

Spanish Militants Describe Escape From Barcelona

Bolshevik Leninists Tell of the City's Fall

Escape With Gorkin and Other P.O.U.M. Leaders; Stalinist Police Left Them To Be Slaughtered

SAY FIGHT WILL GO ON

Terence Phelan, special correspondent in France of the "Socialist Appeal," met and talked to leaders of the Spanish Bolshevik-Leninists and the P.O.U.M. (Workers' Party of Marxist Unification) who managed to make a miraculous escape from Barcelona a few hours before the Fascists entered the city. Having barely escaped the executioners of Franco, these Spanish militants now face the constant menace of arrest by the police of Daladier, erstwhile hero of the French People's Front who has recognized Franco's government.

By TERENCE PHELAN
(Special to the Socialist Appeal)

PERPIGNAN (near the Spanish Frontier), Feb. 16—Deliberately left locked up in prison, at the mercy of Franco's bombers and executioners, and saved only by a daring escape that reads like the wildest adventure story, the POUM leadership and part of the leadership of the Fourth Internationalist Bolshevik-Leninists are temporarily safe in France. They are scattering rapidly for cover before the police bloodhounds of French capitalism, which persecutes them as ruthlessly as did the Stalino-bourgeois government of Spain.

Moving with the greatest caution, this correspondent of the *Socialist Appeal* was able to interview Julian Gorkin, General Secretary of the POUM, and Casanova, courageous Bolshevik-Leninist leader who, since the frame-up arrest of the entire previous leadership of the Spanish section of the Fourth International, has directed the underground work of our Spanish organization.

From comrades Casanova and Gorkin, it was possible to determine that among the known saved are: Manuel Fernandez Grandizo (Muniz), General Secretary of the Spanish Bolshevik-Leninists; "Casanova," his successor; Julian Gorkin, General Secretary of the POUM; Juan Andrade, of the P.O.U.M. Executive Committee; Pedro Bonet, POUM Trade Union Secretary; "Gironella," POUM Propaganda Secretary (already arrested by the French Police and now in Senlis prison); Wilebaldo Solano, General Secretary of the POUM Youth; Juan Parre, Secretary of the Lerida Province POUM Organization; Jose Rodes, former POUM "Governor" of Lerida Province; Juan Guer, Secretary of the Girona Province POUM Organization.

Bolshevik-Leninists Still Missing

Still missing, among others, are: Adolfo Carlini, member of the Bolshevik-Leninist Executive Committee, and Luis Zanon, the young Bolshevik-Leninist comrade who courageously revealed how Stalinist torture had been applied to obtain a bogus confession from him, and was thereupon taken back to worse torture.

Within the State Prison in Barcelona lay 24 of the POUM leadership, condemned to long years of imprisonment; two leaders of the Spanish Bolshevik-Leninists, whose much-postponed trial on a similar frame-up charge was scheduled by a historic irony for the following day (a week before the unbreakable Bolshevik-Leninist leader Muniz, because he had organized a hunger strike among the revolutionary prisoners, had been removed to the fortress of Montjuich); 250 members of the International Brigade arrested on various protests; and a great mass of convicted fascists, whose known presence was all that protected the jail from bombardment. On that last wild night, certain of the fascists would enter Barcelona on the morrow, the conscientious Prison Director, an Austrian Socialist, Vicente de Vicente, telephoned to demand of SIM—Servicio de Informacion Militar (Spanish G. P. U.)—in official charge of jails, a truck to transport his anti-fascist prisoners farther north.

"Let Fascists Finish Off the POUM Bastards"

On the other end of the wire, the SIM Director, a Stalinist, Garces, snarled: "No trucks for the POUM leadership; let the fascists finish the bastards off." Vicente was indignant. He had the strictest orders that, whenever else he had to let go, he must hold on to the POUM prisoners. He was prepared to follow these orders faithfully, but certainly not to leave his prisoners to be butchered by the fascists.

He set out on his own and at last found, at about 2 a. m., a small open truck, and had it brought to the prison gate. Knowing that the fascist prisoners would be released anyway by the entering troops, he paid no attention to them, but hastened to turn loose the International Brigadiers and to get his special prize prisoners off to some jail farther north.

Andres Nin's Widow Saved At Last Moment

Perhaps in the general disorder, Carlini and Zanon escaped anyway. This happened in other prisons. Commandant Kovira of the 29th Division, POUM leader, for whom the Stalinists had demanded the death penalty a week before, miraculously managed to escape in the general wild yelling confusion when the fascists opened the Model Prison. The widow of the murdered Andres Nin, arrested ten days before for bravely continuing the issue of the POUM's illegal bulletins, escaped from nothing less than a G. P. U. secret prison. When the young G. P. U. prison officers fled that midnight, an old non-political prison functionary, his simple logic untouched by the fancier Stalinist slanders, released her with the words: "You're a genuine anti-fascist; and these soldiers that are coming here are genuine fascists; so I think maybe I better let you out, eh?"

Northward rumbled the truck with its mixed load of prisoners and guards. "It was a strange relationship on that ride," said Gorkin with a tight-lipped smile. "The guards were armed to the teeth, and we well knew that if we attempted to run for it, they'd shoot us down without a tremor. Yet we were all jammed up together, man against man."

Next day this strange load was deposited in the tiny isolated coastal town of Cadaques.

But Franco's troops were rolling inexorably north; it was obvious that the village of Cadaques would be cut off in a day or so. Their conscientious jailor again started phoning garrison headquarters in the next town to get a truck for their transport further north.

Again the answer from the SIM was the same: "Leave the bastards to be finished off by the fascists."

Three times Vicente made a personal telephone appeal to Negrin himself. Negrin's final remark in hanging up was: "Forget your truck. Keep them there. I don't want even to hear about the POUMists." The situation seemed desperate, for Vicente was equally determined not to free them.

At that moment, on the afternoon of the 28th, there marched up to the improvised prison, in defiance of their officers, the Loyalist garrison of Cadaques, led by a corporal.

"Is it true," their spokesman asked, "that your prisoners are the POUM leadership?" "It is." (Continued on Page 3)

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TRAITORS KNIFE SPAIN

ROOSEVELT ASKS LABOR TO FORM NATIONAL FRONT

Political Ambitions, War, Call For Labor Unity
UNITY FOR WAR

In an identical letter to William Green, president of the American Federation of Labor, and John L. Lewis, head of the Congress of Industrial Organizations, President Roosevelt this week called upon the spokesmen of the two labor organizations to appoint representatives for a joint meeting to discuss trade union re-unification.

Green announced almost immediately that the A.F.L. had accepted the Roosevelt invitation and appointed a committee of Harry Gates of the Bricklayers, Matthew Woll of the Photo-engravers and Daniel Tobin of the Teamsters to meet with a similar committee of the C.I.O. Lewis, who left New York for Washington, refused to comment.

Bolstering War Program
Although progressives and militants on both sides of the union conflict have stood from the beginning against the division and for re-unification, they regarded the Roosevelt move, irrespective of its outcome, as a step toward bolstering up the President's domestic and foreign policies.

That Roosevelt is not concerned with trade union unity because it will help consolidate labor's fighting strength, has been demonstrated by him repeatedly, most recently of all by the Des Moines, Iowa, speech of Harry Hopkins, promising big business an end to "reform" and an eager readiness to serve capitalist interests.

Roosevelt is, however, concerned above all with two problems in so far as the labor movement is concerned:
1. The division in the labor field has adversely affected Roosevelt's political fortunes in several important cases, as was shown in the last elections. Looking toward 1940, Roosevelt is anxious to assure himself of a united union movement in the expectation that it will swing solidly behind his ticket. The split between the C.I.O. and A.F.L. played havoc with Roosevelt's candidates last year, especially in Pennsylvania.

Wants Safety in Rear
2. Similarly, in his plunge towards war, Roosevelt does not want to run the risk of endangering "national unity" behind the war-machine by the existence of division in labor's ranks. A single, solidly and bureaucratically controlled union movement, as the last World War showed, is an essential part of preparing and conducting the war.

Progressives, therefore, while intensifying their campaign for trade union unity on the basis of guaranteed rights for industrial unionism, are on guard against the Roosevelt attempt to corrupt this unity by subverting it to the domestic and foreign political aims of the New Deal gang.

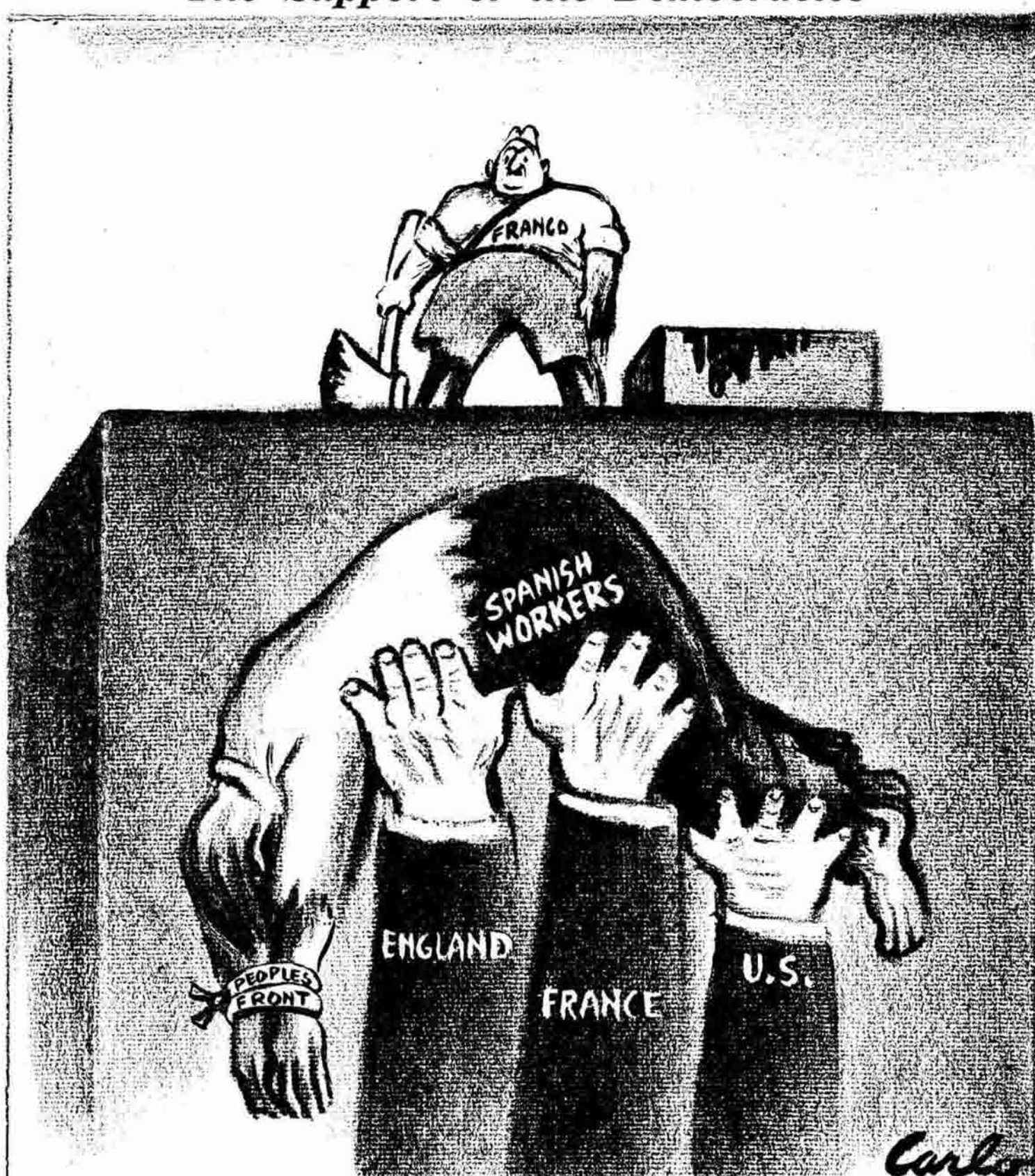
Stalinists Endanger Jobs Of 20,000 at Auto Plant

