

F.D.R. War Plans Exposed

Britain Seeks 4-Power Pact Against USSR

Chamberlain Offers Concessions to Rome and Berlin To Form Anti-Soviet Bloc; Would Free Britain To Face Japan

"PEACE LOVERS" DESERT STALIN

The four major imperialist powers of Europe, "democratic" Britain and France, and Fascist Germany and Italy, took long, swift strides this week toward an understanding designed to iron out or postpone their own conflicts with each other by clearing the way for an attack on the Soviet Union.

This was the underlying significance of the spectacular series of events that began with Adolf Hitler's bloodless conquest of Austria on Feb. 14, followed by the resignation of Anthony Eden as British foreign secretary on Feb. 20, Hitler's open challenge for supremacy in Central Europe in his Reichstag speech the same day, and the opening of Anglo-Italian negotiations this week.

"Guarantors" Absent

Hitler assumed control in Austria after serving an ultimatum on Austrian Chancellor Schuschnigg at Berchtesgaden on Feb. 12. The "guarantors" of Austrian independence were not in evidence when Schuschnigg appealed for aid and he consequently gave way. Mussolini, who marshaled his battalions at Brenner Pass when Chancellor Dollfus was assassinated by Nazis in 1934 and thus checkmated the Nazi putsch, now looked on complacently. For him the Rome-Berlin axis is the means of making the Mediterranean an Italian sea and he is willing to give Hitler some rope in the Central Europe upon which he too has cast a covetous eye.

Great Britain—dragging behind it a reluctant but helpless France—made no move to implement its fine pledges to "protect" Austria. It chose rather to accept Hitler's promise that Austrian "independence" would be maintained while the Austrian Nazis—with the new minister of Interior, Arthur Seyss-Inquart at their head—transform the country into a docile appendage of German Nazi policy.

Britain Seeks "Peace"

This was the outcome because British imperialism, with an anxious eye on its own slowing rearmament program, has reconciled itself to the inevitability of an expanding Nazi Reich controlling an ever larger portion of Central Europe. It has also determined to make terms with Italy rather than venture a struggle to see who is master of the Mediterranean at a time when Japan threatens the strongholds of British imperialism in Asia.

Great Britain has obviously determined to make "peace" with Germany and Italy, whatever the cost, in order to turn the sharp edge of European antagonisms against the U.S.S.R. and to leave British hands freer to cope with Japan's encroachments upon British interests in China. This, too, Britain hopes to accomplish by turning Japanese attention away from British-dominated South China to the rich fields and mines of maritime Siberia.

U.S.S.R. Not Included

That is why the name of the Soviet Union—invoked once more by Hitler last Sunday as the one nation Germany regards as an enemy—was so notably absent from the hypocritical speeches of Neville Chamberlain and Eden in the House of Commons last Monday. The "peace of Europe," Chamberlain said, "must depend upon the attitude of four major powers, Germany, Italy, France, and ourselves." He pointedly omitted the Soviet Union when

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BEAL RECEIVES SOLID BACKING FOR HIS FIGHT

Defense Group Joined By Prominent Educators, Liberals, Authors

Facing 20 years in prison on a framed-up murder charge, Fred E. Beal, famed leader of the 1929 textile strike in Gastonia, is now in prison in Raleigh, North Carolina, having last week waived his fight against extradition from Massachusetts in order to wage a struggle on the spot for reversal of his nine-year-old jail sentence.

In a statement issued at the time of his surrender, Beal declared that his action in dropping the fight against extradition from Massachusetts was merely a step in "carrying out my steadfast desire since the days of the Gastonia trial, namely, to face squarely the issues raised by my arrest and sentence."

Says Return Inevitable

"It is self-evident," Beal continued, "that had I wished to evade those issues permanently I would not have returned to my native America and certainly would not have attracted attention to my return by expressing boldly my views on public questions. My ultimate return to North Carolina was inevitable, once I was back in the United States."

Beal, formerly a Communist Party member, and since his return from the Soviet Union a critic of the Stalin bureaucracy, points out that he has been deserted by his former allies, the Stalinists, and appeals for a broad front of workers and liberals to come to his defense.

Hundred Join Committee

Nearly one hundred prominent Americans, among them three members of Congress, leading literary men, educators and economists, have joined the Non-Partisan Committee for the Defense of Fred E. Beal. It has been announced by Hugo Pollock, secretary of the Committee. Maintaining that Beal was innocent of the charge on which he was convicted, the Committee is seeking his "vindication and release."

The three Congressmen who have already joined this effort to liberate the labor leader are Emanuel Celler of Brooklyn, N. Y., John M. Coffee of Tacoma

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Leon Sedoff Dies In Paris After Sudden Operation

Thousands March Behind Bier; Await Results of Autopsy

Leon Sedoff, eldest son and closest collaborator of Leon Trotsky, died in Paris on Feb. 16 after a sudden intestinal operation.

The circumstances surrounding the tragic and untimely death of Comrade Sedoff, who was only 32, are as yet unclarified. The full results of an autopsy performed by Paris municipal medical authorities have not yet been made known.

What is definitely known is that there were several plots against Sedoff's life uncovered during the investigation of the G.P.U. agents involved in the murder of Ignace Reiss at Lausanne last September.

Foul Play Suspected

On one occasion, these arrested agents confessed, a trap had been set for Sedoff. Only by the merest chance did he escape it. Subsequently he was kept under the closest surveillance. A G.P.U. agent was found occupying a room opposite his own.

That the French police believed there was some ground for suspicion of foul play was indicated on February 20 when, according to a dispatch to the New York Times, they withheld permission for cremation of the body.

Thousands of Trotsky followers of all nations marched in



Leon Trotsky

the procession which bore the body of Comrade Sedoff to Pere Lachaise cemetery, the New York Times reported.

Red Funeral

The coffin was wrapped in a red flag. At the cemetery the International, the anthem of the world revolutionary cause to which he devoted his entire life, was sung by the great crowd that came to pay final honors to a sterling revolutionist.

Leon was born in Russia 32 years ago. As a lad, he and his brother Sergei followed their father and mother across half the world through their years of exile, Austria, Switzerland, France, Spain, the United States, a Canadian concentration camp, and returned with them to the triumphs of 1917.

Unlike Sergei who continued his studies to become a technician and engineer—a career that did not save him from the vengeance and hatred of Stalin—Leon, a growing youth, joined the Young Communist League and embarked upon a career in the revolutionary movement.

Assembled Material

In 1928 he went with his father to their Alma Ata exile where he collected and assembled the material used by Trotsky in the writing of his Criticism of the Draft Program. In February, 1929, he accompanied his father to Prinkipo. Remaining there until February, 1931, Leon assumed responsibility for the editorship of the Bulletin of the Opposition, a task he continued to fulfill in the years that followed. He was also in charge of the extensive correspondence carried on for some time with Oppositionists exiled in different parts of far Russia.

He went to Berlin to pick up the interrupted thread of his studies, attending the Technische Hochschule. In the final months of 1932, on the eve of the advent of Hitler, Sedoff had to live an almost illegal existence to protect himself from the hatred of the Nazi gangs. After Hitler took power, he had to flee the country, leaving Berlin in March, 1933, for Paris. He was reunited with his parents in July, 1933, when the latter came to France. He had seen them only briefly the previous years as they passed through France on their way back to Turkey after their visit to Copenhagen.

Edited Bulletin

Sedoff remained in Paris, however, editing the Bulletin. He was an able organizer and writer. His pseudonym, N. Markin, appeared over brilliant and searching studies of the Red Army, the Stakhanovist movement, and other phases of Soviet life.

Trotsky left France for Norway in June, 1935. Sedoff returned

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Trotsky Sees Possibility Of Foul Play In Death Of His Son

BY LEON TROTSKY

GOYOACAN, D. F., Feb. 18.—The wound is still too fresh for me to be able to talk yet about Leon Sedoff as of someone dead. He was not only my son but my best friend. But there is one question upon which I am duty bound to make myself heard immediately: this question deals with the causes of his death. I must say from the very beginning that I do not have direct data at my command which would allow me to assert that the death of L. Sedoff is the handiwork of the G.P.U.

In the telegrams that my wife and I have received from friends in Paris there is no more information than that included in the news over the press wires. But I should like to give some indirect information which may, however, have great significance for the judicial investigation in Paris.

Sickness a Surprise

1) It is not true that my son suffered from a chronic intestinal disease. The announcement about this sickness came as a complete surprise to his mother and me.

2) It is not true that he supposedly suffered heavily during the last few weeks. I have at hand the letter received by me from him, dated February 4th. There is not a word in this letter, which is very optimistic in tone, about any illness. On the contrary, the letter shows that at that time he had become very active, especially in connection with the imminent trial in Switzerland about the murderers of Reiss, and was intending to continue his activity.

3) The death of L. Sedoff occurred evidently in the night of February 15-16. Thus between the letter and the death only eleven days passed. In other words, the sickness fully had the character of suddenness.

Possibility Exists

4) There is, of course, no basis for doubting the impartiality of the medico-judicial examination, no matter what its conclusions were. Not being a specialist, I permit myself, nevertheless, to point to one important circumstance: if we are to admit the possibility of poisoning, then we must remember that the question is not one of ordinary poisoning. At the disposal of the G.P.U. there are very exceptional scientists and technical means which would make the problem of medical examination more than difficult.

5) How could the G.P.U. gain access to my son? Here too I can reply only hypothetically. During the past period there have been several cases of G.P.U. agents breaking with Moscow. Naturally all those who broke sought connection with my son and he—with that courage which characterized him in all his actions—always accepted such appointments. In connection with these breaks, was there not some kind of trap? I can only advance this postulation. Others must verify this.

6) The French Communist press paid a great deal of attention, hostile of course, to Leon Sedoff. However, not a single one of the Communist papers has so much as printed a line about his death (see the dispatches from Paris). It was exactly like this after the murder of Ignace Reiss in Lausanne. Such kind of "cautiousness" becomes of especially great significance if we take into consideration that in questions that are acute for Moscow the French press of the Comintern receives direct instruction from the G.P.U. through the old agent of the G.P.U., Jacques Duclos, and others.

I do not affirm anything. I only announce the fact and pose the question.

Swiss Court Finds G.P.U. Killed Reiss

Facts Uncover Moscow Guilt In Murder at Lausanne

At the conclusion of an investigation occupying almost five months, court authorities in Switzerland have issued a finding to the effect that Ignace Reiss, whose bullet-riddled body was found on September 4, 1937 near Lausanne, was murdered by agents of Stalin's G.P.U., acting on direct orders from the Kremlin in Moscow. Reiss, himself an agent of the G.P.U. for many years, had broken with the bloody Bonapartist regime of Stalin and proclaimed his revolutionary adherence to the movement for the Fourth International.

