

Labors' Program: A Job for Every Worker!

In order to meet the continuing employment and relief crisis, and to provide jobs and a decent living for the people of the United States, we propose that the regular 1940 session of the Congress of the United States shall enact emergency legislation to put into immediate effect the following:

1. Appropriation of \$10,000,000,000 to provide, at once, jobs on housing and other public works projects for all employable workers.
2. Amendment of the Wages and Hours Act to provide throughout private industry and public works a maximum work week of 30 hours and a minimum weekly pay of 30 dollars.
3. 30 dollar weekly old age and disability pensions.
4. Appropriation of \$3,000,000,000 to guarantee either maintenance at school or jobs for all youth.

All War Funds to The Unemployed!

AN EDITORIAL

Next week the regular session of Congress will convene in Washington.

Roosevelt has already announced the program that he will put before Congress. It boils down to three chief points:

1. Billions for armaments—probably half a billion more during the next fiscal year than was appropriated at the last regular session.

2. Three to five hundred million dollars less for WPA.

3. Dictatorial laws, under the disguise of amendments to the Wagner Act and bills against "aliens and subversive elements," designed to smash the democratic rights of labor and anti-war militants.

GUNS AND AIRPLANES INSTEAD OF FOOD AND JOBS! POLICE CLUBS AND JAIL FOR ANY-ONE WHO OBJECTS!

That is the Roosevelt program for Congress. Indeed, Roosevelt started putting this program into effect more than a year ago, and he has already marched a long way toward his goal.

If you don't think so, read the statistics on armament building, and then compare them with the relief crisis in Ohio and elsewhere, or the drop of a million and a half in WPA. Congress is going to carry out Roosevelt's new orders if the workers of the country don't turn the heat on.

We have got to have a program of our own to oppose to Roosevelt's. We have got to demand that Congress enact our program, and not Roosevelt's.

Our program has got to have for its goal: A job and a decent living for every worker.

The SOCIALIST APPEAL puts forward the following clear and simple emergency program for this session of Congress:

1. Appropriation of \$10,000,000,000 to provide, at once, jobs on housing and other public works projects for all employable workers.
2. Amendment of the Wages and Hours Act to provide throughout private industry and public works a maximum work week of 30 hours and a minimum weekly pay of 30 dollars.
3. 30 dollar weekly old age and disability pensions.
4. Appropriation of \$3,000,000,000 to guarantee either maintenance at school or jobs for all youth.

If anyone tries to tell us that this program is "too extreme," or complains, "Where will the money for it come from?" we answer:

You seem to have plenty of money for battleships and machine guns.

You seem to have plenty of money to pay more than a billion dollars a year to the banks and insurance companies and millionaires who own Federal securities.

Take that money to give us jobs.

The big corporations have been coining money hand over fist since the war started. Take that money, and use it to pay pensions to the aged and the sick.

The first Sixty Families alone have got more money, much more, than would be needed for this entire program. Take that money from the Sixty Families, and put it to work. If the Sixty Families whine too much about it, leave them a few million apiece so that they won't run out of caviar. There will be plenty left over.

Our program is not at all extreme, and there is plenty of money. It is a very modest program, in the light of the resources and possibilities of this wonderful country.

If labor would get behind such a program, if the unions and unemployed organizations would put their shoulders to it, if the people would demand action from their liberal-talking and reactionary-acting representatives in Congress, we would soon see some sparks flying at this session which would wipe the grin off Roosevelt's face, and put a big kink in his war plans.

Jobs, not Guns! A Job and a Decent Living for Every Worker!

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FDR TO GREET CONGRESS WITH RELIEF CUTS, ARMS INCREASES

Seven Years of the New Deal



Behind the Lines

By GEORGE STERN

During the first month of the new year the crisis in Japanese-American relations will enter an acute phase. The trade treaty of 1911 denounced by President Roosevelt six months ago will expire on Jan. 26. The negotiations for replacing it involve not merely trade questions but the broader and graver issues of Japan's position in East Asia, its relations with the Soviet Union, and its role in the war.

Under the pressure of open threats of an embargo, supplemented by ostentatious additions to U.S. naval and air strength in the Far East, Japan has made a token gesture of conciliation. It has promised to re-open to American and other foreign shipping the lower Yangtze River, which it closed after conquering Shanghai and Nanking two years ago.

Japanese spokesmen represented this step as a major concession on Japan's part and seemed to look for some immediate softening of the American attitude, which has grown extremely tough during the last two months.

In this they are doomed to disappointment. They will have to come across with much more before a Washington-Tokyo deal can be consummated.

Meanwhile, as the counterfoil to its dickering with the U.S., Japan continues its negotiations with the Soviet Union and in Japan itself a fairly broad division appears to have taken place in the ruling circles along the lines of a Russian orientation on the one side, and an American orientation on the other.

That the Japanese leaned far more definitely on the Russian

QUILL FACES OPPOSITION IN SUBWAY UNION

LaGuardia Program Throwing Thousands Out of Jobs in N. Y.

The Quill administration leaders of Local 100 of the Transport Workers Union have been returned to office in an election where for the first time in the local's history, they faced the stiff competition of an opposition slate, which was backed by the Association of Catholic Trade Unionists. William F. Connolly, opposition candidate for secretary-treasurer, polled a vote of 8,157 as against 12,213 for the Quill-backed incumbent, Faber.

If the administration does not put up a much more militant and effective union fight today than it did previously, the Transport Workers Union faces the loss of some 3,000 members and the resultant demoralization and weakening of the union as a whole.

Jobless "El" Workers

A year ago, the City of New York took title to the Sixth Avenue Elevated line of the Manhattan Railway Company. The road was closed on December 5, 1938 and six hundred employees were put out on the street without jobs. Borough President Isaacs and Mayor La Guardia promised that jobs would be provided for the six hundred workers.

Quill, then a city councilman, urged the union membership to

C. P. MACHINE GETS BIG BLOW IN FOOD UNION

Progressives Poll Large Vote in Recent Elections

The Stalinist machine which for three years has ruled supreme over the Hotel and Restaurant Employees International Alliance in New York was dealt severe blows in the past weeks by the workers in three locals.

In the recent elections the progressive groups polled sufficiently large votes to seriously threaten the rule of the controlling clique and to end forever the fairy tale that you can't beat the Stalinist machine.

Progressives Win No. 42 Board

In local 42, the chain restaurant local, where the Stalinist administration just recently signed a rotten two year contract with the employers, the progressives elected Walter Curry to the Vice-Presidency and won a majority on the Executive Board, besides electing three delegates to the local joint board, two delegates to the central labor body, a sergeant of arms and a delegate to the Women's Trade Union League.

In local 677, the Soda Clerks, where the rank and file revolt against the Stalinist administration rose highest, the progressives came within firing distance of defeating the Stalinist administration for all offices. William Montgomery, the progressive candidate for the post of Secretary-Treasurer, lost by only seven votes and was defeated for delegate to the local Joint Board by only two votes. (It must be added, the Stalinists counted the votes!) Montgomery succeeded in being elected delegate to the Central Trades and Labor Council. The election campaign was carried on after two of the leading progressives, Eddie Wegner and Pete Hutnick, had been illegally removed from their posts as organizers and deprived of their right to run for office.

Progressives Double Vote

In local 302, the cafeteria workers, several groups united on the program of a democratic, militant union under the banner of

(Continued on Page 2)

Ban Socialist Appeal In Canada, India and British West Indies

The Socialist Appeal has received the following notice from the United States Post Office:

"This office is in receipt of a communication from the Post-Administration of Canada, in which it is stated that the publication entitled 'Socialist Appeal', has been placed on the list of publications, the transmission of which by post is prohibited in Canada.

A large bundle order of the Appeal, which has been going to a company in Kingston, Jamaica, British West Indies, has been put under ban by the British authorities who, in addition, are confiscating all copies they can lay their hands on.

The British dictatorship in India has likewise confiscated copies of the Appeal and banned its further transmission.

The Appeal is also prohibited from transmission to Germany, Italy, the Soviet Union, Japan and a number of other countries.

CANADA JUDGE REJECTS WATSON APPEAL PLEA

Watson Scores Fake War for Democracy in Court Speech

TORONTO, Canada—Frank Watson's appeal against the first Canadian conviction for a breach of the Defence of Canada Regulations enacted under the War Measures Act was rejected by Judge Honeywell in Appeal Court, Toronto on November 29th. The appeal was ably conducted by John C. Risk, but the further evidence introduced by the accused was of no avail. "I am not putting my judgement against that of Magistrate Browne," concluded Judge Honeywell, "nor do I see fit to alter the sentence in any way." Thus the original sentence of six months plus a fine of \$300 or an additional six months was sustained.

Asked for further details about his speech, Watson stated that he had scored fascism in Germany.

(Continued on Page 3)

Minneapolis Labor Opposes Jingo Campaign for Finland

WHEREAS, on March 23, 1938, the Minneapolis Central Labor Union adopted a resolution declaring its unalterable opposition to war, war preparations and military budgets, and

WHEREAS, today the government, the employers' press and the radio and newspapers are engaged in a systematic campaign to create a jingoistic war spirit, utilizing Soviet Russia's invasion of Finland for this purpose, and

WHEREAS, organized labor was deceived in the last "War to Make the World Safe for Democracy," which destroyed millions of lives and brought about reaction instead of democracy, and

WHEREAS, the government's preparations for war are a mortal danger to organized labor and the unemployed, as revealed by a study of the M-Day plans for a military dictatorship in war time, now

THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED, that the Minneapolis Central Labor Union again declares its unalterable opposition to any war launched by the government; that we again demand that all war funds be transferred immediately to the relief of the unemployed; that we oppose intervention by the United States on either side of the present war in Europe; that we declare our support to the proposal for a national referendum binding on Congress for any and all wars.

