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Unemployed Get No Lead At WAA Meet

N. Y. Convention Skirts
All Issues Vital
For Jobless

NEW YORK.—A three-day talk-fest in which anything and everything but the pressing problems of the unemployed victims of capitalism was discussed and dealt with—this was the convention of the Workers Alliance of Greater New York held at the Hippodrome last week.

Held tightly in the bureaucratic control of the Stalinists and their stooges, the convention was compelled to listen to dull and lengthy People's Front speeches and to spend an even longer time in debating a raise in membership dues. No time whatsoever was allowed for a discussion on W.P.A. resolutions, the urgent question of relief, or future policies. Resolutions on these and other vital matters were referred to the new joint board without being discussed or even seen by the delegates.

LaGuardia's Advice

First of all, the convention listened to Mayor LaGuardia. The only advice the "Little Flower" could offer the unemployed representatives was this: "If you want something just come to me, but don't picket."

This set the tone. Sam Wiseman, secretary-treasurer of the Alliance, then proceeded to read a People's Front speech—31 pages of it—although this sheaf of Stalinist wisdom had already been handed to the delegates in mimeographed form. This proceeding occupied, with asides, a full four hours. Wiseman called on the unemployed to support LaGuardia, but in the dulcet tones of a good People's Fronter gently chided the mayor for having made a 10 per cent cut in relief recently.

LaGuardia's police, he noted, arrested only 100 W.A.A. members in the last six months as compared with 1,000 in the same period a year previously.... "not that we condone a single arrest," he was careful to add.

"Democratic" Processes

And, of course, the unemployed should support Roosevelt, although the "peace-loving" president is not quite perfect. Collective security, as was only to have been expected, loomed large in the remarks of this 100 per cent Stalinist. His next big point was a threat to outlaw the Progressive group.

Stalinist "democracy" began operating in all its nakedness immediately after the conclusion of Wiseman's long-drawn-out speech. A motion was carried forbidding the distribution to delegates of any resolutions or leaflets not approved by the administration. This motion, aimed at the Progressives, compelled the latter, and others as well, to hand copies of their resolutions to their fellow delegates outside the convention hall.

Lasser On Roosevelt

David Lasser, national president, and Herbert Benjamin, national secretary, following Wiseman's example, spoke at great length. Lasser outlined a national program for the Alliance which contained many good points, but he smeared it with praise of, and a call for reliance upon, the Roosevelt administration, finishing up with a plea for unity and democracy.

Jerry Benton and Moe Howard reported for the Unemployed and W.P.A. divisions. In discussing the reports, a delegate from Harlem, taking the red-baiting cue already given by Wiseman, launched into a denunciation of the "Trotskyist" disrupters in her local.

Shortly thereafter Rhoda Pearson, a leading Progressive, took the floor to expose a case of rank discrimination against a worker on a white collar project who committed the error of not following the Communist Party line. This project is run on strict Stalinist totalitarian lines. Disagree with Browder's latest fad and out you go, while the union stands to one side and applauds. No sooner had Rhoda Pearson mentioned the sacred name of

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150,000 FRENCH WORKERS OUT ON STRIKE TO DEFY DALADIER

Threatens Workers



PREMIER DALADIER

LABOR PLAYING PENNSYLVANIA BOSS POLITICS

Lewis Sets Out To Take
Over Democratic
Party Machine

Repudiation by the A. F. of L. of the slate entered in the Pennsylvania Democratic primaries by Labor's Non-Partisan League and the C.I.O. again underlined the disastrous futility of labor's attempts to play capitalist politics. The A. F. of L. action last week completed the picture of confusion in this significant political struggle.

The powerful trade union movement of heavily industrialized Pennsylvania provides the basis for the rapid development of independent working class political action. Instead of building firmly upon this class basis, Lewis and the other leaders of Labor's Non-Partisan League set out to "capture the Democratic party" in Pennsylvania—that is, they set out to stifle the growing class-consciousness of the workers by keeping them tied in the net of capitalist politics.

Roosevelt Steers Clear

Lewis demanded a place on the regular Democratic slate for Thomas E. Kennedy, vice-president of the United Mine Workers and present lieutenant-governor of Pennsylvania. Governor Earle, New Deal stalwart and leader of the Democratic party in Pennsylvania, refused. The dispute was carried right up to the White House, but Roosevelt, playing safe, washed his hands and declined to intervene.

Earle stood by his refusal; and, after a few days' hesitation, Lewis decided to run an opposition slate in the primaries. Kennedy was put up for the senatorial post. After a week more of jockeying around, the notorious Guffey, already at odds with the Earle group, threw his own machine behind the Kennedy slate.

Thus, Pennsylvania labor, instead of getting a chance to promote its own class interests, is being offered the old choice between two sets of capitalist machines.

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Plenum of S. W. P. Postponed One Week

The Plenum of the National Committee of the Socialist Workers Party has been postponed from April 15 to the following week, and will open Friday, April 22. The change in date was necessary in order to permit a fuller attendance of National Committee members than would have been possible earlier. The anti-war mass rally at the Center Hotel, Friday, April 14, will be held as scheduled.

Red Flag Flies Again Over Paris Factories As
Workers Resist Reactionary Offensive;
Communists Vote For Daladier

A swiftly-spreading strike of more than 150,000 workers in the airplane, automobile, and motor factories around Paris was the immediate response of the French working class to the formation of the cabinet of Edouard Daladier.

Sit-down strikers in the Citroen plants were joined in rapid succession by the 35,000 workers in the Renault factories. Without awaiting orders from their unions or parties workers in one plant after another joined in the movement for defense of the workers' livelihood from the open capitalist offensive.

Floodgates Open

The collapse of the People's Front on the parliamentary field has opened once more the floodgates of proletarian activity. While Daladier, touted as the "strong man" in the present crisis, seeks to break the strikes again by arbitration, the new wave has every possibility of growing into a movement comparable to that which in June, 1936, stopped practically every wheel in French industry.

After two years of futile People's Front governments the workers are once again face to face with the economic and political impasse which provoked that great strike wave two years ago. Now they are freed from the blackmailing of their "own" government. They can feel free to present their demands with less restraint and to throw the whole weight of their revolutionary methods of struggle into the social balance. They understand that the Daladier government is a transition to a "national union" regime and that such a regime will mean a pitiless attack on their political rights and living standards. These they are prepared to defend.

Accord With Rome Looms

Internally the Daladier regime represents a transition to "national union." In the domain of foreign policy it will begin to shift France in the direction already blazed by Britain—agreement with Mussolini, and after him, Hitler, and abandonment of the Soviet Union to its own devices and to Hitler's designs.

Despite this the Socialists and Communists came into the

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NIPPON DRIVE BOGS DOWN IN CENTRAL CHINA

Chiang Kai-shek Given
Absolute Powers
By Congress

Japan's imperialist drive into Central China has been checked north of Hsuechow, the strategic junction of the Tientsin-Pukow and Lunghai railroads which is the key to the Central China plain.

Chinese troops massed along the north bank of the Grand Canal have not only succeeded in checking the Japanese advance but have reconquered lost ground and forced the invaders to retreat northward.

Against Great Odds

These victories—coming after the loss of the northern provinces and the coast to below Shanghai—testify to the enduring power and fighting capacity of the Chinese soldiery who are engaged in a terrific struggle in which all the odds provided by superior arms and equipment are against them.

But the course of the war against the Japanese imperialist invaders—like the fight against Franco in Spain—is not determined by military considerations alone. The Chinese armies are

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U. S. Puts Off Freedom For Philippines

War Strategy In Orient
Causes Revision
of Plans

One of the most significant of all the war moves of the Roosevelt administration was revealed April 6 in the announcement from Washington that an agreement had been reached between President Roosevelt and Manuel L. Quezon, president of the Philippine Commonwealth, whereby the economic independence of the Philippine Islands will be postponed until 1960, that is, 22 years hence.

The announcement followed hard upon the statement of Col. Theodore Roosevelt, former governor-general of the Islands (reported in last week's Socialist Appeal) that when the Islands gained their independence their seizure by Japan was a certainty.

Concession to Bourgeoisie

In 1936, the Tydings-McDuffie Act gave a promise of Filipino independence by July 4, 1946.

Roosevelt placed the act on the statute book, against the opposition of the more rabid imperialists in the government, with the aid of the powerful American sugar interests which have heavy investments in the Cuban plantations.

These slavers of the Caribbean, vicious exploiters of the Cuban plantation laborers, "welcomed" the Philippine independence plan because it meant an end to the duty-free entry of Philippine sugar into the United States. Passage of the act was thus a valuable economic concession to the imperialist sugar interests. But its primary importance lay in the fact that it was a political concession to the bourgeois-nationalist movement in the Philippines.

Japan was at that time already engaged in its march toward a continental empire. Publication of Baron Tanaka's memorandum had made it clear that the Philippines were among the territories marked down as prey by the Japanese imperialists. Japan

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Mink, Well-known G.P.U. Assassin, Is En Route To Mexico

Notorious Stalinist Agent Proceeds South Via
Galveston: Served As Terror Chief
For G.P.U. In Spain

TROTSKY'S LIFE IS MENACED!