Commenting on this newest development, the Bulletin of the Russian Opposition (No. 62-63) points out that the significance of the Swiss finding lies in this: that it is a factual confirmation of conclusions already arrived at on the basis of the political considerations involved in the Reiss murder.

Four Agents Involved

The Swiss authorities have definitely established the complicity of four G.P.U. agents: Beletsky, Sokolov, Grososkaya, and the latter's wife, Lydia Grososkaya.

of the Soviet trade organization in Paris. All of them, with the sole exception of Lydia Grososkaya had succeeded in making their get-away.

The Swiss authorities demanded the extradition of Grososkaya from France. She was finally placed under arrest on Dec. 17. But the Stalin machine mobilized all its resources and applied "diplomatic pressure." The court hearing on her extradition was held secretly, and the decision arrived at was unprecedented in French judicial history: The judge reserved decision on the extradition demand of the Swiss authorities, and allowed Grososkaya to be set free on a bond of 50,000 francs, which was furnished by the Soviet trade representation. She was "bound" not to leave the Seine department. Freed on Dec. 20, Grososkaya sojourned for a time in the quarters of a Stalinist "diplomat" and then "disappeared" on Jan. 24. It was not until a week later, that the border authorities received a description of the fugitive, with an order to apprehend her.

Plot Trotsky's Death

Rather than run the risk of having Grososkaya face the Swiss courts, the G.P.U. either abducted her, or "ordered" her to escape. This latest cynical action of the G.P.U. has aroused French public opinion.

The editors of the Russian

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Key Leaders Hear Details Of Campaign

Parleys With Army and Navy Chiefs, Financial, Industrial, and Newspaper Barons Prepare Way For War Propaganda Drive

PLANS LAID AT SECRET MEETING

The swift pace at which the ruling class is preparing to plunge this country into war with Japan in order to establish American domination of the Pacific was revealed this week in startling information which, due to a leakage from high and reliable government sources, fell into the hands of the Socialist Appeal.

This information describes a series of meetings recently held by President Roosevelt with key leaders in the worlds of finance, industry, journalism, labor, and, of course, the army and navy. The purpose of all of them was to prime the pumps of the propaganda machine already at work to prepare the American masses for war.

Details, which the Appeal has every reason to regard as completely authentic, and which fit in neatly with the known orientation of American imperialism, tear the false pacifist mask from the face of the Roosevelt administration, and expose the conscious preparations being made for war.

Deliberate War Preparation

The information reveals that meetings, recently held in New York, attended by army generals, naval officers with the rank of admiral, Wall Street lawyers representing powerful corporations, representatives of the State Department, and a representative of a "certain powerful newspaper."

Those present agreed to launch a campaign of "education" to prepare the American people for the "use of war as an instrument of national policy." To implement the plan it was decided, with the cooperation of the State Department, to play up each international incident involving the United States and to do this along the lines suggested by the recent sinking of the U.S. gunboat Panay.

To Silence Opposition

The campaign to whip up the war spirit will be two-fold in character: First, appeal will be made to patriotic sentiment—the need to protect American "rights" abroad. The second and supplementary line of attack will be "idealistic," stressing the desirability of "defending the sanctity of treaties."

It was emphasized by those attending the conference that forces vigorously opposing the war drive must be silenced as quickly as possible.

Another corner of the pacifist curtain hiding the war preparations was lifted by revelation

from the same sources that Roosevelt lately conferred with four leading newspaper publishers. To these manufacturers of public opinion, the president drew attention to the need for encompassing national unity by playing up alleged threats of war directed against the United States, thus enabling the government itself to employ the threat of war as an instrument of national policy in the Far East.

"At Drop of a Hat"

"This nation used to be ready to fight at the drop of a hat, and we must get it that way again," Roosevelt, in thoroughly characteristic language, is reported to have told the newspaper barons.

A move to line up the forces of labor for the coming war has been uncovered through information emanating from the same sources regarding a conference which took place recently between Roosevelt and the labor lieutenants of capitalism. Among those understood to have been present were President Wm. Green of the A. F. of L. and a person close to John L. Lewis of the C. I. O.

Roosevelt, it is stated, challenged and offered vigorous protest against the support accorded by labor organizations to the Ludlow Amendment and pointed to the need for labor unity "in view of possible police action in the Far East." It is necessary to "scare the pants off Japan," the president is reported as saying.

Action Against Japan

Even more startling than these revelations is the information, vouchered for as absolutely reliable, that a definite agreement has been reached for joint American and British naval action against Japan. The arrangement, entered into by Captain R. Ingersoll, head of the war plans division of the U.S. Navy Department, during his recent three weeks' conference with heads of the British Navy, provides that in the event of Japan extending her naval blockade of the China coast to the British colony of Hongkong, the United States and Great Britain will jointly employ their warships to break the blockade.

The United States, according to the agreement, will furnish fifteen fighting craft and auxiliary vessels and Britain six. The joint naval array would then, in Roosevelt's own words, try to "roll the Japanese navy all the way up the China coast."

Entering the general picture of active war preparations is, of

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Thousands Parade In Rain For Relief Demonstration

Parading in a steady downpour of rain, several thousand trade union Workers Alliance members demonstrated, in the deserted Wall Street section of New York, last Saturday afternoon, against lay-offs and for increased relief.

The demonstration, sponsored by the Trade Union Committee for Unemployment Insurance and the Workers Alliance, was dominated by the People's Front line of the Stalinists, the main slogan being "Down with the 60 families, we want jobs."

Several progressive locals of the W.A.A. raised the slogan, "All war funds to the unemployed" and Stalinist marshals were kept busy seeing that this slogan was not taken up by the marchers.

The size of the crowd was estimated at from five to ten thousand. The size of the demonstration would undoubtedly be greater had it not been for the

heavy rain. Though the demonstration was in the vicinity of City Hall, great care was taken by the Stalinist leaders to make sure that no hostile word should penetrate its sacred portals. A delegation of five sent to call on the Mayor was received by one of his secretaries and left polite suggestions for "corrections in some phases of relief policy."

The City Hall repaid this politeness by closing down the relief bureau on Monday thus giving a continuous shutting down of four days. No arrangements were made for skeleton staffs to handle the applicants. The Veterans of Foreign Wars, who apparently did not suffer from People's Front inhibitions, protested the Monday closing.

About 2,000 copies of the Socialist Appeal distributed at the demonstration were well received by the marchers.

Widick Leaves On Midwestern Lecture Tour

To Organize Party Union Activities During Two Months on Road

B. J. Widick, Labor Secretary of the Socialist Workers Party, began a lecture and organization tour last Monday, Feb. 21, at Boston. The tour will carry him as far west as Minneapolis and Omaha and keep him on the road for two months.

Comrade Widick will address mass meetings, meet with party committees and fractions of active trade unionists, and in general aid in the organization work of the Party. Provision has been made for him to remain several days in the most important centers, in order to combine his party organization work with public mass meetings.

Union Work Stressed

Comrade Widick will devote special time and attention to the problem of organizing the party's trade union activities in the various localities.

At the same time, the National Office has announced that the first order of 50,000 leaflets, containing the party's Anti-War Manifesto, has come from the press. It is planned to print and distribute a million copies of this manifesto in the course of the anti-war campaign.

Tour Schedule

The schedule of Comrade Widick's tour is as follows:
 Boston, Feb. 21, 22; Lynn, Feb. 23, 24, 25; Boston, Feb. 26, 27; New York City, Feb. 28.
 Philadelphia, March 1, 2, 3, 4, 5; New York City, March 6, 7; Akron, March 8, 9; Youngstown, March 10; Akron, March 11, 12; Cleveland, March 13, 14, 15; Toledo, March 16; Detroit, March 17, 18; Chicago, March 19, 20, 21, 22; Indiana Harbor, March 23, 24; Chicago, March 25, 26; Minneapolis, St. Paul and vicinity, March 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, April 1.
 Omaha, April 2; Kansas City, April 3, 4; Joplin, April 5; St. Louis, April 6, 7; Indianapolis, April 9, 10; Louisville, April 11; Columbus, April 12; Newcastle, April 13; Reading, April 14; Allentown, April 15, 16; Quakertown, April 17.

Denver Teachers Face Union Split

Political Issues Injected By Stalinists Cause Threat of Bolt

DENVER—Local 203, American Federation of Teachers, faces a crisis that may result in nearly half the members, including twenty-two founders of the local, leaving the union. After more than a year's effort to work with a Stalinist majority in control of the local, this large minority has decided to demand from the national headquarters a charter for a local separate from the Stalinist majority, threatening to leave the Federation if this is denied.

Abuses and Violations

A few years ago the Stalinists began to throw all the strength they could muster into Local 203, and then by virtue of their numerical majority began a long series of abuses and violations of all sane principles of trade unionism. They used their majority to appropriate all the offices of the union. At every opportunity they used the union as a front to carry forward the political program and to advance the activities of the Communist Party. Foisting their politics on the union, they set up innumerable "co-ordinating committees" to gain a foot-hold in labor assemblies by electing only their own members as delegates from the Teachers' Union.

By their maneuvering, the Stalinists succeeded in securing for their members and stooges teaching posts in the Denver Labor College, an institution endorsed and supported by the Denver Trades and Labor Assembly. As a result of carrying their methods into the Labor College, they found themselves removed as teachers, and in retaliation instituted a "workers' school," at which leading officials of the Communist Party taught the new Stalinist line in classes variously designated.

Progressives Lead Car Strike In Minneapolis

Unsatisfactory Terms Forced Through By Union Officers

MINNEAPOLIS.—The first effective street car strike in the history of the Twin Cities, completely tying up bus and trolley lines in Minneapolis and St. Paul for nearly two days, February 14-15, was one of the most magnificent demonstrations of labor strength which the Northwest has seen.

Nor was the present strike called by the Executive Board of the local. One lone progressive on the Board, Howard Carlson, initiated the strike. The men have many grievances, but the immediate issue was the dismissal of some men when their cars were replaced by one-man cars. The news reached Carlson Sunday night, and through the night he gathered a group of militants, who succeeded in tying up one car barn, then sent delegations to close the others. By Monday morning the tie-up was complete!

Fakers On The Job

Wigstrom, the business agent, and Coles, the president, attempted without success to induce the men to return to work. Sam Berrong, international vice-president, was hastily summoned from Milwaukee to end the strike.

Berrong, able and smooth, did a neat job. The Lake Street strike committee led by Carlson (formally representing the first barn that went out but actually leading the strike) was divided in two, one half shut up in the union office while the other half was locked up with Berrong and the company officials.

In exhausting negotiations lasting fourteen hours, the progressives on the strike committee, without sleep since Sunday morning, were beaten down by Tuesday afternoon. An agreement was accepted by the Executive Board, which gave the men nothing except 30-day notice before one-man cars replace the regular cars, and the empty right to negotiate before and after the cars are thus replaced.

