the nation-wide raids, arrests, beatings and murder of the I.W.W. members. On September 5, 1917, almost every hall of the I.W.W. in the country was raided.

The convention of the Construction Workers Industrial Union, 15,000 strong, was busted up and forty-seven delegates arrested to be held for months without charges or trial.

While many of the lumber strikes were broken, the use of a modified "sit-down strike" tactic applied as "job-action" by the strikers who were forced back to work secured the eight-hour day and improvement in the sanitary conditions!

C. I. O. Auto Union Faces Difficult Future

C.P. LEADERSHIP IS MENACE TO UNION POSITION

(Continued from Page 1)

to the Stalinist machine was provided in Cleveland by a hastily improvised caucus under the leadership of the big four Detroit locals: West Side, Briggs, Hudson and Chrysler. These locals and their leading officers had been aligned all through the Martin factional fight with the "Unity Group." After the formal split, when Martin formed his organization, a furious battle broke out on the executive board between Reuther and his supporters, and the Stalinist machine. The issues they were fighting, remained, however, completely obscure and the fight itself was conducted behind closed doors, without the knowledge, approval or otherwise of the auto membership.

In the week preceding the convention, Reuther and his friends deceived themselves in believing they would control an easy majority at Cleveland, through the cooperation of the C. I. O. officials. But when they came to Cleveland they found the majority on the other side. Instead of planning a struggle on major issues that would have split the Stalinist forces, they staked their cards on the intervention and influence of Hillman and Murray. But as the convention showed, they reckoned without their host.

C. I. O. Force

The C. I. O. in the persons of Hillman and Murray, was possibly the most important force at the Cleveland convention. Behind the scenes they wielded a tremendous influence and authority on all important decisions. What did the C. I. O. attempt to accomplish? Primarily they wanted a "responsible leadership" at the helm of the U.A.W. That was why they picked R. J. Thomas as their candidate for union president.

A conservative unionist, they knew he would be completely immune to C. I. O. advice. Hillman and Murray rapped the C. P. crowd over the knuckles, as they had done in the Pittsburgh C. I. O. convention in order to keep them from getting too much power and to avoid the impression from getting abroad that the U.A.W. was dominated by a bunch of "communists." But they would not and they could not fight the Stalinists in an open political struggle. Hillman and Murray did most of their work in the hotel room caucuses.

The temporary split among the top leadership of the union, the defensive position of the C. P. machine when under C. I. O. attack, the sure knowledge of the C. P. that they had a majority of the votes any day and their lack of great interest in the constitutional provisions, the presence of large, important delegations in opposition to the Stalinist machine, all worked to produce what appeared as a highly democratic convention.

The loosely knitted and improvised bloc of Reuther and his friends believed at the beginning of the convention that they would differentiate themselves from the Stalinists by their proposals for a highly democratic union convention and thus swing the membership to their side. But the Stalinists didn't give a rap about the constitution, as long as they were going to do the interpreting and administering. Far from fighting the constitutional proposals, they became the hypocritical champions of democracy. They demagogically spurred on the rank and file to put down the powers of the International President and shift them to the Executive Board. Why not? In this case the democratic desires of the rank and file was duck soup for the Stalinist machine. While they were not sure of the presidency, they were sure of their majority on the new executive board.

As the convention progressed it became clear that the loose progressive bloc didn't know how to differentiate itself from the tricky, unpredictable, unscrupulous C.P. machine. They were stumped. Their one and only attempt to fight the issues out on the convention floor in connection with the officers' report was a total flop. A real fight here could have set the tone for the whole convention and split the C. P. bloc wide open. But the fight, after the smoke had cleared, seemed little more than a personal wrangle between Reuther and Frankenstein and even there

Liberal - Labor Caucus Endorses Eide as Mpls. Mayoralty Candidate

Socialist Workers Party Branch Withdraws Candidate To Support Progressive Trade Union Slate

(Special to the Socialist Appeal)

MINNEAPOLIS—About 300 delegates from trade unions and Farmer-Labor ward clubs endorsed T. A. Eide as candidate for mayor, together with a partial slate of candidates for aldermen and other city offices, at a caucus held here April 8.

Eide has been secretary of the Franklin Cooperative creamery since 1925. A steering committee met two days later at the Central Labor Union and completed the slate.

Following this development, the Minneapolis branch of the Socialist Workers Party issued the following statement on the withdrawal of its mayoralty candidate:

The Socialist Workers Party welcomes the resurgence of the Minneapolis trade union movement on the political field, as shown by the actions of the union delegates at the April 8 labor-liberal caucus to salvage what remains of the wreckage of the once-progressive Farmer-Labor movement.

Stalinists Pushed Aside

For the first time in three years, the Communist Party did not control a local labor political convention. The trade unions, reacting to the bureaucratic practices and anti-working class policies of the Stalinists, on the one hand, and to the ferocious attacks of the Stassen (Republican) machine on the other, sent representatives in such numbers as to control the April 8 convention and dictate the choice of candidates and the platform upon which candidates are pledged to run.

Though dozens of Minneapolis trade unions have recently withdrawn from the Farmer-Labor Association, it was shown on April 8 that the unions are by no means apathetic to the severe political blows received recently by organized labor.

In view of the long stride taken towards labor political unification, and in order that no obstacles, real or imaginary, be placed in the road of labor's campaign to drive the Associated Industries from the courthouse, the Socialist Workers Party has decided to withdraw its candidate for mayor, Carlos Hudson. Our party urges all workers to vote for the candidates of the April 8 labor-liberal caucus.

Withdrawal No Precedent

By this withdrawal, the Socialist Workers Party does not set a precedent whereby we will withdraw our candidates when confronted with candidates of other labor groups. In future as in past campaigns, according to circumstances, the Socialist Workers Party will make its estimate either to file its own candidates or to give a measure of critical support to candidates of other labor groups.

It is quite possible that unscrupulous politicians will now attempt to dub T. A. Eide, the candidate of the union caucus, a "Trotskyite," and to distort our position. We are sure, how-

ever, that our friends, familiar with our political views, will not be confused by such charges but will give their support to all candidates of the labor caucus despite the fact that none of them is a revolutionary socialist. Eide is not the candidate of the Socialist Workers Party.

Indicates Differences

The Socialist Workers Party makes this move without in the least concealing its basic differences with both the political program and the organizational set-up of the labor caucus.

The platform adopted April 8 contains demands which are in the main progressive insofar as they go, but in almost every instance they could and should have been carried much further.

The most glaring deficiency in the platform is its failure to mention the very real threat of a new horrible imperialist war "to save democracy" and to speak out unmistakably against that war and the Roosevelts and Landons who are combining to lead us into war.

While it is true that the platform approved by the delegates to the April 8 caucus—unlike all Farmer-Labor platforms in recent years—carefully avoids the attempt to tie the trade unions to either of the two old boss parties, it fails to make clear the next logical political step for the union movement: the creation locally of a Labor Political League and its immediate hook-up nationally with the forces working for the creation of a national labor party independent of and opposed to the boss parties.

Political Apparatus Needed

Though all candidates endorsed April 8 are pledged to abide by the platform adopted, yet the trade union movement will lack the organizational apparatus to hold the candidates to their pledges, once they are elected. A great weakness of the Farmer-Labor Association, and one of the factors contributing to the crash of the Farmer-Labor Party, was that it did not permit the trade unions to control the persons elected by the F.L.P. We saw this in the case of Latimer, of Benson, etc., etc. The caucus form of organization which will conduct the campaign for the union candidates is much too loose to give any guarantee that the candidates will carry out the will of the unions, once in office. We ask all workers to raise in their unions immediately the question of forming a Labor Political League based on the trade union movement, to further the political struggle of labor.

