

SOCIALIST APPEAL

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Plan Relief Cuts

N. Y. Police Ban Mass Pickets, Guard Scabs, Arrest Strikers

Smashing through the picket lines of the United Electric and Radio Workers Union at the Presto Lock Corporation plant in Brooklyn the LaGuardia police force escorted scabs into the factory and dragged 15 pickets to jail as the first instalment of labor's reward for its fulsome praise and its support of LaGuardia in the last election.

The pickets fought back militantly against the strike breakers and their escorting police and despite the attack of both mounted and foot police, only four strike breakers got through the lines and into the plant. The arrested pickets were also dragged inside the plant and held there by the police until reinforcements and squad cars arrived to take them to the police station. There they were charged with felonious assault, inciting to riot, malicious mischief and rioting.

That the action of LaGuardia's police in the Presto Lock strike was not the isolated strike breaking of an individual police official but the considered policy of the Police Department was confirmed by the publication of a new order issued by the Department abolishing the right of workers to employ the weapon of mass picketing.

According to reports published in the New York press last Tuesday, police department officials have been instructed not to permit more than six pickets to cover any one industrial or commercial establishment; not to allow pickets to lock arms on the line; and not to permit picketing demonstrations to move from one branch to another of a chain establishment.

The immediate cause of the order appears to be the trouble the police have been having with pickets of the Horn and Hardart Automats. If the order means anything, it means that the administration, acting as an agency of the cafeteria bosses, is intent upon smashing the Automat strike.

Even before the ballots have been completely counted, the city government has thus given a demonstration whom the LaGuardia victory will actually serve.

As so often before, it does not take long to show how disastrous is the policy of class collaboration for the working class. LaGuardia and the capitalist politicians could not be expected to act otherwise—that would mean to betray their class interests. In endorsing LaGuardia and in collaborating with the capitalist politicians to corral the working class vote under the illusion of "Labor Party," the trade union leaders, the Stalinists and the Right Wing Socialists have,

however, betrayed the class interests of the working class. More proofs of this perfidy will not be wanting in the future, just as they were not lacking in the past.

Newark Students Fight For School

In the middle of September, all students of the Essex County Junior College received notices announcing that school would not open in the fall. The Young Peoples Socialist League understood immediately that this meant a permanent closing of the school and initiated a united front movement in the interests of the 700 students against this measure.

Over 100 delegates from various unions, unemployed organizations and student groups attended a conference to re-open Junior College. Endorsements of the purpose of the conference poured in from numerous district committees of unions and federations. Only the Stalinist-controlled American Youth Congress refused to support the conference. Meanwhile the forces of the conference swung into action. A picket line at WPA headquarters forced a statement that money for the school was available. Two delegations visited the City Commissioners, who promised to provide money for light and heat and a place for the school.

Plans are now under way to start an experimental college that will give the students a means of receiving some education until Essex re-opens. The students are showing their desire for education despite the State Board of education—and the American Youth Congress.

F. D. R.'s "Planned" Economy

Roosevelt, who boasted that returning prosperity was planned by the administration, sings a different tune as depression sweeps across the country. The scope of the present recession, which is fast wiping out all gains of the upturn, is clearly revealed by the following examples gathered from recent reports.

In ten weeks, Steel, the leader in the upturn, has dismissed 185,000 workers. In two weeks, the closely related coal industry has laid off 130,000 miners, while the balance have been placed on a two-day week work-basis.

Washington announces what every garment worker knew already: a severe slump in the clothing industry. Textile mills are in a similar or worse condition. Auto production drops rapidly, as thousands of auto workers face a workless winter. Unions in the oil, rubber, electrical and radio lines report thousands fired daily. Machine manufacturing is no exception.

C.I.O. leaders in St. Louis seek relief for thousands of members and non-members recently dropped from the payroll. In San Francisco, the state unemployment service reports 300,000 out of work. Chicago reports a sharp rise in unemployment. Ohio tells the same story. Textile mills in New England are, as in Hoover's days, seeking "voluntary" wage reductions. Minneapolis joins the general trend with thousands of new relief applicants.

Decadent capitalism again hammers home the lesson which workers must learn: not through "New Deals" or demagogic promises, but only through the revolutionary overthrow of the out-lived capitalist order can peace, prosperity and security be won.

H. Stern.

Morgenthau Speech Forecasts Congress Attacks on Workers

By B. J. Widick

A brazen attempt to save the profits of Big Business by reducing its taxes and cutting down the already meagre relief program is being made by the Roosevelt administration at the special session of Congress that began this week.