No Meeting Called

Correctly fearing that the men, if called together in a strike meeting to discuss issues, would formulate a strike program, the Executive Board had successfully prevented the men from getting together. Now, with the backing of Berrong, they decided not to submit the strike settlement to the men!

But this was too much even for this body of inexperienced men, striking for the first time in their lives, most of them only recently in the union. Berrong's orders to return to work were disobeyed; the few cars that went out were ordered back by other barns. The city was tied up again Tuesday evening.

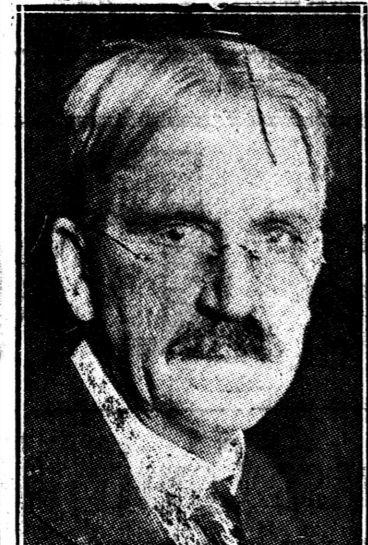
Whereupon Berrong yielded to the extent of convocating a membership meeting. But what a meeting! In a hall seating only part of the men, with speakers limited only to those who supported the agreement, with Berrong himself speaking twice and using all the authority of the international union to ram it down their throats, the agreement went through 754-137.

Two Other Strikes

Two strikes still going on are living evidence to the street car men how strikes can be carried on under progressive leaders. 450 cab drivers have the town shut tight, holding out for a \$24 weekly guaranteed wage minimum instead of the purely commission system. The Clark Wood-ware Manufacturing Company tried to hire strikebreakers among the national guardsmen, but quick action by Furniture Workers Local 1859 exposed the secret preparations. The plant is shut tight, and will stay so until Clark provides a 5-cent hourly increase for all workers and a 50-cent hourly minimum for beginners. Firm leadership has carried these workers to victory in previous strikes and will undoubtedly do so again. Here is a lesson and example for the street-car strikers.

The older members of the Teachers' Union by this time were becoming highly incensed and rebellious. Dissatisfied with the results of negotiations with the national office, they now seem determined to stand firm in their demand for a break with the Stalinists. They insist that they be allowed to function under a different charter, or they will withdraw completely from the union. It is extremely unfortunate that this disruptive and domineering course of the Stalinist majority has brought about a situation of split and weakness at the very time when the crying need of the organization in this part of the country is a drive to educate the vast majority of teachers to the elementary necessity of trade union organization.

Attacked by Broun



JOHN DEWEY

Hook Answers Broun Attack On John Dewey

Asks Pointed Questions In Reply To Columnist's Slandorous Article

The following letter was sent by Sidney Hook, well-known Marxist scholar, to the New Republic, which published only a small portion of it.

The Editors, New Republic.
 In his attack upon Professor John Dewey in the columns of the New Republic (Jan. 12, 1938), Heywood Broun not only exceeded the limits of Narrenfreiheit but was guilty of irresponsible misstatement of Professor Dewey's position.

Anyone who has examined the context of Professor Dewey's remarks in the Washington Post—which Broun admittedly has not done—will see that they bore upon the implications of the Trotsky Commission report for America. They were illustrated by a direct reference to the use which the Communist Party and press were making of the Corcoran case in Minneapolis.

Dewey's Warning

Professor Dewey did not say that Communist Party members should be barred from the C.I.O. or any other labor union because of their views. He warned against factionalism and against the familiar Moscow tactics of framing and slander as deadly to the unity of the labor movement.

In asserting that the Stalinists are striving whole-heartedly for the unity of labor, Heywood Broun shows that it is he who is behind in his homework, not Professor Dewey. Part of the public oath which all members of the Communist Party are required to take is "to drive the Lovestoneites out of the labor movement" and "to drive the Trotskyites out of the labor movement."

Stalinists' Real Aim

Since in effect anybody who opposes the Communist Party on important measures is labelled a Trotskyite, this means that every independent-thinking union member or leader is slated for railroading as soon as the Stalinists feel strong enough to get away with it.

It requires considerable cheek for Heywood Broun to ask whether Professor Dewey "seriously means to contend that certain workers should be barred from union membership because of their political or economic views." This is precisely the view of the Communist Party, as the above-cited slogans prove. Before Heywood Broun undertakes to whitewash the role of the Stalinists in the labor movement, let him explain the following:

Explain All This

- (1) The attempt of the Daily Worker to smear Minneapolis trade unionists of Local 544 by practically charging them with complicity in the assassination of Patrick Corcoran, on the ground of their alleged Trotskyist sympathies.
- (2) The use of phony affidavits by West Coast Stalinists in the C.I.O. to prove that Meyer Lewis, A.F. of L. representative, had hired R. J. Bell to kill Harry Bridges, despite the wire sent them by George Cole, regional director of the C.I.O., warning that Bell was "unreliable and no good."
- (3) The resolution of the Sailors Union of the Pacific, condemning the Western Worker and the Communist Party for libelous assertions of gangsterism against its leaders and authorizing legal action for criminal libel against the Western Worker.

Rubber Unions Confronted By Fight For Life

Lay-offs and Attacks On Organizations Open Critical Period

BY BLAKE LEAR

AKRON.—The present inevitable and deep-going crisis of U. S. capitalism has placed the rubber workers face to face with the most grave situation since the early precarious organization days. With the unions it is now very close to a situation of make or break.

For really the first time, the rubber worker has been confronted with the dilemma of capitalism. The unions, fighting the employers tooth and nail in a many and courageous struggle, established themselves in the seemingly impregnable rubber shops. The fruits of victory, seemed within their grasp. Then came the recession—and the lay-offs.

Unions Fall Back

Before the lay-offs, the unions virtually stood with their hands at their sides. Now the membership is dwindling, confusion and discouragement are spreading, while the leadership counsels patience. The howl of the Greater Akron Association sharpens. The demand for the lowering of wages, the speed-up, and the lengthening of hours becomes more insistent. Lay-offs, according to the United Rubber Workers, amount to 25 per cent; most of the other factory employees are working one, two, or perhaps three days. Everywhere the question is raised: What is the answer to lay-offs?

Increasing numbers of the leading militants are coming to understand that the union can survive only if every member fights for:

1. Absolute retention of the six-hour day.
2. Rejection of a proposal by Goodyear Local for "impartial" arbitration boards to act in the event of the management and the union failing to agree in negotiations—a proposal which would rule out strike action of any sort.
3. Strict plant-wide seniority in lay-offs and rehiring.
4. Stabilization of work at not less than 18 hours for those still employed, since to go lower will shift discontent from the company to the union (as the cause of the trouble, prevent (at least for the time being) those "working" from getting relief, and stifle their militancy by imbuing them with hopes for an upturn in business.
5. United action by employed for adequate relief, including supplementary relief for those "working."

Swiss Tribunal Convicts GPU

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Bulletin reveal that they have at their disposal proof that Rossi (alias Rous), the actual assassin of Reiss, had also been chosen to murder Trotsky. For the time being, the editors confine themselves merely to pointing out that among Rossi's belongings were discovered the following items: a map of Mexico city and its suburbs; a street directory of Mexico City; a map of Mexico; a number of American addresses, and, most important of all, a duplicate of Rossi's application to the Mexican consulate for a visa to Mexico.

(For further details on the Reiss murder see "Soviet Union Notes" by John G. Wright on Page 3).

(4) The resolution of the Central Labor Council of San Francisco, condemning the Stalinists for attempted frame-up tactics.

(5) The Communist Party campaign against Homer Martin and the "Lovestoneites" in the Auto Workers Union.

These are only some of the more outstanding incidents. I, for one, am in favor of Broun's suggestion that a neutral group of investigators be called together to consider how the Communist Party works for unity in the labor movement. Things have come to such a pass that it is impossible to expose the nefarious tactics of the Communist Party without Broun, its unofficial troubleshooter, crying "red-baiting."

If the Stalinists are red, then Roosevelt is a Trotskyist. If Heywood Broun sees fit to join the hue and cry of the Communist Party against Homer Martin, a C.I.O. leader, why is it forbidden to criticize, on the basis of authentic evidence, the machinations of those Stalinists in the C.I.O. whose first loyalty is to the Communist Party and not to labor?

SIDNEY HOOK.
Jan. 12, 1938.

Party Resolutions ON THE NATURE OF THE PARTY

Following is the full text of the resolution on "The Internal Situation and the Character of the Party" adopted by the founding convention of the Socialist Workers Party.

The Socialist Workers Party is a revolutionary Marxian party, based on a definite program, whose aim is the organization of the working class in the struggle for power and the transformation of the existing social order. All of its activities, its methods and its internal regime are subordinated to this aim and are designed to serve it.

Only a self-acting and critical-minded membership is capable of forging and consolidating such a party and of solving its problems by collective thought, discussion and experience.

From this follows the need of assuring the widest party democracy in the ranks of the organization.

The struggle for power organized and led by the revolutionary party is the most ruthless and irreconcilable struggle in all history. A loosely-knit, heterogeneous, undisciplined, untrained organization is utterly incapable of accomplishing such world-historical tasks as the proletariat and the revolutionary party are confronted with in the present era. This is all the more emphatically true in the light of the singularly difficult position of our party and the extraordinary persecution to which it is subjected. From this follows the party's unconditional demand upon all its members for complete discipline in all the public activities and actions of the organization.

Principle of Democratic Centralism

Leadership and centralized direction are indispensable prerequisites for any sustained and disciplined action, especially in the party that sets itself the aim of leading the collective efforts of the proletariat in its struggle against capitalism. Without a strong and firm Central Committee, having the power to act promptly and effectively in the name of the party and to supervise, coordinate and direct all its activities without exception, the very idea of a revolutionary party is a meaningless jest.

It is from these considerations, based upon the whole of the experience of working class struggle throughout the world in the last century, that we derive the Leninist principle of organization, namely, democratic centralism. The same experience has demonstrated that there are no absolute guarantees for the preservation of the principle of democratic centralism, and no rigid formula that can be set down in advance, a priori, for the application of it under any and all circumstances. Proceeding from certain fundamental conceptions, the problem of applying the principle of democratic centralism differently under different conditions and stages of development of the struggle, can be solved only in relation to the concrete situation, in the course of the tests and experience through which the movement passes, and on the basis of the most fruitful and healthy inter-relationship of the leading bodies of the party and its rank and file.

The leadership of the party must be under the control of the membership, its policies must always be open to criticism, discussion and rectification by the rank and file within properly established forms and limits, and the leading bodies themselves subject to formal recall or alteration. The membership of the party has the right to demand and expect the greatest responsibility from the leaders, precisely because of the position they occupy in the movement. The selection of comrades to the positions of leadership means the conferring of an extraordinary responsibility. The warrant for this position must be proved, not once, but continuously by the leadership itself.