(Special to the Socialist Appeal)
DETROIT, Feb. 23.—The first reverberations of the faction fight in the auto workers union inside the plants came to an end today when Plymouth men returned to their jobs after a one day strike. This was a typical case of Stalinist mismanagement, involving the jobs of 20,000 workers in the Plymouth, Chrysler and Briggs plants.

The dispute broke into the open when C.I.O. Local 51 demanded that the corporation negotiate only with it and not with the McCartney-Martin faction. H. L. Weckler, vice-president of the Chrysler Corporation, pursuing a subtle anti-union policy, insisted on dealing with the shop committees of both factions on an equal footing. Ed Hall, U.A.W. vice-president, and Leo Lamotte, President of the Plymouth Local, demanded that the management deal only with the U.A.W.'s representatives. Upon Weckler's flat refusal, they declared the plant on strike. This morning the workers walked through a C.I.O. picket line to return to work.

Blow at C.I.O. Prestige
The first test of strength in any plant, the events of the last two days at Plymouth are a heavy blow to the prestige of the C.I.O. which represents the great bulk of automobile workers. It is the same kind of injury Plymouth dealt only with the U.A.W.'s rep-

The Support of the Democracies



F.D.R. SPOKESMAN GOES DOWN LINE FOR BIG FINANCE

Following out the rising trend which, during the past six weeks, has set in from every quarter of the Administration, Secretary of Commerce Harry Hopkins, in a speech delivered last Friday at Des Moines, publicly pledged the government to go down the line for big business.

Hopkins' speech had been preceded by a month of careful preparation. Roosevelt's remark in his January 4 address to Congress that \$400,000,000 to \$500,000,000 in

Los Angeles SWP Pickets Nazi Meet

Complete Details of Demonstration Tell of Militant Action

The following is a more detailed account of the anti-Nazi demonstration led by the Los Angeles branch of the Socialist Workers Party last Wednesday night.

(Special to the Socialist Appeal)
LOS ANGELES, Feb. 23.—Five thousand anti-fascists, responding to the call of the S.W.P. and Y.P.S.L., militantly demonstrated last night before Deutches Haus, and forced a hasty adjournment of the German-Bund meeting celebrating Washington's birthday.

Only a few Nazis were able to break through the picket line to make their way to the front entrance of the meeting hall, running through a curtain of rotten tomatoes and eggs.

The picket line and demonstrators held their ranks firm until the Fascist meeting adjourned, compelling the Nazis to disperse through the rear and side entrances of the hall and to leave under police escort. Several of the uniformed Bund members were hurt as they attempted to leave prior to the time the police guards came to their assistance.

S.W.P. Discovers Plans
Although the German-Bund Rally was called without advance publicity, the S.W.P. discovered the plans one day prior to the meeting and immediately began preparations for the demonstration.

Thousands of leaflets flooded the city, publicity was obtained in all the daily papers, radio news bureaus announced the demonstration, trade unions and unemployed organizations, schools and

More than 15,000 leaflets calling on rank and file members of the Communist Party to join the Socialist Workers Party and fight fascism with ACTION were distributed at the rally. (Continued on Page 2)

HEARST'S GANGSTERS HIRED SLUG STRIKERS AGAIN

By AL LIEBECK
(Special to the Socialist Appeal)

CHICAGO—For the second time since the beginning of the Newspaper Guild's strike against Hearst's Herald & Examiner and American, hired thugs aided by the police proceeded to smash a demonstration, in front of the Hearst plant on Saturday, February 18.

Some six or more Guildsmen and sympathizers, two of them members of the Socialist Workers Party, were beaten with rubber hose and lead pipes by the Hearst strikebreakers. One of the strikers suffered a fractured skull and the latest reports from the hospital are that he is still unconscious.

After the arrests of pickets the strike leaders decided to lead the demonstrators to Mayor Kelly's office in the City Hall to protest against his cops' actions in siding with the Hearst hoods. After a 3-hour wait at Kelly's office, they decided to leave for the strike headquarters where a mass meeting was held.

At the mass meeting the strike leaders reported on those injured and called upon a striking Guildsman, who was hit across the forehead with a crowbar, to say a few words. This militant young striker offered the only possible solution for winning the strike. He asked for the formation of defense guards to beat down the Hearst thugs whenever they show their faces. (Continued on Page 2)

PRES. AZANA AIDS DEMOCRACIES TO SUPPORT FRANCO

Head of People's Front Quits Paris

NO TERMS ASKED

Arriving at the logical conclusion of their "non-intervention" policy, the British and French governments on Monday extended formal and unconditional recognition to Franco's fascists as the legal government of Spain.

Facilitating this step, President Manuel Azana, who had permitted French Premier Daladier to quote him last week as having declared further struggle was useless, left the Spanish Embassy in Paris to take up residence in an Alpine resort, leaving the Spanish presidency vacant in fact. Under the constitution, his successor would be Martinez Barrio, president of the Cortes who, however, is also in France.

Leaders Saving Own Hides

Both United Press and Associated Press dispatches quoted Loyalist officials as preparing to complete "the single proviso of the armistice said to have been reached Saturday"—removal from Central Spain of some 10,000 Popular Front officials by French and English naval vessels.

In extending recognition, Prime Minister Chamberlain whitewashed Franco's terror against the workers by "noting with satisfaction" Franco's statement "to take proceeding only in cases of those against whom criminal charges are laid."

The single-mindedness of the ruling classes of France and England was shown by the fact that both cabinets voted unanimously for Franco.

They Sought This Goal

For two and a half years the Anglo-French imperialists had steered toward this goal. Two tremendous obstacles had blocked their path:

1. The resurgence of the French working class, beginning with the great revolutionary strike wave of June-July, 1936, coincided with the outbreak of the civil war in Spain. The onward-marching French workers made it impossible for the French capitalist regime to support Franco directly.

But then the Stalinists and Socialists came to the aid of the bourgeoisie, joining in a Blum-Daladier Popular Front government and three succeeding Popular Front cabinets culminating in the elevation of Daladier to the premiership by Stalinist and Socialist votes. The collaboration between the "left" bourgeoisie and the Stalinists and Socialists in the Popular Front enabled capitalists to break the back of the workers' movement. That is why the Popular Front leader, Premier Daladier, was able to smash the recent general strike. With the workers thrown back, the Anglo-French imperialists could safely go over to Franco.

2. Within Spain, the workers and peasants, smashing the fascist uprising and seizing control of the principal cities and provinces in July, 1936, took over the factories and the land, organized workers' militias, and were the real power in Spain. If they continued on this road, establishing a revolutionary government, they would not only wipe out Franco but inspire a new revolutionary wave in Europe.

Stalin's Aid To Chamberlain
How to strangle the Spanish revolution was, therefore, the main problem confronting Anglo-French imperialism. Stalin provided them with the solution. He did for the imperialists what they could not do for themselves. His Spanish apparatus secured an unholy alliance with the Socialist and Anarchist leaders to persuade (Continued on Page 2)

In the Trade Unions

By B. J. WIDICK

A typical C.I.O. state convention was held recently in Massachusetts. It had, however, some extremely important nuances of differences that make it worth analysis.

For example, a resolution condemning Coughlin for his Nazi and anti-labor activities passed only by a narrow margin! No one, to be sure, took the floor and openly defended Coughlin. But the vote was eloquent testimony of the danger of Coughlin's influence. It permeates the organized labor movement.

The Stalinists were put neatly on the spot by the introduction of the anti-Coughlin resolution. They had tried to slander certain progressive union leaders as Coughlinite agents, and had to eat their own words when these union leaders introduced the anti-Coughlin resolution!

Symbolic of the changes within the C.I.O. during the past year was the fact that the total number of delegates to this convention was 263. Last year there were 484.

Theme Song Is

"Save Wagner Act!"

The problem of maintaining and organizing unions received insufficient attention at the convention. Little mention was made of the decline in delegates, a reflection of the status of the unions.

The theme song of the convention was "Save the Wagner Act!" John Brophy, director of the C.I.O., James B. Carey, secretary of C.I.O., William J. Hynes, John L. Lewis, personal representative, and Joseph Schlossberg of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers spoke on the subject. It hardly needs belaboring that all of them said the same thing. The fight for the Wagner Act is an extremely important one. It must be won. But to occupy half the convention with speeches on the subject means to neglect other burning issues. This happened.

All the speech-making becomes a form of filibuster. It takes too much time of a two day convention. This is typical of state C.I.O. conventions.

Eli P. Oliver, head of Labor's Non-Partisan League, was enthusiastically received by the delegates. His blast against Senator Walsh of Massachusetts who is sponsoring reactionary amendments to the Wagner Act was cheered heartily. Nothing was said about independent labor politics, and no resolutions on the subject reached the floor. In this, the convention was a miniature of the national C.I.O. convention.

C.I.O. Democracy Disputed

We find it very significant that the only serious dispute at the convention was over the question of more democracy within the C.I.O. set-up.