Clean the Stassen-Associated Industries-Leach crowd out of the courthouse!

Vote for the candidates of the labor caucus! For a Labor Political League of the trade unions locally, for a labor party nationally! Join the Socialist Workers Party, the only anti-war party of the working class!

WORLD WAITING FOR SLAUGHTER FEST TO BEGIN

(Continued from Page 1)

time, ask the workers of France already under the iron hand of Dictator Daladier, ask the workers of America with the M-Day industrial mobilization plans hanging over their heads about "democracy!"

War for Profits

No, this war they are preparing is for the profits of the bosses, not the rights of the masses in any of the riva camps. As far as government system is concerned, they won't be much to choose between Germany, Italy, France, Britain, or the United States once the war begins.

The present period of desperate diplomatic jockeying, supplemented by mutually menacing moves of armies and navies, offers only an interlude, perhaps the final interlude, before it actually does begin.

The United States fleet is on its way to the Pacific to deal with the Japanese end of the Rome-Berlin-Tokyo axis. It is openly said in Washington that an undercover agreement exists between Washington and London whereby the American fleet will handle the Far East, and leave the British fleet free for operations in the Mediterranean and the Atlantic.

With much fanfare Lindbergh is paraded out to help whip up the hysteria which will enable the government to convince the workers of the need for its gigantic airplane-building program. Millions more are appropriated for naval bases and "educational" orders to industry while a drive is begun against organizations of the unemployed under the guise of an "investigation" of the W.P.A. and against the workers through court decisions aimed at the more liberal provisions of existing laws and at the rights won by workers in decades of bitter struggle. All this is part of the war preparations.

Offer Stalin Alliance

Among its many other purposes, the Roosevelt message to Hitler and Mussolini was also designed to aid Franco-British diplomacy in its efforts to swing the Soviet Union into the anti-Hitler bloc.

Britain and France are now reported to be offering Moscow a full-fledged military alliance, but all inspired and wishful reports to the contrary notwithstanding, Moscow seems to be continuing to hold Daladier and Chamberlain off at arms length waiting still to see if they will make sufficiently ironclad pledges to warrant the plunge into their camp or if Hitler will yet grasp the outstretched hand of Stalin and make the one deal that would enable him to go to war with Britain and France with a good chance of defeating them.

NATIONAL COAL STRIKE THREAT MADE BY LEWIS

(Continued from Page 1)

dustries, the threat of the nationwide strike is expected to hasten governmental intervention to break the deadlock.

Fear Blow to War Plans

Already John R. Steelman, director of the United States Bureau of Conciliation (who, incidentally, walked through the picket lines in the recent hotel strike here), and James F. Dewey, a federal conciliator, conferred with the miners' committee and the operators.

Anxiety was expressed in White House circles that the miners' strike was "jeopardizing the national defense program," and it was expected that Roosevelt would soon intervene to prevent any obstacles to his war plans.

Roosevelt, as usual, indicated he would step in after the preliminary stages had been built up by the department of conciliation.

Closed Shop Issue

Chief issue between the U.M.W.A. and the coal operators is the closed shop which is vital to the miners union if a disastrous war between the C.I.O. and the A.F. of L. is to be avoided in this industry.

Besides the reactionary A.F. of L. dual union in the miners' industry a new threat arose in Western Pennsylvania where a large company union has been set up. A closed shop for the U.M.W.A. would eliminate these rivals.

The importance of the Appalachian agreement under dispute is that it sets the standards for contracts between the U.M.W.A. and the coal operators throughout the country. But, in giving up all demands for higher wages and improved conditions which were included in early negotiations, and in demanding only the closed shop the U.M.W.A. committee is dangerously neglecting an opportunity to improve the poor economic status of the miners on a national scale.



May Day 8-page APPEAL will be off the press on Wednesday, April 26. It will be in the hands of every branch by May Day.

These few branches that have failed to send in their May Day greetings yet, or have not placed their special May Day orders can still do so. BUT THEY MUST DO THIS IMMEDIATELY. AIR-MAIL SPECIAL DELIVERY. Otherwise they will be too late. This represents absolutely the last opportunity. Everything indicates not only a splendid May Day issue, but a record press run for the SOCIALIST APPEAL.

THE BRANCHES AT WORK:

"The literature agent is ordering an additional bundle order of the May Day edition. We plan to have a tag day on Sunday, April 30 in one of the working class districts in town to sell Appeals, to distribute the May Day manifestos and to publicize the joint Twin City rally on May 1."—Dorothy Schultz, St. Paul local.

"We have sold the last six issues out completely. The street sales are O.K.—three days a week!"—John Taber, Boston literature director. Incidentally, this Boston local under John's direction is going places! Not only did they win the second prize in the subscription contest, but they are completely paid up on their bill and have been steadily increasing their order. We understand, too, that they have a fine street-sales squad.

"Congratulations on the new appearance of the Appeal. I think it looks more like a newspaper and is easier to read. Generally speaking, the Appeal

has taken on more of a newspaper character."—Sam Richter of Chicago.

"We are particularly pleased with the enlarged format and improved typography, which was recently effected. We hope to fulfill our subscription quota and double it if possible, even though we will be late in doing so."—Paul Fielding of the Akron branch.

Even though the sub-drive is over we still are able to report good results on subscriptions. Let's try to keep up a pace of 50 per week as a minimum. Here is this week's results:

MINNEAPOLIS	9
New York City	7
Boston	6
Chicago	6
Pennsylvania	5
California	5
Michigan	5
Youngstown	4
St. Paul	3
New Jersey	3
Ohio	2
Lynn, Mass.	1
Missouri	1
Maryland	1
Total	58

We want to point out that Sol Thomas of Philadelphia, and Bob Ontell of Los Angeles, are the two star subscription getters of the Party. Each of them have been far ahead of anybody else during the past month.

There were two bundle order increases during the past week: John Murphy of Los Angeles increased his by 25 and now takes 125 copies of each issue; while John Taber of Boston added 20 to his and now takes a total of 105 copies per issue.

Flint U.A.W. Jobless Ask \$30, 30 Hours

FLINT, Mich., April 15—The W.P.A. and Unemployed section of the United Automobile Workers (C.I.O.) last week unanimously demanded a W.P.A. appropriation of \$5,000,000,000, jobs for all in need at \$30 for a 30-hour week, and the immediate doubling of the miserably low relief allowances in Flint.

Launched only three weeks ago, the W.P.A. and Unemployed section has shown the kind of militancy necessary to fight the New Deal's W.P.A. slashes and to alleviate local relief conditions.

The section passed a resolution condemning the New Deal's spending billions of dollars for arms while starving the unemployed and pointed out that even Roosevelt's original request would mean the firing of hundreds of thousands of W.P.A. workers.

Demonstration Planned
The resolution provided for immediate action to enforce the

organization's demands. A mass meeting was set for Friday, April 21, following which a mass demonstration will be organized at the Welfare office and at the city hall.

Dozens of former Workers Alliance members, who had been desperately clinging to the Stalinist-dominated outfit in the hope that it might some day drop its company union policies of kow toing to Roosevelt, have joined the new U.A.W.-C.I.O. Unemployed section. They voted for the vigorous anti-New Deal resolution with new born enthusiasm.

It is planned to publicize the mass meeting and demonstration through advertisements in the press and through leaflet distribution. Workers in the shops who are now facing a big lay-off scheduled for the near future, are expected to turn out in support of their unemployed brothers.

Benjamin Decides "U.S. Is Not Capitalist State"

(Continued from Page 1)

Congress of relief appropriations, is lead dog and straining at the leash in the attack which the Roosevelt Administration has launched against the poverty-stricken recipients of government relief.