Responsibilities of Leadership

It is under obligation to set the highest example of responsibility, devotion, sacrifice and complete identification with the party itself and its daily life and action. It must display the ability to defend its policies before the membership of the party, and to defend the line of the party and the party as a whole before the working class in general. Sustained party activity, not broken or disrupted by abrupt and disorienting changes, presupposes not only a continuity of tradition and a systematic development of party policy, but also the continuity of leadership. It is an important sign of a serious and firmly constituted party, of a party really engaged in productive work in the class struggle, that it throws up, out of its ranks, cadres of more or less able leading comrades, tested for their qualities of endurance and trustworthiness, and that it thus insures a certain stability and continuity of leadership by such a cadre.

Continuity of leadership does not, however, signify the automatic self-perpetuation of leadership. Constant renewal of its ranks by means of additions and, when necessary, replacements, is the only assurance that the party has, that its leadership will not succumb to the effects of dry-rot, that it will not be burdened with deadwood, that it will avoid the corrosion of conservatism and dilettantism, that it will not be the object of conflict

between the older elements and the younger, that the old and basic cadre will be refreshed by new blood, that the leadership as a whole will not become purely bureaucratic "committee men" with a life that is remote from the real life of the party and the activities of the rank and file. Like leadership, membership itself in the party implies certain definite rights.

Party membership confers the fullest freedom of discussion, debate, and criticism inside the ranks of the party, limited only by such decisions and provisions as are made by the party itself or by bodies to which it assigns this function. Affiliation to the party confers upon each member the right of being democratically represented at all policy-making assemblies of the party (from branch to national and international convention), and the right of the final and decisive vote in determining the program, policies and leadership of the party.

Responsibilities of Membership

With party rights, the membership has also certain definite obligations. The theoretical and political character of the party is determined by its program, which forms the lines delimiting the revolutionary party from all other parties, groups, and tendencies in the working class. The first obligation of party membership is loyal acceptance of the program of the party and regular affiliation to one of the basic units of the party. The party requires of every member the acceptance of its discipline and the carrying on of his activity in accordance with the program of the party, with the decisions adopted by its conventions, and with the policies formulated and directed by the party leadership. Party membership implies the obligation of one hundred percent loyalty to the organization, the rejection of all agents of other, hostile groups in its ranks, and intolerance of divided loyalties in general. Membership in the party necessitates a minimum of activity in the organization, as established by the proper unit, and under the direction of the party; it necessitates the fulfillment of all the tasks which the party assigns to each member. Party membership implies the obligation upon every member to contribute materially to the support of the organization in accordance with his means.

From the foregoing it follows that the party seeks to include in its ranks all the revolutionary, class conscious and militant workers who stand on its program and are active in building the movement in a disciplined manner. The revolutionary Marxian party rejects not only the arbitrariness and bureaucratism of the C.P., but also the spurious and deceptive "all-inclusiveness" of the Thomas-Tyler-Hoan party, which is a sham and a fraud. Experience has proved conclusively that this "all-inclusiveness" paralyzes the party in general and the revolutionary left wing in particular, suppressing and bureaucratizing the latter while giving free rein to the right wing to commit the greatest crimes in the name of socialism and the party. The S.W.P. seeks to be inclusive only in this sense: that it accepts into its ranks those who accept its program and rejects from membership those who reject its program.

Inner Party Discussion

The rights of each individual member, as set forth above, do not imply that the membership, as a whole, namely, the party itself, does not possess rights of its own. The party as a whole has the right to demand that its work be not disrupted and disorganized, and has the right to take all the measures which it finds necessary to assure its regular and normal functioning. The rights of any individual member are distinctly secondary to the rights of the party membership as a whole. Party democracy means not only the most scrupulous protection of the rule of the majority. The party is therefore entitled to organize the discussion and to determine its forms and limits.

All inner-party discussion must be organized from the point of view that the party is not a discussion club, which debates interminably on any and all questions at any and all times, without arriving at a binding decision that enables the organization to act, but from the point of view that we are a disciplined party of revolutionary action. The party in general not only has the right, therefore, to organize the discussion in accordance with the requirements of the situation, but the lower units of the party must be given the right, in the interests of the struggle against the disruption and disorganization of the party's work, to call irresponsible elements to order and, if need be, to eject them from the ranks.

The decisions of the national party convention are binding on all party members without exception and they conclude the discussion on all those disputed questions upon which a decision has been taken. Any party member violating the decisions of the convention, or attempting to revive discussion in regard to them without formal authorization of the party, puts himself thereby in opposition to the party and forfeits his right to membership. All party organizations are authorized and instructed to take any measures necessary to enforce this rule.

San Pedro Longshoremen Fight To Keep Hiring Hall

SAN PEDRO, Cal.—Securing the support of most of the maritime unions on the Pacific Coast, San Pedro longshoremen are threatening a stoppage of work if a receiver recently appointed by Judge Reubin Schmidt of the Los Angeles Superior Court is ordered to take control of the union hiring hall.

In an action brought by a few members of the International Longshoremen Association 88-82 Inc. (A. F. of L.), who are endeavoring to prevent the majority of members of the union from joining the International Longshoremen and Warehousemen's Union (C.I.O.), Judge Schmidt rendered a decision appointing a receiver to take control of the incorporated union and its hiring hall and enjoining the officers of the union from causing its affiliation with the I.L.W.U. or from using union funds to assist the organization of the I.L.W.U.

Protest Meeting Held

Upon announcement of this decision, the Longshoremen called for the cessation of all work in the harbor as a protest and held a mass meeting at which the men agreed to call a strike if the receiver actually took office.

The longshoremen protested the court's interference in the internal affairs of the union and declared that rather than submit to a decision permitting a small minority, assisted by a court receiver, to rule their job rights they would go out on strike.

Solidarity Stressed

"Sailors and longshoremen fought shoulder to shoulder against the common enemy in many battles. Our bettered conditions resulted from such solidarity. Our rightful future depends more than ever on this solidarity.

—Sailor's Union of the Pacific,

Beal Defense Wins Strong Supporters

(Continued from page 1)

Wash., and John T. Bernard of Eveleth, Minn.

Among the outstanding writers now in the defense group are Ferdinand Lundberg, author of "America's Sixty Families"; Edmund Wilson, one of the leading literary critics; Hendrik Willem Van Loon, author of "The Tales"; John Chamberlain, author and critic; Eugene Lyons, author of "Assignment in Utopia"; Sidney Howard, John Dos Passos, James T. Farrell, Rose Wilder Lane, M. R. Werner, Lincoln Colcord, Helen Woodward, Ludwig Lore and James Rorty.

Educators of national importance active in the defense include Prof. Paul H. Douglas of Chicago University; Alvin Johnson, head of the New School for Social Research; Sidney Hook of New York University; and Paul Brissenden of Columbia University.

Among other members of the Non-Partisan Committee for the Defense of Fred E. Beal are Alfred M. Bingham, Marion P. Burroughs, Abraham Cahan, V. F. Calverton, Richard T. Cox, Zara DuPont, Abraham Epstein, Morris Feinstein, Benjamin Gitlow, Rubin Guskin, Elizabeth Gilman, Jed Harris, Hazel Hawthorne, John Herling, Frank M. Hill, Jacob Hillquit, Gail Hillson, John Haynes Holmes, Harry W. Laidler, Lucy Robbins Lang, Suzanne LaFollette, Pierre Loving, Bertha M. Mally, Charles Malamuth, A. J. Muste, Liston Oak, Meyer Schapiro, Anna Shapiro, Samuel Shore, Clara G. Stillman, Benjamin Stollberg, Norman Thomas, Carlo Tresca, Harry Weinberger and others.

ANNOUNCEMENTS

- Insertions in this column are 25 cents for five lines. Copy must be in at the APPEAL office before six o'clock Monday evening.
- POLISH WORKERS CLUB dance and entertainment at their new headquarters, 78 St. Marks Pl., Saturday, Feb. 26, 8:30 P. M., 25 cents.
- WILLIAMSBURG SOCIAL, at the new headquarters, 18 Lewis Avenue, Brooklyn. Famous Red Dancers and Refreshments, Sat. February 26.

WANT ADS

ROOM WANTED. Young man would like to share room, apartment, or studio with congenial soul. Write S. M. in care of the SOCIALIST APPEAL.

Fresh Light Is Cast On Poyntz Case

Where Is She?



JULIET POYNTZ

Tresca Links Mystery Of Missing Woman To Rubens Affair

By JUNIUS

The week's developments in the widening exposure of the activities in this country of Stalin's G.P.U.—an expose set in motion by the Robinson-Rubens arrests in Moscow last December—threw new light on Stalinist connections with the mysterious A. A. Rubens and heightened the significance of the charge made by Carlo Tresca, anti-fascist leader, that the mysterious disappearance of Juliet Stuart Poyntz, once a prominent Communist Party leader, is linked with the Rubens case.

Daily Finds It Too Hot

The Stalinist Daily Worker continued to curse Tresca, but has not dared to refer to its erstwhile outstanding woman leader otherwise than by cautiously describing her as "an American woman" as if she had never been for years on end a comrade and close confidante of Earl Browder and company in the Central Committee of the Communist Party!

On Feb. 22, Hearst's New York Journal and American quoted State Department officials as saying that Rubens "was in reality an O.G.P.U. agent," and that a connection between Rubens and a man calling himself "Mr. Weston," who posed as an under-secretary of state and was taken into custody last week after he had applied for 25 passport application blanks, "has been proved."

Investigators are also understood to have established the existence of friendly connections between Mrs. A. A. Rubens, who is being held incommunicado in a Stalin prison cell in Moscow, and Christian Rudewitz of Wisconsin, whose naturalization papers Rubens (her supposed husband) was earlier said to have stolen.

The State Department continues to maintain silence, despite increasing demands that it open the Robinson-Rubens-G.P.U. dossier and reveal the full facts about Stalin's plot to stir up a reactionary, war-inspiring spy scare in the United States. The department's behavior, it is learned, may shortly become a subject for discussion on the floor of Congress.

VANGUARD GROUP FORUM

Public Lecture JAMES RORTY well-known author SUBJECT: What Price Machiavellianism? A discussion of the policies of Stalinist-liberal journalism. Sunday, Feb. 27, at 8.30 p. m. Vanguard Hall, 22 W. 17th St., New York City Admission: 15 cents.

War Mobilization Plans Provide Virtual Fascist Regime For Labor

BY DAVE COWLES

The danger of imperialist war now confronts American workers. It is they who are to fight. It is they who are to die. They must know what war means to them and what they mean to do about war when it breaks out.

War will involve millions of workers at the front, bringing with it the wholesale destruction of workers' lives. However, there are some, unemployed and old people, who think that war will mean jobs and high wages for them in the rear.

