

WORKERS OF THE  
WORLD UNITE!

# SOCIALIST APPEAL

OFFICIAL WEEKLY ORGAN OF THE SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY

FOR THE FOURTH  
INTERNATIONAL!

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## Unemployed Get No Lead At WAA Meet

N. Y. Convention Skirts  
All Issues Vital  
For Jobless

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

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

LaGuardia's Advice

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

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

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

"Democratic" Processes

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

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

Lasser On Roosevelt

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

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

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

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## 150,000 FRENCH WORKERS OUT ON STRIKE TO DEFY DALADIER

Threatens Workers



PREMIER DALADIER

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

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

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

Floodgates Open

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

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

Accord With Rome Looms

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

Despite this the Socialists and Communists came into the (Continued on page 4)

## Leon Trotsky

### THE PRIESTS OF HALF-TRUTH

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

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

REED AND... DURANTY

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

Is it surprising that the present bureaucracy of the Kremlin

## U. S. Puts Off Freedom For Philippines

War Strategy In Orient  
Causes Revision  
of Plans

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

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

Concession to Bourgeoisie

In 1936, the Tydings-McDuffie Act gave a promise of Filipino independence by July 4, 1946. Roosevelt placed the act on the statute book, against the opposition of the more rabid imperialists in the government, with the aid of the powerful American sugar interests which have heavy investments in the Cuban plantations.

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

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

(Continued on page 3)

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

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

### TROTSKY'S LIFE IS MENACED!

By MAX SHACHTMAN

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

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

Worried In Moscow

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

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

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

He Killed Berneri

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

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

It was Mink who was known throughout Barcelona as the man directly responsible for the arrest of John McNair, representative in Spain of the Independent Labor Party of England. It was Mink—"Herz" who was responsible for the disappearance and probable kidnapping to Moscow of Marc Rein, son of Rafael Abramovich, Menshevik member of the Bureau of the Second International, and of Erwin Wolf, former secretary to Leon Trotsky.

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

Preceded By Other Agents

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

Mink has been preceded by a number of other Stalinist agents. More than a month ago we made public the fact, transmitted to us from France, that a certain Georges Fournial, member of the notorious Stalinist "International of Educational Workers" (Continued on page 3)

## Twelve SWPers Injured By Hoodlum Attack In Chicago

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

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

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

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



LEON TROTSKY

## WILL IMPROVE PANAMA CANAL FOR WAR USE

\$200,000,000 Voted For  
Widening; Nicaragua  
Plan Dropped

Outstanding among the latest war preparation moves of the Roosevelt administration is the plan, announced from Washington last week, to spend \$200,000,000 on the expansion and improvement of the Panama Canal.

This plan, which calls for the construction of a new lock, dredgings and other improvements which will allow of the passage of larger ships, ties in closely with the projected con-

(Continued on page 3)

# Teachers Union Ousted By Joint Committee

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

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

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

### Line-up With Reaction

This move serves notice on the teachers of New York that the Joint Committee takes its place with the dangerously growing forces of reaction, retrenchment and hysteria as expressed most characteristically by the McNaboe-Devaney bill in Albany and the "Educational Signpost" in the school system.

### Rochester Unions Begin Organizing Jobless Workers

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

### AFL Affiliates Support Drive To Unite Unemployed

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

### First Charter Granted

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

### Demand Reorganization

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

But just at this time, a change took place in the "Rank-and-File" group, now the majority group in the union. Instead of following through on its campaign, and reinforcing the demands of the classroom teachers for democratic representation in the committee, there was a sudden switch to conciliation and friendliness. Nothing must be said or done to antagonize the Joint Committee. The union would win them over by the sweetness and light of People's Frontism.

### Oppose False Policy

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

### How To Fight War

Isolation? Collective Security? Relentless Class Struggle? by JAMES BURNHAM 16 pp. Socialist Workers Party 116 University Place New York City

### Stalinists Turn Out For St. Louis Rally

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

### Militant Slate

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

### NMU OPPOSITION SHOWS LACK OF CLARITY IN POLL

### Various Elements Mixed In 'Rank and File' Pilot Group

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

### Revolutionists Barred

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

# C.P. Seeks To Prevent United May Day Parades

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

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

### Stalinists Isolated

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

### Barred In Newark

NEWARK, N. J.—Socialist Workers Party delegates to the Newark May Day conference are to be denied credentials for further participation in the preparation of the May Day celebrations. Our party is also to be debarred from the celebrations themselves.

### Same Tactics In Lynn

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

### Crash Conference

Nevertheless, delegates from the S.W.P., Local 184 of the Workers Alliance, and the Workers Defense League, crashed the "Pre-May Day Conference," which met in the hall of the fake "American Committee for Aid to Armenia."

### Contact Unions

The S.W.P., in a letter to the trade unions of the Greater Newark area, has re-emphasized its desire to demonstrate with labor and pointed out the reasons for its exclusion from the conference, namely, its class struggle program. The S.W.P. plans a May Day meeting to which it is inviting all trade unions.