Believes in Capitalism

Lasser on questioning admitted that he was a renegade Socialist, but denied that Socialism affected his beliefs any longer. "At the present time I believe in trying to make capitalism work," he said.

Asked about Benjamin's present attitude to a leaflet written by Benjamin advocating the use of the strike by the unemployed as a means of obtaining funds and relief from the government, Lasser responded: "From my knowledge of Mr. Benjamin, I don't think he subscribes to that now. It is not my philosophy and it is not the philosophy of the Workers Alliance. There have been no strikes authorized by us in the last year."

And it is during the last year, it might be pointed out, that the offensive against the unemployed has really gained headway.

Loyal to Roosevelt

Mr. Benjamin, when questioned, corroborated Lasser's statements, stating that they represented his position. When questioned directly about the leaflet which he wrote a few years ago when the unemployed movement made great gains through strike action, he

responded he would no longer subscribe to it. The booklet stated that relief workers must not hesitate to use their right to strike to avoid starvation. "That does not represent my views now," stated Benjamin categorically. With Lasser he now believes in "averting" any strike action on the part of the unemployed.

U. S. Not Capitalist

He no longer believes in communism and the overthrow of capitalist democracies, he explained. He believes in capitalism. He is not only "trying to make capitalism work," as it was formulated by Lasser, but he believes that capitalism does not exist in the United States. It's a "democratic" state, not "capitalistic." He finished with all the lucidity of a Daily Worker editorial, explaining that anyway the United States was a communistic state in the first place, there being "no difference between communism and the principles upon which the American government was founded."

In any case, whatever the U. S. government is, Benjamin and Lasser are for Roosevelt, and if the interests of the unemployed and the interests of Roosevelt clash, the "views" of these two bureaucrats are guaranteed to represent everything but the unemployed.

Get Your APPEAL At the Newsstand

Y.P.S.L. LEADS STUDENT STRIKE

(Continued from Page 1)

the Roosevelt war policy. In every school the Stalinists hid under a cloak of respectability, inviting reactionary school administrators to address them. "Peace Rallies" was the official term used by the Stalinists for their "ingo meetings—the word strike being avoided like a plague.

Speakers of the S.W.P. and Y.P.S.L. for a militant revolutionary line of war, were sharply differentiated from those of the Youth Committee Against War (stoges of the Socialist Party Youth) whose speakers presented a drab pacifist line. Significantly enough it was the revolutionary speakers who received the greatest ovations from the students.

The slogans of the Y.P.S.L., "Not One Man—Not One Cent for Boss War," etc., resounded on every campus. The solidarity of those students at the anti-war strikes with our program and our speakers bodes well for the future of the revolutionary youth in America.

The Y.P.S.L. is now preparing to rally all sincere anti-war fighters to march in the demonstration of the S.W.P. and the Y.P.S.L. on May Day to express student solidarity with labor.

WANTED: Comrades to share bungalow on Lake Hopatcong, New Jersey. Good swimming, boating, fishing, hitchhiking easy. Answer F. H., c/o Socialist Appeal, 116 University Pl.

FULL CHARGE BOOKKEEPER. 9 years experience, good references, desires position. Call AL 4-8547.

By Dwight Macdonald

SPARKS IN THE NEWS

That's Where the Money Goes

They say the United States is a great democracy because our industries are owned by millions of small stockholders, because the American Standard of Living is higher than anywhere else in the world. But the Bureau of Internal Revenue reports that in 1933 only 1,750,000 of the 120,000,000 citizens of this land had incomes high enough to be taxed. And even among these topmost 1,750,000, there was a striking concentration of wealth. Thus of those filing income tax returns in the highly prosperous year 1929, a tiny group of 3.2% got over 83% of all dividends paid out to individual stockholders. Or, to put it slightly differently, 3 of 1% of the population received 78% of all dividends paid that year.

What does this tight little oligarchy do with the lion's share of our national income it receives? A recent issue of *Town and Country*, an expensive smart-set journal, gives us the answers, as compiled from a questionnaire sent out to several hundred butlers in New York City. Practically all their employers, replied the butlers, have both town and country houses, the former averaging 18 rooms, the latter 22 rooms. (One family of five had a 44-room house, with 40 servants, or eight to each member of the family.) In the winter, each family entertained an average of 138 guests a month, and in the gay summer season, this rose to 181 guests a month. To keep host and guests happy took an average of 2,400 bottles of various beverages per family in the course of a year, including 242 bottles of Scotch whisky and 115 bottles of champagne. When it all became too utterly boring, the family went off to Bermuda, to the Riviera, to the South Seas—an average of two and one-half trips per year, each time with seven trunks. *Town and Country* failed to point out that if the 3 of 1% of the population whose butlers it queried could only raise the 78% of the national dividends they now get to a reasonable figure—say 90%—they could increase their consumption of whisky to 300 or 400 bottles a year and could afford to take four or five trips per year, with, say, ten trunks instead of a measly seven. The New Deal's tax experts are now working on the problem.

Add: Walter Duranty

A friend sends in a quotation from Martha Dodd's *Through Embassy Eyes* which to some extent confirms the hypothesis I advanced last week as to Mr. Duranty's whereabouts—only the room is in Moscow, not the Bronx. Considering the ardent Stalinist sympathies of Miss Dodd, her testimony is rather damaging. "When the Moscow trials were beginning," she writes, "one rather venomous journalist said that Walter never appeared at the sessions, that he sat at home and wrote his news from what he knew would happen and from the information he might have gotten from

other sources, while the others sweated every day and far into the night to report the courtroom drama. I faced Walter with these charges, and he admitted them to some degree. He said that he attended sessions regularly but that he did not spend every minute of the day when they were going on, in the courtroom. He knew all the people involved, most of them personally and over a long period of time, he knew their past records, and he knew the charges against them. It was ridiculous for him to be as attentive as the rest of the correspondents."

Footnote to Fortune

In the February, 1938, issue of *Fortune* there was a long and laudatory story on Celotex Corporation, which makes roofing, wallboard, insulating materials, etc. It was a very fine, up-and-coming enterprise indeed, one gathered, and it was run by a couple of supermen named Bror Dahlberg and Wallace Groves. "Both of them," bubbled *Fortune*, "are men with large ideas, and both like to take chances." There was, it is true, a very delicate hint in passing that superman Groves "is a source of suspicion and concern to the Securities & Exchange Commission." But the general impression was that two such splendid specimens of American business manhood as Messrs. Groves and Dahlberg had not been discovered since *Fortune's* last corporation article.

This may well be true. But a few weeks after *Fortune's* article appeared, its hero, Wallace Groves, was indicted in Federal court on fifteen counts of conspiracy and mail fraud. If the case goes against him, as it seems likely it will, he will face a maximum sentence of seventy-two years. Apparently, he took one chance too many.

Fortune's misstep is understandable. Wallace Groves, like the late J. Donald Coster, is no fly-by-night confidence man. He is one of the big shots in Wall Street, organizer—together with the eminently respectable Walter Mack, Jr.—of the \$6,700,000 Phoenix Securities Corp., which controls such nationally known enterprises as Celotex Loft Candy Stores, and United Cigar—Whelan Stores Corp. If such demigods as these turn out to have feet of clay, where will *Fortune* turn for material?

Right Out of the Horse's Mouth

"As president of the American Federation of Teachers for the past three years, I can say with complete assurance that the charges of 'communist control' are untrue." — Jerome Davis, in a recent *New Republic*. This explicit statement by President Davis, whose long struggle against Stalinism is well known, should set at rest those malicious rumors we have been hearing lately about the teacher's union. They were evidently the inventions of Trotskyist-Bukharinist-Gestapo elements within the organization.