They are fooling themselves and deluding others. What war will mean at home has already been decided by the War Department in its Industrial Mobilization Plan. This plan has been developed since 1921; it was discovered accidentally by a Senate Committee investigating munitions. After seeing the plan, the committee announced that "the price of a war may be actual operating dictatorship, under military control, in this country."

To Conscript Labor

The purpose of the plan is to conscript industry and labor for war purposes. Actually, it would establish a military-fascist dictatorship in the United States. The plan calls for the establishment of an Army and Navy Munitions Board, made up of military men and assistant secretaries of war and the navy. The board will have power to promote "orderly mobilization of industry" for war, and there is specific provision that "approval of action taken by the Munitions Board is not required."

In short, the board has supreme power over the life of the country. This includes complete control of the press, since another provision gives it power "to co-ordinate and direct the national publicity activities so as to insure that the purposes, views, and progress of the government in prosecution of the war are properly and adequately presented to the people and that the aid of public opinion is enlisted to the fullest possible extent in behalf thereof."

In the plan for a military-fascist dictatorship there are plenty of provisions for workers at the rear. A War Labor Administration is set up to handle them. The head of it, the War Labor Administrator, has a Council to advise him which is packed with employers and military men. This council is to solve the problem of how to ensure that there are no strikes to stop war production. It will also figure out wages, hours, and conditions of work, how to make the wages of union men the same as those of non-union men, and where and how women and children should be put to work.

Strikes To Be Smashed

About these provisions, the Senate committee remarked that "the attitude of military men may be hostile to strikes even in peace." Those workers who have got tear gas instead of wage increases from employers, and martial law from the National Guard called out to break a strike in time of peace, can picture what will happen to wages and conditions in time of war.

Workers who are dissatisfied with wages and conditions will not be able to strike. They will not be able to move to another city or plant to get a better paying job. They will be bound like serfs to the jobs that they have.

Under the plan, it is the duty of

Lynn Workers Protest Hill-Sheppard Bill

LYNN, Mass.—By unanimous vote, the 245 members of the United Restaurant, Beverage, and Allied Food Workers, L. I. Union No. 701, adopted a resolution opposing the Hill-Sheppard Bill (H.R. 6704), which provides for industrial mobilization for the coming war. The text of the resolution, as follows, was forwarded to Massachusetts Senators David L. Walsh and H. C. Lodge, Jr., Congressman Lawrence J. Conroy, 7th Congressional District, and the House Military Affairs Committee:

"Whereas, Bill H.R. 6704 pretends merely to regulate production and prevent war profiteering, but is in essence an attempt to subject American labor to a fascist regime in the event of war; and

"Whereas, the fascist nature of this bill is revealed by the extraordinary powers it gives the president to fix wages and other conditions of employment and by the penalties, provided for in this bill, of \$1,000, or a year's imprisonment, or both, imposed on anyone who attempts to change conditions otherwise than is provided in the bill, so that in effect the right to strike and other collective action of mutual aid and protection by the American workers is prohibited; and

"Whereas, Bill H.R. 6704 is supported by those militarist and reactionary interests which have sought in the past to introduce measures expressly providing for drafted labor during a war, and when said measures were defeated are now attempting by means of Bill H.R. 6704, which in substance would provide for drafted labor, to legalize their reactionary intent; now, therefore, be it

"Resolved, that we record our absolute opposition to H.R. 6704 as a menace to organized labor, and that we throw our full weight into the effort to defeat this reactionary and militarist Hill-Sheppard Bill H.R. 6704."

Women and Children Too

Women are also included: "The statutes of the various states prescribe certain restrictions in the hours and conditions of employment of women and minors in industry. Other restrictions are brought about through regulations issued by various authorized Federal and State agencies, by agreements with trade unions, and in other ways. Many of these regulations and restrictions are expedient rather than necessary to the well-being of either the nation or the workers. In a national emergency... the operation of some of these regulations and restrictions may well be suspended."

May Be Extended

The military dictatorship which will take power during the war will not disappear at the end of the war. The plan provides that it will remain in full force and effect for the duration of such war and thereafter... until Congress shall declare the emergency created by such war to be at an end." The dictatorship, by not permitting Congress to meet, or packing Congress so that it does not "declare the emergency created by such war to be at an end, can continue in power."

Wages Attacked

The effects of war on the living standards of the workers at home will be disastrous. The cost of living will skyrocket, but the workers will not be able to get higher wages. The same Senate committee reported that "a determined effort to keep wages down is possible in the next war." For instance, Bernard Baruch, speaking for financial interests, "has specifically recommended the fixing of all wages." The job

Sedoff Dies in Paris After Sudden Illness

(Continued from page 1)

mained at his tasks in Paris. The following August came the Moscow trials and Trotsky's internment in Norway. The task of organizing the defense, of gathering all the essential material from all corners of Europe, of challenging the accusers and making them take the stand before world opinion as the accused, fell in those first months upon the shoulders of Leon Sedoff, who was also named as one of the defendants in the Moscow frame-up.

Through articles and statements in the bourgeois press and most of all through his remarkable work, Le Livre Rouge, a shattering exposure of the frame-ups, Sedoff carried on the fight which his father, interned, was powerless for the moment to lead.

After Trotsky went to Mexico and the movement for an international inquiry took concrete form with the creation of the Dewey Commission, Sedoff, still in Paris, gathered and collated a great part of the voluminous evidence, the facts and depositions which played so great a

role in the verdict of that commission which found Trotsky and Sedoff both innocent of the charges leveled against them by Stalin's court.

The death of Leon Sedoff deprives Leon and Natalia Trotsky of their last child, unless Sergei Trotsky is still alive somewhere in a G.P.U. dungeon. The savage vendetta with which Stalin has pursued the standard bearer of Marx and of Lenin has extended unto his children and those whom his children have married.

His Daughters

Nina, his younger daughter, died in Russia in 1928 shortly after Trotsky was exiled. She was denied by Stalin the medical attention and care that might have saved her life.

Zinaida, his elder daughter, received special permission in January, 1931, to visit Trotsky at Prinkipo. She left behind a daughter by an earlier marriage in the care of her mother, Trotsky's first wife, Alexandra Lvovna Bronstein. The fate of both Alexandra Lvovna, the child, and Zinaida's husband, is unknown. All have disappeared into Stalin's

of fixing wages would be in the hands of a commission made up mainly of representatives of big business. It is this situation that compels the senate committee to conclude that "the position of labor would be intolerable."

Any labor leaders who fight against these "intolerable" conditions will be dealt with quickly either by martial law or by termination of exemption from military service. The plan provides that he "who... shall fail or neglect fully to perform any duty required of him... shall be tried by martial law." Any worker who refuses to act as a strike-breaker when so ordered will be tried for treason.

The plan also provides for postponing active army service for a worker who is needed at his job. This is called deferment. However, the Senate committee points out that "the Government authorities could break any strike simply by cancelling the deferments of the strike leaders and as many of their men as necessary and drafting them into the army." In short, fighting for decent wages and living conditions will be punished either by death at "home" or death at the front.

Sauce For the Goose

"But," asks another, "If the French C.P. voted for the military budget, what's wrong with the American C.P. supporting the naval appropriations?" "It's a lie," shouts the speaker, "and besides get a good look at another enemy of the people..." "If it's O.K. to support the quarantine-aggressor policy, why not have a big navy to back it up?" queries a puzzled worker.

The speaker purrs in the best Y.M.C.A. manner, "You don't understand, comrade..."

The pre-convention is over. A worker approaches one of the Trotskyites and asks him a question, when a loud shriek pierces the hall, "Stay away from him! He's poison!"

Opposition to war and fascism, sincerely meant and carried into action, means a fight against capitalism in its peace-time war preparations. Opposition to war, once the war is on and the government is conscripting all into the armed forces, means nothing if it consists of words alone. Opposition must take specific action. We must use the weapons, not against the workers of other countries but against "our own" government, which has flung us into war.

In her absence, Zinaida and her son, Vsevolod, were deprived of their citizenship and refused permission to return to Russia.

She went to Berlin, continuing her efforts to return to Russia, but in vain. At the end of 1932, the German government ordered her expelled. Ill, with nowhere to turn, and seared by the calumnies heaped upon her father, Zinaida on January 5, 1933, committed suicide.

Sergei, the younger son, was arrested by Stalin in 1934 together with his wife. Their fate is still unknown.

Leon's wife and son were left behind in Russia when he went to Prinkipo. Their fate has never been learned.

The only survivor is Vsevolod, the 12-year old son of Zinaida, who has been under Leon's care in Paris, where he still remains.

Detroit Scene Of Jingo Orgy By Stalinists

Panay Bombing Pictures Shown At Convention "Discussion"

DETROIT.—"The Communist Party Annual Convention (in Wards 2, 4, 6, 8) invites you to its pre-convention discussions which are open to the public.... The pre-convention discussions will be on: (1) For the right to work for a decent American standard of living.... (2) How to prevent war—why we must fight for economic sanctions and collective security.... Additional feature will be the showing of the famous movie 'Sinking of the Panay'.... Admission free.... You are welcome." (C.P. leaflet.)

So a couple of benighted "Trotskyites" ambled up in search of enlightenment, thinking they might participate in the pre-convention discussion. Some 100-150 of the faithful had gathered.

Audience Yawns

One William Allen was haranguing them on details of the Economic Royalists' plot to embarrass "Our President" and how a "decent American standard of living" could be had under the present system by standing shoulder to shoulder with F. D. R. "People of Wards 2, 4, 6, 8 go forth and do your duty." The exhilarated audience yawned a few times and the lights went out for a little Stalinist culture—"The Sinking of the Panay."

The good ship "Panay" was depicted on an "errand of mercy" when along came the horrible Jap and sent it to Davey Jones' locker. True, the film did not show the actual bombing. What of it? Any good Stalinist can supply the details. But it did show "Old Glory" fluttering proudly in the breeze—three or four times. And each time, the patriotic claque vigorously applauded. Somehow, the applause did not spread, and even the claque became less enthusiastic. Soon it was over. Instead of the Stalinists marching out in serried ranks to join the Marines, they yawned again.

Feature Mickey Mouse

In a minute, the apathy was gone. Applause rang out, and exclamations of delight filled the hall. The next item on the pre-convention discussion was to be a showing of "Mickey Mouse!" The speaker following "Mickey Mouse" was to have been Willie Weinstein. But he was ill (well he might be!) so a Mary Himoff battled for him. The usual blab about "collective security," only done up in the most approved kindergarten manner.

Then came the "discussion"! "Is the Communist Party for or against Roosevelt's billion-dollar navy budget?" asks a Trotskyite. "No," lies the speaker, shouting, "and besides turn around and get a good look at him. He is an enemy of the people and a disrupter of the peace movement...."

Akron Spurts Forward

And Akron comes through with a letter from Charles Martell: "... Please increase Akron's bundle order to 40. We have recently been having much better sales at union meetings, etc. than heretofore. This is partly due to the improvement of the Appeal and partly due to more intense activity on our part. We hope continually to increase our order right up to... Der Tag." (Good work, comrade Martell, but Akron can do much better.)