(Adopted December 13, 1939, by the Minneapolis Central Labor Union. Introduced by Miles Dunne, secretary-treasurer, Teamsters Joint Council.)

LET THE PEOPLE VOTE ON WAR

Will Slash Relief By One-third

Roosevelt is presenting an "economy" budget to Congress next week, he indicated to his press conference Tuesday.

The economy, it was clear, would be mainly at the expense of the workers and farmers.

Relief Slash Coming

The outlay for relief, slashed to the bone last year, will be chopped down still further. A million and a half men and women were fired from the WPA rolls during the current fiscal year, to keep WPA expenditures down to \$1,400,000,000. Now Roosevelt plans to propose a total for the coming fiscal year of \$1,000,000,000—which means to add to last year's cuts a further cut of \$400,000,000 and a further dismissal of about one out of three of those still remaining on WPA rolls.

Farmers will be the victims of sharp cuts in outlays for farm tenant loans, rehabilitation loans and parity payments.

Funds Go To Arms

The money "saved" at the expense of the workers and farmers will go to Roosevelt's gigantic armament program. While almost every other item in the preliminary budget estimates is to be cut, the army and navy budgets have become the sacred cows of Washington.

That's Roosevelt's idea of a budget and it will, of course, be backed before Congress by all the Big Business lobbies. F. D. R. is now the white-haired boy of all the reactionaries.

CIO, AFL Proposals

Congress will also have before it the legislative proposals of the CIO and AFL.

The CIO is asking for a public works program to furnish three million jobs. This is a modest, in fact inadequate proposal, for despite all the "war boom" ballyhoo, ten million jobless can find no place in private industry. In general, the CIO legislative program reveals no serious attempt to link the interests of the vast army of the unemployed with the fate of the trade unions.

Oddly enough, the AFL is now publicizing one important demand which is far more progressive than any of those raised by the CIO—the demand for the six-hour day and five-day week without reduction in wages. The declaration for the 30-hour week without reduction in pay, adopted by the recent AFL convention, is the leading story of this week's issue of the AFL Weekly News Service.

The Class Issue

Even the conservative leadership of the AFL puts the question in its barest class terms: "Machinery which enables working men and women to produce ever larger quantities of wealth shall not be mobilized by the owners of industry for the sole purpose of profits regardless of social injury."

Let Congress hear that demand—for the 30-hour week with no reduction in pay! A minimum wage of \$30 a week for everybody who wants to work!

Hollywood's Epic Film

'Gone With the Wind'
Glorifies the Old
Slaveholding South

Eighty million Americans visit the cinema every week, and, in the course of the next year or so, perhaps ninety million will see the film "Gone With the Wind." Millions will get from this film their most powerful impression of the greatest Civil War in history and one of the decisive turning points in modern civilization.

What will they see? At the very start we are informed that the film is a tribute to the "grace and gallantry" of a vanished civilization—"the age of chivalry." The South was a "land of grace and plenty" (our quotations are literal). The Civil War took place, God knows why; as far as can be made out from the film, owing to the hot-headedness and chivalrous gallantry of the Southern cavaliers, and the Southerners lost because, blinded by their excessively martial qualities, they did not notice that they had no munition factories.

A SLAVE OWNERS'
PICTURE OF SLAVERY

Of the slaves themselves, old O'Hara tells Scarlett, "You must be firm, but you must be gentle, especially with darkies." The Negroes, not only the house-servants but the field-hands, are all faithful unto death. Negroes are all right—so long as they are kept in their places. Of the old Negro mammy, Rhett Butler says that there are few persons whose respect he so much values. When Scarlett O'Hara sees the faithful Negro man-servant in tears, she says, "I can stand anybody's tears but yours." When Ashley remonstrates with Scarlett about exploiting white convicts, she retorts that he wasn't so particular about owning slaves. Ashley replies that slavery was different; we treat them well, and besides he intended to free all his. When Scarlett is attacked by louts, a white and a Negro, it is a Negro, a former slave, who rescues her at great danger to himself.

Of the carpetbaggers, robbers of the South in Southern mythology, we get a brief but emphatic indication with a particularly gaudy and fat-looking carpetbag to symbolize Northern rapacity. And, glory be to the God of History, the Negro ex-slave who rescues Scarlett is thankful to leave the South because he has had enough of these carpet-baggers.

Incredible as it may sound, the decisive result of the war, the abolition of slavery, is not directly mentioned in over three hours. The South would not have been able to stand that. And for good reason. As the article by Robert Birchman on Southern agriculture (in the December New Internationalist) shows, the essentials of Negro slavery still remain over large parts of the South.

NEGRO PRESS COMMENT
ON THE PICTURE

The picture is a stimulus to the old prejudices and hatreds which were the natural outcome of chattel slavery and which must continue on the basis of the sharecropping system of today. Writing in the *Amsterdam News* of December 23, St. Clair Bourne notes "the fond illusions of the days of slavery" reinforced in many Southern whites since they have seen the picture at the Atlanta premiere. Bourne reports that a Negro girl who takes care of two little white boys, one of them eight and the other ten, no-

ticed that on the morning after the premiere they acted strangely to her. On being questioned, the elder said he had overheard his parents, who had seen the film, discussing slavery and the Civil War. This small boy continued, "You'd be a slave too, if it wasn't for the Yankees. And then my Daddy wouldn't have to pay you..."

Even in the making of this picture, the natural resentment of the Negroes showed itself. The *Pittsburgh Courier* claims that the script as originally written was even more offensive to the Negro people and it was only because of the *Courier* agitation that some of the offending parts were taken out. The *Amsterdam News*, December 16, states that during production many Negroes, irritated at the role that was attributed to their people, refused to go on with their parts; there were quarrels and even fist fights.

TELL THE TRUTH ABOUT
THE CIVIL WAR

The historical statements and implications of the picture are false from beginning to end. A few thousand slaveholders in the South exploited the millions of slaves, while a few thousand others bred slaves for the slave market as today people breed horses and dogs. If house servants were often treated kindly, the majority, the Negroes in the field, were worked to death and terrorized in order to be kept in submission. By the middle of the nineteenth century the slave system was bankrupt. But the slaveowners wanted to establish their domination over the country in order to shape its course for no other purpose than the maintenance of their rotting and reactionary system. The Northern industrialists, in that age progressive, crushed the South because the South was a check on capitalist production. In the war 220,000 Negroes fought on the Northern side.

That was the Civil War. It is the duty of all revolutionaries wherever possible to point out the gross historical falsifications of this picture, and to do all in their power to counteract the pernicious influence that it is likely to have on the minds of the people, who, knowing no better, may be tempted to accept this as history.

National Negro Dept.,
Socialist Workers Party

Speech of
Leon Trotsky

recorded on two discs; made for the New York meeting celebrating the tenth anniversary of the founding of the Fourth International in this country.

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LEON TROTSKY

'Why I Consented to Appear
Before the Dies Committee'

It is absolutely false that I am now answering questions put to me by Mr. Matthews, Chief Investigator of the so-called Dies Committee. I have neither the slightest knowledge of Mr. Matthews' whereabouts nor the slightest connection with him. I accepted and I am ready to accept again the invitation of the Committee of the House of Representatives to appear as a witness before it in order to give the American public correct information about questions which are probably more familiar to me than any other person. But I never accepted and I don't accept any invitation to discuss these questions with Mr. Dies or Mr. Matthews behind closed doors.

L. TROTSKY
Coyoacan, D.F.
December 17, 1939

This statement was prepared by the author as a press release upon his arrival in the United States. Dies and his committee decided, however, to withdraw the invitation. They demonstrated clearly by this that in their own opinion the appearance of Comrade Trotsky before the Committee would provide no help to its reactionary aims, but would hinder them. More perspicacious people had no doubt about it from the beginning. We print Comrade Trotsky's statement because, quite apart from the panicky retreat of the Dies Committee, it shows how reactionary institutions can be utilized for revolutionary purposes. — Editorial Board.

Why did I agree to appear before the Dies Committee? Naturally not in order to facilitate the realization of Mr. Dies' political aims, particularly the passing of federal laws against one or another extremist "party." Being an irreconcilable opponent not only of fascism but also of the present-day Comintern, I am at the same time decidedly against the suppression of either of them.

The outlawing of fascist groups would inevitably have a fictitious character: as reactionary organizations they can easily change color and adapt themselves to any kind of organizational form since the influential sections of the ruling class and of the governmental apparatus sympathize considerably with them and these sympathies inevitably increase during times of political crisis.

As for the Comintern, suppression could only help this completely degenerated and compromised organization. The difficulty in the Comintern's situation is a result of the irreconcilable contradiction between the international workers' movement and the interests of the Kremlin ruling clique. After all its zig-zags and deceptions, the Comintern has obviously entered its period of decomposition. The suppression of the Communist Party would immediately re-establish

!! SOMETHING NEW !!

in connection with the New Year's Revel in New York. There will be a bazaar—not big but very interesting. A comrade has donated a bunch of the native products of countries south of us, from Mexico to the Straits of Magellan. To give you an idea. There is a hand-carved gourd from the Andes, some hand-woven runners from Guatemala, a hat and bag from Nassau, some pottery, of course, and wait till you see what the Brazilians do with Brazil nuts. You will not be able to resist these and many other unique and attractive things. Come with the where-withal to buy.