A group of delegates from Worcester introduced a resolution on the selection of vice-presidents who make up the executive board. The resolution called for six members of the executive board to be "rank and filers!" That is, delegates who were not on the payroll of any national or international union, though it did not exclude business agents or those directly answerable to local unions.

The discussion got hot. Michael Widman, chairman of the C.I.O., and a U.M.W.A. official, spoke emphatically on this point. The Stalinists swung behind him, and the resolution lost by a large majority.

Other C.I.O. state conventions have had similar controversies. It is a manifestation of the rank and file suspicion and concern over the C.I.O. set-up.

Blast at A.F.L.

Unlike most C.I.O. meetings, this one began with a bitter blast against A.F. of L. officials in Massachusetts by Thomas F. Burns, U.R.W.A. vice-president. Burns didn't pull any punches in talking about the record of John F. Gatelee, former president of the Massachusetts Federation of Labor. He branded Gatelee a racketeer and an organizer of violence. Usually, a conciliatory speech towards the A.F. of L. features a C.I.O. convention. In many localities in Massachusetts, there is a working agreement between the two organizations, however.

Significant too, there was no resolution passed calling for a third term for Roosevelt.

Continued next issue

Stalinists Endanger Jobs Of 20,000 at Auto Plant

Only Rank and File Grouping Against Both Stalinists and Martin Can Save Union

(Continued from Page 1)

workers have been suffering for the last year under the incompetent, bureaucratic rule of the Lamotte-Stalinist clique.

The crooked manipulations of this clique gave the reactionary McCartney gang its opportunity to gain a stronghold among Plymouth workers. And now before the issues are entirely clear to the majority of Plymouth workers and without any adequate preparation, a strike is called which ends in a disgraceful fizzle. Plymouth workers would do well to give this Stalinist clique its walking papers before more irresponsible actions result in a wreckage of the local and the domination of its remnants by the reactionary, essentially company-inspired McCartney crowd.

Martin Closer to A.F.L.

Meanwhile Martin moved closer to the A.F.L. as thousands of workers previously supporting him, even in his fortress in Flint, moved over into the C.I.O. camp.

The agents of Green and Frey are now openly operating in the auto situation through the medium of Chester M. Wright, publicity expert of the A.F.L. Executive Council. Wright has set up offices in one of the leading Detroit hotels and all Martin press releases now emanate from there.

Martin as much as stated that he is going to put a die-hard A.F.L. chauffeur at the wheel of his jalopy which by now has few auto workers left as passengers—completely confirming predictions made in the Socialist Appeal concerning the inevitable trend of Martin's policy. In a speech over the radio last Monday night, Martin blurted out the following gems:

"If the American Federation of Labor does, perchance, look upon a fight against dictatorship with a friendly eye, that does credit to the American Federation of Labor. You may be sure that we are not going to discourage any sincere friendship for democracy in the world against dictators and destroyers, nor in our part in that struggle."

Reserves Final Stroke

This is the most expedient manner Martin can put the question of his alliance with the A.F.L. labor skates without losing the rest of his following. He is reserving the final stroke for the Detroit convention on March 4, where the locals that attend will already be expelled from the C.I.O.—by bureaucratic orders of Lewis and the Stalinists—and will have no other alternative but to place themselves at the mercy of the craft-union wolves of the A.F.L.

Martin is crossing the Rubicon of progressive unionism with all the lying hypocrisy of the preacher sticking in his throat. "The A.F.L. . . is fighting dictatorship." When? Where? How?—did this gang of dictators on the Executive Council ever fight dictatorship?

Chief spokesman of this crew is Hutchinson, czar of the carpenters union, who denied the right of 80,000 lumber workers to vote at his convention in order to keep himself in power. The other members of the Council haven't had a convention of their unions in five and ten years.

No Change of Heart

If the A.F.L. clique of Woll, Frey, Hutchinson and Co. has had a change of heart on the score of democracy, why don't they readmit the industrial unions of the C.I.O. integrally and with full rights into the A.F.L.?

No! Far from having a change of heart, the scavengers in the leadership of the A.F.L., with Martin's help, are trying to utilize the chaotic situation in the auto union to subvert the sentiments of the bulk of the auto workers, and carve a few craft kingdoms for themselves in this industry.

Martin's strictures against Lewis' dictatorship fall wide of the mark. It is an undeniable fact that Lewis, Hillman and Co. are not one whit less dictatorial or bureaucratic than Green, Frey or Hutchinson. They learned in the same school and their separation is only a matter of a few short years. But the auto workers cannot correct this evil by asking for the intervention of the dictators of the A.F.L. They can only correct it themselves—inside their own union, and relying upon the independent strength of the rank and file.

Lovestonettes Not Wanted
The struggle against bureaucracy in the C.I.O. can only succeed when the rank and file organizes independently on a constructive, union-building and militant program at the C.I.O. convention at Cleveland. And along with this pitches its strength to defeat Martin's craft union wolves from edging their insidious influence into the auto situation.

Martin's love-feasts with Green and Co. have created consternation among his Lovestone camp-

followers who see the beginning of the end—their end. The A.F.L. crowd doesn't want any reds around—even the self-effacing, strongly diluted pinks of the Lovestone group. So it is reported that Washburn and Munger are trying to jump off the boat. But where can they jump? Only in the drink. The auto workers are not likely to give this cringing, lickspittle group any hospitality. The chapter of Lovestone's unprincipled intrigue is rapidly being closed in the U.A.W. And there will be few mourners to shed a tear, when the pitiful hearse of Lovestoneism passed by.

Rank and File Program
The fight for a program and an independent group continues with larger following and stronger support as the Cleveland Convention approaches. Five locals have already signed the program and groups are now being organized and beginning to function in the largest locals of the General Motors and Chrysler Corporation in Michigan.

This rank and file group, which alone can save the union from destruction and mismanagement at the hands of the contending Lewis and Stalinist clique, stands on a constructive, fighting program. Some of its main points are:

A thirty-hour week without reduction of present weekly rates;

A closed shop in general Motors and the abolition of the infamous disciplinary letter granted General Motors by the Executive Board;

A five billion dollar appropriation by congress for low-cost housing and medical care for workers;

An aggressive drive to organize Ford's and the competitive parts plants.

Calif. Devises New Anti-Labor Trick to Hit Chrysler Union

Frame-Up Scheme Aimed at All Unions

(Special to the Socialist Appeal)

LOS ANGELES, Feb. 20.—Using a new method of attack on organized labor, the District Attorney in Los Angeles secured indictments from the Grand Jury charging 15 officers and members of Chrysler Local 230 of the United Automobile Workers Union with extortion and conspiracy. All 15 of the men were arrested and released on bail fixed at \$2,500.

The new frame-up tactic is based on the theory that the union members threatened employees at the Chrysler plant with violence or loss of jobs unless they joined the union. This was twisted into extortion by claiming that to "force" these workers to join the union meant to "extort" union dues from them.

First of Kind
The District Attorney's office conceded that the prosecution was unusual. The indictment is the first of its kind to be returned in this country. It was the same District Attorney, Buron Fitts, who secured the first conviction of sit-down strikers in the United States on charges of conspiracy in the Douglas Aircraft sit-down strike case in 1937.

The local C.I.O. council issued a statement to the press claiming these arrests and charges are intended to injure the efforts of labor in Los Angeles to secure repeal of the anti-picketing ordinance passed by the voters in the last municipal election.

Aim to Crush Unions
The local press has reported that since the arrest of the 15 men, the District Attorney's office has been investigating numerous similar cases reported to them. The idea is obviously to use this new method to supplement the anti-picketing ordinance in aiding the local employer organizations to crush the trade-union movement.

If the District Attorney succeeds in establishing a new precedent in this case, the bosses nationally are given a dangerous weapon against the trade union movement. With the aid of company stooges and spies all efforts of union men to organize can be used to frame charges of extortion and conspiracy against them. Labor must be aroused and united against this danger.

ANNOUNCEMENTS
ROOM FOR RENT: Comfortable, bright, steam heat, 5 mile view, \$4.00 per week. See S. Stanley at the Appeal office.

GIRL wants to contact girl who has sent to share or to find one; write E. Kimmel, c/o S. Stanley, Socialist Appeal, 116 University Place, N. Y. C.

AKRON BOSSES INITIATE DRIVE AGAINST W.P.A.

Throw Hundreds Of Unemployed Into Streets

AKRON, O., Feb. 21.—A vicious campaign to throw thousands off W.P.A. and leave them to starvation was launched in the Akron district this week to the resounding cheers of the rubber barons, the city officials and their assorted stooges.

Hundreds of special investigators and assistants were hired to "drive the chiselers off W.P.A." and to eliminate the aliens.

Already 500 non-citizens have been fired from the W.P.A. sewing project and bluntly told they would, under no circumstances, receive any kind of relief.

Four Cents Per Meal

The thousands of citizens whom the investigators intend to fire will receive direct relief amounting to four cents per meal.

Stray dogs in the county dog pound receive meals costing 10 cents, and county prisoners receive meals costing 15 cents.

Non-citizens get absolutely no aid of any kind and face actual starvation. Others getting an allowance of four cents a meal will perish in a more dignified manner. They will starve "The American Way."

This brutal, terribly reactionary action places the relief system in exactly the same class as that of Nazi Germany.

Hitler throws the Jews and political opponents to the wolves of starvation. W.P.A. does the same to the aliens and other workers who want only a decent living.

Unions Resist Attack

The city fathers are already wondering whether the campaign will end as successfully as it began. W.P.A. unions—excepting the Workers Alliance, of course—are fighting this attack with vigor.

Already joint action against the cuts has been established, and will be continued with ever greater militancy.

The W.P.A. unions must obtain the fighting support of the other unions in the district, especially the United Rubber Workers. The strength of 50,000 union men, fighting on a militant program, will send the Fascist minded relief officials and their rubber bosses beating a hasty retreat.

The thousands of rubber workers thrown out of the gum mines onto public works know the truth of the saying: "A rubber worker today, a W.P.A. worker tomorrow."

Administrators Chisel

If chiselers are to be cleaned out, they should be cleaned out of the highly-paid administrative positions in warm offices, far from the wintry blasts on the projects.

The Workers Alliance made its last bankrupt stand when, after certain recent cuts had already gone through, it called upon Congress and "the President" to prevent the cuts.

PRES. AZANA AIDS DEMOCRACIES TO SUPPORT FRANCO

(Continued from Page 1)

the workers and peasants to abandon the fight for socialism in return for military supplies from England and France.