Karl Shier of Chicago thanks us for the build-up we gave him a couple of weeks ago but says he doesn't deserve it. He says that when Chicago does organize a sub drive twice as many subs will be flowing into the Appeal office.

The APPEAL Drive Edward Dean of Berkeley, California says, "We are glad to see that the Appeal is becoming a newspaper." (How about doubling your bundle order again, comrade Dean?)

Prizes are being offered to comrades obtaining the greatest number of Appeal subs each month in the course of the Drive, which opens officially on Monday, February 21.

1st Prize—a choice of one of the following books:

1. Lundeburg's Sixty Families.

2. History of the Russian Revolution (3 volumes in 1)—by Leon Trotsky.

3. World Revolution (C. L. R. James).

2nd Prize—a choice of one of the following books:

1. The American Legion. The Legion, the Appeal's source of information disclose, by agreement with the authorities was to oppose the war referendum project and back the Sheppard-Hill industrial mobilization and labor conscription bill.

Representative May, who is in charge of this legislation, has categorically denied that the bill has been shorn of its labor conscription provisions, which remain incorporated, although disguised in general terms.

SOVIET UNION NOTES

French Newspaper Investigates Activities of G.P.U. Murder Agents—Tells Of Schemes To Encompass Death Of Ignace Reiss

By JOHN G. WRIGHT

The French press has reflected the great indignation and resentment that has been aroused by the action of the French judicial authorities in allowing a G.P.U. agent, implicated in the murder of Ignace Reiss, to escape. The newspaper Le Jour undertook an independent investigation into the case, and on February 2 appeared with the following headlines:

SPIEGELGLASS, HEAD OF G.P.U. ORDERED REISS' MURDER IN PARIS.

FOR THE FIRST TIME SOVIET AGENTS HAVE OVERSTEPSSED THEIR CUSTOMARY CAUTION. After recounting the details surrounding the murder of Reiss, Le Jour charges that Spiegelglass had been sent to Paris on a special mission to effect a "purge" among the secret agents there. When the Grossovsky couple, to whom Reiss had entrusted his letter to the Kremlin, which was to be forwarded with the diplomatic mail, handed over the letter to Spiegelglass, the latter immediately ordered the assassination of Reiss.

Murder Operatives Summoned

Two G.P.U. agents were summoned. We cite from the article: "One of these Russian agents was resident in Paris, the other, according to our information, was merely passing through. But it so happened that these two men chosen for the task found different excuses for evading it. One pleaded an urgent mission, the second found some other excuse. But one of these two agents, the non-resident in Paris, was amicably inclined toward Reiss. He wished to warn him of the terrible danger that threatened. Tell it to Reiss personally? That would compromise him beyond repair. He hit upon an ingenious method to do so without revealing his identity. He phoned Reiss, who was in a cafe, and said: 'This is X speaking....' Then he hung up. He repeated this procedure three times."

According to the further account, Reiss, who was an experienced man, immediately gathered what was up, and on the next day departed for Holland, where he visited a friend, leaving with him a copy of his famous letter. Then he departed for Switzerland—where he was murdered. According to Le Jour, the G.P.U. agent who left for Russia has not been heard of since. The other agent received instructions to come to Moscow immediately, and had even bought his ticket, but at the last moment decided not to go. He remains in Paris under the protection of the French police.

Makes Complaint Of Double - Cross

As for Grossovskaya, the article implies that she might not have left France voluntarily. Le Jour reports a conversation she is alleged to have had with Soviet diplomats in which she complained that they had not kept their promise to her—not to have her involved in the case. They reassured her. She is also reported to have been considerably disturbed over the fact that she had received no word from her husband, who had fled to Moscow several weeks before.

The editors of the Russian Bulletin (No. 62-63) cite the following facts relating to the activities of one Beletsky, G.P.U. agent masquerading as Soviet trade representative in Paris: It was Beletsky who issued instructions to Gertrude Schildach, one of Reiss's assassins. Not trusting her fully, he had her shadowed. He not only instructed Schildach to take an apartment with Rossi, the actual killer, in a hotel, but visited them there a few days prior to the assassination. It was he who gave Schildach and Rossi a box of poisoned candy intended for Reiss, his wife and child. The editors further declare that there are any number of witnesses available to testify concerning Beletsky's activity. For example, a German emigre F., a woman, broke with Beletsky and Co. after the murder of Reiss. Beletsky came to her rooms and threatened that unless she immediately left for Moscow she would suffer the same fate as Reiss.

Appeal Drive On

The drive is on. Comrades are already taking advantage of the improvement in the Appeal and have spontaneously started drives in their own locals. Carmen Mikosz of Toledo, Ohio, writes in and says, "Cheers for the Appeal! Each succeeding issue has more and more keenly expressed and reflected the progress of the class-struggle of the American worker.... We are planning a drive for subs. Please send us some Appeal blanks... (We know you'll use the blanks, comrade Mikosz—you have used a lot of them in the past.)"

From this week until the end of the drive, figures will be published as to the standing of locals throughout the country. Increases in bundle orders and subs (and decreases, if there are any) will be made known to everyone.

At the moment, Chicago has shown the most activity—but has possibilities of going much farther and admits it.

How about California? Go after those Labor Action subscribers!

Minneapolis pays but it should be a small job to double the Appeal bundle order at once.

Here in New York, Abe Miller, who has taken over the whole literature set-up, promises that the Appeal bundle will be increased by hundreds in the near future.

John Boulds in Plentywood, Montana, told us a few weeks ago that he was snowed in—but sent in a couple of subs anyway. Don't let anyone tell you that the Appeal doesn't have a circulation among the farmers.

Six Pages Needed We hope that we'll be able to say something about Philadelphia next week. Comrade Sol Thomas has had many difficulties to contend with, but we are expecting some action from him in the near future.

*** We need a six-page paper to make more room for a full report. Push this drive and make it possible to enlarge the Appeal by the time the drive is over.

Memorial Meeting IN HONOR OF Leon Sedoff devoted fighter in the cause of the international working class who died in Paris, Feb. 16, 1938. SPEAKERS: Max Shachtman Editor, Socialist Appeal Maurice Spector Editorial Board, New International Ernest Erber National Chairman, Young People's Socialist League SUNDAY EVENING, FEB. 27, at 8 P. M. MANHATTAN PLAZA, 66 E. 4th Street New York City Auspices, Socialist Workers Party, Local New York

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BOB BROWNE
Business Manager.

LEON SEDOFF

We lower our banner over the open
grave of Leon Sedoff, stainless soldier
in the war for the liberation of the dis-
inherited.

To his grief-stricken parents Leon
Trotsky and Natalia Ivanovna Sedoff,
whose daughters Nina and Zinaida were
hounded to death several years ago by
the same unspeakable monsters in the
Kremlin who have buried the fourth of
their children, Sergei Sedoff, in a prison
or a grave—we send a deeply-felt mes-
sage of condolence, and of continued
solidarity from comrades-in-arms who
are more determined than ever to remain
with them at the front lines of the
struggle for which Leon Sedoff gave his
life.

Leon Sedoff was of the younger ge-
neration of Russian Bolsheviks who re-
sisted the corrosive effects of Stalinist
corruption and disintegration. At the
first sign of bureaucratic decay of the
Workers' State and the Third Interna-
tional, he joined hands with the older
generation of incorruptibles in the his-
toric fight for revolutionary internation-
alism. For fifteen of his thirty-two years,
he stood steadfastly in the ranks of the
Bolshevik-Leninists, taking a leading
part in the unremitting campaign they
conducted, active in one country after
another, finally becoming one of the
founders and leaders of the Fourth In-
ternational.

Selflessness, infinite devotion to the
cause, single-minded attention to the
struggle, unshakable firmness in prin-
ciple, boundless courage—these were the
characteristics of Leon Sedoff, faultless
model of a proletarian revolutionist.

The new generation of revolutionists
who pick up his banner will march for-
ward inspired by his unforgettable ex-
ample!

The victory of the working class will
avenge his untimely death!

Stalin's Letter

The much-publicized letter of Joseph
Stalin to the Young Communist League
member, Ivan P. Ivanov, has given rise
to a good deal of speculation about a new
leftward swing of the Stalinist machine.
Superficial observers, especially those
who have not read the letter, even see in
it an abandonment of the hitherto cano-
nized doctrine of "socialism in one coun-
try". Among the capitalist press, the
New York Post, for example, which the
gullible Daily Worker had hitherto prai-
sed as a liberal associate in the Popular
Front crusade for "Peace and Demo-
cracy," interprets the letter in a sense
revealed by the sensational headline of
its front-page editorial: "Stalin Takes
Off the Mask"—that is Stalin always was
and still is in favor of international re-
volution, and current communist utter-
ances in favor of peace and democracy
have been calculated only as a cover for
incendiary internationalism.

The truth of the matter is that, how-
ever significant the debated letter, it re-
presents no alteration whatsoever in the
fundamental nationalist policy of Stalin.
As the letter itself indicates, Stalin ar-
gued a dozen years ago in favor of the
following two propositions: (1) a class-
less socialist society could be established
within the confines of one country alone
and by the efforts of the people of that
country alone, regardless of the course
or fate of the working class movement,
or the revolution, in the rest of the world;
but that (2) the "final victory" of this
socialism, that is, guaranteeing it against
foreign military intervention, required
the victory of the workers "in at least
several countries."

In both these propositions, reiterated
in the latest encyclical, is contained a
radical break with the theory of revolu-
tionary Marxism, of proletarian interna-
tionalism. If anything, Stalin now goes
a step further "by discarding his 1926
formula of "the victory of the workers
in at least several countries"—which at
least implied the proletarian revolution
in the capitalist countries—and replac-
ing it with the intentionally vague, mean-
ingless formula according to which the
"final victory" requires the "serious as-
sistance of the working class in capital-
ist countries" (Daily Worker, Feb. 17,
1938). It is no longer the overthrow of

capitalism abroad which the defense of
the Soviet Union calls for from the work-
ers, but their "serious" aid, or as he
puts it elsewhere in the letter, "the polit-
ical assistance of the working class in
the bourgeois countries."

It is the old anti-Marxian dogma
of Stalin, for it not only repeats the na-
tionalistic formula of a socialist utopia
in one country alone, but even empha-
sizes the conception that the working class
abroad is reduced to playing the role,
not of revolutionary internationalist ad-
versaries of capitalism, but merely of
frontier guards patrolling the borders
of the Soviet Union.

No revolutionary "turn" is possible on
such a rotten foundation, and Stalin has
made none.

Yet, the Stalin letter does represent
a revision of the official stand taken in
the past—not in 1926, but in 1935. Uroz-
henko, the local official who removed
Ivanov from his post for referring to
Stalin's 1926 formula, argued: "Comrade
Stalin said this in 1926, but we are now
in 1938; at that time we did not have
final victory, but now we have it and
there is now no need for us to worry
at all about intervention and restora-
tion."