MARXIST SCHOOL
The Week's Courses

The following classes will be given at the Marxist School, 125 West 33rd St., Room 201, New York City, during the remainder of the term:

1. The Negro in America—Tuesday January 2 at 7:15 p.m.—GEORGE NOVACK.
2. The Elements of Socialism—Tuesday, January 2 at 8:50 p.m.—A. ROBERT.
3. The Economics of Fascism—Monday, January 8 at 7:15 p.m.—F. DEMBY.
4. Problems of the Second World War—Monday, January 8 at 8:50 p.m. (Lecturer to be announced).

its reputation in the eyes of the workers as a persecuted fighter against the ruling classes.

ALL SUPPRESSION USED
AGAINST WORKING CLASS

However, the question is not exhausted by this consideration. Under the conditions of the bourgeois regime, all suppression of political rights and freedom, no matter whom they are directed against in the beginning, in the end inevitably bear down upon the working class, particularly its most advanced elements. That is a law of history. The workers must learn how to distinguish between their friends and their enemies according to their own judgment and not according to the hints of the police.

It is not difficult to predict an ad hominem objection: "But just that Soviet government in which you yourself took part proscribed all political parties except the Bolsheviks?" Entirely correct; and to this day I am ready to bear responsibility for its actions. But one cannot identify the laws of civil war with the laws of peaceful periods; the laws of the dictatorship of the proletariat with the laws of bourgeois democracy.

If one considered Abraham Lincoln's policy exclusively from the point of view of civil liberties, then the great president would not appear very favorably. In justification of course he could say that he was compelled to apply civil war measures in order to cleanse the democracy of slavery. Civil war is a state of tense social crisis. One or another dictatorship, inevitably growing out of the conditions of civil war, appears fundamentally as an excep-

tion to the rule, a temporary regime.

It is true that the dictatorship in the Soviet Union did not die out, but on the contrary took on monstrous totalitarian forms. This is explained by the fact that out of the revolution arose a new privileged caste which is incapable of maintaining its regime except through measures of a hidden civil war. It was precisely over this question that I broke with the Kremlin ruling clique. I was defeated because the working class, as a result of internal and external conditions, showed itself to be too weak to liquidate its own bureaucracy. I have, however, no doubt that the working class will liquidate it.

But whatever the situation in the USSR may be, the working class in the capitalist countries, threatened with their own enslavement must stand in defense of freedom for all political tendencies including their own irreconcilable enemies. That is why I do not feel the slightest sympathy for the aims of the Dies Committee.

I don't have to explain that I did not come here in order to defend "American activities" against "un-American activities." I am rather badly prepared for that task. Even worse, all my attempts to understand just what Americanism consists of that it must be defended, have led to nothing up to this day. America's great contribution to the treasures of humanity can be described in one word: technique. This Americanism is evident and generally accepted.

But the question still remains, however, how to apply American

technique in the interests of humanity. We hear from Harold Ickes, Homer Cummings, Lewis Douglas, and other outstanding representatives of the present regime that economic monopolies contradict the ideas of democracy. However, nowhere in the world has the rule of monopolies attained such power as in the United States. Where are we to look for Americanism; in abstract ideas or in the reality that contradicts them? Further, is chronic unemployment an American or an un-American phenomenon?

Those circumscribing laws which Mr. Dies defends have a long history in the European countries where they began the transitional period from democratic to totalitarian regimes during the last twenty years. The representatives of the Youth Congress openly accused the Dies Committee of scoring "Americanism." It would take me, a foreigner, at least a year to study this complicated problem; but I don't know whether such a prolonged sojourn in the United States is compatible with the principles of "Americanism."

STALINISTS ARE REAPING
WHAT THEY SOWED

It is necessary to recognize, of course, that the Comintern itself to a great extent prepared this persecution against it. For several years it systematically demanded that its political enemies of the left be repressed by the democratic governments. This shameful behavior gave us the possibility to predict a long time ago that in the end the Comintern itself would be caught in the trap it was preparing for others. And so it happened. Browder didn't weary of demanding police measures against the so-called "Trotskyites." In the end the police proceeded impolitely against Browder himself.

We are not revengeful in this respect. His utilization of a false passport does not fill us with pious horror. I happened to use a false passport myself in the struggle against Czarism and reaction of all kinds. The misfortune does not consist in the fact that Browder succeeded once or twice in deceiving the fascist or other police, but in the fact that Browder is systematically deceiving the American workers. The struggle against this deception is an elementary political task. A Congressional Committee is just as suitable for this fight as the workers' press and the national legislative bodies.

NO SUPPORT TO
OUSTING OF STALINISTS

I give no support, however, to those leaders of unions and "labor parties" who, inspired by their patriotic sentiments, are excluding Communists from their organizations. I consider this policy as harmful as repressive laws against the Communist Party. A union can carry out its task only insofar as it is constructed on the principles of workers' democracy. It is easy to drive out the Stalinists by bureaucratic measures. It is more difficult to liberate the workers from confidence in them. But only this second road can cure the workers' movement and lead it to a higher stage.

The Comintern has lied, deceived, and committed treason to such an extent that the open truth is the sharpest weapon against it. It is just this task which I have taken upon myself to tell the truth about the activities of the Kremlin and the Comintern. I do not promise any sensational revelations. But they are not necessary. What new revelations could surpass the proceedings of the Moscow trials, the liquidation of the Old Bolshevik Guard, the sudden alliance with Hitler, the scandalous zig-zags of the Comintern under the whip of the Kremlin? But I can help to assemble all the different parts of this picture into one whole and to disclose its internal meaning. When the workers understand the reactionary historical role of Stalinism, they will themselves turn away from it with aversion. In order to help the workers in this I agreed to appear before the Dies Committee.

Dec. 11, 1939
L. Trotsky
Coyoacan, D. F.

NOTICE TO ALL
APPEAL READERS

Subscription rates to the Socialist Appeal are now uniform for the entire country.

The rates are \$1.00 for 6 months; \$2.00 for 1 year.

This includes the Bronx and Manhattan counties of New York City where the rate was formerly higher.



THE BRANCHES AT WORK:

"We have had little trouble in getting subscription renewals. All those we have contacted have been prompt in renewing their subscriptions. We are getting some more this week."—Lols Lowell, Philadelphia Appeal agent.

"We want to pass along an idea to the other branches. San Francisco is building a real workers' reading room. Trade union papers, radical papers, magazines, etc. We are building a long table, paper racks similar to the kind in libraries, shelves, good lighting over the tables and a literature stall where current material is sold.

"This reading room has captured the imagination of workers who are convinced it will attract many other neighborhood workers. If nothing is going on they can sit and read for an hour or so. Checkers, chess and a radio make it a kind of workers' club. Later on we hope to have a kitchen going where coffee can be sold."—Bill Morgan, San Francisco SWP organizer.

"We are selling the Appeals almost exclusively in front of union meetings. Wonderful contact has been made that way."—Elsie Meyers, Oakland literature agent.

"Please increase Toledo's bundle order of the Appeal to 50

copies per issue. We are doing very well with our distribution and find that the old order is not enough."—J.R., Toledo Appeal agent.

The following lists represents new subscriptions received in the past two weeks:

NEW YORK CITY	11
Minneapolis	7
Philadelphia	4
Foreign	5
Akron	3
Montana	3
New Haven	3
Washington	2
Massachusetts	2
Los Angeles	2
Oakland	2
New Jersey	1
St. Paul	1
Detroit	1
Ossining	1
Flint	1
Illinois	1
Connecticut	1
Newark	1
Woodstock	1
Kansas	1
Maryland	1
Total	54

Chicago has increased its bundle order by 50 copies and now takes a total of 200 per issue.

Toledo doubled its present order from 25 to 50 copies per issue.

WORKERS' FORUM

NEGRO MILITANT
BREAKS WITH STALINISTS

Editor:
I, Cornelius O'Kennard, have resigned from and have no connection with the Communist Party or any of its organizations. I reject its policies. I find the Stalinist group of leaders have become vicious enemies of the working class.

The economic conditions of the working class today are worse than in 1933. Evictions, unemployment and relief face them every day. The Stalinist leaders sold out the toilers and unfortunately to the "Mis-Dealers," under the disguise of a lot of fancy phrases and political hokum. The struggle of Ethiopia against the Fascist armies of Mussolini and the fight of the Spanish workers against Fascism have been betrayed by the Communist Party. Now, the Russian and German masses have been completely sold out by the Stalin-Hitler "love pact".

Through my experience as membership director of Unit 3C of the Communist Party, as a Negro World War veteran, and as a worker, I find the Communist Party policy dangerous to both Negro and white workers who are trying to organize the workers to rebuild the world on a higher plane. The Communist Party is corrupting and disorganizing this struggle.

I am a revolutionary Socialist. My resignation from the Communist Party does not mean that I am giving up the fight for the working class. I left the Communist Party so I can continue this fight. My aim in life is to do all I can to help build a society of equals—SOCIALISM.

Sincerely,
Cornelius O'Kennard

Chicago, Ill.

LOUIS FISCHER DENOUNCES
STALIN, MOSCOW TRIALS

Editor:
Louis Fischer spoke here on Dec. 10 at Ford Hall and electrified his audience—for he was formerly Moscow's leading apologist—by his denunciation of Stalin's frameups and purges. "Hundreds of thousands of Communists have been shot... With but one exception every Soviet official who returned from Spain has been executed... The purges have created a deep gulf between the workers of the USSR and the Stalin bureaucracy. The masses no longer speak of the government as 'We' but as 'They'." These were some of the significant statements by Fischer.