They abandoned the fight for socialism "until the war is won." The Spanish G.P.U. executed and jailed the flower of the Spanish proletariat. In return they got promises from the Anglo-French diplomats for military supplies. The Spanish Popular Front staked everything on Anglo-French support . . . and didn't get it for the very good reason that the Anglo-French imperialists wanted no Loyalist victory followed by a socialist regime.

Having succeeded thus in getting out of the way the two main obstacles to its plans, the Anglo-French imperialists have now gone through with those plans, recognizing Franco.

"You are a traitor to Britain," cried a Communist member of Parliament to Chamberlain. "You have betrayed democracy."

Chamberlain did not betray the capitalist class. He simply did its dirty work.

The Real Traitors

Those who told the Spanish workers to depend on the English and French governments, who revolution in order to curry favor with the Anglo-French imperialists—they are the betrayers and traitors of the working class. The blood of a half million martyred workers and peasants killed in the civil war, and of those whom Franco will kill hereafter, is on the hands of these labor liars—the Anglo-French imperialists—the Stalinists and their Socialist and Anarchist allies.

Boss Regime Aims Blows At French Revolutionists

(Special to the Socialist Appeal)

PARIS, Feb. 18.—French Bonapartist capitalism, well realizing who are its most dangerous enemies, has lately been striking blow after blow against the militants of the French section of the Fourth International. Last week, comrade Suzanne Charpy, administrator of "Revolution," monthly organ of the Jeunesse Socialiste Revolutionnaire, was re-sentenced on appeal to 10 months in prison for an article calling on French workers

to fight against French imperialism's war plans. No sooner had her successor, comrade Morel, brought out another issue reprinting an article by Mitard in praise of the great Black Sea mutinies, than he was also arrested, the issue seized; he too faces a severe jail sentence. But the J.S.R. cannot be terrified by police repression: under a new administrator, a new issue of "Revolution," just issued, continues to fight against French imperialism war plans, calls on the young conscripts to turn any imperialist war into a civil war for

the overthrow of war-breeding capitalism and the establishment of socialism.

Continuing its blows, French capitalism yesterday sentenced comrade Pierre Böhys, administrator of the "Lutte Ouvrière," weekly paper of the Fourth Internationalist P.O.I., to six months in prison for an article in which he said: "We will not march, either for imperialist war, or for a Four-Power Pact directed against the U.S.S.R." A new administrator immediately appointed, "La Lutte Ouvrière" continues to live up to its name, "The Workers' Struggle."

Goodrich Workers Fight To Keep 30-Hour Week

Issue in Los Angeles Strike Won As Ohio Men Vote on Yielding

(Special to the Socialist Appeal)

LOS ANGELES, Feb. 20.—The strike of 550 employees of the Goodrich Rubber plant was successfully terminated today when Local No. 43 of the United Rubber Workers Union obtained the approval of the rank and file to an agreement with the plant management maintaining the 30-hour week and the four six-hour shifts in the 24-hour production departments of the plant.

The strike beginning Jan. 30 and lasting 20 days was called when the management declared plans to change the number of shifts in the production departments which operate twenty-four hours a day to three shifts instead of the four six-hour shifts, indicating a move to return to the eight hour day.

The agreement signed is effective until October 31 and provides for the settlement of further grievances or complaints concerning temporary changes in the hours of labor by meetings between the union committees and the management. There was no question of wages involved in the dispute.

Anti-Nazi Pickets Trial Set Thursday

(Special to the Socialist Appeal)

NEW YORK, Feb. 22.—Trial for victims of police brutality at the anti-fascist demonstration Feb. 20 has been set for Thursday, March 2, in the court at 314 West 54th Street at 9:15 A.M.

The defendants are Michael Nardich, Peter Shotes, Lionel Sheppard, and Abe Dellinger. They are charged with disorderly conduct.

The case of Peter Saunders, Negro worker, arrested at the demonstration, beaten by police, and charged with "cruelty to animals" and "assaulting an officer" will be heard March 6.

The case of George Mason, declared guilty at night court of disorderly conduct at the demonstration has been appealed.

Legal defense for all the above defendants, medical attention, and bail—in the case of Peter Saunders amounting to \$100, has been furnished by the American Fund for Political Prisoners and Refugees.

NOW IN SESSION

The MARXIST SCHOOL is being held at Irving Plaza, Irving Place and 15th Street, N. Y. C. Classes began on Feb. 27.

I. PRACTICAL TRADE UNIONISM—Sam Gordon, B. J. Widick. Lectures on the day to day activity of the trade unionist. Mondays, 7:15 P.M.—8:40 P.M. 6 lectures—\$1.00

II. PROBLEMS OF AMERICAN POLITICS—James Burnham, Albert Goldman, Max Shachtman. Marxist analyses of the shifting American political scene. Mondays, 8:50 P.M.—10:15 P.M. 6 lectures—\$1.00

III. WHAT IS TROTSKYISM? John G. Wright. The truth about Trotskyism based on original documents. Tuesdays, 7:00 P.M.—8:40 P.M. 6 lectures—\$1.00

IV. ART AND POLITICS. Six lectures by Phillip Rahv, Dwight Macdonald, James T. Farrell, F. W. Dupee, Delmore Schwartz and Will Phillips. (A half year's subscription to the Partisan Review will be given free to every registrant.) Tuesdays, 8:50 P.M.—10:15 P.M. 6 lectures—\$1.25

V. THE SECOND AMERICAN REVOLUTION—George Novack. The American Civil War. What it really was and meant. Wednesdays, 8:50—10:15 P.M. 6 lectures—\$1.00

Registration can be made at the school office, 116 University Place or at the Labor Bookshop, 28 East 12th Street, N. Y. C., between 1 p.m. and 8 p.m. Registrations may also be made by mail or by calling ST 9-0567.

WHIRL & TWIRL PARTY & DANCE

Featuring OZZIE CASWELL & HIS SWING BAND

• Entertainment—Dancing—Refreshments • SATURDAY EVE—MARCH 4

AT THE Y. C. L. AUDITORIUM—8:30 P.M. (15th St. & Union Square, New York City)

Auspices: Young Peoples Socialist League—4th International

116 University Place, N. Y. C.

SUBSCRIPTION—39c in advance (49c at the door)

APPEAL ARMY

"News of your inspiring work in rallying New York anti-fascists against the German-American Bund reached us today. Words can hardly express our enthusiasm. So impressive was it that our Party is mentioned in the local press."

"We want to follow up on your activity by making it known in Akron. Will you send us one hundred (100) copies of the Friday issue of the Appeal?" — Paul Fielding, Appeal director of Akron, Ohio.

We might add that we sent the papers with pleasure. It is on the basis of similar reports and activities that the Appeal is forging ahead to mass circulation figures. Our paper is truly becoming the organizer of the anti-fascist forces in America!

NOW IS THE TIME

TO GET SUBS:

With our Party's name on the lips of thousands of workers, now is the time to press forward in your local subscription campaign.

After a fine showing last week, the number of subs that have come in so far this week has fallen off considerably. Quite a few branches have still to be heard from.

In the next issue we will publish a full list of branch quotas and fulfillment of these quotas at the half-way mark. There is still five weeks left in the sub drive for 1,000 new readers!

STATEMENTS NOW

IN THE MAILS:
The first statement on the semi-weekly Appeal is now being mailed out and will reach your branch shortly. The key words here are: Action, action!

Every branch by now fully understands its responsibility in meeting its current Appeal bills. Let's have an immediate response.

REMINDER:

(1) How many bound volumes of the Appeal (1938 & 1937) have you sold? Remember we are still offering a generous commission to all agents who sell three (3) or more bound volumes!

Fascist Meeting Picketed By S.W.P. at Los Angeles

(Continued from Page 1)

colleges, Jewish and other minority groups were reached and asked to attend.

Mayor Turns Down Delegation

The Mayor's office was approached prior to the meeting by a delegation from the S.W.P., Y.P.S.L. and Relief Workers Protective Union in order to secure a commitment on the right to picket and peaceful assembly. Mayor Bowron, elected by the combined efforts of reformists, liberals, Stalinists, Labor's Non-Partisan League on the promise of support of free speech and assembly, refused to see the delegation which finally succeeded in meeting with one of his secretaries. The secretary refused to make any definite promises to the committee.

At 7 P.M. the party and Y.P.S.L. formed its ranks in front of the Deutches Haus and began its picketing, bearing banners with slogans of "Fight Against Anti-Semitism," "Only Labor Action Will Stop Fascist Barbarism," "Build Workers Defense Guards," "Solidarity With German Workers Against Hitler," "Repeal Criminal Syndicalism," "Repeal Anti-Picketing Laws," "Free Six Oakland Anti-Fascist Defendants," "Capitalism Breeds Fascism," "Open Doors To Anti-Fascist Refugees."

Sound Truck Utilized

A sound truck was parked across the road from the Bund Hall and was in constant use throughout the demonstration, keeping up the spirit of the demonstrators by playing trade-union and revolutionary songs. The party steering committee gave all public directions over the sound equipment, keeping the crowd disciplined. For most of the demonstration, Dave Stevens, organizer of S.W.P., Murry Weiss of the Y.P.S.L., John Murphy of the Relief Workers Protective Union, Bob Otel, leader of the United Electrical and Radio Workers Union at Dura Steel Shop, Steve Roberts, Chairman of the steering committee, addressed the demonstration by way of the sound car.

The party and Y.P.S.L. members maintained perfect discipline and carried out all orders. Several demonstrators gave way to their hatred of fascism and began tossing rocks, eggs, and rotten vegetables at persons attempting to enter the building housing the Nazi meeting. Several of the Nazis were hit by eggs and tomatoes and windows were broken.

Nazis Attack 4th International

Most of the persons attending the meeting were forced to enter through the rear and side entrances. A few anti-fascists who attended the meeting on the inside reported that the noise of the demonstrators and the sound truck drowned out the German speakers and forced a quick adjournment. The Nazi speakers were bitter in denouncing the Fourth Internationalists as the enemies of Fascism.

The demonstrators remained, continuing their militant spirit until 9:45 o'clock, joining in the shouting of slogans, the singing of songs, booing people entering the Fascist meeting hall, following the active lead of the Party and Y.P.S.L. who marched constantly in a picket line before the Bund building. Throughout the demonstration the flare of photographic flash bulbs illuminated the massed throng. Toward the end of the demonstration, the police began massing radio cars and motorcycles, announcing their approach by the wailing of sirens. The police were used as escorts for the departing Fascists and were compelled to force their way through the ranks of the demonstrators.