MEN AND WOMEN OF LABOR

OUT OF THE PAST

By EMANUEL GARRETT

ALBERT PARSONS

(June 24, 1848—Hanged, Nov. 11, 1887)

When the eight Haymarket Martyrs came to trial, the labor-hating press, judge and jury slobbered venomously about "foreigners" come to this country to destroy its good institutions. And true, seven of the eight had come to this country from abroad seeking a freedom they had been denied in their own countries. The eighth, however, was so American in ancestry that his accusers gagged with envy and frustration.

The first Parsons landed in New England in 1832. Various members of the family fought in the American Revolution; one of them was with Washington at Valley Forge; a great-grand uncle lost an arm at Bunker Hill. Whether because of despite his heritage—Parsons became a labor agitator, so great a one that even had he not been martyred for his revolutionary beliefs, his name would still be revered by worker militants.

For Real Negro Emancipation

Born and reared in the South, he joined the Confederate Army as a youth of thirteen. It seemed the right thing to do—everybody was. But by the time the Civil War had ended, his neighbors, the Army Generals, and above all the Ku Klux Klan hated him for his opposition to slavery. And hated him bitterly, because he not only advocated Negro emancipation as provided for in the 13th, 14th, and 15th Amendments to the Constitution, but really and wholeheartedly stood for Negro equality. In Texas, to which he had gone, partly to be under the protection of his brother, General Parsons, he stumbled for execution of the reconstructionist measures taken by the national government to destroy the economic power of the plantation lords, relics of a long past era.

Parsons found work in Texas as a printer's devil. Having learned the trade, he worked on different newspapers and even founded his own, the *Waco Spectator*. During the years 1870-1873 he held a series of minor government posts—as chief deputy collector, etc. and visited many Texas cities on government business. On one of these he met, and later married, a Spanish-Indian girl (who it is said was also of part Negro extraction). Lucy Parsons became a colleague who joined in her husband's work for human emancipation.

Parsons moved to Chicago in 1873. Here he immediately joined Typographical Union No. 6, and shortly afterwards helped organize the first branch of the Knights of Labor in Chicago. Interested in economic problems, he read the literature of socialism, became an ardent socialist, joined the Social-Democratic Party which merged with other groups to found the Workingmen's Party in 1876.

Now it was that Parsons "unconsciously" became a labor agitator. The great Railroad Strike of 1877 had begun. Parsons one day in July addressed the strikers, explaining to them the program and purposes of his party—to use the ballot for securing control of production. The press seethed with fury. The *Times* fired him. The chief of police advised him to get out of town: "You ought to know better than to come up here from Texas and incite the working people to insurrection. . . .

Why the Board of Trade would as leave hang you to a lamp post as not," Parsons, of course, did not leave town, except as his revolutionary work, to which he henceforth devoted all his time, demanded. Workers looked up to him; union-men were all for him. Parsons had become a popular orator, a leading socialist.

Unlike his German comrades, Parsons was an aggressive leader of the 8-hour movement. In 1879, for example, he accepted the post as secretary of the 8-Hour League of Chicago. Discouraged with the results of the ballot box, he turned to direct trade union action as against political action. In 1881 he joined with the left wing of the Workingmen's Party to found the American section of the anarchist International. He was also present in 1883 at the founding conference of the revived International Workingmen's Association. When the International began publication of *Alarm* in 1884, Parsons was appointed editor.

The year 1886 opened, the "revolutionary year" it has been called. The 8-hour movement was at its height. Workers were in motion, strikes frequent. In Chicago, the McCormick workers were on strike. On May 3, the police staged a brutal assault on the strikers. The next day a mass meeting was called to protest. August Spies, a prominent anarchist, was scheduled to speak. Arrived at the place of meeting (Haymarket Square), Spies saw few workers were assembled. Moving to a smaller location, Spies opened the meeting. Lacking speakers he asked a worker to find Parsons. Parsons came to the meeting, spoke, and a rain having begun to fall left the street to go to a hall. One of the speakers continued. The police arrived. A bomb was thrown—by whom it was never discovered. One policeman was killed, some others wounded.

Eight Are Accused

Parsons and seven others, including Spies, were charged with the crime. With a warrant out for his arrest, Parsons went into hiding. But when the day of trial came, Parsons entered the court and gave himself up so that he might face trial with his comrades—for the crime of being a revolutionist. The verdict of the jury was foregone. Five were sentenced to death, three to imprisonment.

Each of the eight made a final speech to the court. The accused turned accusers. Parsons, ill, spoke eight hours on two days. Opening with a short poem describing the lot of the worker he traced the development and meaning of capitalism, and the revolutionary struggle against it. "I am an internationalist. My patriotism covers more than the boundary lines of a single state; the world is my country, all mankind my countrymen."

A gigantic mass agitation that spread all over the world failed to secure the freedom of the eight. Staunch, defiant they faced their end. A preacher came in to give Parsons the last rites. Parsons told him that "Preachers are all Pharisees. . . . And I don't desire to have anything to do with them."

Parsons was led to the scaffold. As the rope was placed around his neck he tried to speak. "O men of America, let the voice of the people be heard. . . ." The hangman cut the rope.

How Stalin, While Seeking Hitler as Ally, Used Gestapo "Disinformation" to Frame Tukhachevsky



Mr. and Mrs. "Donald L. Robinson"—Rubens as they appeared on their passport photos. Did Garber forge these photos? This is one of the questions at issue in the trial now in session in New York.



Passport Trial Avoids Pressing G.P.U. Link

(Continued from Page 1)

hush-hush policy pursued by the State Department in Washington ever since the Rubens case first came to light. Washington, which expects to make use of Russia in dealing with Japan in the coming war, is also not averse to using the G.P.U. to destroy the revolutionary movement in this country. It has consequently acted at every juncture to keep in the clear in its relations with Moscow by covering up the G.P.U. hand in the Rubens case.

By keeping on the gag concerning the well-known and demonstrable Stalinist connections of all the defendants in the present trial, the Federal prosecution is leaving the way clear for the G.P.U. later on to stage one of its typical frame-ups on American soil by hanging the "Trotskyist" label on Rubens and his accomplices and charging that the whole thing was a "Trotskyist" plot against Stalin.

Former Failures

In the three great treason trials in Moscow in 1936-38, the Stalin frame-up machine failed miserably in trying to smear its real Trotskyist opponents as spies and wreckers. In the last trial, the Bukharin trial in April, 1938, there was distinct evidence of an intention to develop an American-Trotskyist-Japanese angle in which Rubens would play his role as a provocateur. But there was a hitch in the proceedings and his angle was squelched. This attempt may be made again now, with the help of the United States government in the present trial in this city of the small fry involved in the passport ring uncovered by the arrest of Rubens in Moscow.

From the very first announcement by the Moscow press and the Soviet Embassy in Washington that the arrested couple "might well be Trotskyists," the *Socialist Appeal* has openly warned against another frame-up and has presented its own evidence, undented to date, that at every point in their American operations, the

Hitchin Attacked By C. P. Hooligans

(Special to the Socialist Appeal)

WINNIPEG—Carl Hitchin, formerly prominent member of the Communist Party of Canada and now an active organizer in Western Canada for the Socialist Workers League, was badly beaten up by Stalinist hoodlums on April 16. This was the second beating Hitchin had suffered at the hands of Stalinists in the past few months. Hitchin recognized his latest assailant as "Red" Ramsay, a well-known member of the Winnipeg Stalinist "strong arm" squad.