Roosevelt admitted in his message to Congress that he was alarmed by the current business recession with its accompanying tremendous lay-offs which reflect the deepening of the basic crisis of capitalism.

The "New Deal" program to meet this crisis was outlined by Secretary of the Treasury Henry Morgenthau Jr. in his authoritative speech to the Academy of Political Science a few days prior to the opening of Congress.

"A determined movement towards balancing the budget is one of the needed solutions for today's problems," Morgenthau told Wall Street, "to foster the full application of the driving force of private capital."

Cries: Reduce Relief!

The Roosevelt regime hopes to balance the budget through, "reducing relief, farm and public works expenditures," Morgenthau declared, "and would try to encourage expansion of private industry through revising taxes found to be inequitable."

This declaration met with the unanimous approval of the American capitalist newspapers. Especially such reactionary papers as the New York Herald Tribune. Why?

Because Big Business has been given a public assurance that the Roosevelt administration will help them maintain profits. Can the capitalists be blamed for cheering?

But what about the workers?

And the unemployed? What has the Roosevelt regime to offer them? What does it propose to do about the hundreds of thousands of lay-offs? About the already drastic cuts in relief that have brought misery and starvation?

Every worker who cast his ballot last fall for the re-election of Roosevelt believed that the "great humanitarian and champion of the common people," would do something to alleviate the burdens of the worker's lot under capitalism.

In plain, clear, and cold-blooded terms that only the blind could fail to see and understand, Roosevelt informed the workers, through his spokesman Morgenthau, that, "It is necessary to reduce the budget by \$700,000,000," which can be done, he adds, "through reducing relief, farm and public works expenditures."

Was any betrayal ever announced so frankly and openly? Roosevelt admits that hundreds of thousands have been laid off. That there are millions unemployed. He points that out in his message.

"Aid Business," Keynote

Yet Roosevelt proposes to cut down on the amount of relief in the face of a great increase in the need for relief! "Let them starve," Roosevelt should have declared frankly. He meant that. His program, if carried out, will bring that.

"Aid Business," is the key-note of the Roosevelt message to Congress. This, at a time when financial reports indicate that the rubber, auto, steel, oil and other industries are making over 50% more profit this year than in 1936.

"Aid Business," shouts Roosevelt (to the cheers of Wall St.) while millions of workers face the cold of winter, the misery of starvation, and the other tragedies of unemployment, without even the prospect of a few bread crumbs in the form of relief!

Real Program: Save Capitalism

How does the present Roosevelt program differ one iota from that advocated by the "great engineer" Herbert Hoover, late unlamented Republican president of the United States, when he was confronted by the 1929 depression?

Such a strong defender of Roosevelt as the New York Post compares the Roosevelt and Hoover policies as essentially the same!

The revolutionary socialists go one step further. We point out that the programs of all the presidents, Republican, Democ-

(Continued on page 7)

Protest Grows Against Spanish GPU

PARIS.—The left socialist, anarchist and Fourth Internationalist movement here joined together in a great mass meeting, October 22, at the Salle Wagram, in defense of working class prisoners in Spain.

Jean Rous spoke for the P.O.I. (Internationalist Workers Party for the Fourth International), with Marceau Pivert speaking for the left socialists. Daniel Guerin represented the Committee for Inquiry into the Moscow Trials.

A telegram to the Negrin government was read, demanding legal guarantees for the anti-fascist prisoners, signed by Andre Gide, Paul Rivet, Roger Martin du Gard, and Georges Duhamel of the French Academy. A similar telegram was also sent by

Francois Mauriac of the French Academy.

To cover up the government's responsibility for the disastrous military defeats, the Stalinists have launched a new lynch campaign against the POUM and other prisoners. L'Humanité of October 25 publishes a new series of accusations: destruction of bridges, military espionage on the Aragon front, attempts to assassinate military leaders and a minister.

Covering Up

The little "detail" that the POUM leadership has been imprisoned since June does not stop the Stalinists from blaming them for divulging military secrets leading to recent setbacks! The

chief purpose of this charge appears to be to provide an alibi for the sensational desertion from the Stalinist Karl Marx Division on the Aragon front in mid-October, for which numerous officers of the division were shot and its PSUC political commissar, Trueba, dismissed.

While the Stalinists thus slander the POUM, its members continue to die at the front. La Correspondence de Valencia, UGT organ, of October 19, reports the death of one of the most heroic fighters of the war, the POUM member, Jose Alcantarilla, commander of a battalion of the 27th division. His prestige, won on the battlefield, was so great that the government dared not touch him during the round-up of POUM leaders.