He said that he and other correspondents, such as Vincent Sheean, had kept silent about the Moscow trials, not because they believed the trials, but because they had "not wanted to hurt the cause of the Spanish workers." Fischer declared that Trotsky had always stood for the defense of the USSR, never directing or supporting any movement against it, having always fought only the corrupt Stalin bureaucracy and its policies.

The Stalin-Hitler pact has not added to the security of the Soviet Union but, on the contrary, said Fischer, has exposed the USSR to a greater danger of attack than it has had to face in all the years of its existence. By this act Stalin has destroyed the Third International.

During the question period a glibbly Stalinist asked whether a firm stand by the Third International against Stalin's policy would not force him to alter it. "That is expecting the tail to wag the dog," Fischer answered.

Jack Espra

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The Negro Question

By J. R. JOHNSON

Hoover has already sent \$100,000 to the Finnish bourgeoisie. Let no Negro give one red cent to this counter-revolutionary campaign on behalf of the enemies of the Finnish workers' movement. The road for the workers is a different road—the road that should have been followed in regard to Ethiopia. That road was pointed. Preparations were made. But the working class and the Ethiopian leaders made the fatal mistake of putting their trust in imperialists.

When Italian fascism began its attack on Ethiopia, workers all over Europe felt great sympathy with Ethiopia.

In 1935, as in 1914 and 1939, the leaders of the big labor parties, Blum in France, Attlee in Britain, and the leaders of the trade unions, Jouhaux in France, Sir Walter Citrine and Ernest Bevin in Britain, Lewis and Green in America, were completely reactionary. They always support their capitalist government in any really serious struggle.

But in Britain, France, Belgium, Spain, among the second and third ranks of the leadership, and especially among the class conscious workers, there arose a strong feeling for working class action on behalf of Ethiopia. All the capitalists and the labor fakers were babbling about League of Nations—in other words, looking to the League of Bandits to arrest another bandit for doing what all the bandits wanted to do themselves. But the rank and file workers, and the leaders nearest to them, were saying that the seamen, who were carrying oil to Italy should, supported by the International Federation of Trade Unions, stop carrying that oil.

If the workers stopped carrying it, both Mussolini and his brother bandits would be in serious difficulty, for these gentlemen fear nothing so much as the independent action of the working class.

Why Mussolini Got Oil

Eugene Jagot, official of the War Resisters International, a small political organization, went to the Brussels meeting of the International Federation of Trade Unions, to urge the trade union bureaucrats to sanction this international workers' boycott. Naturally, Citrine, Bevin, Jouhaux, did not want any such thing. But the pressure was strong, the workers were aroused. There was some possibility of at least a partial success, or even, given certain circumstances, of a great victory.

What certain circumstances? The Soviet Union had been clamoring for both action by the League of Nations and independent action of the workers. Now you cannot do both. Either the workers act by themselves, or they support some action by the ruling class or by some section of it. But the Stalinists claimed that they could support the League of Bandits and at the same time have independent workers' action. If, at this critical moment, when the Federation of Trade Unions was actually meeting, not the Soviet Government but the Soviet trade unions had decided on a boycott and called on all seamen, railwaymen, miners, to refuse to ship any materials to Italy, then those who were fighting at Brussels to break the resistance of the European Lewises and Greens would have been enormously strengthened. What happened was exactly the opposite.

The Stalinist bureaucracy is today and has been for many years the most dangerous enemy of the workers' revolution. Stalin and the Stalinists had been calling for this independent working class action. This was for the record. But the moment there was a possibility of getting the millions of trade unionists moving, they sacrificed this to their alliance with Britain and France. A hasty telegram came from Moscow to Brussels, stating that under no circumstances would the Soviet Union support independent action. They would support the League of Nations, and the League alone.

With this blow from Moscow, the movement for working class action was killed.

The masses of the workers, especially in Europe, meant well toward Ethiopia, but they were misled by the labor fakers, assisted by the Stalinist bureaucracy.

Try to Save Ethiopia Again

There was another attempt made to save Ethiopia by the masses of the people. As soon as the war broke out, thousands of young men black and white, volunteered to form an international brigade, to fight with the Ethiopians against Italian fascism. Mr. G. T. Garratt, a British official in India and a correspondent of the Manchester Guardian, states in his book *Mussolini Over Spain* that in the list of names sent to the Ethiopian embassy there were, after all necessary deductions, five thousand men who could have been organized into a powerful corps, ready to stiffen Ethiopian resistance in those early difficult days.

Why did it not materialize? Because the Emperor of Ethiopia and particularly Mr. Martin, the Ethiopian Minister in London, were tied up with the British Foreign Office officials those imperialist bandits, and were looking to them for assistance and not to the masses of the workers. The result was that this splendid beginning, which could have been the nucleus of tens of thousands of volunteers and millions of dollars, was rejected by the Ethiopian Government in order not to offend the imperialists, those same imperialists who were plotting its downfall.

So that today when these same rascals start talk about "poor little Finland," or poor little anybody, let every Negro ponder over the lesson of Ethiopia. Imperialism is on one side. We are on the other. We look always to ourselves. What was needed, what we need today, is an international revolutionary organization, which will agitate in the working class movement for international working class action for working class aims,—actions such as Eugene Jagot proposed. Such an organization as it grows stronger will organize international brigades, not to carry out the counter revolutionary Stalinist policy, as was done in Spain, but to fight for the socialist revolution and the independence of the colonial countries. Such today is the Fourth International.

Sir Stafford Cripps Goes To India To Pour Oil On Troubled Waters

By BRITANNICUS

Sir Stafford Cripps is going to India. The press dispatch reporting his projected trip states that the British government denies responsibility for him. So does the Labour Party. But the dispatch (and common sense) shows that all the war parties in England will deny responsibility for Cripps if he fails, but will not doubt hail him as a hero if he succeeds.

India's resistance to being used by British imperialism is one of the greatest difficulties of the British ruling class today. The Indian revolution is on the order of the day. Gandhi and Nehru fear that revolution as much as does Chamberlain. Cripps can get them out of it, if any man can. And this is why. Cripps is one of the ablest men in England. A lawyer, he makes perhaps \$100,000 a year. His wife is a millionaire in her own right—and not in dollars but in pounds; and his father is Lord Parmoor, one of the peers connected with the Labour Party. Cripps himself was Attorney-General in the last Labour government. He is not a fool like Major Attlee or a sycophant like the late Ramsay MacDonald. He went to Eton, which in England is much more important than going to Oxford or Cambridge.

WHY CRIPPS IS SO USEFUL TO CHAMBERLAIN

The economic crisis threw him to the left. He began a struggle against the leaders of the Labour Party. When the Ethiopian crisis

began the Labour leaders shouted for war under the flag of the League of Nations. Cripps opposed the war. He said the League was a League of Brigands. He wanted action against Mussolini, but action by the workers. In the House of Commons he made some masterly speeches on the inevitability of war in capitalist society. The Labour Party leaders were not going to have this in war time. They threatened to expel him. Cripps capitulated. "Our differences," he said, "are not fundamental."

As the European situation sharpened and Chamberlain sought collaboration with the fascist powers, Cripps initiated another revolt in the Labour Party. With Cripps was a group chiefly of wealthy or well-to-do men: George Strauss, M.P., a millionaire; Harold Laski, the university professor; D. N. Pritt, K.C., another member of Parliament. They wanted a "more vigorous" Labour policy, they wanted a "genuine" collective security, a "genuine" League of Nations. Also, they wanted a Popular Front. The Stalinists formed a unity agreement with them. Victor Gollancz, the publisher; J. B. S. Haldane, the Cambridge University professor; John Strachey, the Stalinist writer, were others of the clique. Those were the days when the Stalinist Utopia was still collective security. The Labour Left Wing, the Stalinist Party, the Independent Labour Party signed a Unity Agreement and toured the country attack-

ing the leaders of the Labour Party. At that time Cripps was the most popular labor leader in England, for he attacked the reactionary labor leadership in inspiring terms.

When the government tried to whitewash a great mining disaster, Cripps exposed them and made rings around the government lawyers. The miners loved him for it. In the House of Commons, when bills affecting the workers came up for discussion, Cripps always led the attack, getting them altered where possible in favor of the working class. He posed as the friend of colonialists, spoke at their meetings. George Padmore, the Negro revolutionary in his book *Africa and World Peace*, called for the colonial revolution against imperialism. Cripps wrote an introduction to the book.

But the Unity Agreement (and Cripps' popularity) took its members nowhere. The Stalinists in Spain began to murder the POUM. But the POUM was allied to the I.L.P., so that in England Stalinists and the I.L.P. were soon at daggers drawn. The Popular Front in France began to collapse, and the English Labour leaders pointed to it in derision. Came the Moscow Trials, and the Stalinists began to stink. The Labour leaders saw their chance and threatened to expel Cripps. Cripps capitulated.

WEARS HALO OF EXPULSION

But he was soon attacking the Labour Party leadership again. He wanted a "radical" program,

a "real" effort to bring in Russia, a "militant" Popular Front. War was near and the Labour leaders stood for no more non-sense. They expelled him.

Cripps did not mind. He represents a constituency of Bristol and nobody can defeat him there, not even a candidate with the full weight of the official Labour Party behind him.