By MAX SHACHTMAN

An international assassin is en route to Mexico.

He sailed early this week from the port of Galveston, Texas, for the port of Vera Cruz, Mexico, to carry out the mission assigned to him by his gangster overlords: TO ORGANIZE THE MURDER OF LEON TROTSKY.

In this country he is known to certain circles by the name of George Mink—known to the Philadelphia police as a petty larceny crook—subsequently known to the workers on New York's waterfront as the financially well-heeled boss of the late "Marine Workers Industrial Union" organized nine years ago by the Communist Party.

Worried In Moscow

In Moscow, after the inevitable collapse of his "Union," he was known as an associate of Juliet Stuart Poyntz in the Red International of Labor Unions (the "prointern"), where he worked in reality as an agent of the G. P. U., especially charged with surveillance over American communists and other visitors to Moscow's hotels. He is a relative by marriage of the Stalinist chief, Arnold Lozovsky, head of the Red International of Labor Unions prior to its dissolution.

In 1935, the New York Times reported in a dispatch dated from Copenhagen, Denmark, July 30, that "two Americans, George Mink and Nicholas Sherman, arrested two months ago, were condemned today to eighteen months in prison under the accusation of espionage." The two had been apprehended in Denmark for their espionage activities in behalf of the G. P. U.

More recently, we learn from the charges made by Carlo Tresca, editor of the anarchist weekly "Il Martello," who bases himself upon the secret investigations of the anarcho-syndicalists in Spain, Mink was engaged for more than a year in working as head of the murderous G. P. U. in Barcelona, where, under the name of Alfred Herz, he and his agents were instrumental in organizing the arrest and assassination of literally hundreds of militant anarchists, members of the P. O. U. M. and of the Fourth International.

He Killed Berneri

It was "Herz" and his assistant, "Herman" (Nicholas Sherman?), who organized the foul assassination of the noble Italian anarchist leader in Barcelona, Camillo Berneri and his comrade Barbieri.

It was Mink, whose description tallies fully in every detail with that of "Herz," who told the wounded English militiaman, Parker, on April 31, 1937—the very eve of the famous May events in Barcelona—that "in a few days we're going to get Moulin and all the other goddamned Trotskyists." Shortly thereafter, our comrade Moulin, leader of the Fourth Internationalists in Catalonia, disappeared and has not been heard of since.

It was Mink who was known throughout Barcelona as the man directly responsible for the arrest of John McNair, representative in Spain of the Independent Labor Party of England.

It was Mink—"Herz" who was responsible for the disappearance and probable kidnapping to Moscow of Marc Rein, son of Rafael Abramovich, Menshevik member of the Bureau of the Second International, and of Erwin Wolf, former secretary to Leon Trotsky.

It was Mink—"Herz" who, under the direction of Soviet Consul-General Antonov-Ovseyenko, carried on a reign of terror against all those militants who refused to bow to the totalitarian power of Stalinism in Spain.

Preceded By Other Agents

Now this murderous thug is on his way to Mexico, and when this appears in print, will probably have arrived in the capital, where Leon Trotsky and his wife have been granted an asylum which has proved to be a bone in the throat of the Kremlin frame-up camarilla.

Mink has been preceded by a number of other Stalinist agents. More than a month ago we made public the fact, transmitted to us from France, that a certain Georges Fournial, member of the notorious Stalinist "International of Educational Workers"

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Twelve SWPers Injured By Hoodlum Attack In Chicago

CHICAGO.—An organized gang of Stalinists carried out a planned attack against members of the Socialist Workers Party and the Young Peoples Socialist League distributing leaflets a block away from Earl Browder's meeting in Chicago last Wednesday and succeeded in injuring 12 of the distributors.

After having listened for two hours to Browder's exhortations to the people to rally to the support of "democracy" over 60 Stalinist hoodlums systematically attacked and beat up the 4th Internationalists, who were distributing copies of the "Open Letter to the Communist Party" printed in the Socialist Appeal of March 19.

Led by Claude Lightfoot, prominent Communist Party member, and "Red" Kruck, hoodlum sympathizer of the C.P., the gang ordered the Y.P.S.L. and S.W.P. members off the streets, seized their remaining leaflets, and proceeded to beat them up—men and women impartially. Not satisfied with playing the role of a volunteer capitalist police force, when the uniformed police arrived the Stalinists pointed out the 4th Internationalists to them and demanded that they be arrested.

The "Open Letter" was read avidly by workers who had attended the Browder meeting and witnessed the attack. Many of the leaflets which had fallen to the pavement in the melee were picked up by workers who have ideas of their own about "democracy."

Leon Trotsky

THE PRIESTS OF HALF-TRUTH

The Nation and the New Republic are now playing the sorriest and most ignoble role in the American press. These journals lay claim to the role of oracles of "liberal" public opinion. They have no ideas of their own. The social crisis that began in 1929 and caught the "liberals" unaware compelled them to cling to the U.S.S.R. like a saving anchor. In popularizing the successes of the planning principle and in the cautious counterpoising of this principle to capitalist anarchy, these gentlemen temporarily found a mission. They had absolutely no independent program of action for the United States; but for that, they were able to cover up their own muddleheadedness with an idealized image of the U.S.S.R.

In fact, the "friendship" with Moscow signified the reconciliation of bourgeois liberalism with the bureaucracy which had strangled the October Revolution. The more extensive the privileges of the new leading stratum became, and the more conservative it grew in the defense of its privileges—the greater became the number of its friends among the bourgeois intellectuals and the liberals, snobs who keep up with the vogue of the day. The inspirers of this state of mind became Walter Duranty and Louis Fischer, downright sycophants of the Soviet oligarchy. Under their guidance, small-minded professors, mediocre poets, lawyers who had not succeeded in attaining prominence, bored widows, and ordinary lonesome ladies, seriously began to take their friendship with the Soviet Embassy in Washington for service in the interests of the October Revolution. Many of them displayed a readiness to defend the Soviet Union to the last drop of blood.... not theirs, to be sure, but that of the "Trotskyists."

REED AND... DURANTY

In the heroic epoch of the revolution, the representative of American public opinion in Moscow was John Reed. At that time, Walter Duranty was located in Riga, working as professional calumniator of the revolution and of its leaders. In later years, Duranty became the principal link between the Soviet bureaucracy and "liberal" public opinion in the United States. The moral contrast between John Reed and Walter Duranty well reflects the political antagonism between Bolshevism and Stalinism. If the editors of the Nation and the New Republic tax their ingenuity to avoid an understanding of this antagonism, it is because such petty tradesmen in lies as Duranty and Louis Fischer are incomparably closer to them in spirit than the heroic John Reed.

Is it surprising that the present bureaucracy of the Kremlin

is incomparably more suitable to the democratic oracles than was the revolutionary party of Lenin? Just as in the past they did not understand the laws of the revolution, so today they do not understand the laws of reaction. They hoped that the bureaucracy, not without their benevolent cooperation, would become increasingly respectable and "human." Faith in uninterrupted and automatic progress has not been extirpated, to the present day, from the heads of these people. They have been unable to draw any conclusions at all even from the fact that the democratic petty bourgeoisie, whose flesh of the flesh they are, transformed itself in a few years in Germany into an army of fascism. They were even less capable of understanding the malignant evolution of the Stalinist bureaucracy.

LOGIC OF CLASS STRUGGLE

Lamentable indeed is he who, in the great turns of history, confines himself to empirical conjecture instead of penetrating into the imminent logic of the class struggle. In the psychological sense, the defendants were merely instruments in the hands of the G.P.U. Inquisition. In the historical sense, the Inquisitor, Stalin, is merely an instrument in the hands of the bureaucracy which has landed in a blind alley. The bureaucracy itself is merely an instrument of the pressure of world imperialism. The Soviet masses hate the bureaucracy. World imperialism regards it as a tool that has outlived its usefulness and makes preparations to overturn it. The bureaucracy seeks to dupe the masses. It seeks to dupe world imperialism. It lies on both fronts. So that the truth shall not filter out past the frontier nor filter into the country from abroad, the bureaucracy allows only "reliable" people to enter or leave the country.

It surrounds the Soviet Union with a border patrol palisade such as the world has never seen and with a countless pack of police dogs.

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*W. Duranty, in spite of his genuine Anglo-Saxon "soul" participates in the Moscow frame-ups in a strictly manly manner, side by side with the judges, the prosecutor, the defendants, and in general with people who have a "Russian soul." However, Duranty was not even confronted with the necessity to choose every day between life and death. His colleague, Mr. Harold Denny, a man who obviously has an American soul, even if not of very large dimensions, has speedily adapted himself to the totalitarian regime. Faced with the need of choosing between lean-stomached truth and fat sandwiches, he unhesitatingly took his stand with the sandwiches and Vyshinsky. It is creatures of his stripe who are the source of inspiration for "liberal" public opinion.