On the day of the latest attack, Hitchin had spoken from the floor at a meeting of unemployed held in the I.W.W. hall. In his remarks, he criticized the C. P.'s sabotage of the local jobless organization and suggested militant action by the jobless to defeat an impending worsening of relief conditions.

Hitchin was followed from the meeting by a couple of known Stalinists. The assault soon followed.

During the assault his assailant told him that if he (Hitchin) did not "get out of Winnipeg within the week" he would "be fixed once and for all."

Hitchin refused to take assault as suggested by the court action against his assailant.

(Continued from Page 1)

come to terms with the German dictatorship against British and French "democracy" and was doing so even while pursuing in Europe the "People's Front" policy of collaboration with the Anglo-French capitalists and in this country with the Roosevelt administration.

Writing of the preparations for the framing and murdering of the Red Army Generals, Krivitsky says:

"In the growing tension of impending catastrophe a bombshell burst. It was in the form of most secret news from Germany, conveyed to me by Slutski, who had returned to his OGPU headquarters in Moscow. This news was that an agreement between Stalin and Hitler had been brought home by Kandelaki, Stalin's confidential emissary in Berlin. David Kandelaki, a native of the Caucasus and a countryman of Stalin, was officially the Soviet trade envoy to Germany. Actually, he was Stalin's personal ambassador to the Nazi Government."

Kandelaki's Mission

"Kandelaki, accompanied by 'Rudolf,' the pseudonym of the secret Berlin representative of the OGPU, had just arrived from Berlin, and both were whisked straight to the Kremlin for a conference with Stalin. Now Rudolf, who was Slutski's subordinate in the foreign service, had achieved such success in aiding Kandelaki that he was taken to report directly to Stalin over the head of his superior."

"The full nature of the Kandelaki mission was known only to half a dozen men. Stalin considered it a triumph of his personal diplomacy, for he alone had now for many years controlled the Soviet ship of state. Only a few of his closest lieutenants were on the inside of these negotiations. The Commissariat of Foreign Affairs, the Council of People's Commissars that is, the Soviet Cabinet—and the Central Executive Committee, headed by President Kalinin, had no part in the Stalin-Kandelaki scheme."

ON THE WAY TO THE TRENCHES

Colonel Charles A. Lindbergh, who has been living in England for some time, has been called to active duty by the U. S. War Department. Lindbergh, who is a member of the Air Corps Reserve, will be assigned to make a survey of the aviation research facilities of this country and to report to Major Gen. H. H. Arnold, chief of the Air Corps.

Twenty-five German warships left on April 18 for one month of training maneuvers off Spain and Portugal, near the Strait of Gibraltar which is now patrolled by French and British ships. The German fleet's move may have some connection with a reported plan by Hitler to unite Portugal with Franco Spain.

A number of British troops have been moved back from Palestine to Egypt to counteract the Italian concentration of forces in Libya.

Simultaneous with a government decree announcing the official annexation of the Spratly Islands in the Pacific which France had claimed as a possession, the Japanese government made known its annexation of a group of reefs and islands in the South China Sea 300 miles long. The strategic importance of the acquisitions lies in the fact that the zone occupied is right in the heart of the South China Sea, astride the lanes to Singapore and next to British North Borneo, French Indo-China and the Philippines. Japan has made it known that it will reject any foreign protests just as it rejected France's in connection with the Spratly annexation.

Britain has already perfected its plan for rationing out food to its population in the event of war. Over 80,000,000 ration cards have been printed and secretly stored away to be distributed as soon as the government imposes food control in wartime. 1,400 local committees with whom shopkeepers will have to register, will be in charge of retail food distribution.

The Atlantic squadron of the United States, comprising sixty fact that he arranged with his brother-in-law, Isidore Schlanger, to receive passports for Mary Smied, another of the aliases for Ruth Marie Rubens. Why didn't Attorney Blatt, in order to protect himself, go to the State Department in the summer of 1937, when it was announced in the Soviet press that the persons named Robinson were being sought by Soviet police, and inform the government authorities here of the passport fraud before they left these shores, as they did in October of that year?

In the case of a passport issued to Ernest Weichen, which he sold for \$25 to John Blank, alias Gulbis, alias Apsit, a fugitive defendant at this trial, Weichen volunteered the information that Blank was a member of the Latvian Unity Society of the Stalinist International Labor Defense.

ski's subordinate in the foreign service, had achieved such success in aiding Kandelaki that he was taken to report directly to Stalin over the head of his superior."

"Kandelaki had succeeded where the other Soviet envoys had failed. He had initiated negotiations with the Nazi leaders and had even had a private audience with Hitler himself. "The full nature of the Kandelaki mission was known only to half a dozen men. Stalin considered it a triumph of his personal diplomacy, for he alone had now for many years controlled the Soviet ship of state. Only a few of his closest lieutenants were on the inside of these negotiations. The Commissariat of Foreign Affairs, the Council of People's Commissars that is, the Soviet Cabinet—and the Central Executive Committee, headed by President Kalinin, had no part in the Stalin-Kandelaki scheme."

In April, 1937

"It was, of course, no secret in the inner Soviet circles that Stalin had long striven for an understanding with Hitler. Almost three years had passed since the night of the blood purge in Germany which had convinced Stalin, even while it was occurring, that the Nazi regime was firmly established and that it was best to try to come to terms with a powerful opponent."

units (of which 27 are new cruisers, destroyers and submarines) is the largest force to be assigned to eastern waters since 1932.

Great Britain now has in the Mediterranean four battleships, one aircraft carrier, six cruisers, thirty-nine destroyers, seven submarines, one escort vessel, six motor torpedo boats, ten minesweepers, one net layer, one coastal minelayer and six depot repair and supply ships. The bulk of Britain's force is around Malta, which is near the "toe" of Italy. Families of naval officers stationed in Malta were advised by the Admiralty office to leave for England.

Germany, which this week appointed one of its ace diplomats, Von Papen, as Ambassador to Turkey, is going to open a commercial airline to Turkey after ten years of negotiations. The "democratic" powers are trying desperately to woo Turkey over to their own war alliance.

The Senate approved on April 19 the expenditure of \$68,000,000 over a period of three years for expanding navy air base facilities. The appropriation is only the first step in a series designed to develop U. S. military bases.

SOCIETY NOTES

Axel Wenner Grens Take Over Another Yacht Harbor

Mrs. Edmund C. Lynch has at last found a buyer for ONE of her numerous palatial homes, scattered practically all over the Western hemisphere. The enormously rich Axel Wenner Grens have taken the Nassau home off Mrs. Lynch's hands—at a price reported to be fabulous.

The house occupies an outstanding site on Hog Island, which in spite of its unprepossessing name, is one of the beauty spots of the Bahamas in the Caribbean Sea. The last word in ultra-modernism, it boasts everything from a series of tennis courts to an elaborate yacht landing. The house is about the only real approach at Nassau to the grandeur of Palm Beach. Of English architecture, it is unique in its tropical setting, for it is furnished with priceless old English furniture purchased by Signa Lynch during her visits to London.

As new owners of the Lynch residence and of "The Southern Cross," Howard Hughes' former yacht, there's no doubt the Wenner Grens, whose riches are as those of Croesus, are the possessors of the grandest yacht and the grandest home in all Nassau.

"Now in April, 1937, with the arrival of Kandelaki in Moscow, Stalin was confident that the deal with Hitler was as good as consummated. At the very time he had been conducting negotiations with Hitler, he was liquidating his old comrades as German spies. He now knew that he had no immediate attack to fear from Germany. The road was clear for the purge of the Red Army."