As was to be expected, he supported the war but opposed the Chamberlain government. On November 5th he spoke to his constituents in Bristol:

"Had my advice been taken in the Spring of this year and a Popular Front organized to defeat this government, we should not now be at war. . . . Russia is out to protect Russia and the new civilization of her own country. . . . She has in fact dealt a great blow to the strength of Hitler. . . . As for the Government, . . . they are quite as unscrupulous as Mr. Lloyd George's war-time coalition at its worst, and even more reactionary. . . . This Government represent those whose one desire is to preserve the colonial and social status quo—the old order, things as they are."

But what to do? Oppose the war? Not at all. Cripps is busy with what should be the "real" aims of the war. In his paper, the *Tribune*, Nov. 10, an editorial dealing with war aims says of India:

"India has provided us with the immediate test, and the demand of the Congress Party for the definition of the war aims of this country enables us to make it clear beyond doubt that we are prepared to give India her freedom, as soon as she is ready to take over the government of the country."

3. "... We'll Make Peace."

MUTINY!

The Mutinies in the German Fleet

by "Spartacus"

Cutting the soap ration was the last straw. The sailors of the *Friedrich der Grosse* had been getting a monthly ration of three tablets of synthetic soap—crumbly, sandy stuff, made without any fat—and one packet of soap powder. In the spring of 1917 it was announced that this wretchedly inadequate ration was to be cut down. The stokers, who had to wash from head to foot every time they came off duty, were especially indignant. A group of stokers and sailors met in the machine room.

It was finally decided that one watch of the "black squad" (stokers and engine room men) would strike. Sachse, the leader of the stokers and the brains of the whole movement, went ashore at Wilhelmshafen and got in touch with some revolutionary workers. They wrote out, by hand, five hundred copies of a leaflet appealing to all the "black squads" in the fleet.

THE FIRST BREACH OF DISCIPLINE

The *Friedrich der Grosse* put to sea. Sachse gave the word for action at midnight. His watch lined up for duty. The lieutenant in charge gave the order to their places. No one moved. Again the order. Still not a move from the silent lines of men. The officer of the watch was sent for, from the bridge. "Present your requests," Sachse stepped a pace forward, as the regulations prescribed, and asked for the old soap ration. The officers hesitated, consulted — and then, spontaneously, the entire front rank stepped forward and men began to talk all along the line. The war machine had suddenly disintegrated into its human parts. It was the first breach of discipline in the High Fleet.

Hastily, the officers promised the ration would be restored. The promise was kept. "But later," writes Wintringham in *Mutiny*, "when men were washing after their four hours below, they were ordered to parade for 'an inspection of cleanliness', and lost three-quarters of an hour's sleep, standing naked while an officer, very slowly and carefully, went over them to see that the soap was really being used, not carried ashore to trade to women."

From this beginning, mutinies spread through the whole fleet in the summer of 1917. At one time, fifteen battleships and cruisers were in the hands of the mutineers. The whole affair is well described in the report Admiral Von Scheer wrote after the mutinies had been brought under control:

G.G. 6025 B1
Headquarters of the
High Sea Fleet
October 7, 1917.

VERY SECRET
The events that have occurred in the course of the past few months among the crews of the conditions behind the lines. . . . Questions of internal policy, which just at that moment were occupying all minds in Germany, naturally found a lively echo on board the fleet, particularly among the older men already accustomed to political activity. And in this way several of them, whose intelligence distinguished them from the others, acquired certain ideas, such as those for example of the Russian revolution. . . .

The movement became dangerous as soon as contact was made with leaders of the Independent Socialist Party in the Reichstag. . . . The aim was to be to gather in the Fleet as many signatures as possible, with which these members of the Reichstag would go to the Stockholm peace conference. . . . They wanted to prove by means of these signed petitions that the crews of the German Fleet were in agreement with them and accepted their aim. And this aim was peace without annexations at the earliest possible moment. . . . With these fine words of "peace soon", it was not difficult to seduce wide circles among the crews, given their state of morale. . . . fighting units under my command are now known in their smallest details. . . .

On all the vessels in the High Sea Fleet command, just as in the German Empire and at the fronts, the conditions of subsistence were defective during the summer. . . . Visits home and complaining letters gave an idea that was not cheering of living

The violence of the revolutionary movement is extraordinary, and it is necessary that all ranks of officers should pay the greatest attention to preventing a new explosion. . . . It is important for commanders to teach their subordinates to remain always, as men in authority, conscious of their high mission — to regard events with candor and assurance, to know not only their duty but their rights in regard to their inferiors, and, strong in this knowledge, to act resolutely and without fear of responsibility. (signed)

SCHERER
INSPIRED ABOVE ALL
BY RUSSIAN REVOLUTION

These 1917 German fleet mutinies arose out of the same general causes as the mutinies in the French army: rigid discipline and miserable food, the economic privations of the sailors' families at home, war-weariness and the

hope for peace aroused by the Stockholm Conference and, above all, the Russian revolution.

A year and a half later, the German Fleet was again in the grip of mutiny—but this time the political situation behind the lines was such that the mutiny developed into revolution. On October 29, the fleet was ordered out to sea in a last desperate attempt to break through the British blockade. The officers talked of going down with the flag flying, but their words awakened no response in the ranks. A strike of stokers forced the postponement of the attempt. Again came the order to put to sea, and this time mutinies broke out on several vessels. Admiral Von Hipper, in command, had no choice but to put back to port again—this time for good.

On November 1st, the sailors began to go ashore on shore leave. At once they got into contact with the trade unions of Kiel. There were meetings, speeches, parades, endless fraternizing between sailors and workers, all through the next few days. At some point in this period mutiny became revolution. Workers' and sailors' councils were set up, police and marines were killed or overpowered when they tried to "restore order", sailors from Kiel went out to all parts of Germany bearing the message of revolution.

"IN THE DAWN LIGHT OF THE REVOLUTION"

The young Sachse, condemned to fifteen years at hard labor for his part in the 1917 mutinies, heard a great hooting of ship sirens one morning. Looking out of his cell window, he saw a vessel move slowly along the nearby canal, its siren at full blast and a red flag at its masthead. That day two sailors wearing red armbands came to the prison. Sachse was set free.

Later on he wrote the story of the mutinies. "In the first phase," he summarized, "there was a movement against the worsening of conditions of life on board. But when Russia shone 'in the dawn light of the Revolution', the movement in the Navy received also a great political impulse. It began to go along a revolutionary political path. The struggle on the liberation of mutineers, the struggle on the *Friedrich der Grosse*. . . were already political struggles. . . . Confused and wavering, our fight nonetheless was a political effort that reached its consummation in 1918 through the Revolution."

CANADA JUDGE REJECTS WATSON APPEAL PLEA

(Continued from Page 1)

many and Italy and the totalitarian regime in Russia. "I said workers in Canada should not rely on the Communists because by their recent pact with the Nazis they had betrayed the workers of the world."

"At that time did you know of the Defence of Canada Regulations?" he was asked. "No."

"You don't think Canada should be in this war?" asked the crown.

"No, I don't approve of the war."

Watson Fight Continues
Frank Watson now faces the possibility of a year in prison, unless \$300 can be raised for his fine, which will reduce his sentence by six months.

The only possibility open for a more lenient sentence is a direct appeal to the Minister of Justice at Ottawa. The Frank Watson Defense Committee is addressing such an appeal to Mr. Ernest Lapointe, and urges all sympathetic individuals and organizations to do likewise.

The committee suggests that the following message be forwarded:

"Rt. Honorable Ernest Lapointe, Minister of Justice, Ottawa. I/we strongly protest conviction of Frank Watson under War Measures Act and severe sentence of one year and urge that you reduce his sentence. I/we also urge repeal of Sections 39 and 39A of Defence of Canada Regulations as a violation of elementary democratic liberties."

Permanent Defense Group Needed

The committee is now contacting other groups interested in civil liberties defense work with a view towards a coordination of efforts in this direction. As it predicted, present developments indicate that many flagrant injustices will be committed. Recently C. H. Millard, Canadian C.I.O. organizer, was arrested under a similar charge.

The committee is endeavoring to hasten the convoking of a conference to establish an active, alert and strong defence organization which will vigilantly guard against undue repressions, instances of which are becoming all too numerous.

ANNOUNCEMENT

NEW YEAR'S EVE Celebration: Philadelphia, Pa. December 31st at 949 Fillmore St. 9 p.m. until ??? Refreshments, Entertainment, Novelties, Dancing, Noise, Breakfast—All for 50 cents. Don't miss

Since that appeared the Indian workers and peasants, pushing Gandhi before them, have made it clear that they have no confidence in anything the British government says. The British government, however, sees that it has to make some concessions.

Who so suitable to put these over as Cripps? The whole world thinks of Cripps as a revolutionary. For years he has been in fierce opposition not only to Chamberlain but even to the Labour Party. He is for the freedom of India, with only one provision, "as soon as she is ready to take over." That is exactly what Chamberlain says. But coming from Chamberlain it means one thing. Coming from Cripps it looks as if it means something else. Gandhi and Nehru now have a chance to use revolutionary words on the same platform with Cripps and put a reactionary "settlement" over on the Indian masses. It is the dirtiest job that any workers' leader can take on at this time.

So near is India to revolution that the British government has had to send this most left of the Labour left wing. In any real crisis all these "lefts" always are ready to help imperialism against its colonies. Cripps has gone back to his masters.