Teachers Union Ousted By Joint Committee

Company Union Type of Organization Moves With Reactionary Wave; Conciliatory Methods Of Local 5 Prove Bankrupt

NEW YORK.—Following immediately upon the close of the legislative session in Albany, where it worked feverishly to defeat the progressive teacher and child welfare legislation introduced by the Teachers Union, Local 5, the Joint Committee of Teachers Organizations on April 7, ousted Local 5 from the committee by a vote of 82 to 25.

The ostensible reasons given were "criticism" and "charges" made by the representatives of the Teachers Union in 1936 and 1937 regarding the Committee's actions in Albany.

Line-up With Reaction

This move serves notice on the teachers of New York that the Joint Committee takes its place with the dangerously growing forces of reaction, retrenchment and hysteria as expressed most characteristically by the McNaboe-Devaney bill in Albany and the "Educational Signpost" in the school system. (The "Signpost" is the publication of a newly-organized American Education Association whose purpose is to eradicate radicalism, "leftism," and all progressive education from the New York City schools.)

This action also serves notice on the Board of Education authorities that the Joint Committee will perform well its function of company union and lead in the attempt to smash the only organization which can serve the interests of the classroom teacher, namely, the Teachers Union.

The Joint Committee of Teachers Organizations, originally the Joint Salary Committee, is composed of delegates of some 76 teachers' organizations, the overwhelming majority of which are the dollar-a-year, supervisor-favored, bureaucratically-controlled company union type of organization. While the committee itself contains some 60 per cent classroom teachers, the real control is vested in the self-perpetuating executive committee, where 12 of the 20 members are supervisors, and in the legislative committee, where four of the six members are supervisors.

Demand Reorganization

One of the important demands of the opposition in Local 5 before the Lefkowitz split was that the union demand a reorganization of the Joint Committee to give more democratic representation to the classroom teachers whose dollars are collected each year. The Union had previously adopted a policy of militant campaigning for democratization of the Joint Committee. Under the pressure of the opposition, the committee had already made some slight concessions.

But just at this time, a change took place in the "Rank-and-File" group, now the majority group in the union. Instead of following through on its campaign, and reinforcing the demands of the classroom teachers for democratic representation in the committee, there was a sudden switch to conciliation and friendliness. Nothing must be said or done to antagonize the Joint Committee. The union would win them over by the sweetness and light of People's Frontism. Union teachers in the schools, left without directives, docilely supported the Joint Committee requests for funds, even while it was attacking union bills. The present "Rank-and-File" administration, under the guise of "Progressivism," has proved itself in this respect as well as others to have betrayed the interests of the teachers to the same extent as Lefkowitz did in the old administration.

Oppose False Policy

The Independent Group has been organized as a strong and growing opposition within the union to such policies, as well as to the policy of turning the union into a pro-war organization behind the slogans of "collective security" and support of President Roosevelt's "peace policy." Proposals for a militant campaign against the Joint Committee made by representatives of the Independents within the union committees, were turned down by the administration as recently as two weeks ago, but now, when its leaders can no longer defend their policies before the membership, they hasten to adopt measures they should have carried out long ago, although some of these leaders still continue to mouth empty phrases about "unity."

It is highly significant of the administration's attitude toward company unionism among teachers that they have placed before

the union membership a proposal to affiliate Local 5 with the National Education Association (not to be confused with the American Education Association), the national company union of teachers, supervisor-controlled rival of the American Federation of Teachers.

Militant Slate

In the elections of officers and executive board to be held next month, the Independents are running a full slate against the administration upon a program of militant action as opposed to playing around with Democratic and Republican politicians, exposure of the role of the Joint Committee and an active campaign for its reorganization, opposition to the pro-war policy of collective security and for a sound democratic union administration in the interests of all the teachers. Only upon such a program can the union fight off its many enemies and continue to grow as a force in the New York school system.

Rochester Unions Begin Organizing Jobless Workers

AFL Affiliates Support Drive To Unite Unemployed

ROCHESTER, N. Y.—With the aim of bringing unemployed workers directly into the recognized trade union movement, steps are being taken to organize W.P.A. workers of Rochester under a charter of the International Laborers Union, A.F. of L. affiliate, it was announced here last week.

The plan has received the full endorsement and support of the Central Trades and Labor Council, local lodges of the Railway Brotherhoods, and several locals of A.F. of L. affiliates.

First Charter Granted

The new charter, first granted in this area, provides for reduced initiation fees and low monthly dues. Such an organization, according to Fred Struble, president of the local, will enable union workers who become unemployed and are forced to drop their regular union affiliation, to continue to have their welfare guarded through union connections.

The group instrumental in gaining the charter were the founders of the Workers Alliance in this section, who have since resigned because of the disruptive activities of the Stalinists. The Workers Alliance, at one time 1,500 strong, has dwindled until a scant 40 members remain. The Stalinists, following on a local scale their national line, have consistently slandered and attacked all militants in the unemployed field, and have reduced the Rochester Workers Alliance to an impotent Communist Party group.

Fur Strike Ends Its Second Week

NEW YORK.—A large force of police are patrolling New York's fur district as the general strike of fur workers nears the end of its second week. Efforts of scabs to continue work have already met with stern resistance from the strikers, and street skirmishes have resulted in several arrests by cops busily engaged in protecting the strike-breakers.

Mayor LaGuardia, who only last year received the enthusiastic endorsement of the Fur Workers Union, has placed his police force at the disposal of the fur manufacturers. A special detachment of 75 officers are on strike duty, and these are augmented by mobile reserves that speed to the district at the slightest sign of militancy from the pickets.

Despite the police, the workers are keeping the fur shops closed. Well-organized squads roam the district, picket lines are strong, and a series of meetings keep alive the spirit of the workers.

Meanwhile, the Stalinist leaders of the furriers, who would not dream of embarrassing the mayor by exposing his use of the police against the strikers, continue to attempt using the mayor's offices for settling the strike.

Stalinists Turn Out For St. Louis Rally

ST. LOUIS, Mo.—A large and stirring anti-war rally was held here by the Socialist Workers Party on April 6, the 21st anniversary of America's entry into the world war.

The audience, including 10 rank-and-file members of the Stalinist party, greeted with prolonged applause the call of B. J. Widick, national labor secretary of the S.W.P., for them to join our ranks for a revolutionary struggle against imperialism and fascism.

"Not since I had 15 rank-and-file members of the Stalinist party at the Indiana Harbor anti-war rally have I seen such a large group of awakening Stalinists at a meeting," Widick told the audience.

In both instances the rank-and-file violated Communist Party orders to boycott the S.W.P. meetings.

NMU OPPOSITION SHOWS LACK OF CLARITY IN POLL

Various Elements Mixed In 'Rank and File Pilot' Group

NEW YORK.—As the first union-wide election in the National Maritime Union began last week, an opposition slate, issued by the group around the Rank and File Pilot, anti-Stalinist weekly newspaper edited by Octave Loones, was circulated on the New York waterfront.

Reprinting the ballot, using red ink and the hammer and sickle emblem to identify the Stalinists and their stooges, the leaflet called on the members to elect "sea-going rank and file seamen" to various posts.

Fly Progressive Colors

While the sponsors call themselves the "progressive, sea-going rank and file" the slate actually represents an amalgam of all the various opposition elements stirred up by the bureaucratic rule of the Stalinist clique in control of the N.M.U. Despite the presence of real militants and progressives on the slate, the candidates present no clear cut program nor do they represent a genuinely progressive group that stands by itself.

This is shown clearly by the support offered Joseph Curran, candidate for president and present general organizer of the N.M.U. Curran, who in the past has exemplified the worst aspects of Stalinism, receives the endorsement of this anti-Communist group on the basis of his left-handed slap against the Communist Party, delivered at a meeting of the deck department some weeks ago.

The presence of Curran's name, which stands for the policy of conciliating and kow-towing to the government and the ship-owners alike, is in strange contrast to the names of genuine militants, such as Arthur Thomas and Charles Torres of the Gulf, or Jerome King of the New York District. Nor is the name of Jesse Nohokai, a Hawaiian sailor and certainly a real rank-and-file, completely in harmony with some of the former I.S.U. office-holders backed in the slate.

Militant Group Weakened

The position of the real militants and progressives with the N. M. U. is made less tenable, rather than strengthened, by the support of this group. The tactics of the group, attacking their opponents simply as "Communists" and avoiding a presentation of a genuine program for defending the interests of the seamen, opens the door to all sorts of shady elements. The time may come when the real militants will find it difficult to explain their association with this group.

The struggle against the "Communists" must be tied up with the struggle against opportunists of all stripes, whether they be the henchmen of Stalin or discredited fakery.

The ranks of the real progressives can be kept free of pie-crad artists, disgruntled fakery and outright company men only by following, in action, a program against the shipowners, against the government boards, and all who would stand in the way carrying out such a program.

Two of the delegates represented the Socialist Party, one was from the S.P.-controlled National Lawyers Guild, while a third represented "Canada" (!) The "observer" was sent by the German Anti-Fascist Club.