Whereupon Stalin observes in his re-
ply to Ivanov: "Comrade Urozhenko's
assertion can be explained only by his
failure to understand the surrounding
reality and his ignorance of the elemen-
tary propositions of Leninism, or by the
empty boastfulness of a conceited young
bureaucrat." Bravo! It could not be put
more exactly. Only in this respect, Uroz-
henko is simply one of the obscure rank-
and-file followers of the collectivity of
august personages, headed by Stalin
himself, which, for the past three years,
has been teaching him to make the argu-
ments he directed at young Ivanov. For
it was no less solemn and responsible a
body than Stalin's hand-picked Seventh
Congress of the Communist Internation-
al in 1935 which not only declared that
socialism was possible in a single country
and that a classless socialist society had
already triumphed in the Soviet Union,
but decreed that this triumph was al-
ready "final and irrevocable." From that
moment till the hour of Stalin's letter,
the "final and irrevocable victory of so-
cialism" in the Soviet Union was a car-
dinal article of faith in the Stalinist
Church, and woe betide the heretic who
questioned it (as Ivanov has testified).
Urozhenko, like all other Good Believers,
was simply repeating what the Seventh
Congress in 1935 told him to repeat.
Now, it appears, the formula dictated to
the Congress in 1935 by Stalin "can be
explained"—in Stalin's own language of
1938—"only by his (Urozhenko's) failure
to understand the surrounding reality
and his ignorance of the elementary pro-
position of Leninism, or by the empty
boastfulness of a conceited young bureau-
crat."

Thus, while the Stalin letter does not
represent a turn towards revolutionary
internationalism—which the Communist
International is quite incapable of accom-
plishing—it does represent a signifi-
cant abandonment of the "ignorance"
and "empty boastfulness" of the Seventh
Congress formula.

Why? Why does Stalin, for the first
time in years—in three years at the very
least—suddenly remind his followers of
the existence of such a force as "the
working class in the bourgeois countries"
and of the Soviet Union's need of the
"serious support" of this working class?
Why is there not on single syllable de-
voted to as much as a mention of the
famous "peace-loving" countries, of the
equally famous "democracies," of the
"People's Fronts"—which have been re-
ferred to in thousands of official Stalin-
ist documents as the great bulwark of
the Soviet Union, as the effective foe
of anti-Soviet interventionist fascism?

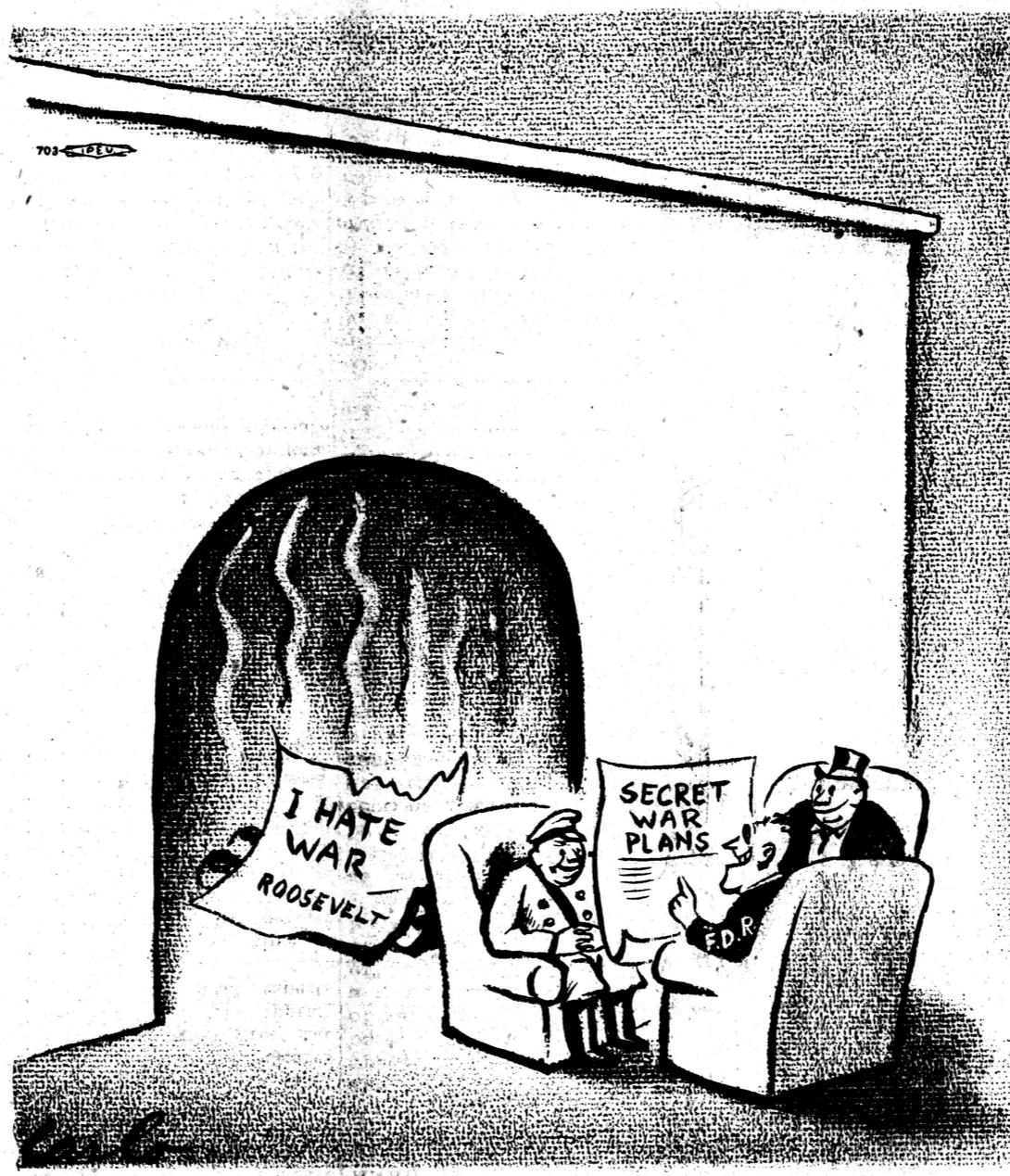
There is but one answer, and in it is
contained the secret of the Stalin letter:
The whole People's Front policy of the
Communist International has collapsed
like the house of cards it always was!
Stalin's course has led not to streng-
thening the defense of the Soviet Union,
but to consolidating world capitalism, to
isolating the Soviet Union to a greater
extent than has been the case for years,
and to enhancing enormously the perils
which face the Soviet Union today.

The pipe-dream of a "democratic"
capitalist-Soviet bloc against the "war-
loving" fascist powers, is giving way
before the eyes of the world to the rude
reality of the movement for a Four-
Power Pact of the imperialists from
which the Soviet Union will be exclu-
ded and by which it will be imminently
menaced.

In this international situation, the
genuine defenders of the revolutionary
conquests represented by the Soviet Union
will once more be shown to be not the
spurious and flighty "Friends" of the
Stalin bureaucracy, but the militant
working class of the world, acting inde-
pendently as a class, and those revolu-
tionary Marxists who have employed so-
cialist science foresightedly and in line
with the program of the Fourth Interna-
tional.

But the new position of the Soviet
Union in the changing world political
set-up, and its relation to the new "em-
phasis" in Stalinist policy, deserves and
will receive separate treatment in our
next issue.

Fireside Chat



Marxism and Collective Security

By JAMES BURNHAM

In their editorial notice pre-
ceding the debate between Earl
Browder and Charles A. Beard,
the editors of the New Republic
write: "No more important sub-
ject is before the American
people today than the question of
foreign policy usually described
by the alternatives of 'collective
security' and 'isolation'."

The current hearings on the
naval appropriation measure be-
fore the House of Representatives
Naval Affairs Committee are
similarly being conducted in the
light of this same alternative:
"collective security" or "isola-
tion." Every speaker who has ap-
peared before the Committee
supports, with whatever personal
modifications, one or another of
these two policies.

Beard and Browder, also,
throughout the course of their
debate, assume that the choice is
limited to these two policies.
Neither of them makes any men-
tion of any third possibility. Each
of them takes for granted that
if he can refute the position of
his opponent, then his own view
is thereby proved.

TWO POSITIONS
FUNDAMENTALLY RELATED

This should serve to indicate
that the two positions of collect-
ive security and "isolation,"
in spite of the seeming contradic-
tion between them, do in point
of fact share important features
in common. However great the
gap between them may appear,
they are in fundamental respects
alike.

The two positions are alike, in
the first place, in that neither
analyzes the actual cause of mod-
ern war. Both argue merely on
the surface, as if war were due
to the wickedness of individual
men, the effect of this or that
law, or the success of some clever
bit of diplomacy.

They are alike, secondly, in
proposing a solution for "the
problem of war" within the fra-
mework of capitalism. Collective
security and isolation equally
presuppose the continuing exist-
ence of capitalism.

Thirdly, they are alike in that
each offers as its solution a pro-
gram for adoption by the govern-
ment of the United States; that
is, each proposes as its answer
to the war crisis a set of actions
to be performed by an imperia-
list state.

ARE PART OF
PREPARATION FOR WAR

As a consequence, both of
these policies, both collective
security and isolation, are in the
last analysis not programs
against war at all, but are part
of the preparation for war.

They act as part of the pre-
paration for war in a number of
decisive ways. For example, since
both of them, and their advocates,
presuppose support of the im-
perialist government of the Unit-
ed States, they aid in building
up attitudes of loyalty toward
that government; and thus, when
the government goes to war, as

it will, the same attitudes of
loyalty will keep support behind
it for the war.

Both policies, moreover, by
hiding the true nature of war,
of the U.S. government, and of
imperialism in general, spread
disastrous illusions among the
people, and divert any genuine
struggle against imperialist war
into a chase after impossible
dreams.

Even more fatal is the fact
that both of these policies, each
in its own way, impotent to fight
against war, serves to give moral
justification to the war when it
comes. This happens partly be-
cause, as the last war showed,
the leading spokesmen, known
publicly as "the leaders of the
peace movement," go over to
open support of the war as soon
as it starts. The masses reason:
If these men, who lead the fight
for peace, support the war, then
it must be a good war; and, even
if it is not, we cannot oppose it
effectively without their help.

But these policies themselves
provide moral justification apart
from the men who advocate them.
The war will be propagandized
as a lawless breaking of collect-
ive security, or a violation of
neutrality and isolation; and thus
the very fight for peace will
seem to the masses to demand
a war to enforce the "peace po-
licy."