There is a lesson in all this for American workers as well as for British. Many people complain that the Fourth International attacks most fiercely those who are supposed to be "nearest to us." The reason is once more exemplified in the case of Cripps. Those who play with revolutionary policy are the most dangerous enemies of the working class. Cripps can deceive where a Chamberlain could not.

Government Outlaws Canadian Strike

TORONTO, Ontario, Canada—Federal Labor Minister McLarty has notified the steel workers of the St. John's Drydock and Shipbuilding Co. that their strike for higher wages, to meet mounting living costs due to wartime inflation, is "illegal."

McLarty added that the strike was "illegal" because under the War Measures Act, an order-in-council Nov. 7 extended bans on strikes to cover "shipbuilding and repairs intended for the use of the forces of any of His Majesty's naval, military or air forces, or for the use of the forces of any of His Majesty's allies in the present war."

Jamaica Jobless Picket Officials' Homes on Xmas

NEW YORK As Queens Borough President Harvey and City Councilmen Conrad and Christensen settled down to enjoy their Christmas dinners, the Jamaica Unemployed and Relief Workers League set pickets in front of the doors.

"Mr. Harvey, you eat turkey while the Di Bernardo family of sixteen starves," said one picket sign. Another—kidding Harvey who is constantly spouting about 200 per cent Americanism while himself an immigrant—read: "Immigrant Harvey, we want jobs at union wages, not rubber hoses."

During the picketing, President Harvey came running out of his house and, peering into the eyes of one of the pickets, shouted: "I know you. You are one of Popovitch's boys." Harvey and Otto Popovitch, Jamaica unemployed leader, have clashed on many occasions.

Threats by Harvey's neighborhood vigilantes against the pickets were followed by the appearance of police, who confiscated the picket signs. The pickets left under threat of arrest—but not before the police had promised to see to it that the Di Bernardo family would be taken care of by the relief bureau.

Alexander Barmine Coming to America

Alexander Barmine, who as charge d'affaires of the Soviet Union Legation in Athens resigned on Dec. 4, 1937 in protest against Stalin's trials and purges, is coming to the United States soon.

He is now in France, where he has worked in an airplane factory.

'Socialist Call' Mobilizes World For Finland

By FELIX MORROW

Reading the articles and editorials on Finland in the recent issues of Norman Thomas' paper, *The Call*, I was reminded again and again of an appropriate comment provided by a sentence in "War and the Fourth International," the theses on war adopted by our movement in 1934.

That sentence reads: "Only a hopelessly dull bourgeois from a god-forsaken Swiss village—like Robert Grimm—can seriously think that the world war into which he is drawn is waged for the defense of Swiss independence." That sentence must now be modified to include Norman Thomas, Lillian Symes, Gerry Allard and the rest of the National Executive Committee of the Socialist Party, U.S.A. The political and intellectual characterization—hopelessly dull bourgeois—fits them like a glove. They live in New York and Chicago, but that does not abate one bit their hopeless political provincialism.

If these remarks seem harsh, the alternative is even more damning. Either Messrs. Thomas, Allard & Co. do not have the political and mental horizon to understand that the Finnish events are an incident in the imperialist war for the re-division of the earth; or they are agents of the "democratic" imperialists.

Knights In Shining Armor

The editor of *The Call* greeted the Finnish events with an article entitled "Support the Finns!" He concluded with a ringing call: "In that struggle every human being who cherishes freedom will support the heroic Finns." In answer, the Allied Supreme War Council has hearkened to his words.

The next issue of *The Call* (Dec. 16) carried an appropriate eight column banner across its front page: "Finland's Fight: A World Cause." The leading article, by Norman Thomas, left no doubt where he stood in this world cause. "Of course the United States ought to do all that our government and people have done to express their horror at Stalin's crime, that includes foregoing Finland's debt." Thus wrote Norman Thomas.

A full-dress editorial told the world that: "Only among the Stalinists—and those even more talking about 'poor little Finland,' or poor little Trotskyists—is there any illusion left that Russia is a Socialist or even a Workers' state." No, said *The Call*, the real Utopia is Finland:

"The White Guardist generals, including Mannerheim, were deprived of virtually all economic and political power when their estates were confiscated and divided. Mannerheim has played no role whatever in politics for many years." (The editorial neglected to point out that Mannerheim has been reduced to commander-in-chief of the Finnish armies.)

The editorial went on to vigorously denounce the "pretense" that "Finland was acting as the cat's paw of Britain," and to give us the very interesting information that "the British and French governments since the (Nazi) pact have disclosed their determination to appease Russia, even at the price of throwing half of Poland, and possibly all of Finland, into its maw. They were even visibly annoyed when Finland threw its problem into the lap of the League of Nations." They have since, presumably, expressed that annoyance by expelling Russia from the League.

Everything else *The Call* has had to say is of the same stripe. Lillian Symes (Dec. 16) cannot contain her contempt for the Trotskyists who say that Finland is a pawn of the imperialists. "This," she counters triumphantly, "in spite of the fact that both England and France have shown their complete willingness to let Finland go the way of Czechoslovakia and Loyalist Spain and have been assiduously courting Stalin ever since the Stalin-Hitler pact."

S.P. Members Protest

It is no secret that the foregoing reactions of the Socialist Party leadership did not sit well with considerable sections of the membership. Even a congenial reformist like Raymond Hoffes, editor of the *Reading (Pa.) Labor Advocate*, wrote in: "What worries me is his (editor Allard) apparent belief that it has at last become the business of American Socialists to take the side of war and that, however we may have rejected the proposition that the conflict between Britain and France on the one side and Germany on the other was a holy war, we shall not take the same viewpoint when the opponents are Germany's totalitarian ally and Britain's potential pawn." Various branches of the Socialist Party adopted resolutions attacking the pro-war line of *The Call*.

Under pressure of the protests, the official resolution on the Finnish crisis adopted by the National Executive Committee of the Socialist Party (*The Call*, Dec. 23) retreats from the previous positions—but only verbally. Where Allard wrote "Finns," the resolution says "Finnish workers"; it explicitly disavows the proposition that Finland is a socialist state, but then defines it as not a capitalist state either: "We believe that the democracy of Finland differs from that of England and France in degree of workers' control. It is this, taken together with the fact that Finland has no imperialist ambitions and is free from any taint of colonial exploitation, that is a determining factor in our attitude." It asks for "the formation of independent labor committees to aid Finland—in contrast to committees headed by capitalist politicians and perhaps used by them for their own interests." (That "perhaps" is perfect!) "We support the move for the cancellation of Finland's debt"—i.e., they support American governmental actions on behalf of Finland.

What is the difference between the latest resolution and the previous position taken by *The Call*? Verbal only, that is clear. But that raises the question with which we began: are Messrs. Thomas, Allard & Co. simply lacking in the political and mental horizon to understand that the Finnish events are an incident in the imperialist war? Or are they becoming agents of the "democratic" imperialists, like the rest of their brothers of the Second International? Precisely when they abandon their cruder formulations and go over to more subtle, more confusing, but definitely chauvinistic formulations, it becomes more difficult to think of them as merely honest fat-heads.

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The Red Army

A thick veil of censorship and newspaper propaganda hides the detailed facts about the military situation of the Red Army in its invasion of capitalist Finland. There is no first-hand information available concerning the actual condition of the Red Army, its equipment, its food supply, its morale.

The reports in the bourgeois press that the Finnish army is winning victory after victory, decimating the Red Army, that the Red Army is badly equipped, that its morale is low, that it is hungry and on the verge of mutiny—all of this must be taken with more than a grain of salt. Some of the stories read like those of the period of the Civil War (1917-20) when the heroic soldiers of the Red Army were pictured as a stupid, unkempt, cowardly mob.

The capitalist press is fond of comparing the lightning-like speed with which the German army smashed Polish resistance and the slow pace at which the Red Army is advancing in Finland. They deliberately omit from consideration such factors as the more difficult terrain upon which the Red Army is operating and the greater help made available to bourgeois Finland by the Scandinavian, British, French and American capitalists.

Nevertheless, as revolutionary defenders of the Soviet Union we consider it our first duty to tell the truth about the terrible ravages of Stalinism in every field, military as well as economic. Only in this way can the defense of the Soviet Union be strengthened and the world struggle for socialism aided. The dreadful effects of Stalinism are manifest today in Finland, both in the act of an invasion carried out against the will of the Finnish workers, and in the plight of the Red Army. The Red Army is no longer the kind of army that fought in the days of Lenin and Trotsky because the Soviet Union is no longer the same kind of Soviet Union. The difference is embodied in Stalinism.

The soldiers of the Red Army come from the masses, from the ranks of the workers and peasants; the morale and spirit of the masses is reflected in the army and in the way it struggles. By crushing every form of democracy within the Soviet Union the Stalinist regime has destroyed the wonderful spirit and initiative that characterized the workers and peasants in the early days of the Soviet Union. Bureaucratic discipline has supplanted the self-imposed discipline of conscious fighters for the revolutionary cause.

We long ago—precisely at the time when Stalinist intellectuals and even military experts of the capitalist states wrote with admiration of the "great" Red Army—pointed out that the Stalinist regime could not but weaken the Red Army.

When Stalin decapitated the Red Army by executing its best commanders, he struck a terrific blow at the Soviet Union and at the Red army. The Stalinist lackeys laughed at us. The purge, they said, would "strengthen" the army. We can see now how it has been "strengthened" in the battles in Finland.