Demonstrators Release Prisoner
At one point in the demonstration the police arrested a man

suspected of throwing eggs at the Nazis. As he was led away a large section of the crowd followed the police with jeers and boos, shouting demands for the release of their prisoner. With this pressure the demonstrators succeeded in securing the release of the anti-Fascist.

At 9:45 lights began to go out in the Deutches Haus and it was reported that the Nazi meeting was over and that the Fascists were leaving. With the end of the meeting the Party and Y.P.S.L. declared the termination of the demonstration and called for an organized adjournment.

Rank and File Stalinists Join

The Stalinists and their sympathetic organizations refused to support the demonstration. However, a number of the Y.C.L. and C.P. members joined the ranks of the internationalists to show their solidarity with the anti-Fascist activity. The I.L.G.W.U. and the United Electrical and Radio Workers, and the Relief Workers Protective Union officially supported the demonstration. Members of a number of unions, including the U.A.W., attended and supported the demonstration. A large delegation of Dura Steel workers adjourned a shop meeting in time to attend the demonstration.

S.W.P. Combats Fascism

The demonstration received wide publicity in the daily Los Angeles press and has aroused considerable interest and sympathy for the S.W.P. David Stevens, local organizer of the party issued the following release:

"The national policy of the Socialist Workers Party is to combat all forms of Hagselism, Coughlinism, Silver Shirt and Vigilante organizations in this country by the united action of all labor and anti-fascist organizations, through mass demonstrations, formation of Workers Defense guards and similar activities. The Socialist Workers Party is watching closely the Fascist activities in this country and stands ready to initiate united action to spike the Fascists."

Every capitalist paper in Los Angeles gave front page headlines to the event, crediting the Socialist Workers Party and the Young Peoples Socialist League with calling for and leading the demonstration.

But The People's World (Stalinist) reported the event as a "spontaneous demonstration of 4,000 led by a Reich refugee."

Stalinist non-participation in the demonstration was not mentioned. Reason! "The Bund meeting was given no advance publicity." But somehow, 5,000 anti-fascists, excluding the Communist Party, "spontaneously" discovered the event.

The S.W.P. visited the Mayor in advance demanding a statement that the police would not interfere with the picket line, prepared legal defense; and, utilizing a sound truck at the demonstration, gave all directives, carried all banners, and lead the picket lines in shouting anti-fascist slogans.

All this was reported in great detail in the press of the entire nation together with many news photos showing the struggle led by the S.W.P. and the Y.P.S.L. against the Nazis, but The People's World reports, "The so-called 'Socialist Workers Party' and the Young Peoples Socialist League injected

IN THE WORLD OF LABOR

By Paul G. Stevens

Ukrainian Social Democrats Leave 2nd International for . . . Nationalist Intrigues

Last September's crisis showed up the so-called Labor and Socialist International (Second International) as a pretty hollow shell. Shortly after Hitler's reorganization of Czechoslovakia, the Czech social democracy quickly crumbled away from even this shell. It is now becoming moth-eaten in addition to hollow. The latest recruits to post-Munich nationalism within its ranks are the Ukrainian social democrats.

Meeting in conference at Prague (significantly enough) on Nov. 5 last, the Ukrainian Social Democratic Labor Party adopted a resolution withdrawing from the Second International. The L.S.I. Secretariat has just made this resolution public. Stating the view that the Ukraine has undergone "profound modifications" in the last twenty (!!) years which make the reorganization of a new party necessary, it declares that, in order to build such a party, they "must begin by avoiding all ideological obstacles" and therefore withdraw from the L.S.I.

Obviously, the "modifications" of the last twenty years boil down concretely to the revival of Ukrainian nationalism under the aegis of Hitler's Ostorientierung (drive to the East). The Prague resolution is, therefore, merely an announcement of the unhampered participation of the Ukrainian social democrats in the newly-hatched nationalist intrigues. The Second International pours grist to the mill of the Fascists in even more than an ideological sense.

French Party of Fourth International Forces Ahead

As reported here last week, a minority of the comrades in the French section of the Fourth International joined the Socialist Workers and Peasants Party (P.S.O.P.) in their desire to bring about a fusion of forces between this sizeable split from the French social democracy (which is recruiting adherents from other groups who have become disillusioned with the Popular Front) and the Fourth Internationalists. This minority took the drastic step it did because of its anxiety over the time element, regretting that the leadership of the P.S.O.P. had not reacted favorably to proposals for a formal unification put forward by the Internationalist Workers Party (P.O.I.), the official Fourth International party in France. The latter is proceeding with its campaign for such a formal joining of forces with even greater vigor than before.

Joint meetings between P.O.I. and P.S.O.P. groups for the purpose of carrying on united front actions are being held regularly in many parts of Paris, in the Citroen and Renault factories, and in many cities in the provinces. Among the latter, the activity of the P.O.I. comrades in Strasbourg is particularly noteworthy.

In Strasbourg, chief city of Alsace, our comrades have had a particularly hard task in combatting the Daladier policy of rapprochement with Hitler Germany. In Alsace, the German nationalists have been bringing tremendous pressure to bear in favor of the Daladier regime.

Our comrades have carried on a highly successful campaign against it and for the revolutionary position of the Fourth International. A printed paper, Die Rote Fahne has appeared as the official organ of the group. 12,000 leaflets were issued by the group calling for the November general strike and same amount of leaflets were issued drawing the lessons of the strike's betrayal by Jouhaux, Blum and the Stalinists. Both the Rote Fahne and the leaflets got an excellent reception from the German-speaking working class of Alsace. As a result the group has grown rapidly, drawing behind its leadership the militants of the P.S.O.P. Needless to mention, the German nationalists and clericals are pouring out their daily wrath on our comrades and their valiant paper, calling for its suppression by the Daladier government.

Behind the "Appeasement Policy" of the Chamberlain Government

Some weeks ago we pointed to the opposition of British labor against the "National Register" as one important factor in explanation of what appears to be capitulation before Hitler on the part of British imperialism. Another phase of the background behind Chamberlain's "appeasement policy" is the situation in the British colonies, above all, in the largest of the colonies—India. Seething rebellion, cropping to the surface in powerful spasms, marks the scene there. Here is a brief review of only a select list of incidents:

Burma, separated from India against the will of the people in 1930: In the past three months a mass movement has swept the province against the new, oppressive constitution. It has just forced the resignation of the pro-British Ba Maw ministry. But not before 200 Burmese workers and peasants had lost their lives in street fighting with British troops.

Bengal, seat of the completely British-owned jute industry, the largest in the country: In 1937, jute workers around Calcutta and other cities along the Ganges river spent 10 million working days on strike! For three months they have conducted a general strike against the reactionary Huq ministry and its Jute Ordinance, fixing prices in the interests of mill-owners and native landlords and reducing wages beyond the endurance level. Now word comes that they have forced the withdrawal of this hated law. Strikes have been renewed wherever workers were locked out from company-owned homes.

Bihar: Demonstrations of 20,000 peasants (Kisans) are an ordinary occurrence in this district of Bihar province. Recently such a demonstration brought about the release of an arrested leader, Sharma.

Ranpur State: A demonstration against the Rajah resulted in the shooting down of 2 demonstrators by a British officer. He was killed instantly. 5 months of the year are spent in forced labor in Ranpur!

Rajkot: Militant demonstrations have forced a signed agreement between the Takhore (local ruler) and his feudally oppressed workers. His British adviser has been driven out.

These are only a few samples of the Indian ferment. Is it any wonder Chamberlain is for "appeasement"?

On the Line . . . with Bill Morgan

This week we were all on the line like ducks in a flood. More than fifty thousand New York workers can't be wrong and the Nazis who shivered inside the Garden were right glad that more than 2,000 of La Guardia's cossacks were on hand to save them from the workers' wrath.

Riot guns, tear gas bombs, blackjacks and clubs were the instruments prepared to keep the workers from smashing that meeting and believe me, the weapons were certainly needed.

Eight thousand Nazis stayed away from the Garden. It is to be regretted that they paid in advance for their tickets. And those who did get in escorted by the brass buttons—sat on the edges of the seats and smoked cigarettes to steady their nerves. The mere "pop" of a photographer's flash bulb gave the tin horn soldiers the jitters.

No Concentration Camp For These Workers!

The boos of the picket line penetrated the Garden and the noise was very disturbing to the self-styled "defenders of democracy." This time they were saved by the police but we know they will think twice before trying to hold a meeting like that again.

On the line outside the Garden were young workers who have no intention of landing in a concentration camp. They were among the best fighters. They were determined to get around to the Nazi gangsters and it took the largest gathering of police in the city's history to hold that line.

We saw one young comrade, who was about four feet one and who weighed slightly more than a copy of the Communist Manifesto. He was defending himself from two huge plain-clothesmen with a piece of gas pipe which he had just picked up. The pipe was about two and a half feet long and every time he swung it he almost fell on his face—but the effort was worth the attempt. The dicks kept a safe distance from that little dynamo.

A sturdy red-head with a voice like a fog-horn and two stout elbows, pushed and jeered and jabbed at the cops who were only too anxious to steer clear of her. She was continually up front and ever ready to trade sock for sock. There must be something in the old saying about red-heads. . . .

Another youth—a slight but determined Wipiel—wore a cap stuffed with paper. On the sidewalk he just happened to find a rolled-up newspaper which he used with skill and speed. Twice, during the rout of the police line on 61st Street, he turned to his comrades and said, "See, they are yellow. They are waiting for the mounted cops to help them."

One old worker, a member of the Social Democrats, rushed into the fray like a youngster. Later he remarked, "I'm an old man and my doctor shouldn't see me here but the kids are making me realize that I must fight. It would be better to have on my tombstone 'He died from hitting the Fascists' than 'He died from the Fascists hitting him!' I am old. I can give my life—the youth should be saved."

Another social democrat stood on the edge of the crowd and sneered. "Bah! What can you gain from this fighting? It only provokes trouble. . . ." The answer to that came from a girl in pigtails

and carrying school books under her arm. "I suppose you want more educational discussions on the nature and theory of the class-struggle. . . ."

One worker—a Negro—was arrested for "cruelty to animals. . . ." Nothing was said, however, about the officials of the city sending cops mounted on horses to ride down pickets and bystanders. And nothing was said about using horses to protect the Nazi scum. The worker was thrown in the jug and sapped by the bulls but, of course, this was not cruelty in the eyes of boss justice.

Newsreel pictures show mobs of police beating unarmed men and women and kids—but this is not considered "cruelty," either.