The Army Generals, headed by Tukhachevsky, were murdered without trial by Stalin, according to Krivitsky, because of their criticisms of the official Kremlin domestic and foreign policies which, they believed, were undermining the morale of the fighting forces and, in general, weakening the country in face of the war danger.

Used White Officers

Krivitsky reveals that the Generals were framed up deliberately by Stalin and the OGPU on falsified evidence furnished by Hitler's Gestapo to an organization in Paris of former Czarist White Guard military men, which was headed by General Skobline, who worked in this organization and with the Gestapo under the direction and with the full knowledge of the G.P.U.!

"Only the deal with Hitler, so auspiciously negotiated by Kandelaki, did not quite come off as expected," Krivitsky continues.

"It is true that on July 21, 1937, the world was treated to a significant bulletin from Berchtesgaden, Germany. That afternoon Hitler had received the new Soviet Ambassador, Constantin Yurenev, at his mountain lodge in Obersalzberg, a rare distinction to be conferred upon any foreign ambassador. The exchange of greetings was so friendly that it created wide speculation in European chancelleries. Hitler had emphasized the need for 'normal relations between Germany and the Soviet Union' and 'for non-intervention' in the interests of the two countries."

"Three months later Yurenev was recalled to Moscow and arrested. Once more the relations with Germany became strained. But Stalin still lived in high hopes of signing an agreement with the Nazi regime. At the New Year's reception given by Hitler in his new palatial chancellery in January, 1939, he singled out the newest Soviet ambassador, Merekalov, for a particularly cordial chat, a demonstration which set Europe buzzing once more with reports of an impending Russo-German alliance."

As may be seen from the story of Krivitsky who, by the way, has had two attempts made against his life by OGPU agents since he broke with the Kremlin butcher, Stalin, far from showing reluctance about an agreement with Hitler, has bent every effort in trying to realize it. If it does not materialize—assuming that it has not yet been consummated!—it will not be for lack of trying on Stalin's part.

A Relief Case Congress Won't Investigate

Out of work, penniless, his wife sick in bed suffering from an operation, his four children crying for food, John Young, 35 years old, of Brooklyn, went out into the streets in desperation and held up a Borden Company milk wagon. He was unarmed and obtained only \$25. Police tracked him down within a couple of hours and arrested him. He still had \$23 of the money, after buying brandy for his sick wife and a few groceries to feed his hungry children.

He was charged with grand larceny for the attempt to nick Borden Company profits and dragged into court. When he pleaded guilty, Kings County Judge William O'Dwyer sentenced him to serve two and a half to five years in Sing Sing Prison.

But not even the judge had face enough to send John Young up the river to serve the inhuman sentence the law demanded for his spending \$2 of the Borden Company take. He suspended sentence because Young had taken the money "out of devotion to his sick wife and four young children."

But Young still has to convince Relief Authorities that he and his family need help.

SOCIALIST APPEAL

Vol. III, No. 27 April 25, 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. Bun-
dle 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

Like A Tombstone

There are few things more silent than a tombstone.

During the past two weeks, however, one political tendency in this country has come perilously close to depriving the tombstone of its pre-eminence in this field. We refer to the so-called "isolationist" school of faith which devoutly prays that a world cataclysm can occur without involving the United States or affecting the class relationships inside the United States.

President Roosevelt very neatly and without the use of either firing squad or dungeon sealed the mouths of these "Keep-America-Out-of-War-for-the-Time-Being" patriots. He merely outlined the realities of capitalist policy in the United States and his deliberate long-thought-out plan to plunge the United States into the coming world war at the first possible moment.

The eloquent reply of the isolationists, in which they so successfully emulate the volubility of a tombstone, discloses most precisely that at bottom they are for the capitalist class, for President Roosevelt, and for the coming imperialist war.

And it discloses at the same time that there is only one political tendency really opposing the coming war; that is, the Socialist Workers Party, which has devoted the major part of its press to denouncing the war-mongers during the present war crisis and pointing out the only road to defeat them—establishing a workers' political party and putting a workers' and farmers' government in power in Washington.

Dictatorship In France

The Daladier government which was voted into power by the Socialist and Communist Party-supported People's Front, last week established further straight-jacket laws for the labor movement.

In a decree issued in the same way decrees are issued in Fascist Italy and Nazi Germany, Daladier empowered Labor Minister Charles Pomaret to take the following steps:

Centralize "information" on the needs for labor in public services and private industry.

Recruit labor in military fashion for the various categories as deemed necessary.

Arbitrarily assign workers to public and private enterprises.

Regulate wages and hours by arbitrary decree.

If these regulations are successfully imposed, labor will occupy the same position in "democratic" France as labor in Germany and Italy—starvation between the barbed wire of concentration camps and the bayonets of the army.

The closer war approaches the less there is to distinguish the "democratic" dictatorships from the fascist dictatorships. Workers' revolution is in order in both the opposing capitalist camps.

Saito's Ashes

When Hiroshi Saito, former Ambassador to Washington, died in this country a short time ago, President Roosevelt as a diplomatic gesture ordered a United States cruiser, the Astoria, to carry back the ashes to Saito's home in Japan.

Last week the Astoria arrived in Japan with the ashes. Observers report that the reception given by the Japanese people to Roosevelt's sending a cruiser across the Pacific with the remains of Saito was singularly moving.

All was silent as the Astoria entered the harbor. Traffic had come to a standstill hours before. Thousands of Japanese, gathered in deep solemnity, watched the cruiser break out the colors of the Rising Sun and fire a salute of 21 guns. Tears showed on many faces. A local shopkeeper was reported to have gathered in a very short time 5,000 signatures to a book expressing gratitude to President Roosevelt.

There were local demonstrations of gratefulness far in excess of that called for by official national mourning over a dead diplomat. Japanese officialdom had difficulty in preventing these demonstrations from swelling into national proportions and taking on an aspect which would have been grave to the Japanese government.

Observers report that the Japanese people believed—naively in face of Roosevelt's real designs—that the United States cruiser accorded by Roosevelt to carry the ashes home meant a friendly gesture from the people of the United States, a token that the cruel oppression which they are now suffering under their own capitalist bosses will not be deepened by war with the United States.

The size and the intensity of this wave of gratitude and relief expressed by the Japanese people is of the greatest significance. That it could seize upon such a minor incident, that the meaning attached to the incident is mistaken, is not of great moment. What is of importance is the indication it gives to the misery, the unrest, the need felt by the Japanese people to find some outlet for their longing for peace.

It is a demonstration that the strain of the war being conducted by the Japanese capitalists against China is becoming so intolerable that a spark can start the powder train which will fire a workers' revolution and blow up the present social structure in Japan just as it did a similar structure in Russia in 1917.

The deep embers of rebellion in Japan will flare up at the first indication anywhere in the world that it is really possible for workers to have their own government and to run a country for human needs instead of capitalist profits.

It has often been pointed out that a workers' revolution in France would immediately topple Hitler and Mussolini. The Mikado would not long keep his imperial peacocks after they fell. Likewise a workers' victory in the United States would immediately rebound with workers' revolutions everywhere.

The Japanese people receiving Saito's ashes—an event such as this might well become the pivot where far-reaching changes in the moods and emotions of the international working class begin, changes that will start a new series of socialist revolutions and end by reducing capitalism to ashes.

A Princely Visitor

The Prince of Norway—that most democratic country of "the middle way"—is scheduled to visit these shores on April 27. If the workers of this country are to properly appreciate him, they should know certain facts about the royal house which he represents.

In November, 1937, the Norwegian democratic government decided to make a friendly overture to Stalin by imprisoning comrade Trotsky and his wife, Natalia. The immediate pretext for the arrests was an article by Trotsky which appeared in the American weekly, "The Nation," about the situation in France.