The Red Army is composed of the same human material as in the days of Lenin and Trotsky, the same workers and peasants who would gladly give their lives for the Workers' Fatherland and for the World Revolution. But the heavy hand of the Stalinist bureaucracy has crushed the spirit of that army by destroying the party that led the workers and peasants to victory, by depriving the masses of the right to think and act without fear of repression.

How happy are the imperialists that Stalin and

his bureaucracy now dominates the Soviet Union instead of the revolutionary leadership of Lenin and Trotsky! How gleefully the lackeys of imperialism write about the weakness of the Red Army under Stalin!

We recognize those weaknesses and we know the causes. The Russian workers, passionately attached to the Soviet Union which they created with their flesh and blood, and determined to defend it against any and all imperialists, must come to recognize that only the overthrow of the Stalinist bureaucracy can guarantee the defeat of the imperialist armies.

The Soviet workers are compelled to fight on two fronts: against the Finnish bourgeois army and against the Stalinist bureaucracy. They must not permit the Finnish capitalist army, fighting in behalf of world imperialism, to be victorious. They must defeat that army; and to do so quickly and decisively, in the interests of the workers of the world, they must overthrow the treacherous and reactionary Stalinist regime which is undermining the Soviet Union and the world revolution.

MUDDLING ALONG

Ambassador Neville Henderson, in the British War Blue Book, reporting a conference with Hitler: "Things are different than they were 125 years ago," says Hitler; and Henderson replies, "Not so far as England is concerned!"

"Cemented By Blood"

Lenin said that he would accept help from the devil and his grandmother, but he never therefore embellished the devil and his relations as fine, upstanding people. In every contact between Stalin and Hitler which becomes public, we are provided with further evidence of the fundamental difference between Lenin's conception of maneuvering among the imperialist powers and Stalin's servility toward the imperialists. The latest instance is the exchange of felicitations on Stalin's birthday. Stalin is not the official head of the Soviet state. By what conceivable diplomatic conception need he express his "thanks" and "gratitude" for Hitler's good wishes? The really greivous touch was in Stalin's message to von Ribbentrop: "The friendship of the peoples of Germany and the Soviet Union, CEMENTED BY BLOOD, has all grounds to be prolonged and stable." (*Daily Worker*, Dec. 26).

Cemented by whose blood? The blood of the anti-fascists in Hitler's execution chambers? The blood of the German communists who fled to the Soviet Union and were murdered by Stalin? The blood of the Polish workers whom Stalin delivered to Hitler?

SUCCESS STORY

John Wanamaker promised his mother never to sell playing cards in his store.

Business Is Business

If a French peasant sells a pig to a German worker, that's "trading with the enemy", a crime punishable by the firing squad. Meanwhile, however, French big business is regularly exchanging Lorraine iron ore for German coal. It's like the difference between stealing and high finance. If you take a few dollars, it's stealing, if you take millions, it's high finance. The French peasant would be shot as a traitor, but the French bankers and industrialists are accounted economic statesmen.

A dispatch from Copenhagen to *Iron Age*, steel trade magazine, last week revealed that, through the medium of Belgian firms, the French and German capitalists are transacting this business in coal and iron. The *New York Times*, in a rather awkward editorial, December 27, seeks to justify the transactions. It insists that, "Although the thought of such trade between belligerents, especially in the sinews of war itself, is repugnant, the ethical point involved is subtle." So subtle, indeed, does the *Times* make the ethical point, that the point vanishes altogether under the skillful hand of the editorial writer.

But let that fact sink home in the minds and hearts of the German and French workers and farmers who stand firing at each other across the Maginot Line: "Our masters go right on doing business with each other while they send us to kill and be killed in these trenches."

Let that fact sink home, as in the last war Russian soldiers learned that the Czarina's court remained friendly to the Germans; as the French soldiers learned that the opposing general staffs had arranged not to bomb each others' headquarters or steel plants.

Let the simple fact really sink home in the minds of those who carry arms, that there is one law for the masters and another law for the oppressed—and not all the editorial writers in the world will be able to prevent those guns from being turned against the master class.

CZARIST BONDS GO UP

We call to the attention of Norman Thomas and other such defenders of Finnish "democracy" the following unadorned news item from the Dec. 23 issue of the *Wall Street Journal*:

"PARIS—A minor flurry in Russian Czarist bonds occurred on the Paris Bourse yesterday coincident with Finnish claims of victories over Soviet Russian troops on all fronts.

"About twenty of these obligations, dating from 1822 onward, have been quoted below five francs for 500 gold francs nominal for many years. Yesterday, some purchasing came into the market, sending the price upward one franc.

Book Bargain

Without much question the book bargain of the year, of many years, is a quarto of 396 pages entitled: *The Structure of the American Economy, Part I, Basic Characteristics*. It is put out by the National Resources Committee, a government research agency, and was prepared by a large staff of economists under the direction of Gardner C. Means (who was co-author, with Adolf Berle, of *The Modern Corporation and Private Property*). It is printed on coated stock, with many charts, graphs and maps, covering everything from interlocking directorates of the two hundred biggest corporations to the amount of money spent by various income groups on food, clothing, tobacco, books, etc. And it can be obtained by sending one dollar to the Superintendent of Documents, Washington, D. C.

Marxists should find this book as absorbing reading as any detective story. They will not expect Mr. Means and his staff to reach any valid conclusions, and in this they will not be disappointed. Mr. Means reaches no conclusions at all, in fact, which is in this case perhaps a virtue. But he does present frankly and honestly—within the limitations of the ruling class outlook—the basic data on which any sort of effective political thinking, Marxist or not, must be based.

Lost: Two Hundred Billion Dollars

In the next *New Internationalist* I plan to analyze and summarize some of the wealth of data in this book. But there is one point made here which is so dramatic an exposure of the insanity of our capitalist system that it seems worth emphasizing here.

Every one knows that during the last ten years there have been from 8,000,000 to 16,000,000,000 American workers for whom the system could not provide jobs. Every one, and especially the unemployed themselves, know to what wretched, subhuman depths of poverty these millions have been reduced. But it will come as a shock to most people to learn that if the available manpower and machines in the country had been employed fully in the eight years, 1930-1937, our society would have produced two hundred billion dollars more goods and services than it actually did.

Two hundred billion dollars is so huge a sum that it might as well be two dollars. When figures reach a certain magnitude, they cease to make any impression on the mind at all. They become abstract concepts, like the number of trillion light years it would take to reach some distant constellation. This volume however, makes it clear what this figure means:

"The significance of this figure of two hundred billions is hard to grasp, but some idea can be obtained by considering what two hundred billion dollars would mean in terms of concrete goods. If all the idle men and ma-

chines could have been employed in making houses, the extra income would have been enough to provide a new \$6,000 house for every family in the country. If, instead, the lost income had been used to build railroads, the entire system of the country could have been scrapped and rebuilt at least five times over. . . . Failure to use available resources meant a lower standard of living for practically every group in the community."

Later on, Means puts it in another way: "If the whole waste of the depression due to idle men and idle machines could have been used to build agricultural and industrial plant, the existing plant could have been completely rebuilt." That is, if we had had an economic system not in contradiction to our productive forces, if socialism had replaced capitalism in 1929, then every steel plant in the country, every cotton mill and packing house and shoe factory and every other industrial plant from Ford's River Rouge plant to the smallest one-room machine shop, every mile of railroad track, every locomotive, every barn and silo and grain elevator—all of this and a thousand other such categories of productive plants could have been duplicated if the unemployed had been fully employed in those eight years. Today we would be able to produce just twice as many goods and services as we actually are able to produce.

Still More

Nor is this all. Even when our cockeyed capitalist system is functioning at its very top form, even in the boom year of 1929, it was unable to make anything like full use of our productive resources. "The Brookings Institution," writes Means, "has estimated that in the peak year 1929 both production and national income could have been increased 19 percent by merely putting to work the men and machines that were idle in that year, even without the introduction of improved techniques of production."

Nor is this all. Means's figure of two hundred billion dollars only goes through 1937. But in the fall of 1937 there occurred the sharpest economic decline in the history of American capitalism. In half a year, unemployment rose by 3,000,000 to a total of 13,000,000; in a year, the farm price index dropped from 128 to 92, the index of industrial production fell from 118 to 76. Only now, under the artificial stimulus of a war boom, is our economy painfully climbing out of the wreckage of 1937.

Means has no estimate of the losses from unemployment in the last two years, 1938-1939. Considering the severity of the 1937-38 slump, it seems conservative to put the loss in the last two years at the same rate as in the preceding eight years. This would mean adding another fifty billion dollars, which would be enough to replace every residential building in the country, from Park Avenue apartments to sharecroppers' shacks.

In the World of Labor

By Paul G. Stevens

Fourth International's Activity In Germany Confirmed

Some time ago, the *Appeal* carried a dispatch quoting a Paris *Temps* report on Trotskyist action in Berlin. This is corroborated by a news report in the Copenhagen *Politiken* of October 26.

"According to information gathered from diverse sources," writes *Politiken*, "the German police is engaged in a widespread raid action against numerous cases of assassination and acts of sabotage. It has organized in Berlin and in other large cities patrols composed of S.S. troops and volunteers to quell disorders resulting from blackouts.

"On a recent night raid, a patrol discovered in the former Communist strongholds of Berlin batches of leaflets bearing the insignia of the Red Front and the words: Down with Hitler and Stalin! Long Live TROTSKY!"

Belgian P.S.R. Calls for Fight Against National Unity Gov't.