The Trotskyites Were On the Line

"We've got enough police to prevent a revolution," said Commissioner Valentine. Yeah? Well, he ain't seen nothing yet. Just wait until the workers are organized into Workers Defense Guards. Just wait until the comrades are trained for meeting attempts to smash peaceful picket lines. Just wait until the workers are prepared for a substantial discussion with the fat boys in Nazi uniforms. Then there won't be enough cops in the United States to save the Fascist gangsters from their just desert at the hands of the working class.

The S.W.P. and the Y.P.S.L. have shown the way. The workers of New York know now who the real fighters against the fascists are. . . . Not the party of Norman Thomas. Not the party of the G.P.U. Not the party of Louis Waldman. Only the Trotskyists led the way. Only the Trotskyists called the workers to the struggle. Only the Trotskyists gave leadership to the workers who were ready and willing to fight for their class. Only the Trotskyists were on the line when action was needed. Boy! were they there! See you in court!

March New International

The March issue of the New International, which will be off the press this week, promises to be an exceptionally fast-selling number. The feature article is by Leon Trotsky. Writing in popular style, he relates anecdotes and reminiscences of some of the revolutionists and ex-revolutionists who have lived behind the walls of the Kremlin.

The complete table of contents is as follows: Behind the Walls of the Kremlin, by Leon Trotsky

The Minnesota Farmer Labor Convention, by Walter Krill

The Political Situation in California, by Norman Mini

Defensive Wars and Aggressive Wars, by Gregory Zinoviev

On the Jewish Question, by Charles Crompton

The Great Test, Czechoslovakia, by Julius Jullik

In addition to these articles the regular editorials, book reviews, and Dwight MacDonald's column will appear.

Advance orders should be rushed to the Business Manager of the New International at 116 University Place, New York City.

Spanish Militants Describe Escape

(Continued from Page 1)

"What can we do to help them?" the soldiers cried.

"Because," specified the corporal, "they are the real revolutionists." And he added, after a pause, "Ah, if they had taken power during those days in May, we wouldn't have been smashed and defeated now."

Those simple words, spoken by that rank-and-file militiaman, are a deeply true summary, and an unanswerable accusation—an accusation that cuts both ways. It will be long engraved on the memory of those POUM leaders; it deserves to be equally engraved on many another memory.

Learning that a truck was the immediate need, the soldiers rushed back to quarters and brought round the garrison truck. Again the strange load crept off to the north.

In the dark just before dawn, under a cold penetrating rain, the open truck reached its goal, the small town of Aguilana, 6 miles from the French frontier. Shortly after, the guards found the town jail, and duly locked their prisoners up.

This village contained, they discovered next morning, not only the Soviet embassy, but also the GPU headquarters, the Communist Party Military General Staff, and the temporary office of Premier Negrin.

"That was a pretty nerve-racking discovery," said Gorkin. "Had they had time to learn of our presence and identity, they'd certainly have sent their killers right over to wipe us out." But the various Stalinist organizations cleared out almost immediately, as Franco's bombers began to demolish the town.

A Friendly Prison Doctor Helps Liberate Them!

The evening of the 31st, as the bombardment got worse and worse, their jailor Vicente set doggedly out to obtain further instructions whenever he could find them. He left behind him in the jail office his brief-case, containing his official seal and blank forms of various sorts.

Aided by the sympathetic prison doctor, Gorkin got hold of this treasure, and by the light of a candle in his cell, with cool daring filled out and officially stamped liberation orders for himself and his 23 companions. The guards, presented with these documents, were puzzled but persuaded: the papers were certainly official. So at midnight, the 24 revolutionary leaders walked out of the jail and set off through the night for the French frontier.

The French Gardes Mobiles expelled them back over the border again, where by this time, Spanish Republican Guards had already started a man-hunt after them.

Hiding for days without food or shelter in the mountains, first from these and then from the even more dangerous man-hunters, they finally succeeded, in one group of ten and smaller knots of two or three, in getting secretly over the frontier into France.

A last meeting at Perpignan to settle methods of communication, and these two dozen men, over whom the Damoclean sword of Stalinist assassination (on Nin it had fallen already) had hung for 21 months of imprisonment, scattered to temporary hiding all over France.

Fourth Internationalists have grave political differences with the centrists of the POUM; but when they are ruthlessly hunted by the bloodhounds of French imperialism at the very time it is making friends with the butcher Franco, it is not these political differences, but our class solidarity which is uppermost in our minds.

"Our plans?" echoed Gorkin as we separated. "Well, for one thing, we are determined not to be a futile emigre party. Only about one hundred of the most publicly recognizable have left Spain; and even they," he added, "with a narrowing of the eyes, 'only temporarily. Most deliberately chose to remain in Spain, invisible but present, working already on the long hard task of rebuilding a revolutionary party. Our day will come again. We must be readier next time.'"

So much for the story of their escape. Now for their description of the collapse of Catalonia's defenses.

Stalinist Russia had sent no arms whatsoever since April, 1938. But it was not overwhelming military supremacy that won for Franco.

"Though our inferiority in armament did not enable us to carry out a sustained offensive policy," a non-political technician on the Loyalist Army Staff admitted to this correspondent yesterday, "there were nevertheless plenty of arms for the defense of unlimited duration. No, it just suddenly fell apart." What actually caused the rout was the final collapse of morale under the pressure of hunger and counter-revolutionary repression.



LAST OF LOYALIST TROOPS CROSSING FRENCH FRONTIER

During the last year the food shipments from the Soviet Union had been cut down to a mere trickle consisting mostly of wretched canned milk and half-bad bully beef, paid for, like all Russian aid, not only in gold in advance but also in concessions to Stalin's demand that the Spanish revolution be ruthlessly crushed. Food from other quarters grew less and less.

"Liberals," Bureaucrats, Feasted While Masses Hungered

The masses might have borne this, as did Petrograd workers during the civil war in Russia, but recurrent and increasingly noisome food scandals, proving that the "liberal" bourgeoisie, the bureaucracy and military leaders were greedily banqueting while workers and women and children came closer and closer to the line dividing hunger from starvation, became a major factor in breaking down morale.

An even more important factor in breaking down morale was the steady, savage repression of all workers' organizations.

In the Stalinist concentration camps, to take one vivid and characteristic example, all revolutionary prisoners were divided into groups of five.

If one man out of such a group managed to escape, the Stalinists immediately executed the other four and the two groups nearest them: 14 murders to punish one escape. "That's to encourage the others to try it," was the coldly sneering explanation of Assault-Guard-Lieutenant-Colonel Astorga in one of these camps at Omells Nagaya in Lerida Province.

Thousands upon thousands of revolutionary fighters, who asked only the chance to get back to the struggle against Franco, were thus immobilized, terrorized, and slaughtered, lest their fight for socialism should compromise the Loyalist government in its mad clamor for the support of Anglo-French imperialism, which is at this very hour, of course, completing its work of strangling Loyalist Spain for the benefit of its own investors and Franco fascism. Such is the end-product of the Stalinist policy of "realism".

Over 80% of these imprisoned workers had never even had a formal charge preferred against them. Four or five months passed before they could even get themselves brought before a judge for interrogation. And even when the judge and prosecutors had to admit that they didn't know why they were being held, they were kept imprisoned. How this could occur is now being revealed by the escaped comrades. GPU terrorist pressure was equally exercised against the examining magistrates, who knew it was tantamount to suicide to issue an order for the release of revolutionary anti-fascists. This was the "democracy" being defended against fascism.

Signs of Capitulation Break Mass Morale

The last stage of degeneration of morale essentially began with the publication of Negrin's famous 13 points which definitely pointed to capitulation to Franco. Like Negrin's latest terms for "peace," the 13 points asked only such empty formulas as "national independence," and no reprisals. Those who were among the troops report that these fell like a bombshell among the last illusions of the Loyalist soldiers. In helpless rage, they stormed furiously, "What the hell are we fighting for? For those damn 13 points? Why, they might as well have been written by Franco! What's the real difference between them and Franco's program? No! No! No! We've been tricked and betrayed!" On the one hand, mutinies broke out; on the other hand despair set in. And the censorship smothered all.

It was in vain that such sadistic martinets as the notoriously brutal Stalinist General, "El Campesino," tried to maintain discipline by terror, shooting his men by hundreds. Speeches about "democracy" were boomed or received in stony silence. The tough veterans who had grimly stuck out two and

a half years of a bloody and losing fight weren't fighting for any abstract concept of democracy, and even less for the maintenance of capitalism as they had experienced it. Tricked into grudgingly accepting the abandonment of the struggle for socialism "until the war is won," hoping blindly that it would somehow come out all right, they suddenly saw at last how they had been trapped and tricked into fighting the battle of their class enemies, and realized that whoever won, the Spanish workers had lost. And the heart and the fight went out of them.

Ever since the Negrin "Government of Victory" had been formed, it had been Stalinist practice to assassinate officers who would not follow out in complete detail the Stalinist military policy. For an officer to let his men, for example, dynamite a town's armament and other factories before making a forced retreat from it was to sign his own death warrant; a shot in the back from some Stalinist planted in his regiment. At the last National Council of the Socialist Party, the situation had grown too horrible even for Prieto, who presented a list of more than 200 Socialist officers who had been thus assassinated. The CNT had an even longer list of well-documented cases. But the facts heretofore had never leaked out of well-censored Spain.

Revolt In International Brigade

Even in the Stalinist-dominated International Brigades, with their fierce discipline, a feeling of revolt mounted and mutinies broke out. The military observer mentioned above estimated that at least 50% of these internationals were in either secret or open revolt against the Stalin-bourgeois policy of crushing the workers' revolution and supporting Spanish capitalism. Nearly 500 of them who had mutinied in favor of a workers' revolution were in a prison camp under his immediate jurisdiction at Castel del Fels, near Sitges. Hundreds of others were scattered in concentration camps and prisons elsewhere in Loyalist Spain: there were 250, for example, in the State Prison at Barcelona, with the POUMists.

It was a moving and vivid picture that comrades Casanova and Gorkin painted of the feelings of rage and indignation of these revolutionary fighters at the counter-revolutionary uses to which the Stalinists put them. They had come from all over the world to fight for the socialist revolution against fascism! In the light of these revelations, it is easier to understand Premier Negrin's "idealistic" haste to get these internationalists out of Spain before they all began to wake up.