British Labor Party Prepares for War

We reprint here the analysis made of the Bournemouth Conference of the British Labour Party, held recently, appearing in the current issue of the Militant, the organ of the Militant Group in the Labor Party, an association of revolutionary workers who are working for the principles of revolutionary Marxism among the ranks of the party in England. The analysis is all the more timely because of the interest aroused in this country by the shameful pro-armaments position taken by the social-patriotic majority of the conference, lining up the official British labor movement in advance for the defense of British imperialist interests in the coming war.

—Ed.

The proceedings of the Bournemouth Conference of the Labor Party are a severe blow for the working class. On every major issue, large majorities were recorded for the Reformist Leadership's policy of surrender to capitalism. In view of the bureaucratic control of the trade unions, that was to be expected, but the most distressing feature of the conference was the absence of any real opposition.

During the past nine months we have been treated to many performances of the "Unity Bloc" circus using violent left wing phrases, Pollitt, Cripps and Mellor have flung down the gauntlet over and over again to Transport House, only to capitulate in the most shameful

manner at the first threats from that quarter. In the name of the Unity Campaign was destroyed the Socialist League, the only organized left wing body in the Labour Party. When the campaign was initiated last January, the "Militant" characterized it as "an insidious attempt to canalize the growing left wing sentiment among the workers behind a policy of Popular Front alliance with capitalism", and claimed that the division between the reformists and the unity bloc were not ones of policy but of labor.

The publication of the Immediate Program with its striking similarities in almost all respects to the policy of the Bloc confirmed our analysis. If further confirmation was needed, it was to be found in the surrender to Transport House at the first threat of disciplinary action and in the conduct of the leaders of the Bloc at the Bournemouth Conference.

The debate on the Labour Party's decision not to oppose the arms estimates were an air of unreality. Neither the reformists nor the "Unity" mongers were opposed to giving arms to capitalism. It was merely a question of the conditions which the Labour Party should endeavor to impose upon the National Government as the price for its support. The right wing said: the Labour Party must support the armaments race or it will be impossible for it to demand a more "effective" foreign policy. The "Unity"

mongers said: the Labour Party must withhold its support until the Government has promised to apply this more "effective" foreign policy. There is no difference of principle here—it is merely a question of the best tactics to be employed to sell the workers to capitalism.

Not one of these ferocious "lefts" got up and stated that under no circumstances could the workers identify themselves with the war plans and predatory aims of their class enemies; not one of them had the guts or the honesty to declare that the only enemy of the working class is its own capitalist class and that the only war the workers should wage is the class war to overthrow imperialism.

The Battle of Words

The battle of words at Bournemouth concealed a unity of purpose between Attlee and Pollitt, Morrison and Cripps. That purpose is to mobilize the workers behind the war plans of the class enemy, behind the defense of British imperialism. The right wing leaders, experienced as they

are in the arts of betrayal, realized that the position of their capitalist masters is so grave that even a campaign of pseudo-left demagoguery might create a dangerous situation. Such a campaign was waged in France and Spain and resulted in the return of Popular Front Governments, but the workers took advantage of the situation to demand an immediate betterment of their conditions and thus created revolutionary conditions. The Radical, Socialist and Communist Party leaders have been able to filch away most of the gains the workers won during these periods, but only with the utmost difficulty. Transport House has no desire to embarrass the war plans of the National Government by helping to create a similar situation in this country.

Small wonder that the "Daily Herald" can greet the election of Cripps and Laski to the new National Executive with equanimity. These bold leaders, with the rapturous applause of the Communist Party, have already proclaimed their loyalty to Transport House, and through that, to British imperialism, and pro-

mised faithfully to conduct no more united front activities. And John Strachey informs us through the columns of the "Daily Worker" that the "next effect of the Bournemouth Conference has been to put rejoicing and high spirits into the members of the labor movement throughout the country." We might add that the "rejoicing and high spirits" are not confined to the labor movement, but are shared by the leaders of the National Government and the entire capitalist press.

(Note: Transport House is the headquarters of the Labor Party)

Felix Morrow, author of "The Civil War in Spain" and of a forthcoming book on the Spanish revolution, will speak on "What Next in Spain," on Friday, November 19, at 8 P. M., at 159 Rivington St. The place of meeting is the new spacious headquarters of the Lower East Side Branch.