In Belgium, the government of "National Unity" under Pierlot and the "Socialist" Spaak is preparing for its part in the Second World International.

War by instituting a tax program which is to bring a revenue of some 1,443 million francs. It is by far the most extensive tax program ever proposed.

Of the 1,443 million, less than 120 million or 8 per cent is to be levied on the trusts and the inheritances of the wealthy. The balance of more than 90 per cent, constitutes taxes on matches, tobacco, coffee, beer, fruit, etc.—in other words, taxes which place the burden of the war preparations squarely upon the shoulders of the working class population of the country.

The reformist Belgian Labor Party, in its official organ, the *Peuple*, fully approves this plundering program of the bourgeoisie. In its issue of November 11, it gives the usual social patriotic grounds for that support: "In the grave hours which we are now witnessing, it is necessary to act rapidly. At a moment when public opinion reproaches the government, although sometimes wrongly, with being too hesitant, it is desirable that parliament give it at once the means of facing its responsibilities which are urgently necessary."

The only party in the country which is mobilizing public opinion against the anti-working class "National Unity" government and its tax program is the Revolutionary Socialist Party (P.S.R.), the Belgian section of the Fourth International.

In its paper, *La Lutte Ouvriere* it concludes an attack on the tax program with the following words:

"At no time has the slogan of the sliding scale of wages, which is inscribed in the transitional program of the Fourth International taken on such importance as at present.

"The working masses must give themselves a clear account that they can no longer depend for their self-defense, upon the reformist leaders whose whole devotion belongs to big banking and industrial capital.

"They can rely only on their own action. They must create their own organs of defense and struggle: Committees of workers, of the unem-

ployed, of the soldiers. Long live the united front of all the oppressed for immediate demands which will put an end to the starvation plans of the capitalist reaction supported by the leaders of the P.O.B. (Labor Party). Make the rich pay!"

Moscow Confessions in England: Pollitt and Campbell Recant

The Kremlin's old wheel-horses in the "democracies" were caught short completely by the Stalin-Hitler pact. Thus, Harry Pollitt, General Secretary of the Communist Party of Great Britain, wrote in a pamphlet issued early in September: "The Communist Party is convinced that the people of Great Britain are united as never before in their determination to win this war against Fascism and the friends of Fascism in Britain, and to end the horror and anxiety that have overshadowed Europe since Hitler came to power. . . ."

Another Stalinist stalwart of People's Front days, J. R. Campbell, whipped himself up into such a frenzy over the "defense of Danzig" for Polish imperialism, that he saw a "Fifth Column" lurking behind the opposition of pacifists to the government's declaration of war. Thus he attacked the Glasgow *Forward*, mouthpiece of the centrist Scottish Socialist Party in the following words:

"No demonstration of the Fifth Column would be complete without a pacifist contingent and so we find the *Forward* demanding 'Should we fight over Danzig' (horror of horrors)."

The final upshot was that Moscow ordered these two to act as scapegoats when the line was changed. Pollitt was "removed" from his post and Campbell was denounced in the C.P. press. Now they have both confessed in the best style of the Moscow trials. In their statements (*London Daily Worker*, November 11) the former says that he "played into the hands of the class enemy, and especially the reactionary Labour leaders, who saw in my attitude the justification of their own policy of supporting the Chamberlain Government" and the latter, that he "slipped into a position of national defense in an imperialist war, involving objectively support for our own imperialism."

A better characterization of the treachery of their People's Front politics could not be given even by us. But two questions remain: (1) Since Stalin was the sponsor of that policy in the first place, why is there no confession forthcoming from him? (2) Since both Campbell and Pollitt are now for accepting the "peace" offer of Hitler, how long will we have to wait until we get their confession of "playing into the hands" of Hitler as well?

At Cairo, Egypt, a university which is older than Oxford ceased teaching only a few years ago that the earth is flat. But it still teaches that Capital is Labor's best friend.

HORROR ITEM

Says James Farley: "Comparisons are odious, but having been in business for a number of years, I think it can be said that the standards of conduct among office-holders and politicians are at least as high as they are in commercial life."

Lest We Forget The Lessons of Loyalist Spain

By FELIX MORROW

Among those who have now joined the fight from Stalinism is Ralph Bates. His case is worth examining for a number of reasons. Bates was one of the most valuable agents whom the Stalinists had during the civil war in Spain. Although in Spain it was a matter of public record that he was a member of the PSUC (the Stalinist party of Catalonia) he passed in England and America, on his propaganda tours, as a "non-partisan anti-fascist"; under this guise his articles, in the *New Republic* and elsewhere, appeared to give "independent" weight to Stalinist alibis.

In the very act of breaking—it takes the form of an article in the December 13 *New Republic*—Bates whitewashes the Stalinist record of betrayal and murder in Spain; once again he repeats his praise of its policy and execution of that policy. In casual sentences following his lavish praise, he makes his only criticism of the Stalinists: "The theological bitterness of the Communist party, however, could be seen in its attitude toward the POUM party. That party's policies would have been disastrous had they been put into effect. That indisputable truth was made the basis for the utterly unscrupulous charge that the POUM was in actual contact with Franco and was working exclusively and consciously in the interests of the fascists." But this criticism is so carefully phrased and so placed that the sum total of what Bates has to say on Spain is that the Communist Party played a glorious role in the anti-fascist struggle.

Bates Conceals More Than He Reveals

It is no wonder, therefore, that Bates confuses instead of enlightens his readers on the present course of Stalinism. Bates begins his article by saying: ". . . we have the duty of understanding how the Russian crime against Finland came to be perpetrated. Only in that way shall we, free liberals and radicals, learn what we have to do." But "we" never learn what we have to do from the article; how the Russian crime against Finland came to be perpetrated is left an impenetrable mystery.

Stalin's policy in Spain was, in reality, an even greater crime against the international working class than his present crimes, for in Spain Stalin intervened against a full-fledged social revolution, forcing the masses back within the limits of bourgeois "democracy" and, in the process, destroying the morale of the workers and peasants and decisively facilitating the victory of Franco and his Italo-German allies. To turn the clock of the revolution backward, to destroy the collectivization of the factories and the land, Stalin had to destroy the very flower of the Spanish revolutionists. I have tried to tell this terrible story in "Revolution and Counter-Revolution in Spain." But even in book-space I could record only a name here and there—Camilo Berneri, Andres Nin, Alfredo Martinez—of the thousands upon thousands of POUM, anarchist, left socialist, Trotskyist and dissident Stalinist workers who were assassinated by the Stalinist murder squads in order to crush the revolution. Bates whitewashes all this, even today, because he was an accomplice in this bloody work and has not the character to come clean now.

Bates and the "New Republic" in 1937

Read again the sentences I have quoted from Bates in which he mildly criticizes the Stalinist attitude toward the POUM. One would never guess from his detached words that he was one of the most effective agents in securing "non-partisan anti-fascist" acceptance of the Stalinist murder policy!

I cite, almost at random, two of his articles, in the *New Republic*, October 20 and 27, 1937. There we read that "three days before the Twelfth International Brigade attacked Huesca in an attempt to help Bilbao, the POUM troops were playing football with the fascists in no man's land." There are venomous sneers at "the revolutionary mystics" who called Negrin's government—the agent of Stalin—counter-revolutionary and who said a professional bourgeois army could not win against the fascists. Free political discussion is denounced and its suppression justified because "this atmosphere was one in which enemy agents could work with ease." When even such an observer as H. N. Brailsford uneasily noted that the remnants of the bourgeoisie were finding a haven in the Communist Party, Bates sought to explain it away with a literary phrase: "Perhaps, after all, a grocer may have ideas about freedom, democracy or even revolution." "Often deliberately dishonest bodies such as the POUM," "the May rising of the POUM and their sympathizers," "partisan control of the front enabled arms to be illegally returned to Barcelona to be used against the Popular Front government," "the POUM proposal would have meant military disaster and was therefore counter-revolutionary," "the enormous stock of arms since found in the illegal possession of the POUM and uncontrolled anarchist groups"—these Stalinist frameup slanders were written by Bates.

At that time I exposed what Bates was doing, confronting him with indisputable facts. One article I wrote was condescendingly published by the *New Republic* as a communication, with Bates having the last word and with an editorial in the same issue (November 10, 1937) upholding him against me. In the two and a half years of the civil war, that was the only article published by the *New Republic* giving the revolutionary side of the Spanish story.

Bates' reply included an especially sinister touch. "Possibly Mr. Morrow believes those funny little notes that were 'secretly' sent to Mr. Trotsky [from the Aragon front] by the Belgian Lutte group. The joke is on Mr. Morrow." Note those quotation marks around "secretly"! That was Bates' coy way of making clear that he, thanks to the GPU, was in possession of the mail sent by our comrades—almost all of them murdered by the Stalinists afterward.

Let Bates Keep That Promise!

There is one sentence in particular of which Bates should now be forcibly reminded. Referring to "Mr. Morrow's obvious debater's trick concerning personalities of the Spanish political scene"—the "personalities" were those assassinated by the Stalinists!—Bates said: "Some day, if by any chance any honest supporter of the Spanish government were troubled by these things, I would be prepared to debunk Mr. Morrow's uninteresting farrago."

Well, Bates, that day is here. Thousands of honest workers and liberals who supported the Stalinist Spanish committees in this country are now evidencing their troubled thoughts about the connection of Stalinism in Spain with Stalinism in Finland. Are you prepared to discuss "personalities"? Are you prepared to defend your role as accomplice to the GPU murder squads?