But in making this arrest the democratic ministers were faced with an embarrassing difficulty. No Norwegian law gave them a basis for imprisoning Trotsky.

In their quandary, the ministers—they were social-democrats adhering to the Second International—remembered their King. And in the constitution they discovered a paragraph which gives the King the right to issue emergency decisions (in the event of war or similar disasters). The provision was promptly invoked; the King signed a special order giving the ministers the right (which he himself did not possess) to imprison foreigners without cause. Thus did they save democracy in Norway.

Again, when Trotsky filed suit against the Norwegian Stalinist and fascist press, the government could not find a constitutional way to prevent him. Whereupon another special order was issued by the king, giving the government the right (which he himself did not possess) to deny imprisoned foreigners the right to bring legal suits. Thus did they again save democracy in Norway.

We can, therefore, understand why the Second Internationalists love the royal house of Norway. It helps them make democracy function.

The Coming War Will Surely See
Britain's Colonial Empire Wrecked

The Rising Nationalist Movements for Freedom In Every
Section of the Empire Which Guarantee the Doom of the
British Colossus Also Presage the End of Capitalism

By SHERMAN STANLEY
The financial wizards of Street—are nervously fingering their money bags these days. "The City"—London's Wall Without exception the people of all of England's world colonies hate and detest the British rule. These colonial people will utilize the first available opportunity—the war—to oust the British.

Many times before the British have faced opposition in the colonies. They have always succeeded in staying off the inevitable, however. One of their principal methods has been to buy off and bribe the leaders of the opposition movement, or to maneuver things so that the colonial masses are "led" by agents of the native capitalist class whose basic interests are with the British. This is what they have done for example, in India (Gandhi) and in Ireland (De Valera).

They have not hesitated for one moment to use the armed forces of the police and the British Colonial Army. The British unleash a Hitlerite reign of terror when necessary to preserve their rule. They have done this in Palestine, in Ireland, in their African colonies and especially in India.

WORLD-WIDE FIGHT
AGAINST BRITISH RULE

Never before, however, has colonial opposition been so solid in its determination to put an early end to British rule. Militantly conducting the struggles of today, the colonial masses grimly await the opportunities that tomorrow holds out for them. Let us cite a few examples of today's opposition:

Ireland: A newly revived nationalist movement has shattered the sweet dreams of the British money-baggers. The Irish are starting in once again where the traitor De Valera left off. Their struggle is for a united, independent Ireland—free forever of British domination.

India: The workers and peas-

ants of this vast country of four hundred millions are in the forefront of the struggle against British imperialism. In the past year this country has had a wave of strikes—general strikes in Bombay and Calcutta, the working class centers—militant demonstrations and actions for freedom. Represented in the Indian Nationalist Congress alone are 5,000,000 workers and peasants who are pledged to gain complete independence for their country.

The Indian nationalist movement provides the biggest headaches for the bankers of "The City." That movement is rising over the heads of Gandhi and his conservative following. Once this is accomplished, then the British know they can kiss good-bye to "the finest jewel in the Crown of Empire."

Ceylon: In this important and strategically located island, the left-wing Socialist Party of Ceylon is leading an aggressive and direct struggle against the British. Little news reaches the outside world of their battles. Ceylon—a pearl of "democratic" England—is hermetically sealed from without. Meanwhile, from within, the British carry on their violent attempts to crush a people who never give up.

West Indies: These islands, famed for their hurricanes, have brewed a storm too severe for the British to handle. Labor—militantly led under the banner of the C.I.O.—has organized the dock workers, sailors, sugar mill workers, etc. Wave upon wave of strikes have served notice on the British that here too they are not wanted.

CAN'T FOOL THEM
ALL THE TIME

Egypt: The British granted a fictitious "independence" to some fake nationalist politicians a few years back. They thought that these men could indefinitely fool the laborers and peasant "fellahs." The British, who wrote the treaty, kept control of Egypt's foreign affairs, financial matters and

arranged for British troops to remain in the country. The thing was a fake from the word "go." Today, the masses led by radical students, continue the struggle for independence, real independence. Chalk up another thorn in the side of the British—right at the entrance to the vital Suez Canal!

Kenya, Union of South Africa, etc. All sections of Britain's African colonies have been stirring restlessly. Headquarters of the African nationalist and revolutionary movement, which operates directly from London itself, reports warm responses to the work of the organizers it sends out. Organization of black workers in sections of the Union of South Africa is progressing as never before. These men will show that they too understand that freedom and British rule have nothing in common.

Even those sections of the Empire that are actually independent, capitalist nations are deserting the British. So great has been the pressure of the people in Australia, Canada and the Union of South Africa against supporting England in any war that the leaders of these governments have been forced to declare publicly that they will not send any soldiers overseas to aid the British.

We doubt if these capitalist politicians mean it. But we don't doubt that the people of these lands mean it! And their word will be the final word.

All of this spells death for the British Empire!

The most significant event in the rise of capitalism was the erection of this Empire. The most significant event in capitalism's fall will be the destruction of that Empire. And we who live now will have the glorious opportunity of witnessing its break-up and replacement by independent, free nations of workers and peasants, associated with and aiding one another in a world socialist society.

Federal Criminal Syndicalism Law
Would Foist Military Rule on Labor

By FELIX MORROW

Representatives of the War and Navy Departments appeared before the Judiciary Committee of the House of Representatives on April 12 to lend their weighty support to what has become known as the Smith Omnibus Bill—even the New York Times calls it "a composite of the anti-alien and anti-radical legislation offered in the last twenty years."

Last month Charles Edison, assistant secretary of the Navy, secured the introduction of a bill outlawing "subversive" propaganda in the armed forces; it appears now, however, that the Army and Navy prefer the Smith Bill (H.R. 5138) which includes not only provisions referring to the armed forces, but is practically universal in its scope.

As we analyze this bill, do not forget that Roosevelt is Commander-in-Chief of the armed forces which have endorsed it!

A Criminal Syndicalism Law
Title I of the bill begins: "It shall be unlawful for any person by word of mouth or in writing, or by transmission by radio, to advocate, abet, advise, or teach the duty, necessity, desirability or propriety of overthrowing or destroying the Government of the United States, or the government of any State of the United States, or the government of any subdivision thereof, by force or violence."

Section 4 of this Title says: "It shall be unlawful for any person to organize or help to organize or become a member of, or affiliate with any society, group, or assembly of persons who teach, advocate, or encourage the overthrow or destruction of the government."

Punishes Beliefs
The American Civil Liberties Union accurately describes this as "a Federal criminal syndicalism law." In complete violation of the fundamental legal concept traditional to democratic government, that only overt acts shall be punishable, the actual history of state criminal syndicalism laws has demonstrated that they are used to punish ideas and beliefs only.

There has never been a prosecution under a criminal syndicalism law involving actual or attempted violence or incitement to violence; for such a prosecution would have to prove facts, whereas the crim-

inal syndicalism law, as used, simply proves that the victim is against capitalist exploitation!

The principle distinction between overt acts and free discussion has been recognized "in principle" by the United States Supreme Court, but nevertheless criminal syndicalism laws still function in many states, and the principle involved troubles not at all the Congressional and Administration proponents of the Smith Bill.

Joker Against Unions

Title II of the bill, requiring licensing of civilian military organizations, conceals a joker; among organizations which must be licensed are those which by "economic coercion" advocate the denial to any citizen of constitutional immunities. A labor union's "economic coercion" of a boss could be interpreted under this provision to be violation of his constitutional right to his property!