The program as outlined by John Levine, chairman, consisted in propagation of the six-point platform of the "Keep America Out of War" movement, includ-

C.P. Seeks To Prevent United May Day Parades

Strait-jacketed Committees Exclude Militants From Meetings In Boston, Lynn, Newark To Prevent Unity

BOSTON.—"Trotskyites" were excluded from the United May Day Conference called by the Communist and Socialist parties of Boston last Sunday, when representatives of the Socialists and Lovestonites bowed to the demand of the Stalinists to deny seats to representatives of the Socialist Workers Party and the Young Peoples Socialist League.

A minority report from the credentials committee, submitted by Socialist and Lovestonite delegates, asking that the credentials of the S.W.P. and Y.P.S.L. delegates be recognized, was voted down, 40 to 11, by a conference packed with Stalinists and their stooges.

A motion by one of the delegates that the floor be given to a representative of the S.W.P. for five minutes was also voted down.

Revolutionists Barred

During the debate, the delegates under discussion were barred from the hall and given no opportunity to reply to the slanderous accusations of the Stalinists. Philip Frankfeld, state secretary of the Massachusetts Communist Party, denounced the Trotskyites as fascists and enemies of the working class, basing his charges on criticism of the conduct of the Communist Party made by members of the S.W.P. during the red-baiting hearing at the State House.

Delegates representing the Socialists and Lovestonites took the floor to defend the right of the Fourth Internationalists to participate in a united front on May Day, but finally capitulated to the majority decision of the Stalinist-dominated body. A courageous refusal to abide by any such outrageous proposition would have forced the hand of the Stalinist disrupters.

That the Socialists and Lovestonites may still withdraw from such a farce of a "united front" is not impossible, especially as their organizations in New York have rejected the high-handed proposals of the Stalinists. It is possible that Boston may yet have a real united front on May Day, a united front that will permit the participation of the revolutionists.

Same Tactics In Lynn

LYNN, Mass.—Last Saturday morning the Stalinists here staged their annual clown-play of "kicking out the Trotskyites" from their private May Day conference.

The May Day call this year was signed by several trade unionists. Although some of them are sincere militants, they nevertheless represented only themselves. It goes without saying that invitations were not sent to the Socialist Workers Party or organizations sympathetic to it.

Crash Conference

Nevertheless, delegates from the S.W.P., Local 134 of the Workers Alliance, and the Workers Defense League, crashed the "Pre-May Day Conference," which met in the hall of the fake "American Committee for Aid to Armenia."

A dozen delegates were present from the International Workers Order, the Russian Club, the American League for Peace and Democracy and other Stalinist puppet set-ups. The only bona fide union which had responded to the call, the Lesters Local of the United Shoe Workers of America, was unfortunately represented by two dyed-in-the-wool Stalinists.

No sooner had the meeting opened than the assembled Stalinists moved to the task of "kicking out the Trotskyites." They started out by claiming that the uninvited organizations "did not exist" and therefore could not be represented. Jack Green moved they be requested to leave and the question was immediately called. Our comrades vigorously protested these tactics and Green thereupon delivered a lynch speech, calling upon his followers to throw out "these stinking elements."

Our comrades departed amid a chorus of epithets. It appears probable that the Lesters will repudiate the report of their delegates and withdraw from the conference, thus leaving the Stalinists high and dry in People's Front isolation.

The wrecking tactics of the C.P. have so disgusted union labor in Lynn that the workers are apathetic toward any kind of May Day celebration. The S.W.P., however, will hold its own May Day meeting and endeavor to make it a genuine working class celebration.

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Decision to exclude our delegates was taken at a conference session thoroughly packed by Stalinists and their stooges and noted for the almost total absence of delegates from those trade unions which at a previous session had voted to seat the S.W.P. delegates.

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Adoption of the resolution was voted after a full and lively discussion of the war policies of the Roosevelt administration and of certain forces within the labor movement.

The local is preparing to demand, when the present contract expires, even better conditions than those obtained as a result of their 100 per cent effective sit-down last Fall in the plants of the American Bronze Powder Company. Delegates to the Newark May Day Committee were instructed to maintain a firm anti-war, anti-collective security stand.

LABOR PLAYING PENNSYLVANIA BOSS POLITICS

Lewis Sets Out To Take Over Democratic Party Machine

(Continued from page 1)

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Stalinists Back Democrats

It goes without saying that the Stalinists, who have given up even the pretense of independent working class politics, are among the most active Democratic party hacks in the primary fight.

The A.F. of L. condemnation of the Kennedy slate has been pointed to by Labor's Non-Partisan League and by the Stalinists as an act of "treachery." True enough; and true also that the condemnation sprung from thoroughly reactionary motives. But the action of L.N.P.L. and the Stalinists in ham-stringing the workers and keeping them bound to the Democratic machine at just the time when the workers themselves are ready to take a mighty step forward is no less treachery.

The workers are going to have to take things into their own hands if L.N.P.L. is not to prove merely and exclusively one more additional yoke around their necks. It will never become in any sense an instrument of class action by relying on the good will of Lewis, Kennedy, and Browder. The Pennsylvania experience is proving this much in a very thorough manner.

Regimented Vote

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WAA Meet Sedulously Skirts Vital Problems

(Continued from page 1)

the C.P. than the Stalinists turned the convention into a haggling contest, with the female Stalinists having the edge. In the midst of the bedlam, Wiseman appealed to the chair to rule Rhoda Pearson out of order. Chairman Willis Morgan promptly obliged.

Stalinists Run Riot

Appealing the decision of the chair, Neil Harrison for the Progressives pointed out that a previous speaker had attacked the Trotskyists and had not been ruled out of order. In scathing terms he lashed the Stalinist totalitarian conception of democracy while the Stalinists howled and booed.

Lasser took over the chair and gave the floor to Rhoda Pearson, who pointed out that it was the truth of her remarks which was causing all the "indignation." She declared: "If any other party, from the Republicans to the Trotskyists, is attacked—that's okay. But once the Communist Party clique comes under fire the speaker is stopped."

Charge Retracted

A motion to refer Pearson's charges to the Rules Committee was carried by the Stalinist-packed convention. Harrison then moved to refer the charges of Trotskyist disruption to the same committee. This caused a little panic among the red-baiters and Campbell, one of the Harlem delegates, a Stalinist, took the floor and admitted that they actually knew of no Trotskyist disruption in their local. "It was just a slip of the tongue," he explained.

At a meeting of the rules committee next day, arrangements were made to withdraw the entire matter from the convention floor and to have an "impartial committee" investigate Stalinist discrimination on W.P.A. projects.

Finances took up a large part of the convention's time. It was here that the only division in the monolithic Stalinist caucus appeared. Membership cards were increased to 30 cents and dues stamps "standardized" at 25 cents for unemployed. The battle was fought over a matter of two cents. Sam Wiseman, as city treasurer, led a fight to increase

the price paid to his office for dues stamps from 10 to 12 cents. He finally went down to defeat after fighting valiantly for the two cents. Harrison made a determined effort to have the dues changes referred to a referendum vote of the membership but was voted down.

A number of resolutions, though none dealing with the immediate and vital problems of the unemployed, were reported out by the resolutions committee. On the question of the attitude of the Alliance toward the American Labor Party, the committee was divided. The two Socialist Party members on the committee brought in a resolution opposing the People's Front line of the Stalinists. But at the last minute, they withdrew their own resolution and united with the Stalinists to carry a weasel-worded People's Front type of resolution which called, inter alia, for cooperation with the American League for Peace and Democracy.

The militant anti-war resolution of the Minneapolis Central Labor Council, presented by David Cowles for the Progressives, was of course voted down.

C. P. Slate Elected

The rules committee, which included two S. P. members, brought in a slate for the new joint board, completely dominated by the Stalinists although including four S.P. nominees. A minority of the committee nominated and spoke for Neil Harrison, who was voted on and defeated. Other nominees from the floor met the same fate and then the combined C.P.-S.P. slate was put to the vote and elected en bloc.

The convention, taken as a whole, presented a perfect picture of a Stalinist-controlled organization and as such quite incapable of advancing the true interests of the unemployed workers. As long as the control of the Stalinists lasts, the Alliance will continue to be an instrument of class collaborationism and collective security wangling. The lesson for the unemployed—Break the Stalinist stranglehold!

Appeal Army

It is not too late to place your orders for extra copies of the May 1st issue of the Appeal which promises to be as popular as the anti-war issue. Let's not repeat the mistake of failing to order in time. Our press run depends upon all locals getting their orders in at once.

Nor is it too late to send greetings to the Socialist Appeal for the special May Day edition. All branches and locals have been notified of the scale of prices. Every employed party member and sympathizer should be able to take at least one column inch. Send Your Greetings in at Once.

It is gratifying to see locals that have been comparatively inactive in the past as far as the Appeal is concerned, taking hold and going to work. Allentown, Pennsylvania, has appointed a new literature agent, Ruth Quorio, who, with the cooperation of the Allentown comrades, has started putting the local on the map by increasing the bundle order and straightening out accounts.

Joseph Almansburger, literature agent in Rochester, New York, is also doing good work for the Appeal. He has increased his bundle order twice in the past month.