Shachtman Gives Marxist War Line at CCNY Despite C.P. Disruption Move

By Donald R. Bergner

Despite continued attempts on the part of the Young Communist League to prevent him from being invited, Max Shachtman, editor of the Socialist Appeal, spoke to more than three hundred students at the College of the City of New York at their Armistice Day celebration last Friday.

The Young Stalinists had carried on a desperate campaign to prevent Shachtman from speaking, but were defeated by a strong united front of the YPSL, Clarityites, Lovestoneites, Labor-Zionists, and unaffiliated progressives. The Student Council had called a conference of school clubs to organize the Armistice Day Demonstration.

When a Progressive United Front defeated the YCL attempt to capture the Conference, and the Arrangements Committee elected by the Conference invited Shachtman as one of the speakers, the Stalinists pushed a motion through the Student Council to disregard the Conference Committee, and got a new Committee appointed, made up of one Stalinist, a Stalinist sympathizer and three school politicians.

Even this new committee was forced to give in to left-wing pressure, and invited Shachtman again; then, under renewed Stalinist pressure, reneged and adopted a list of speakers who would present the Stalin-Roosevelt pro-war line. Finally, after the Progressives had threatened a Counter-Demonstration, the Student Council decided to let Shachtman speak. The Stalinists then said that, with the exception of Harry Laidler (whom they invited for "Socialist" window-dressing), the other speakers (Mike Quill of the Transport Workers, a Stalinist, and the representatives of the Chinese and Spanish Consulates) would not speak on the same program with Shachtman. This was solved by having, technically, two meetings, one following the other in the same place, with the Council President as Chairman of the second.

The two consular representatives and Quill spoke first, and

gave the full jingoistic, Stalinist line. Despite these pro-war speeches the anti-war Oxford Pledge was passed at the end of this first meeting by 350 to 200.

When the second meeting began only the Stalinists and their sympathizers left. Laidler, who was forced by the Clarityites, under pressure, to speak with Shachtman and not with the Stalinists, gave his regular semi-

pacifist, semi-Socialist position. The last speaker, comrade Shachtman, contrasted the revolutionary Socialist position with the pro-war position of the Stalinists. Even the Stalinist-controlled school paper was forced to take notice of his vigorous attack upon social-patriotism and imperialism. The Stalinists cannot prevent the revolutionary position from being heard!

More Subs!

The Appeal is the name of our paper. You read it, you criticize it, you agree with it entirely or partially. Regardless of what your attitude toward it may be, we feel sure that YOU DON'T WANT IT TO CEASE PUBLICATION.

You read this column every week (we hope) and by this time you know that Appeal means something else here. This column has been nothing more than an appeal. Some day in the near future we hope that this space can be utilized for something other than emergency appeals—but this depends upon you. Get subs and contributions so that the financial headaches can be transformed into a healthy expansion program. Do your part now and we'll do the rest.

Following is another letter from an Appeal enthusiast: Dear Comrades:

Almost with the first issue, my wife and I wanted to send you

financial help, but so many old debts had to be paid first.

Enclosed find \$4.00 money order. This money is to be used for a double subscription order, for 12 months. Please send us two copies of each issue for a year. We plan to distribute one to interested parties, and file the other away for record and reference.

Speaking for myself, I feel that my real socialist training began only with the publishing of the original Socialist Appeal, by Goldman, over a year and a half ago. Despite this fact, I joined the Socialist Party in May of 1932.

We like the Socialist Appeal tremendously. Certainly, keep it going. We are convinced the Bolshevik way is the correct road to working class triumph. Yours for a Soviet rule,

J. B.
More of these letters! More subs! More Contributions!

Socialist Appeal

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Date

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SEND FOR BOOKLIST

Chiang Kai Shek Will Not Release Peasant Masses For War Against Japan

By Li Fu-jen

Chiang Kai-shek has from the beginning prosecuted the war inadequately and half-heartedly, all the while hoping to be able to make a more or less favorable deal with the Japanese imperialist moloch with the aid of British and American imperialism. Direct evidence of this attitude, and the treacherous role of the Stalinists, is now at hand in the shape of a factual editorial which appeared in the *Shanghai Evening Post & Mercury* for October 18, 1937:

"From foreign observers," says the *Post*, "who have been in this area (North China) we learn that the one-time Red Army, now known as the 8th Route Army, has had a peculiar time of it. Various apparently successful operations have not been reported to the general public, or have been reported without identification of unit or leaders, evidently because Nanking still feels indisposed to do anything which might contribute glory to its one-time foes. "What is more to the point, by Government order the former Reds have been unable to carry out their most cherished plan—the organization of a large mass of armed peasants for guerilla warfare which the Japanese might find extremely distressing. That the ex-Communists have their feet firmly planted on a mass movement is undoubted, and it would seem that they might be highly successful in reviving the technique of 1926-27 days which in large measure was employed against the Government in subsequent fighting after the party split.