The War and Navy Departments are specifically endorsing Section 9 of Title II, which says: "It shall be unlawful for any person to advise, counsel, urge, or solicit any member of the Army or the Navy of the United States to disobey the laws or regulations governing the Army or the Navy or to disobey the lawful order of a superior, or to publish or distribute any book, pamphlet, paper, print, article, letter or other writing which advises, counsels, urges, or solicits any member of the Army or the Navy of the United States to disobey the laws or regulations governing such military or naval forces, or to disobey the lawful orders of a superior."

Section 10 says: "Any book, etc., may be taken from any house or other place in which it may be found, or from any person in whose possession it may be found, or from any person in whose possession it may be found—by search warrants to be issued under the war-time 1917 law governing treason and espionage cases."

Rule By Military

Just realize what the Army and Navy authorities are advocating:

1. Any anti-militarist, anti-war, or pacifist literature which may fall into the hands of a soldier or sailor would be outlawed right now, in peacetime.
2. Army and Navy regula-

tions are, in large part, not laws passed by Congress but rules handed down by the military authorities. The Smith Bill would therefore make it a law, in advance, that to violate any regulation heretofore or hereafter decreed by the generals or admirals is a crime. This ends all distinction between civil authority and the military authority which is traditionally presumed to be subordinate to the civil authority. It means rule by the military in peacetime.

Dared Less in War-Time

3. The wartime treason and espionage law of June, 1917 provides for issuance of search warrants to civil or military officials on presentation of affidavits that in the official's belief, a search of some given house will aid in securing a conviction for treason or espionage.

In the midst of the last war, the government dared apply this procedure only to cases involving treason or espionage. Now, in peacetime, the government's military authorities dare to propose to apply this procedure immediately to any and all opponents of war!

Aliens Made Criminals

Title III of the bill is directed against aliens. It prohibits naturalization for those aliens who advocate "any form of government for the U. S. contrary to that now existing." A believer in peaceful transition to socialism or, for that matter, a believer in non-violence who wanted the government also to be non-violent, would be ineligible to become a citizen.

It provides a whole series of new reasons for deporting aliens, and for the registration of all aliens. Since it is obvious that registration cards for aliens are wholly ineffectual unless citizens also have identification cards, this provision is really a step toward compulsory registration of the whole population.

Concentration Camps

Title IV sets up restrictions against immigration from those countries which refuse to accept for deportation aliens now in this country, while Title V sets up a concentration camp for aliens who are now in this country and who cannot be deported.

Such are the main outlines of this vicious bill—warmly endorsed by Roosevelt's military subordinates.

IN THIS
CORNER

By Max Shachtman

It was to be expected that once the Popular Front regime in Spain came to its natural, that is, its ignominious, death, we would begin to get the complete inside story of what happened behind the scenes during its lifetime. It was inevitable that all the sordid details of this "democratic" fraud would be revealed eventually in the form either of penitent confessions by its several participants or mutual accusations, each of which would aim at throwing the responsibility for the debacle on somebody else and all of which, properly assembled, would provide a fairly complete picture of the intrigue, the secret diplomacy, the horse-trading, the treachery that made up the life of this "instrument of the masses for the united defense of democracy."

A Belated Witness

Among the first of the partners to speak up is Luis Araquistain, one of the "left-wing" leaders of the Spanish Socialist Party, well known as one of the principal advisers in the realm of theory and diplomacy to Largo Caballero. The "Independent News" of Paris has just made public a letter addressed on April 4, 1939 by Araquistain to the last President of the Spanish Republic Cortes, Diego Martinez Barrio. In it he announces a rather belated resignation from what he calls "our fantasmagorical Republican Cortes," and dissociates himself, also somewhat belatedly, from the "most inept, the most despotic, the most unscrupulous government ever suffered by Spain, even in the most disastrous periods of the Austrian dynasty or that of the Bourbons." This is his politest reference to the great government of the Democratic People's Front headed by his own party comrade, Juan Negrin!

"During the two years—approximately—that he held the power, we lost all of the North of Spain, we lost a part of the Mediterranean littoral, and finally we lost all of Catalonia. At another time and elsewhere, I shall set forth the totality of the causes for this disaster which has no precedent in the Spanish wars. It is enough for me here and now to record the fact and to indicate the profound source and the ultimate reason for this immense defeat: it is the stupid and brutal communist dictatorship which guided our hapless war and lead us to this tragic denouement; of this dictatorship, Juan Negrin and his coadjutor, the former Minister of State (Azana), were the docile and unconditional agents. Dictators under the dictatorship of the communist party."

Silent Accomplishes

It is not out of place to add at this point that Araquistain, Caballero and their associates were, at the least, silent accomplices of this "dictatorship in the name of democracy." They tolerated it, they cooperated with it, they kept quiet about its outrages and crimes at a time when forthright and truthful appeal to the masses could have altered the situation, they did not take a single serious step towards organizing popular opposition to a ruinous and despotic regime—all in the name of the "unity of the People's Front."

Araquistain reminds Martinez Barrio of the story told the latter by President Azana who, in 1938, was thinking of a change in government policy. Negrin, the "democratic socialist," thereupon declared to Azana: "You shall not remove me, and if you try to do it, I shall resist; I shall place myself at the head of a popular and military movement, for the army and the people are with me." (Which, presumably, is why both the army and the people drove him and his cohorts out of Loyalist Spain.)

The Negrin regime was characterized not only by despotism and intrigue, but also by plain and fancy graft. Not a few professional democrats filled their purses with good Spanish gold. Araquistain's proposal to the government for an audit of its finances was cynically rejected, as was a similar proposal by the Ambassador to Washington, Fernando de los Rios.

"I hold that there were enormous administrative irregularities in the finances of certain agents of the Government abroad. By refusing to accept my proposal, it is evident that the so-called Negrin government shares the responsibility for these derelictions. I also affirm that high personalities of the Republican regime possess, deposited in their name in English banks and in those of the United States, important sums of money, hard to justify. But all possibility of a check-up being abolished—and that is what my proposal sought to avert—Republican Spain will never know which of its agents and representatives acted with probity and which behaved differently; all of them will be plunged into an atmosphere of suspicion. Nor will it know... what became of the Spanish treasury, of the 500 and some tons of gold which were deposited outside the national territory, nor how this gold was spent, nor what remains of it, nor the name or names under which this deposit was made, a fact of the highest importance and one which perhaps would explain also why certain people, in an incomprehensible manner, clung obstinately to power in spite of the defeats and the hostility of public opinion...."

The Mystery of the Vanished Gold

Had Araquistain been given the opportunity to read the article of Walter Krivitsky on "Stalin's Hand in Spain" before writing his letter to Martinez Barrio, at least part of his question about the disappearance of the Spanish gold stores would have been answered. Krivitsky revealed that not only did the Father of the Peoples in the Kremlin demand spot cash payment for the few rifles, cannon and airplanes he sold to his beloved Spaniards, but he also arranged for the transfer of a huge part of the Spanish gold reserve to Moscow. For, when Stalin made his one solitary reference to the civil war in Spain as not a Spanish but a world affair, he apparently interpreted it to mean a good business affair for the Soviet Commissariat of Finance.

As for all the varieties of leaders of the Spanish People's Front, the proletariat has the infuriating consolation that only now that they have completed their work of defeat and ruin will they themselves begin to tell the truth—by fits and starts, and in installments—about the crimes in which they acted either as principals or accomplices.

President Roosevelt speaks on the campus of Tuskegee, famous Negro school: "Keep the ideals of your youth all your lives," he tells the assembled Negroes. No mention of the lack of the Negro franchise and other racial discrimination won Alabama was made by either Roosevelt or any of the listeners. Perhaps this ideal was too close to home for the man who is so eager to denounce the race pogroms of Hitler.