And of course Karl Shier in Chicago must be mentioned in this column. He has more than doubled Chicago's bundle order since the drive started, brought the local out of debt, and still goes on.

If Abe Miller in New York puts all of his ideas into practice, we'll have to find new presses for the Appeal. The present one

Mink, Notorious G.P.U. Agent, En Route To Mexico

STALIN'S HIRELINGS AIM FOR TROTSKY

(Continued from page 1)

and known in Paris as an employee of the G.P.U., had arrived in Mexico on an obscure mission.

Subsequent to his arrival, there came to Mexico a well-known Stalinist spokesman, recently returned from Spain, where he fought the Spanish Civil War from a comfortable hotel room in Barcelona, "Captain" Ralph Bates.

Only a few days ago, finally, we learned of the order given by the Communist Party in New York to a prominent fanatical party member who served as Agitational-Propaganda Director for the party in New Jersey and prior to that in Pittsburgh, that she leave immediately for "work" in Mexico.

Why Is Mink Going To Mexico?

Why this "concentration" on Mexico? Above all, why the dispatch of the international assassin of the G.P.U., George Mink?

He can have but one mission: to murder Leon Trotsky. It has already been established officially by the Swiss police that one of the escaped murderers of Ignace Reiss, who went under the alias of Rossi, or Rous, but whose real name was Roland Abbatte, had in his room when it was raided a map of Mexico City and its suburbs and a duplicate of his application for a visa to visit Mexico. The purpose of his visit was unmistakable.

So is the purpose of Mink's visit! The Stalin regime has cold-bloodedly framed-up and shot down the whole generation of Bolsheviks who made the October Revolution possible. The veriest handful of them are still alive in the Soviet Union and their days are numbered by the Borgias in power. Only Leon Trotsky has thus far been out of Stalin's reach.

Now the long, blood-stained arm of the G. P. U. is stretching out across continent and sea to put an assassin's bullet through the heart of the great survivor of the October generation.

Let Stalin's skulking gunmen bear this in mind: We know their methods; we know their purpose; we know their names.

And let them—and above all, their chief—bear this in mind, too:

The international proletariat has already fixed the responsibility for any harm that will befall Leon Trotsky. The assassins are known in advance. They will be judged accordingly.

U. S. Puts Off Freedom For Philippine Islands

(Continued from page 1)

ese influence in the islands was growing.

Promise of Independence

Roosevelt, viewing the Far Eastern scene and the Japanese threat to American imperialist interests, considered it good policy to grant the Philippines at least a promise of independence in order to ensure that when the showdown of war came the native ruling class of the Islands would side with American and not Japanese imperialism.

Now comes the announcement that "economic" independence is to be postponed until 1960! The point has not been lost on Washington "observers." They believe that although the agreement between Roosevelt and Quezon leaves unchanged the date for Philippine political independence—July 4, 1946—that date, too, may eventually be affected.

The Tydings-McDuffie Act was never more than a sham. No sooner was it passed than propagandists for American imperialism began warning of the dire economic consequences to the Philippines which would result from independence. In particular, they were able to point out that the abolition of tariff preferences which insure a duty-free market in the United States for the principal products of the Philippines—sugar, hemp, coconut oil—would bring utter ruin to the Islands, since there would be little possibility of placing them in the free, competitive markets of the world.

Bourgeoisie Crawls

This propaganda worked. The Filipino bourgeoisie, with Quezon as their spokesman, came crawling to Washington on all-fours to ask for guarantees of a continued market in the United States after independence became effective.

The exploited workers and peasants of the Philippines, however, take independence seriously. It is they who have supplied Quezon with his mass following. These downtrodden masses know the economic deprivation and the oppression which have been caused them by American imperialism since its seizure of the Islands from Spain forty years ago. Quezon could not, therefore, ask for cancellation of the independence act without sacrificing his own following. Nor could Roosevelt cancel the act without risking an upheaval in the Islands. Hence the stratagem of postponing only "economic" independence.

Warning to Japan

The Washington observers see

SHARFIN, GARBER RELEASED ON BAIL

Arthur Sharfin and Ossip Garber, New York Stalinists indicted recently by a Federal Jury on a charge of aiding in obtaining the fraudulent passports used by Mr. and Mrs. A. A. Rubens, G.P.U. agents now in prison in Moscow, are at liberty under \$1,000 bail. No date has been set for trial, as the Federal officials are waiting to arrest other persons named in a sealed indictment returned by the same jury which indicted the two Stalinist associates of the Robinson-Rubens ring.

Rumors are circulating in New York that Rubens, before leaving for Moscow, made attempts to contact liberal members of the American Committee for the Defense of Leon Trotsky.

In this connection it was recalled that when the Robinson-Rubens case first broke in the press, a Hearst reporter interviewed Dr. Horace Kallen, professor at the New School for Social Research, suggesting that Dr. Kallen might have been acquainted with Rubens because of Kallen's membership on the American Committee.

Kallen, as the Appeal stated at the time, failed to identify the Rubens photographs of Robinson-Rubens, and denied all knowledge of him. Efforts to trace the new rumors to their source have thus far proved unsuccessful.

Will Improve Panama Canal For War Uses

(Continued from page 1)

struction of super-battleships of 45,000 tons.

For War Vessels

These vessels would not be able to negotiate the canal as it is at present, a fact which was amply demonstrated a few years ago when H. M. S. Hood, largest battleship of the British fleet, just succeeded in passing through the locks with a clearance of only a few inches on either side.

No attempt is made to hide the fact that the new construction work on the canal is regarded primarily as a war measure. The Washington bureau of the United Press, in reporting the scheme in a special dispatch to the New York Sun April 6, clearly indicates its connection with the announced intention of the Roosevelt administration to lay down "the world's biggest battleships."

Originally it was intended to dig a new canal across Nicaragua at an estimated cost of \$1,000,000,000—a canal sufficiently wide and deep to accommodate vessels of widest beam and deepest draft, vessels in the battleship category. It was never pretended that the facilities of the Panama Canal were inadequate for commercial shipping. The decision to improve the Panama Canal is now announced as a substitute for the more costly Nicaragua project.

Offensive Aims Revealed

As the war plans of the imperialist government at Washington take on ever wider scope, their offensive aims become clearer. The lie that the vast armaments on land, on sea, and in the air will be used only for defending the shores of the United States and that U.S. imperialism retains only the most "peaceful" of intentions with regard to its rivals—especially its great rival in the Pacific, Japan—is becoming more and more an exploded myth.

Secretary of State Cordell Hull's opposition to a "stay-at-home" policy for the U.S. Navy, or the establishment of a "naval frontier" beyond which American warships should not operate, as reported in last week's Socialist Appeal, has been followed by the equally revealing remarks of Major R. Ernest Dupuy of the Army General Staff.

Speaking in the Hotel Warwick, New York City, before the Phoebe Apperson Hearst Memorial Post of the American Legion on April 5, this spokesman for the Army ridiculed the notion that the armed forces of the United States either could or would be employed invariably in a strictly "defensive" manner.

A. B. C. of War Strategy

Adequate defense, he was reported to have said, involves "not only the ability to defend ourselves but the strength to counter attack.... the theory of adequate defense, per se, is just a theory and no more. To be on the defensive, necessity requires

Where Is Juliet Poyntz, Missing Now For A Year?

Tresca Links Disappearance To Agents Of G.P.U.;
Stalinists Maintain Tight-lipped Silence

Where is Juliet Stuart Poyntz? Carlo Tresca, the well-known anarchist leader, asks this question in the March issue of the *Modern Monthly*. We have asked it before and intend to keep on asking it until an answer is forthcoming to clear up the mystery of her sudden disappearance last year.

Juliet Poyntz was for a full 15 years and more a prominent public figure in the activities of the Communist Party of this country. In May, 1937, in conversation with Carlo Tresca, whose personal friend she had been for 20 years despite their political differences, she confessed disgust with the Stalin regime in Russia and with Browder's Communist Party.

Had Reason to Fear

The Stalinists in this country knew of her attitude and had reason to fear her because she might disclose some of their secret nefarious doings. For Juliet Poyntz had quit public activity in the Communist Party in 1934 to become an agent of Stalin's G.P.U. According to Carlo Tresca, witnesses are available who knew her through her work as a G.P.U. agent. As late as 1936 she was seen in Moscow in the company of George Mink, a well-known agent of the G.P.U. and an equally well-known member of Browder's Communist Party. Mink served a jail sentence in Denmark as a Soviet spy and then went to Spain, where, according to Tresca, he directed and participated in the assassination of Camillo Berneri in Barcelona on May 6, 1937.

Disappearance of Juliet Poyntz is linked in some quarters with the activities in New York of one Schachno Epstein, alias Joseph Berson, who for a time was editor of the Stalinist *Daily Freiheit*, afterwards becoming an agent of Stalin's G.P.U.

Epstein was seen in New York in May, 1937, shortly before Juliet Poyntz disappeared, by several witnesses. Tresca saw Epstein and Poyntz together at the end of that month, one week before Poyntz vanished. Epstein sailed for Europe on the liner Queen Mary on August 11, 1937.