Destruction of Workers' Gains

Nor has the terror ended. In Central Spain, thousands of revolutionary militants still languish in the prisons of Valencia and the concentration camps of Almeria province. In Valencia, for example, sentenced to 15 years, is Luis Portela, Secretary of the Valencia Province POUM organization, the man who, with Andres Nin (murdered by the GPU), Juan Andrade, and Julian Gorkin, was one of the founders, in 1921, of the Communist Party of Spain. Also imprisoned in Valencia are approximately 450 agricultural workers, representing 46 out of the 47 committees that in the early days of the war collectivized orange growing and other large-scale farming in Valencia Province. Long before the war, grouped in the UGT union, the Federación de Trabajadores de la Tierra, they had fought against the reactionary large-estate owners belonging to Lerroux's Partido Radical or the Derecha Regional Valenciana, affiliated with Gil Robles' CEDA. After the farmers' federation had collectivized the farms, the reactionary elements were rallied together again by the Stalinists to form a rival "union," the Federación Campesina. Aided by their private army, the Stalinists gradually smashed collectivization, jailed the collectivizing committees, and re-established the

old bosses.

The final destruction of all the gains made by the workers—the Stalin-bourgeois return of property to even such self-avowed fascists as Portela Valladares—these facts filtering through to the front, finally sapped away the militancy and courage of the Republican Army. Hence although, as a matter of historic record, it was the inexplicable collapse of sections of the Stalinist Fifth Regiment which was responsible for the loss of Tarragona (involving such bad faith, not to use any harsher term, on the part of the Stalinist officers Lieutenant-Colonel Galan and Commandant Vega that they had to be removed), the real reason for the military defeat was not merely the fascists' overwhelming material superiority, but the total collapse of Loyalist morale. The bravest men, if they finally don't know for whom and what they're fighting, sink into fatalism, apathy, and defeat.

When the Franco military juggernaut started to roll, the bourgeois ministers called on the workers to defend every inch with their lives, shouted that the "very stones of Barcelona will rise to defend it"—and rented apartments in the chic quarters of Paris.

So fierce was the Stalinist terror in the army that it was worse feared than that of the Fascists. This had sharp military effects. Voluntary enlistment fell to nothing. The severest military coercion was necessary to enforce conscription measures. Thousands of young workers, who were eager to enlist in the forbidden militia formations of the anarchist youth to fight against Franco for the revolution, simply hid from the draft into a republican army where shooting in the back seemed even more likely than in the front.

More and more panicky grew the bourgeois government as the defense disintegrated. It called desperately on the faithful anarchist hack, Garcia Oliver, to turn on again the faucet of militancy and confidence which he had so many times before turned on and off at the behest of his capitalist masters. It was useless.

Closer and closer pressed the fascists; and for Barcelona, long bombed at intervals from Majorca, there began the hell of constant uninterrupted bombardment, the Italian vultures shuttling back and forth from nearby Reus like commuting trains.

Retaliation Refused By Negrin

Revolutionaries demanded that Negrin take the only measure which even the fascists admit would have lessened the bombardments: retaliation on the bourgeois business and residential quarters of Salamanca, Burgos, and Sevilla. Bourgeois to the end, he refused; and the infernal rain poured down its steady death. Every bombing objective was known like the palm of a hand. For while the SIM (Stalinist-controlled intelligence service) was spending all its time and money on the persecution of the revolutionaries, the fascist espionage service flourished unchecked, even high in the government ministries, communicating with impunity with the enemy.

Having by its counter-revolutionary repressions imprisoned and murdered the most sincere and most intransigent fighters against fascism and drained the spirit of resistance from the rest, the government was finally reduced to summoning aid out of its own raving imagination. Comrade Casanova reports on the different wild rumors the government deliberately set afoot in the doomed city: "Three French divisions have just crossed the frontier." "The British Navy is steaming at forced draft to bombard Ceuta." "War between the democracies and the dictatorships is only a few days off." "100 French Air Force planes have just landed, will take the air again immediately upon refueling." "French tanks are at this moment rumbling through Figueras."

The Barcelona population listened in silence and distrust. True news, filtering through, told them

that the fascists were advancing 15 to 20 kilometers a day; that the fortifications, on which eight months' effort has been expended, at Balaguer, the Segre, Las Borgas Blancas, had fallen almost without a struggle. On the last Monday night the "Government of Victory" met. It called on the CNT militants whom for 19 months it had been murdering and imprisoning, to fight to the last drop of blood, established a "state of war", swore to stay in Barcelona to lead the resistance, and hastened home to pack valises and warm up automobiles. That night the governmental exodus began: high functionaries rolling north in their high-powered cars past the plodding thousands they had betrayed and led to disaster. On Tuesday, they did not even bother to get out the press; the radio grew spasmodic, broadcast more and more dance music and less and less news, dried up.

The doomed city, these eye-witnesses report, was curiously quiet, fatalistic, hopeless. As comrade Casanova grimly stated it, with a fierce, cold anger, "Barcelona, the city of barricades, died without a barricade being raised."

For the departing government had not overlooked this point: by its last orders, Assault Guards patrolled the streets to prevent the raising of barricades, to protect private property, and to see that anarchists did not destroy arms stocks or munition works. This task—a dastardly act of treachery to the Central Front—was carefully carried out: all Barcelona's arms and munitions formations were perfectly protected by the Assault Guards till they could fall intact into Franco's hands.

"Frente Rojo," organ of the Stalinist P.S.U.C., shouted speciously for resistance, for barricades, while the Stalinists saw to it that there were none. Those of its own International Brigades who wanted to make a stand like that at Madrid, mobilizing every quarter, cleaning out sniping fascists, and making every house a defensible fortress, were publicly treated as "Trotskyite irreconcilables" and "scum of the Fifth Column."

Tragic Scenes During Flight

"The roads, that night of the 28th," said one of the eyewitnesses, "were something I shall never forget. I have been through various kinds of hell in my time, but never have I seen such a tragic sight. The bourgeois press has characterized it to the best of the literary powers of its star correspondents, but no words can even approximate it. If I could only convey to you somehow—well, things like the look on the faces of the plodding civilian refugees caught in the ghastly half-dimmed headlights as, in response to an arrogant horn, they stumbled deeper into the ditch to let pass a Hispano-Suiza containing some fleeing functionaries of 'their' government. But . . ." he raised his hands helplessly—"it's just beyond words."

It is equally impossible to convey in words the dismal, tragic, heart-rending spirit that pervades the whole area of the concentration camps, where, shattered and shelterless, the hundreds of thousands of refugee Loyalist soldiers lie coughing on the bare ground under the fine, cold, piercing rain, their teeth chattering in the icy winds that sweep down from the snow-clad Pyrenees, their hearts heavy with defeat, their thoughts grim with the probability that "democratic" France will shortly send them back to Franco's executioners. Towns like Perpignan and Bourg-Madame swarm with spies (both of the French police, of the Stalinists, and of Franco), and with a miserable half-world of harpies who batten on the misery of the internees, bartering for example a few hunks of bad meat for a treasured family good watch. Here are infuriatingly and dramatically visible some of the final bitter fruits of the "Government of Victory," which proposed to beat Franco by smashing the Spanish workers who were leading the fight against fascism.

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Krupskaya

All of the conscious life of Nadyezhda Constantinova Krupskaya was spent in the revolutionary movement, from the time when as a young student she joined the first revolutionary Marxist circles in Czarist St. Petersburg to the age of 70, which she reached just a few days before her death this week.

The widow of Lenin, whose companion she remained till his death fifteen years ago, she was one of the noblewomen of the revolutionary movement. Czarist persecution, which she faced fearlessly, could not shake her faith in the working class which was so magnificently confirmed on November 7, 1917. If, after the revolution, she transferred her activity from corresponding secretary of the Bolshevik party to the quieter task of education, her new duties were discharged with no less devotion.

In 1925-1926, she joined with Zinoviev and the Trotskyist Opposition to fight against the reaction of Stalin. She knew, perhaps better than any one else, the unbridgeable gulf separating the rude and disloyal Stalin from the incorruptible revolutionist Lenin. Had she not insisted that Lenin's Testament, which Stalin so desperately suppressed, be made available to the party?

The stream of vile abuse poured onto the head of Krupskaya by the Stalinist machine proved, alas, to be too much for her. She retired from the Opposition—and from all real political activity. The cynical gang in power compelled her to sign all kinds of humiliating Loyalty Oaths to Stalin, whom she hated and feared, but before whom she consented to bow out of a disastrously distorted belief that, in so doing, she was serving the unity of the Revolution.

Her last semi-public act was an attempt to intervene to save the heads of the victims of the First Moscow Trial, her comrades of a lifetime who, she knew as well as Stalin, were so utterly guiltless of the crimes charged against them. Her efforts met with vicious rebukes from the Kremlin assassins. Her enforced silence gnawed her heart to death.

We prefer to remember in N. C. Krupskaya not the caged and broken serf of the revolution's grave-diggers, but the calm, unassuming, pure pioneer and builder of Bolshevism in its heroic days.

The Nazis Applauded

Newsreels taken during the German-American Bund meeting at Madison Square Garden on the night of Feb. 20, showing the attempt of Isidor Greenbaum, an unemployed Jewish plumber, to protest on the rostrum during Nazi-leader Fritz Kuhn's diatribe against "international communist Jewry," have been withdrawn from the theatres.

Ostensible reason: Managers of leading newsreel houses are said to have reported that the scenes are too "inflammatory" and caused too "violent a reaction" from theatre patrons.

Real Reason: The newsreel shows LaGuardia police in action, mercilessly beating Greenbaum.

Like the newsreels of the Chicago Memorial Day Massacre which showed police shooting workers in the back, the films of New York police brutality were so frank and revealing and aroused so much indignation among audiences that the watchdogs who protect the public from "revolutionary propaganda" thought it necessary to suppress the pictures.

Is it any wonder that the longest and loudest ovation during the Bund meeting came when Fritz Kuhn expressed the gratitude of his Nazi organization to "New York's finest, the police department, for its splendid protection of the meeting"?

Horatio Alger, 1939

Frank Hague, Jr., was graduated from school in 1936 and to the sorrow of his father, notorious overlord of New Jersey, did not immediately join his father's political machine. Then a series of events brought him fame and success and made papa very happy.

Judge Thomas F. Meany resigned from the Common Pleas Court to take a fat job as counsel to Louis F. Reilly, State Commissioner of Banking and Insurance in the liquidation of the closed New Jersey Title Guarantee and Trust Co. Said liquidation reported to be very profitable financially to Hague interests.

Governor Moore, bosom companion of Hague, Sr., appointed Judge Thomas Glynn Walker of the Court of Errors and Appeals, New Jersey's highest judicial body, to fill the vacancy left by Judge Meany.

Governor Moore then appointed young Hague to fill the vacancy left by Judge Walker.