### American League Fails To Get Response In Yorkville

NEW YORK.—In the heart of proletarian Yorkville a Socialist Party pacifist maneuver, conceived in the best style of the American League for Peace and Democracy, fundered ignominiously last week.

### The Representation

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

### Off the Press

LEON SEDOFF Son-Friend-Fighter Dedicated to the Proletarian Youth by LEON TROTSKY Published by the Young People's Socialist League (4th Internationalists) 116 University Place New York City 10c per single copy 7c in bundles of 5 or more ORDER NOW

### 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.

### NEW YORK

ASTORIA BRANCH, Grand Social and shipping next Saturday night, April 22, 41-22 Forty-Second St. (Apt. 3-K), Sunnyside, Queens. Take Flushing train to Lowery St. Station. Admission 25 cents.

### PHILADELPHIA

ANTI-WAR MEETING, Friday, April 22, 8:20 P. M. 431 Pine Street. Speaker: Maurice Spector. Audiences: Socialist Workers Party. Admission 20 cents.

### LOS ANGELES

STALINISM AND BOLSHEVISM by Leon Trotsky. 10 cents. Orders filled promptly. 5 cents extra for postage. Modern Book Shop, 509 1/2 W 5th St., Los Angeles.

### WANT ADS

PERSON TO SELL SOCIALIST APPEAL on commission basis. See Abe Miller, Local New York, Appeal Office.

# WAA Meet Sedulously Skirts Vital Problems

### Stalinists Run Riot

Appealing the decision of the chair, Neil Harrison for the Progressives pointed out that a previous speaker had attacked the Trotskyists and had not been ruled out of order.

### S. P. Delegates Switch

A number of resolutions, though none dealing with the immediate and vital problems of the unemployed, were reported out by the resolutions committee. On the question of the attitude of the Alliance toward the American Labor Party, the committee was divided.

### Charge Retracted

A motion to refer Pearson's charges to the Rules Committee was carried by the Stalinist-packed convention. Harrison then moved to refer the charges of Trotskyist disruption to the same committee.

### C. P. Slate Elected

The rules committee, which included two S. P. members, brought in a slate for the new joint board, completely dominated by the Stalinists although including four S. P. nominees.

### LABOR PLAYING PENNSYLVANIA BOSS POLITICS

### Lewis Sets Out To Take Over Democratic Party Machine

(Continued from page 1) chine-politicians. The presence of Kennedy on one of the slates and its backing by Labor's Non-Partisan League no more alters this fact than would the selection of a labor bureaucrat as Secretary of Labor turn the current U.S. regime into a workers' government.

### Stalinists Back Democrats

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

### Regimented Vote

The vote at the session was almost identical on practically every question, approximately 64 votes for the Stalinist proposal to about six against.

### Appeal Army

It is not too late to place your orders for extra copies of the May 1st issue of the Appeal which promises to be as popular as the anti-war issue. Let's not repeat the mistake of failing to order in time.

The following subscriptions were received this past week:

Los Angeles	1
Montrose, Calif.	1
Chicago, Ill.	3
Indianapolis	1
Newark, N. J.	1
Peekskill, N. Y.	2
NEW YORK CITY	17
Total	26

One more week of the subscription drive has still to go and New York is far in the lead. We realize that awarding the prizes to comrades in New York is not entirely fair to other locals. But there will be another drive in the near future and we'll figure out a more equitable method of making awards.

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

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

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

If Abe Miller in New York puts all of his ideas into practice, we'll have to find new presses for the Appeal. The present one won't be able to turn papers out fast enough.

Los Angeles Local of the S.W.P. has sent us, by air mail, a special donation of \$10 with the accompanying comment: "The eight-page paper on April 2 sold out almost immediately. We need more. All the comrades and sympathizers in Los Angeles have received it enthusiastically and are anxious to see an eight-page Appeal continue with the same high caliber as the April 2 issue. With an eight-page paper we can immediately double our order. To facilitate this, we are donating \$10 to the Appeal as an initial step."

### Socialist Appeal

116 University Place New York City

I enclose \$..... for which please send me the Socialist Appeal. One year—(\$2.00); Six Months—(\$1.00).

I enclose \$..... as my contribution toward building the Socialist Appeal.

Name .....  
Address .....  
City .....

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

## STALIN'S HIRELINGS AIM FOR TROTSKY

(Continued from page 1)

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

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

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

### Why Is Mink Going To Mexico?

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

## U. S. Puts Off Freedom For Philippine Islands

(Continued from page 1)

ese influence in the islands was growing.

### Promise of Independence

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

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

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

### Bourgeois Crawls

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

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

### Warning to Japan

The Washington observers see

## SHARFIN, GARBER RELEASED ON BAIL

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

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

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

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

## Will Improve Panama Canal For War Uses

(Continued from page 1)  
struction of super-battleships of 45,000 tons.

### For War Vessels

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

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

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

### Offensive Arms Revealed

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

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

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

### A. B. C. of War Strategy

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

## Where Is Juliet Poyntz, Missing Now For A Year?

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

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

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

### Had Reason to Fear

The Stalinists in this country knew of her attitude and had reason to fear her because she might disclose some of their secret nefarious doings. For Juliet Poyntz had quit public activity in the Communist Party in 1934 to become an agent of Stalin's G.P.U. According to Carlo Tresca, witnesses are available who knew her through her work as a G.P.U. agent. As late as 1936 she was seen in Moscow in the company of George Mink, a well-known agent of the G.P.U. and an equally well-known member of Browder's Communist Party.