Stalinists Keep Silent

The linking of Epstein with the disappearance of Juliet Poyntz has brought no protestations whatsoever either from Epstein or from Browder's Communist Party. In fact, they have maintained a silence which suggests guilty knowledge, especially when one considers the volatility with which the Stalinists

that an offensive be launched." This, of course, is one of the first things to be learned by a student of war strategy. The workers of this country must learn it, too—if they are not to be caught up in the toils of the imperialist war machine and made the unresisting instrument of the robber aims of their exploiters.

That the armaments of U. S. imperialism are to be used, can only be used, and will only be used for imperialist robber wars and not for any idealistic ends such as preserving "democracy" or protecting the rights of weak nations, was made clear by Major-General Smedley D. Butler in testimony last week before the Senate Naval Affairs Committee.

All for Wall Street

This enfant terrible of the leathernecks, as reported in the *New York Times*, April 9, said he had used up 15 years while in active service as an officer of the U.S. Marines "going about the world guarding Standard Oil tins." He added that he had participated in twelve expeditions, outside the United States, which were missions largely in the interest of Wall Street.

The gallant general never thought to enlighten the people of the United States concerning the piratical nature of his expeditions while he was engaged in them. Today, retired, he can blow off steam to the discomfort of the big army and navy men, who, in concert with the Wall Street financiers and the capitalist press, are conspiring to make the country war-minded, to dupe the masses into supporting the next piratical war expedition which is being prepared at ever-increasing speed.

Where Is She?



JULIET STUART POYNTZ

who kidnapped her and where is she now? If she is dead, who killed her?

These questions cry aloud for answer. We shall keep on asking them until answers are forthcoming.

History Of Polish C. P. Undergoes Refurbishing

Falsifiers Essay Task of Explaining Away All Past
Blunders and Failures of Party Leadership

By ERNEST ERBER

One of the features that distinguished the last Moscow Trial from its predecessors was the attempt of Stalin-Vysshinsky-Yezhov to explain the programs of the Left Opposition and the Bukharinists during the period of the open factional struggles as having been merely a cover for counter-revolutionary aims. By this method the whole history of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union can be re-written and all blunders and failures explained as the activities of spies and wreckers, disguised as faction leaders.

It now seems that this method is just as applicable to the problems of explaining the past history of the various parties of the Communist International. The current issue of the *Communist International* contains the first attempt in this direction.

History Rewritten

In an article called "Provocations at work," one of the present leaders of the Polish Communist Party sets out to rewrite the history of that organization. It now develops that the Polish party has for years been led by secret agents of the "Defenziva," the secret police organized by Pilsudski.

These "spies of Pilsudski" are now blamed for the idiotic ultra-left slogans which the Comintern raised during certain periods of its history, particularly from 1929 to 1934. The author of the article says that "they (the spies) systematically distorted the line of the party in the attempt, on the instructions of the 'Defenziva,' to present the Polish Communist movement in such a politically ugly light as to shake the confidence of the masses in Communism, and to enable the Polish 'Defenziva' and Polish fascism to say that the Communist movement is alien to the Polish people. Hence, the fact that the agents-provocateurs put forward all kinds of 'extreme slogans' like those imposed upon the soldiers of the Warsaw garrison by provocateur Panitz in calling upon them to murder their officers."

Factionalism a Crime

The Polish C. P., like the other parties of the Comintern, was beset with factional struggles under the international leadership of Stalin-Zinoviev, and after 1926, of Stalin-Bukharin. Since factional struggles are now regarded as crimes in the Stalinist, the fights in the Polish Party are attributed to "Defenziva" agents. "A most important method resorted to by the Pilsudski clique in disorganizing the Communist movement was the incitement of factional struggle inside the Communist Party of Poland. The Polish 'Defenziva' had its agents in both factions, both in the 'majority' and in the 'minority.'"

The Left Opposition severely condemned the criminal policies of the Comintern in Poland in 1926 when the Polish C. P. supported Pilsudski in his military coup. This is also explained today by the Stalinist "historians," who declare that "during Pilsud-

SOVIET UNION NOTES

Red Army and Navy Feel Effects Of Purge—
New Party Elections To Be Held
To Fill Vacant Posts

By JOHN G. WRIGHT

Crisis in the Soviet Armed Forces

An extensive article on the critical condition of the Soviet armed forces resulting from Stalin's decimation of the commanding personnel, is contained in the *Sotsialisticheski Vestnik*, Menshevik organ published in Paris, of March 8, 1938. The general staff of the Red Army has been wiped out. Marshal Tukhachevsky and seven members of the general staff were doomed by a tribunal of eight men: Alksnis, one of Voroshilov's four deputies, head of the Air Corps; Shaposhnikov, head of the general staff; five commanders of military districts: Budenny, Blucher, Belov, Dybenko and Kashirin and the commander of the Cossack cavalry corps, Goriachev. What has been the fate of the "judges"?

All of them—with the sole exception of Kashirin—were designated as candidates to the Supreme Council. All of them, with the exception of Alksnis, were "elected" deputies, and almost all of them have already been liquidated. Kashirin disappeared last autumn. Alksnis was removed on the eve of the elections. Dybenko, commander of the Leningrad District, and Belov, commander of the White Russian district, both disappeared after the elections, together with Kuibyshev, commander of the Trans-Caucasian district, Budenny and Blucher have been under a cloud. Their names were not even mentioned in the dispatches issued in connection with the twentieth anniversary of the Red Army. To the above names should be added that of Velikanov, commander of the Trans-Baikal district who was removed after the elections. The same fate was suffered by Mezis, member of the White Russian Military Council, Ozolin (Kharkov), and Apse (Trans-Caucasia). Marshal Yegorov, Tukhachevsky's successor who was elected deputy to the Supreme Council, has disappeared, together with thousands of other army commanders.

Admirals Given Liquidation Order

The top personnel of the Navy has been even more seriously affected. Orlov, one of the four vice-commissars of defense and head of the navy, was removed last fall. His successor, Vitorov, elected deputy to the Supreme Council, likewise disappeared. Ludri, head of the naval academy, and Sivkov, commander of the Baltic fleet since January, 1937, have also turned out to be "fascist hirelings." Kireyev, appointed to command the Pacific fleet, was nominated as deputy to the Supreme Council but never elected. Kozhanov, commander of the Baltic fleet, disappeared last October and was replaced by Smirnov-Sverlovsky, who did not last long even though he was "elected" deputy. The same fate was suffered by Dushenov, head of the Northern fleet.

Out of 22 high ranking officers in the army and navy who were elected last December to the Supreme Council, eight have already turned out to be "enemies of the people."

So grave is the situation that, as *Vestnik* points out, no troops were permitted to parade on the twentieth anniversary of the Red Army.

Recent Developments in the Soviet Union

On March 30, the Central Committee issued instructions for the re-election of all the leading organs of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. The elections are to be held in the period between April 1 and June 15. They will be "secret"—except for the posts of secretaries and the highest bodies such as presidiums of locals and districts. When the "returns" come in, the full scope of this latest purge in the party, camouflaged as an election, will become evident.

Pravda of March 23 comes out in favor of restoring corporal punishment in schools.

The term "ukase," notorious under the Czars, has been restored to good standing by Stalin. The Supreme Council is now issuing "ukases." The regime still eschews the use of the title "General."

The appointment of new deputies indicates purges in the following departments: Soviet Control Commission, State Planning Commission, Commissariat of Water Transport, Commissariat of Justice and the Northern Sea Route administration. (*Pravda*, March 28 and 29.)

Dispatch from Gorki: "In the Molotov automotive plant, 1,777 machines are awaiting shipment owing to the failure of the railroad.... A considerable number of the machines are standing in a yard flooded with water. In the next few days it will be impossible to pull them out of the mud." (*Pravda*, March 28.)

Workers Beginning To Drift, Disgusted, From Communist Party Ranks Everywhere

Increasing dissension within the ranks of the Communist Party, accentuated by the most recent Moscow trial and a growing realization of the betrayal embodied in support to Roosevelt's war plans under the guise of "collective security" is revealed by reports of desertions from the Stalinist camp coming to the Appeal from all over the country.

Every locality where Stalinism has a base among workers has its story of workers leaving the C.P., either drifting away, disillusioned and disgusted, or breaking away, rebelling against the cynical hypocrisy of the Stalinist leadership and its brazen betrayal of working-class interests.

Kick Over Traces

Comrade B. J. Widick, labor secretary of the Socialist Workers Party, who has just completed a tour of the Eastern and Middle Western states, reports that C.P. members now openly violate party strictures forbidding attendance at "Trotskyist" meetings, and that it is a common occurrence for Stalinists, either singly or in groups, to use S.W.P. meetings as a forum to announce their break with the C.P.

In Boston our comrades were distributing "An Open Letter to

Members of the Communist Party," a reprint from the *Socialist Appeal* of March 19, to C.P. members and sympathizers attending a money-raising concert held by the Stalinists. A number of Stalinists attempted to snatch copies of the leaflet from the distributors and discovered, to their surprise, that many of their sympathizers disapproved such methods, while a few denounced such hooliganism.