Hague Junior's salary will be \$40 a day when he works, or between \$8,000 and \$9,000 a year for the next six years. He will help make final decisions on all important New Jersey judicial cases.

Governor Moore, who sweated through all this job-shifting to make young Hague a success, stated happily: "I have known Frank Hague, Jr., all his life. He has a fine legal background, having attended Princeton and Washington and Lee universities. His father felt bad that he did not take up politics, but I know this appointment will make his dad happy."

The story of Frank Hague, Jr.'s rise to success shows that even the rich and powerful can make good if they have Pluck, Grit, Honesty, and Do and Dare.

Ex-Convict 95

The Irish rebels, commemorating the martyrs executed by the English after the Easter 1916 uprising in Dublin, used to sing:

'Twas in Kilmainham prison yard our fifteen martyrs died,

And cold and still in Arbour Hill they are lying

side by side,

But we will yet pay back the debt for the spirit

is still alive

In men who stood thro' fire and blood with

Convict 95.

Convict 95, who led the rebels in Ring's End section, is now Prime Minister of the Irish Free State, Eamon de Valera. Under British rule, he served a prison term for "treason." Under the same charge, 77 of his closest comrades were executed 17 years ago by the Cosgrave government.

De Valera is now only an Ex-Convict. In the attempt to crush those Irish rebels who refuse to truckle to British imperialism, he has just revived the "treason" bill. The military courts are to be made to function once more against all Irishmen who refuse to work with and serve under British "democracy."

The Free State Premier's hope is, apparently, to become the Irish High Executioner for His Majesty George VI, by the Grace of God of Great Britain and Ireland and of the British Dominions Beyond the Seas, King, Defender of the Faith, Emperor of India.

Scurvy Moves North

When State Health officials of Maine reported 5,000 cases of scurvy in one county, and New Deal administrators announced that they were prepared to send oranges and grapefruit to the stricken area, Maine's Republican governor made the inhuman response that there aren't 5,000 cases of scurvy and that his Republican administration can take care of them.

Everybody understands that the Governor, at the expense of 5,000 scurvy victims, is attempting to white-wash this scandal of his Republican administration.

The tender solicitude of New Deal officials over these 5,000 cases of scurvy in Republican Maine is quite understandable too.

Up until now, scurvy and other diseases attendant upon a starvation diet have been notoriously exclusive to the solid South. The Democratic Party, naturally, cannot give up without a sharp struggle the distinction of this more than a half-century monopoly over the nation's scourge areas of malnutrition.

Understatement of the Week

The Daily Worker (Feb. 27) publishes a special dispatch from Paris on the Spanish situation from which we take the following paragraph:

"British and French agents have been intensifying the heat turned on against President Azana, who is now at the Spanish Embassy here; and although Azana has showed signs of weakness, he has not yet actually acceded to the London and Paris demands that he demonstratively resign."

For the statement that "Azana has showed signs of weakness," the Daily Worker, which still tries to make its readers believe that it's the stork who brings them, is eminently entitled to the customary award for the Understatement Classic of the Week.

SOCIETY NOTE

DETROIT, Feb. 15—Society circles of Detroit enjoyed a novel entertainment when the American Hunting Dog Owners Association put on a banquet for 100 dogs this evening.

The dogs sat down at four large tables and were served an excellent three-course dinner prepared by expert dieticians.

The owners reported that everything went well except for a few minor scuffles when the dogs were paraded around the cage of a racoon that had been brought along for the entertainment of the dogs.

Should Fascists Be Allowed
The Right of Free Speech?

A Working Class Point of View on the Question That
Was Brought to the Fore Again by the Professional
Democrats When the Nazis Mobilized at the Garden

It seems that the only point of importance that the Professional Liberals and Democrats could see in the big mobilization of the Nazis at Madison Square Garden last week, was their "right of free speech and assembly."

Mayor La Guardia kept reiterating emphatically that his attachment to Democracy compelled him to grant the Fascists the right to hold their meeting and provide them with extraordinary police protection.

The American Civil Liberties Union rushed into print to insist that the right of free speech be extended to the Hitlerites. One of the numerous committees of the Jewish bourgeoisie, anxious to demonstrate that it loves fairness above all else, did likewise.

Even the wretched little Jewish anarchist weekly published in New York indignantly reproached the Trotskyists for the lack of sense in "demanding the right of free speech and assembly for oneself and at the same time trying to prevent the freedom of speech of our opponents."

**FREEDOM FOR NAZIS
BUT NOT FOR PICKETS**

Before going further into the consideration of the question of "free speech for Fascists," it is interesting and important to record the fact that all the above-mentioned who showed such touching concern for the "democratic rights" of the Nazis, are entirely unconcerned with the brutal police suppression of the picketing rights of the workers who assembled outside the Garden.

The Mayor simply refused to see a delegation which came to protest against the violence of the police who rode down and slugged the picketers. The American Civil Liberties Union, apparently exhausted by its noble efforts in behalf of the Nazis, didn't utter a peep about the democratic rights of free speech, assembly and picketing being denied the 50,000 anti-Fascists who came to protest the Nazi rally. Ditto for the Jewish committee.

As for the anarchist Freie Arbeiter Stimme, it says not a word about the police assaults, but villainously insinuates that the Terrible Trotskyists were really at fault because, Mr. Police Commissioner, they planned a violent attack on the Nazis who were innocently celebrating Washington's Birthday. Unbelievable, but here are its exact words:

"But there are times when people who endeavor to do social work,

interested in, and the administration is already doing its full share in this direction.

Business appeasement cannot, however, be separated from the crucial and decisive phase of the present stage of the New Deal: the preparation for the War. Along with his colossal armament building, Roosevelt is determined to gather the entire country together in 100% national unity for his approaching war.

Seeks "Unity"

This, of course, is the motivation for Roosevelt's sudden and dramatic demand for labor to reunite its forces. He wants a single docile labor movement to gear into the war machine. He has projected an ideal for himself of a happy Trinity of Government, labor, and business joining hands to do battle for American imperialism.

Unfortunately, Hopkins' speech makes clear the real nature of this Trinity. The actual plan turns out to be: for business to make the money, government to do its bidding, and labor to sweat, starve, and die on the battlefield.

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THEIR
GOVERNMENT

By James Burnham

"We are an American Party, composed of American Citizens. We view all our problems in the light of the national interests of the United States."

Suppose we bumped up against this quotation on a dark night, and were forced to guess the author. What would be our answer? Would we say the president of the U.S. Chamber of Commerce? or Chairman John Hamilton of the Republican party? or Chairman Jim Farley of the Democratic party? or Leader Pelley of the Silver Shirts?

Any of these answers would certainly be legitimate, and we would have the right to demand a good mark for giving it. But we would, nevertheless, be wrong.

The quotation is, direct and literal, from the lips of Earl Browder.

The occasion, crowning and monstrous irony, was a publicity release for the February 27th mass meeting in celebration of—the twentieth anniversary of the founding of the Communist International.

The Ghost from the Past

There is an unutterable cynicism here. To link these phrases of crude and vulgar chauvinism to the celebration of the forging of that instrument whose first aim was to be to teach the workers of the whole world that they have no country, no nation, no fatherland except what they conquer through the fire of their revolutionary struggle!

"All socialists, in proving the class character of bourgeois civilization, of bourgeois democracy, of bourgeois parliamentarism, have expressed this conception formulated with the maximum of scientific precision by Marx and Engels: that the most democratic of bourgeois republics can be nothing else than a machine to oppress the working class at the bidding of the bourgeoisie, to put the mass of workers at the mercy of a handful of capitalists."

So read the thesis of Lenin adopted by the founding congress which Browder now celebrates by proclaiming his dedication to the interests of that "machine to oppress the working class."

"The New International Association of Workers is founded with the aim of organizing the joint action of the workers of different countries for one sole and precise purpose, namely: the overthrow of capitalism, the establishing of the dictatorship of the proletariat and an international republic of Soviets."

So read the first article in the statutes of the second congress of the Communist International, whose very corpse Browder now dishonors.

Whose Interests?

"The national interests of the United States" . . . Let us translate: the interests, that is, of the billion dollar Cuban sugar industry which enslaves the masses of Cuba; the military dictatorship of Porto Rico, depriving and terrorizing the Porto Rican workers; the depized tyrannies over the people of the Philippines, Hawaii, the Canal Zone—ruled all of them by decree enforced by the United States army; the threatening intervention in Mexico . . .

This is only what is most obvious. But these same national interests in whose light Browder now views all his problems are what require the subjugation of the ten million Negroes at home, the enduring unemployment, the armed protection of the fascist meetings, the persecution of working-class militants.

These interests—the interests of the ruling class of the United States—are what demand the nearing war of imperialist aggression, demand the transformation of the United States into a fascist concentration camp.

It is these interests that Browder is defending.

What Else is Forgotten?

During the past months you will search vainly through the Stalinist propaganda for the slogan, "Defend the Soviet Union!" What has happened to the aim of defending the Soviet Union, which has been the alleged justification for the policy of the C.I. during the entire last decade? Today, we are taught, "all our problems" are viewed in the light of the national interests of the United States.

Ah, but—we are told in whispers—the new phrase is "Just a maneuver."

Let not the ranks of the Communist party be deceived. Politics is serious; you cannot play around with politics. The new orientation, summed up in Browder's phrase, has its own logic. Defense of the Soviet Union, even under the distorted Stalinist conception of such defense, is in the process of being sacrificed to defense of the national interests of the United States. This must be, because the imperialist interests of the U.S. are in unappeasable conflict with the interests of the Soviet Union. "Stalinism-patriotism" is being transformed into patriotism pure and simple.

Labor Looks Through
The Press

By ARTHUR HOPKINS

Look Magazine's poll of newsmen shows that Bruce Barton, New York, is the best dressed man in the House; Henry Cabot Lodge of Massachusetts is the best dressed Senator. Many men have become President with less qualification than this.

Troops and militia were mobilized in Jamaica following the declaration of a water front strike which threw the island into a state of emergency. It's an emergency all right when the workers cease work, but the bosses could all go off somewhere and die and the work would go on better.

Deductions in teachers' salaries because of a drop in tax revenues can not be made up by the city, decides Judge Loevinger of St. Paul, in denying the claim of a city employee for \$58.75 deducted in 1932. If the teachers had a union which believed in going on strike the situation could well be different.

Says Cordell Hull: "Any government worthy of the name would be derelict in its duty if it failed to provide the proper defenses which must go hand in hand with unflinching efforts to prevent war by perfecting the machinery of peace and by eliminating the causes of conflict." Military men and statesmen all agree that the best defense is to attack.

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