Mink served a jail sentence in Denmark as a Soviet spy and then went to Spain, where, according to Tresca, he directed and participated in the assassination of Camillo Berneri in Barcelona on May 6, 1937.

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

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

### Stalinists Keep Silent

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

that an offensive be launched.

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

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

### All for Wall Street

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

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

ever-increasing speed.

### Where Is She?



JULIET STUART POYNTZ

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

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

## History Of Polish C. P. Undergoes Refurbishing

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

By ERNEST ERBER

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

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

### History Rewritten

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

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

### Factionalism a Crime

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

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

ski's May coup d'etat in 1926 the leaders of both factions did not take up an independent class attitude, but supported Pilsudski."

### How They Lied

Most humorous "explanation" of all is the following: "In addition, leading members of both factions—'majority' and 'minority,' acting on the instructions of the 'Defenziva,' made a wide practice of deceiving the Communist International. They fabricated data regarding the state of the party organizations, sent in inflated materials regarding mass movements, exaggerated the role of their respective factions in these movements, whereas actually these movements were led by honest rank-and-file Communists who were utterly sick and tired of the 'factional' struggle staged by the 'Defenziva.'"

The writer would be much nearer the truth if he confessed that the reports were sent in by party bureaucrats who lied in order to make their jobs secure, and that the mass movement did not exist at all.

The article on the Polish C.P., no doubt, heralds the appearance of "explanatory" histories for all the sections of the Comintern. We can expect an article most any day now describing how Lovestone and Cannon were sent into the Communist Party of America by the Department of Justice to stir up a faction fight to demoralize the membership and sell out the party to Al Smith and the Liberty League and how, thanks to the eternal vigilance of Comrade Browder, the party was saved for Roosevelt and the Democratic Party.

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

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

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

### Kick Over Traces

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

In Boston our comrades were distributing "An Open Letter to

## SOVIET UNION NOTES

Red Army and Navy Feel Effects Of Purge—New Party Elections To Be Held To Fill Vacant Posts  
By JOHN G. WRIGHT

### Crisis in the Soviet Armed Forces

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

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

### Admirals Given Liquidation Order

The top personnel of the Navy has been even more seriously affected. Orlov, one of the four vice-commissioners of defense and head of the navy, was removed last fall. His successor, Victorov, elected deputy to the Supreme Council, likewise disappeared. Ludri, head of the naval academy, and Sivkov, commander of the Baltic fleet since January, 1937, have also turned out to be "fascist hirelings." Kiryev, appointed to command the Pacific fleet, was nominated as deputy to the Supreme Council but never elected. Kozhanov, commander of the Baltic fleet, disappeared last October and was replaced by Smirnov-Sverlovsky, who did not last long even though he was "elected" deputy. The same fate was suffered by Dushenov, head of the Northern fleet. Out of 22 high ranking officers in the army and navy who were elected last December to the Supreme Council, eight have already turned out to be "enemies of the people."

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

### Recent Developments in the Soviet Union

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

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

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

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

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

### Attacks C.P. Policies

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

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

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

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**The Eleventh Hour**

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

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

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

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

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

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

**Japanese Drive Stopped  
 On Central China Front**

(Continued from page 1)

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

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

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

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

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

The Communist Party, which  
 has now subordinated itself com-

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

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

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

**Blessed Are The Peace-Makers**

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The thinking person cannot escape the  
 reflection:

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

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

**FRENCH WORKERS DEMONSTRATE THEIR MIGHT**



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

**By Leon Trotsky**

**THE PRIESTS OF HALF-TRUTH**

(Continued from page 1)

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

**OPPOSITES IDENTIFIED**

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

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

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

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

**PANORAMA OF NARROWNESS**

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

**150,000 French Workers  
 Strike To Defy Daladier**

(Continued from page 1)

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

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

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

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

**Daladier's Aims**

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

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

**Dangerous Weaknesses**

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

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

**THEIR WORLD**

Their philosophy reflects their own world. By their social  
 nature they are intellectual semi-bourgeois. They feed upon half-  
 thoughts and half-feelings. They wish to cure society by half-  
 measures. Regarding the historical process as too unstable a  
 phenomenon, they refuse to engage themselves more than fifty  
 percent. Thus, these people, living by half-truths, that is to say,  
 the worst form of falsehood, have become a genuine brake upon  
 truly progressive, i.e., revolutionary thought.

A New Masses is simply a garbage can which puts people  
 on their guard by its own odor. The Nation and the New Re-  
 public are considerably more "decent" and "nice" and less...  
 odorous. But they are all the more dangerous. The best part  
 of the new generation of American intellectuals can proceed  
 on the broad historical highway only on the condition of a com-  
 plete break with the oracles of "democratic" half-truth.  
 Coyoacan, D.F., March 19, 1938.

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