One individual, who had the "Open Letter" snatched from his hands by an ardent Stalinist, roundly rebuked the Stalinist for his lack of tolerance and insisted on reading the leaflet.

Defy C.P. "Discipline"

Out in Mishawaka, Indiana, officials of the local Workers Alliance invited Hugo Rasmussen, well-known militant who had incurred the wrath of the Stalinists, to speak at a mass meeting. The officials, all members of the C.P., were taken to task by the state organizer of the party and instructed to keep Rasmussen out of their meetings. They refused to obey and have since left the C.P.

In New York City, the ferment is most evident among the youth. Of the 40 members recruited by the Young Peoples Socialist League in the New York District

in the past four weeks approximately one-third are directly from the Young Communist League.

Typical of the attitude of the revolutionary youth breaking from Stalinism is the statement of Larry W., a member of the Y.C.L. for over four years and formerly educational director for the Y.C.L. at City College.

Attacks C.P. Policies

Citing his record in the Y.C.L., this young student dismisses contemptuously the Stalinist charge that he is an "enemy of the working class," and proceeds to analyze the fundamental policies of the Y.C.L. Exposing the real aims of "collective security," he tells his former comrades that "our support of this slogan can only mean lining up the workers on the side of the war machine to defend American imperialism."

"My expulsion," he concludes, "actually removes the last deterring factor which hinders me from carrying on a struggle against capitalism and war. To carry out this task it becomes necessary to unite with those forces that are today in this struggle. The 'red-baiting' campaign of the C.P. against the so-called Trotskyites does not deter me from acting jointly with them."

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The Eleventh Hour

It would be self-deception—the gross-
est form of stupidity—to conceal the
seriousness of the crisis in the civil war
in Spain. It would be a crime to be
silent about the fact that the leaders of
the Popular Front in Spain, in France, in
Moscow—Stalinists and social democrats
alike—have brought the working class
of Spain and its cause to the brink of
the fascist abyss.

The black gangs of reaction are
marching straight for the sea. For the
first time, their rifles are pointed at the
very heart of proletarian Barcelona.
From abroad the imperialist vultures
are hovering over the battlefield for
their share of the prostrated booty.

Yet, it is not too late for the Spanish
working class to turn the mounting tide
of defeat into a victory that would shake
the whole world. That can be accom-
plished only if it is realized that con-
trary to the philosophy and practice of
the People's Fronters who know only
how to pile disaster upon disaster, the
fascist reaction can be smashed not by
purely military means, but above all by
political means.

The collaboration with the bourgeois
at home and reliance upon the "dem-
ocratic" bandit governments abroad,
have only paralyzed the working class
and robbed it of its striking power. The
abandonment of the class struggle policy
made it impossible to win the Moors by
granting Morocco the independence
which the bourgeois masters of the Peo-
ple's Front deny it; made it impossible
to arouse the peasants, not only in Loyal-
ist but also in Franco territory to the
side of the workers by proclaiming the
right of the peasants to seize and hold
the land; made it increasingly difficult
to sustain the feelings of the laboring
masses because no social change was
offered them or allowed them, and what
they had themselves undertaken to
change was forcibly torn from them and
restored to its old status.

In the crucial 11th hour, only the re-
turn to the militant class struggle, to
proletarian self-reliance, to genuine
working class internationalism, can as-
sure the victory. Here is a problem not
only for the Spanish workers, but for
labor everywhere, and primarily in
France. Arms? Yes, a thousand times.
But not from Blum, Chamberlain and
Co., who have deceived the Spanish
masses time and again and who cannot
be expected to change their spots now.
Direct aid to Spain's proletariat, but
only by means of militant working class
pressure and militant working class
control.

But again, the prerequisite for this
imperatively needed turn is a remorse-
less break from Popular Frontist
treachery and the restoration of the
simple, time-tested principles of the
class struggle.

Japanese Drive Stopped On Central China Front

(Continued from page 1)

fighting under the most unfavor-
able possible political conditions.
The liberation of the masses for
many-sided participation in the
fight against the invaders is still
prevented by the Kuomintang
dictatorship. So long as this re-
mains the case victories like
those now being achieved in
southern Shantung will remain
only episodes instead of becom-
ing real turning points in the
battle for national liberation and
of the expulsion of the imperia-
list invaders.

Congress Seals Dictatorship

Extremely few details have
been made available here so far
of the results of the Kuomintang
congress held in Hankow last
week. But enough was cabled by
correspondents of the capitalist
press to indicate that the primary

concern of the Congress was to
strengthen and insure the power
of the Chinese bourgeoisie
through the Kuomintang dicta-
torship.

Chiang Kai-shek, already the
undisputed boss of the govern-
ment, was formally invested with
dictatorial powers and the title
of "Tsun Tsai"—a modest var-
iation of the title "Tsun Li,"
or Leader, previously held only
by Sun Yat-sen, founder of the
Chinese Republic.

The Congress also went through
a variety of sham motions with
a view to "democratizing" the
regime while leaving Chiang's
power intact. A "People's
Council" was created. It is to
be composed of 150 bureaucrati-
cally-chosen Kuomintang dele-
gates whose functions are to be
purely advisory. Chiang Kai-shek
retains full power of veto.

The Communist Party, which
has now subordinated itself com-

Blessed Are The Peace-Makers

One of the main—if not the main—
tasks of a party calling itself Socialist,
is to mobilize the working class in strug-
gle against war now so that it may be
better able to fight war once it has be-
gun.

Accordingly, such a party is unworthy
of the name if it capitulates in advance
to the war-mongers and patriots, if it
seeks to make "peace" with the latter
instead of warning the workers against
them and separating itself from them.

Under pressure of the left wing, the
last convention of the Thomasite Social-
ist Party adopted the most radical and
thoroughgoing—even if not entirely sat-
isfactory—position on the war question
in its history. That was on paper, which
is, as is known, very patient. Let us
see what this position looks like in prac-
tice.

At last week's convention of the Work-
ers' Alliance in New York, the S. P.
group introduced an anti-war resolution
identical in terms with that adopted by
the Executive Board of the United Au-
tomobile Workers Union, and submitted
it in opposition to the Stalinist docu-
ment. It was hardly a revolutionary
statement, for it wound up with the sen-
tence: "Armament, if any is necessary,
should only be on the basis of protection
against invasion." An intelligent im-
perialist would ask for nothing better.
To a revolutionary socialist, it is a be-
trayal of principle, for it implies the
legitimacy of defending the capitalist
fatherland.

Nevertheless, the resolution was
pointed, in other sections, at the Stalin-
ist war-mongers, even if only by indirec-
tion. And you would think that the S.P.,
which has precious little left to lose,
would hold on at least to this resolution,
feeble though it is.

But no! The Stalinists put on a bit
of heat in the resolutions committee.
The eminent socialist statesman, David
Lasser, also put on a bit of heat. Where-
upon, the representative of the S. P. on
the resolutions committee, Brendan Sex-
ton, shriveled up, and the committee
presented the convention with a "com-
promise" resolution which the S.P. frac-
tion adopted along with the Stalinist
delegation.

The "compromise"? Better that no
resolution had been adopted. The S.P.
joins with the Stalinists in a humble
appeal to the American capitalist gov-
ernment to boycott rival capitalist gov-
ernments, like Japan—a policy which
the S. P. has condemned on previous
occasions. It pleads with the capitalist
government to "cooperate with all groups
who wish international peace"—another
Stalinist policy which the S. P. has pre-
viously condemned. It hails the Stalin-
ist "League for Peace and Democracy"
—which the S.P. convention last year,
and its press since, have attacked as a
C.P. pro-war movement.

In a word, the Socialist Party's "strug-
gle against war" and against Stalinist
patriotism collapsed like a sucked egg.
Nothing was left of it except the signal
success obtained in making peace—than
which there is nothing more blessed—
with the war-mongers.

The thinking person cannot escape the
reflection:

If this party drops its anti-war posi-
tion, which is nothing to write home
about in the first place, during peace
times and merely because of a bit of
pressure exerted by a handful of scow-
ling bureaucrats—what will it do in time
of real stress, when the pressure is ser-
ious and substantial?

If the Thomasites capitulate to a mere
Lasser-cum-Bejamin for the sake of a
"compromise" with the peace-time pa-
triotists, what will they do under the lash
of a capitalist war-machine actually in
operation?

pletely to the Kuomintang, was
apparently a sort of poor rela-
tion at the Congress. None of
the resolutions adopted by the
Kuomintang overlords even de-
igned to mention the Stalinist
allies. Their existence as "loyal"
auxiliaries (Chiang Kai-shek
praised their "loyalty" in an in-
terview with John Gunther) was
taken for granted.

After the Congress it was in-
timated that they might—they
might—be given five seats out
of the 150 on the People's
Council. Meanwhile the Com-
munist soldiers continue to make
the heaviest sacrifices while the
Stalinist leadership resolutely
prevents those sacrifices from
becoming politically meaningful
by covering over the sham "de-
mocracy" which the Kuomintang
now claims to be introducing.