ANALYSIS OF CAPITALISM
ONLY TRUTHFUL ANSWER

Marxism, therefore, does not
answer collective security by an
appeal for isolation. Marxism,
bases its answer to the problem
of war squarely and bluntly upon
a truthful analysis of the nature
of war and of capitalism. Any
other basis must lead to lies, il-
lusions, or demagoguery.

Marxism points out that so long
as capitalism endures, wars will
come, that war under capitalism
is not an "accident" or an "ex-
ceptional event" but an integral
part of the very mechanism of
capitalism. War is just as much
a part of capitalism as are eco-
nomic crises. You cannot have
capitalism without having pe-
riodic crises, and you cannot have
capitalism without periodically
having wars. The causes which
bring about wars, the inescapable
need for every advanced capital-
ist nation to attempt to expand
its markets, gain cheaper sources
of raw materials, find new outlets
beyond the internal market for
capital investment, can none of
them be eliminated without elim-
inating capitalism itself.

Every capitalist government,
above all every imperialist govern-
ment—including outstandingly
the U.S. government—is
therefore committed to war "as
an instrument of national policy"
by the very fact that it is a cap-
italist government. To ask it to
renounce war is like asking a
living man to renounce oxygen.

STRUGGLE AGAINST WAR
IS FIGHT FOR SOCIALISM

From these considerations, it
follows that the struggle against
war, the genuine struggle, is
simply an aspect of the struggle
against capitalism and for so-
cialism. This is the truth of the

matter, however unpleasant a
truth it may seem. If capitalism
necessarily brings about war,
you obviously cannot get rid of
war without getting rid of cap-
italism. To divorce the struggle
against war from the struggle
against capitalism is in reality
to give up the struggle against
war, so far as any possible effec-
tiveness is concerned.

This simple truth is systema-
tically obscured by both the ig-
norant and the conscious liars.
So many persons wish to satisfy
their consciences by feeling that
they are "working for peace,"
but at the same time they do not
wish to take the risk of working
against capitalism. To these
persons we must say: Deliberate-
ly or unconsciously you are fool-
ing yourselves. Which do you
really want—peace or capital-
ism? You cannot have both. If
you are unwilling to give up cap-
italism, then your pretended
fight for peace is a fraud, and a
fraud which aids no one but the
war-makers.

FEAR OF WORKERS
CHECKS WAR MAKERS

The day-by-day class struggle
of the workers, which by
strengthening the working class
is implicitly directed against cap-
italism, is thus a far more real-
istic means of checking the war
preparations than all of the paci-
fism, isolation and collective
security ever imagined. Fear of
what the workers may do is the
only real hindrance to the war-
makers. They laugh at, and ex-
ploit to their own ends, the pro-
paganda of isolation and collec-
tive security.

In the end, however, the over-
throw of capitalism itself is the
only conceivable means for stop-
ping war. Socialism, and it alone,
will end war because socialism
and it alone will root out the
causes of war. The program of
the socialist revolution, when the
question is finally and fully un-
derstood, is the only anti-war pro-
gram.

ANSWER TO WAR
IS SOCIALIST REVOLUTION

This does not mean that it is
impossible for revolutionary so-
cialists to unite with others not
yet accepting their perspective
to further certain specific objec-
tives. Both concrete actions, such
as boycotts and demonstrations,
and even primarily agitational
measures directed against spe-
cific moves of the war-makers
("Withdraw all U. S. Armed
Forces from the Far East," "A-
gainst the Naval Appropriation,"
"Unemployed") can legitimately
serve a limited purpose. But for
the revolutionary socialists these
must always be subordinated to
the general perspective of the
class struggle.

To Browder and to Beard, then,
as to Roosevelt, the Marxists in
the end give one short reply:
The answer to war, the only an-
swer, is the socialist revolution.

(This is the final article in
the series of four by James
Burnham on the New Republic
debate over collective security
between Charles A. Beard and
Earl Browder.)

GREEN-LEWIS WAR

Verbal Battle Seen As Jockeying
For Position In United Body

By JOHN ADAMSON

At the recent convention of the
United Mine Workers of Ameri-
ca, every reference to affiliation
with the A. F. of L. was stricken
from the constitution of the Min-
ers' organization. The Ex-
ecutive Council of the A. F. of L.
countered by expelling the Mine
Workers from the Federation.
The C.I.O. then announced that
it would persuade several A. F.
of L. Internationals to affiliate
with the C.I.O. body. The Ex-
ecutive Council answered with
the threat that it would launch
an organizing campaign among
the coal mining, metallurgical
and flat glass workers. Does this
furious exchange signify the end
of the unity negotiations and the
declaration of a new war to the
finish?

No, the battle of words be-
tween the C.I.O. and the A.F.
of L. will probably never be
translated into action. A new
fratricidal war between the two
organizations is extremely un-
likely. Here and there, in this
or that particular locality, the
present conflict may be mitiga-
ted or aggravated according to
the local conditions, but the
launching of a new nation-wide
battle between the two unions is
practically excluded. Too many
factors of major importance mi-
tigate against such a step and,
as a matter of fact, are pushing
with inexorable force both orga-
nizations onto the road of unifica-
tion.

Drive Stopped

First, the economic crisis has
brought to a halt the great or-
ganizational drive of the C.I.O.
The mass influx of new members
has stopped for both the C.I.O.
and A.F. of L. unions. The
strength and progressive char-
acter of the C.I.O. over the
older and more conservative
unions of the Federation of Labor
lay in the fact that the C.I.O.
went out and organized the mass
production workers in steel, auto-
mobiles, rubber, textile—the nerve
centers of American economy.
These workers constitute the
hardest driven and the most ex-
ploited section of American labor.
To attract them to unionism, it
was necessary for the C.I.O. to
establish low dues and initiation
fees. One dollar monthly dues
prevail in all of the C. I. O.
unions. The initiation fee is twice
that amount. The new unions
were enabled to accomplish their
work and build up the proper or-
ganizational staffs only because
of the great number of workers
they organized.

In the very necessity of orga-
nizing the masses of America,
lay the strength of the C.I.O.
To a certain degree, that very
strength, has now become a
weakness. The economic crisis
has hit first the heavy industries
—machinery, steel, automobiles
etc. The C. I. O. unions have
thus felt the full brunt of the
present lay-offs in industry. The
various Internationals have suf-
fered a tremendous drop in in-
come. The T.W.O.C. and S.W.
O.C. have reduced their staffs
to less than a quarter of the
original size. The United Auto-
mobile Workers of America, larg-
est and most powerful of the new
unions, has removed every orga-
nizer from its payroll.

A. F. L. Also Hit

The A.F. of L. although in
a more favored position, from a
financial point of view, has also
not escaped the catastrophic ef-
fects of the economic crisis. The
metal trades and several other
Internationals already report
more than a third of their mem-
bers out of work and their in-
comes reduced proportionately.
The building trades unions—the
heart of the A.F. of L. organi-
zation—have, in addition, been
singled out by the Roosevelt ad-
ministration, as the scapegoat, in
the drive to reduce wages. A
campaign is in progress to prove
to the nation that the high labor
costs in the building trades are

holding back the national build-
ing program which would ensure
the return of prosperity. The Ad-
ministration is maneuvering the
A.F. of L. Building Trades De-
miners organization. The Ex-
ecutive Council of the A.F. of L.
will be held responsible for the
stagnation of building work in
America. The Administration will
thus be in a position to put an
ultimatum to the Building Trades
unions to "voluntarily" accept
reductions. In addition, all indus-
try is poised, waiting breath-
lessly for the signal from any
one of America's major concerns
to embark on a general campaign
of wage cuts and union busting.

Ranks Want Unity

Both the A.F. of L. and C.
I.O. are entering the new pe-
riod with reduced incomes and
with their own hands full, trying
to hold together their union
memberships and preserve the
present conditions in their own
industries. Far from spending
huge treasuries on jurisdiction-
al raids, both unions fear a con-
certed drive on the part of the
open shop employers to cut to
ribbons the gains won by the
unions in the past two years.

The membership, who feel the
effects of the crisis much more
directly than the union official-
dom, have grown tired of the
jurisdictional squabble. They want
unity. And they are becoming
less and less interested in the
final disposition of the posts, so
long as the two organizations
get together, put an end to the
jurisdictional war and the battle
of newspaper statements, and
preserve the industrial union
structure in the mass production
industries.

The Roosevelt administration is
a staunch supporter of unity be-
tween the two warring camps. In
a normal period of history, an
ordinary capitalist government
would probably play one union
against the other one, and show
preference, if anything, to the
more conservative A.F. of L.
organization. The Roosevelt Ad-
ministration, however, is no ordi-
nary capitalist government,
operating in a normal period of
history. It is rather, a bureau-
cratic, home grown variety of a
People's Front government fever-
ishly preparing for war and im-
perialist conquest. A labor move-
ment divided into two hostile,
warring sections is a luxury that
can only be afforded in times
of quiet and peace. In the pre-
sent volcanic period in American
history, Roosevelt realizes a writ-
ted labor movement can be better
integrated within the machinery
of the capitalist state in the event
of war.

No New Feud

These important factors al-
most exclude the possibility to-
day of a new feud flaring up
anew between the A.F. of L.
and the C.I.O. They point,
rather, to the inevitability with-
in the next period of a unification
of the two bodies. How the posts
and honors will be divided is, of
course, almost impossible to pre-
dict. That the basic principle of
industrial unionism for the mass
production industries will be pre-
served—that is assured.

The recent bold exchange be-
tween the Mine Workers and the
Executive Council is merely
Lewis's way of replying to the
bloc of Hillman, Dubinsky and
Homer Martin within his own
organization that they may shout
as much as they will—he, Lewis,
will not sell until he gets his
price. As a matter of fact, his
price is rather high—the undis-
puted leadership of the American
trade union movement.

Many more press statements
may be flashed across the head-
lines and many more fighting
words spoken. But that is only
the jockeying for position, the
attempt to win hegemony within
the united organization. In the
end the boys will be forced to
get together.

MARXIST SCHOOL

NEWARK, N. J.

The Progressive Workers School of Newark, New Jersey,
opened its 1938 session at the Workers Educational Center,
252 Market Street, on February 18. The following courses
are being given:

- 1. A.B.C. OF MARXISM — Fridays 8:15 to 9:45 P. M.
Instructor, Jack Weber. 10 classes.
2. AMERICAN HISTORY — Fridays 10:00 to 11:30 P. M.
Instructor, Jack Weber, 10 classes.
3. TRADE UNIONISM — Tuesdays 8:30 to 9:45 P. M.
Instructors: 8 Union Organizers, 8 classes.
4. PUBLIC SPEAKING — Tuesdays 10:00 to 11:15 P. M.
Instructor, Leslie Fiedler, 8 classes.

The rates are extremely low (\$1.00 per course, \$1.50 for
two courses, \$2.50 for four courses) and tuition payments
may be made in weekly instalments of 25 cents per course.
For additional information, write Gerry Brock, Director, 252
Market Street, Newark.

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