The episodic military turn made
as a result of the victories at the
Grand Canal will be transform-
ed into a real slashing counter-
offensive only if the broadest
movement is launched to stimu-
late the masses.

FRENCH WORKERS DEMONSTRATE THEIR MIGHT



French labor is again on the march against the starvation rations on which it has been placed by declining capitalism. More than 100,000 workers are occupying plants in the heavy industry. The new French premier, Edouard Daladier, has promised as one of the first acts of his government the suppression of the rebellious proletariat—as "humanely as possible." This picture shows workers demonstrating in the courtyard of the Renault auto works—now again occupied—in Paris two years ago. Many more scenes such as this will be witnessed as the reactionary Daladier government attempts to saddle the French proletariat with additional costs of the capitalist crisis.

By Leon Trotsky

THE PRIESTS OF HALF-TRUTH

(Continued from page 1)

The period when world imperialism subjected the Soviet land to a blockade is now lost in the past. The blockade of the U.S.S.R. today is organized by the Soviet bureaucracy itself. Of the revolution as it understands it, it has preserved only the cult of police violence. It thinks that with the aid of police dogs the course of history can be altered. It fights for its existence with a conservative fury such as has not been displayed by any ruling class in history. Along this road, it has arrived in a short time at the commission of crimes such as not even fascism has yet perpetrated. Of this dialectic of the Thermidor, the democratic oracles have understood nothing, understand nothing now and—let there be no illusions—will not understand anything. Otherwise they would be obliged to shut down immediately the Nation and the New Republic and thus upset the equilibrium of the solar system!

OPPOSITES IDENTIFIED

Since the Thermidorean reaction came out of the revolution, the Nation and the New Republic have sought tirelessly to prove that revolution and reaction are one and the same thing. They have systematically approved or at least kept silent about the work of falsification, of lies, of corruption, which the Stalinist bureaucracy has accomplished throughout the world. They have covered up the repression against the Oppositionists which has been going on now for fifteen years. Yet there has been no lack of warnings. The literature of the Left Opposition is fairly rich, in all languages.

For fifteen years it has showed, step by step, how the methods of the bureaucracy came into increasingly sharp conflict with the requirements of a new society; how the bureaucracy was obliged to screen its own greedy interests, not only by making its own the mechanics of lying of all the ruling classes, but also by investing these mechanics—in view of the acuteness of the situation in a country scarcely emerged from a revolution—with an unprecedentedly poisonous character. With irrefragable facts and documents we showed how a whole school of falsification came out of the Thermidorean reaction—the school of Stalin—which envenomed every domain of social ideology; we explained how and why it was precisely Stalin ("the cook of peppery dishes," according to Lenin's definition as far back as March, 1921) who became head of the avid and conservative caste of usurpers of the revolution; we predicted the Moscow trials ten years before they took place and we explained to the most backward that the judicial frame-ups are only convulsions of the Thermidorean agony.

Finally, in 1937, the International Commission of New York, composed of persons of high moral authority and accustomed to critical judgment, subjected the accusations of Stalin and Vyshinsky to a patient and meticulous analysis. In all the accusations, they found nothing but lies, falsifications, frame-ups. They stated this openly to the entire world. The verdict of the Commission was intended essentially for the "man in the street," the farmer, the small tradesman, the backward worker, in a word, the majority of those whose conditions of existence deprive them of the necessary training and broad horizons.

From the editors of the Nation and the New Republic, these breveted teachers of the people, one might, it would seem, have demanded a critical sense of their own. They might, for example, have recalled from what they learned under their old school-teachers, that the Thermidorean reaction in France proclaimed the Jacobins to be "Royalists" and "agents of Pitt," in order to justify in the eyes of the masses the sanguinary repression against them. From these professional moralists, one might, it would seem, have expected some sense of morality. Does not the moral degeneration of the Soviet bureaucracy stink to high heaven? Alas, the moralists have been found to be devoid even of a simple sense of smell.

PANORAMA OF NARROWNESS

The Moscow trials not only took this circle of people un-
aware but have destroyed the tranquility of their souls for a
long time to come. A collection of all the articles of the Nation
and the New Republic, dealing with the three big trials—what
a panorama of narrowness, vanity, hypocrisy and above all of
confusion. No, they did not expect them! How could this have
happened? Yet, while they lack in perspicacity and a sense
of smell, they possess to the highest degree the feeling for self-
preservation of the priestly caste. Thenceforth, their whole be-
havior was determined by concern with the obliteration of their
traces, that is, with seeing to it that the faithful remain un-
aware of the fact that inside the oracle, all this time, were
concealed not very farsighted priests. Theoretically, these
Pharisees indignantly reject the principle: "The end justifies
the means," failing to understand that a great historical goal
automatically discards those means that are unworthy of it.
But in order to bolster up traditional petty prejudices and
especially their own authority in the eyes of the simpletons, they
are always ready to resort to artful dodges, and frame-ups of
picayune scope.

150,000 French Workers Strike To Defy Daladier

(Continued from page 1)

chamber of deputies on April 12
and voted confidence in the new
government. With thousands of
striking workers outside strain-
ing to embark upon the path of
independent class struggle the
Socialist and Communist parties
prefer to pursue the futile and
treacherous policy of the "lesser
evil"—anything but a revolution-
ary course for the workers as
the only way out of the crisis.

Daladier tried once before to
form a government maneuvering
between the left and the right,
when, in 1933, the Socialist de-
puties were forced by mass pres-
sure to renounce their collabora-
tion with the Radical Socialists.
After his police had fired into
the fascist demonstrations of
February 6, 1934, this courageous
democrat capitulated without
further resistance to the reac-
tion. In 1936 he reappeared as a
partisan of the People's Front,
only to abandon it now, when it
faces a crisis. Is it now his am-
bition to make good his cowardice
before the fascists with greater
"audacity" against the workers?
At his side stands Albert Sar-

raut, Minister of the Interior in
the semi-fascist Doumergue gov-
ernment of 1934, famous for his
slogan: "The communists are the
enemy." The oppression of the
colonial peoples is to be hand-
led ably by the reactionary
George Mandel, who distinguish-
ed himself for his persecution of
the organized postal employees as
Minister of Posts and Telegraphs
in Doumergue's cabinet. This is
the new "people's front" of Da-
ladier, whom the Stalinists have
feted since 1936 as a hero of left-
wing democracy.

Undoubtedly, there are still
strong Popular Front illusions
among the workers, but they are
learning that whatever they
conquered was a result of their
direct intervention, and that ul-
timately their own action is the
only method of preserving their
conquests. Even now their fight
is assuming forms and propor-
tions which exceed by far the
desires of their leadership.

Daladier's Aims

Daladier's aspiration to insure
social peace by a process of slow
gliding toward the right, and to
use the Easter vacations of parlia-
ment "to deal more freely with
the strike situation," was quick-
ly damped. The slightest at-
tempt to evacuate the 150,000
sit-down strikers by force would
bring France to the verge of
civil war. The task of the Dala-
dier government is precisely to
accomplish the turn toward a
right-wing coalition gradually
and without disturbance if pos-
sible.

The labor bureaucrats continue
to use the strikes to enhance
their own parliamentary impor-
tance. But a return to a People's
Front government would be no
solution for the bourgeoisie.
During the last two years the
four People's Front governments
have proven incapable of coping
with the economic crisis and of
bottling up the working class to
a degree which would grant
French capitalism the neces-
sary political stability. It is even
less probable that the Daladier
government will succeed in this
task by purely parliamentary
methods. A show - down draws
inevitably closer.

Dangerous Weaknesses

The French proletariat ap-
proaches this test of strength
with admirable spirit but also
with dangerous weaknesses.
Strikes and even armed struggles
can yield no solution to the vital
problems of the working masses
unless they are backed up by
an audacious and determined plan
for the organization of the pro-
letarian revolution.

Since the inception of the
People's Front, French capital
has conducted a systematic strike
against the realization of any
reforms favoring the working
class. At the same time it has
financed fascism and the reac-
tionary press. The peasants,
many of whom cast their votes
for the workers' parties, especial-
ly the Socialists, for the first
time in 1936, are beginning again
to lean toward the reaction.
Only a broad program of econ-
omic control and direction by
the workers and peasants can insure
the working class against defeat
and isolation and prepare the
revolutionary victory.

Back Numbers Of N. I. on Sale

There have been numerous re-
quests for back numbers of the
New International, monthly Marx-
ist magazine of revolutionary Marx-
ism, published at 116 University
Place, New York City. Many no
doubt require one or more num-
bers in order to complete their
volumes.

While not all issues of the
magazine, back to the date of its
inception in 1934, are available,
it is possible to supply most of
them. Valuable documentary and
historical material and articles
of lasting value are to be found
in them and the management
will fill all requests for these
numbers at 10 cents per copy
until the supply is exhausted.

Following is a list of issues
which are available: August-
December 1934; July, August,
1935; October, 1935; December,
1935; February, 1936; April,
1936; June, 1936.

Fifteen issues were published
prior to re-issuance of the ma-
gazine in its present format.
Where possible, copies of the
four issues in the new format will
be supplied as requested.

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