"With active collaboration of Nanking, and Government supply of arms to the masses, such a thing could be done on a scale never before attempted. The efficiency of such maneuvers would be unquestioned, for an armed peasantry is the most unpleasant enemy any foe can encounter over a wide area. Japan's tactics are rigid, they call for the employment of conventional counter-tactics, and an opponent living on the soil, knowing its every characteristic, impossible to confront or to grasp, would be an opponent which would confuse and baffle Japanese mechanized and mechanized-minded armies. Many observers have said, in fact, that the launching of China-wide guerilla warfare was China's one sure answer to Japanese aggression; and there is a great deal of merit to this view, beyond a doubt.

"But Nanking is suspicious of the 8th Route Army and all its works, apparently. Orders have confined the ex-Reds to operations exclusively west of Taiyuanfu, the Shansi capital, and certainly the operations conducted by others east of Taiyuanfu have not been crowned with signal success. The Japanese and foreign observers seem agreed that lack of effective leadership and central control largely nullified the fighting spirit of the men. No general plan appears to have been followed, and in some instances the erratic back-and-forth movements have involved the abandonment of carefully prepared defenses without a struggle—a situation only one step short of the Jehol debacle when mountain defenses were never given even a preliminary test. "Few compliments can be paid what has been done north of the Yellow River thus far, on a basis of reports. Such compliments as are in order go

rather to isolated units and to the mass of the soldiery than to any coordinated planning or spirit of get together on the part of high command."

It thus emerges that China's struggle against Japanese imperialism is being actively sabotaged by Chiang Kai-shek. By order of the Nanking government, the former Red Army is prohibited from conducting guerilla warfare against the Japanese invaders. Nanking forbids the arming of the peasantry although this could be done "on a scale never before attempted." It confines the former Red Army to an area west of Taiyuanfu, well away from the scenes of military operations.

And why? Because Nanking is still "suspicious of the 8th Route Army and all its works." Suspicious, be it noted, in spite of the craven capitulation and surrender of the Stalinists! But the suspicion, in this case, is merely a reflection of Nanking's very real fear of any movement of the armed masses. Nanking and its bourgeois constituency fear and oppose the masses much more than they do Japanese imperialism. Nor are they at all confident of the ability of the Stalinists to keep the masses in check, despite Moscow assurances.

Who exposes the deadly treachery of Chiang Kai-shek and the Kuomintang government at Nanking? The Stalinists? By no means! They have kept as silent as the grave. Their mouths are sealed by the pact which Moscow has made with Chiang Kai-shek. In refusing to permit the arming of the peasants for guerilla warfare, Chiang is holding Moscow to its agreement to suppress all revolutionary initiative by the masses. That is why the *Daily Worker* can print only nauseating prattle about "united China," which simply means Stalinist unity with Chiang Kai-shek. The revelation of Chiang's sabotage of the struggle is left to a paper like the *Shanghai Evening Post & Mercury*, which is an organ of American imperialism in the

Far East, and has its own reasons for desiring a stronger struggle against Japan.

Is it any wonder that, as these lines are written, Japan's war machine is pounding forward to all its objectives, sweeping aside China's defense both in North China and at Shanghai? The legions of Japanese imperialism are being met only by such comparatively frail military defenses as the Nanking government, capitulatory in mood and treacherous in action, has been able to strew in their path. The masses are herded in the background and held immobilized by the government's military dictatorship. Not a single appeal has been addressed either by the Nanking government or its "Communist" servitors to the Japanese soldiers who are being forced to fight in the interests of their own exploiters. Chiang Kai-shek could hardly make such appeals, for he has no program which would strike any sympathetic chord in the mind of the downtrodden Japanese soldiers. And if he did make such an appeal, what Japanese soldiers would pay any attention to it? Chiang is known to the Japanese workers and peasants as the executioner of the Chinese proletariat.

And the Stalinists? They, as we know, have promised not to engage in any more revolutionary propaganda. Yet only a revolutionary appeal would reach the minds and hearts of the Japanese soldiers. Any other would ring with an inevitable hollowness.

Upon the Chinese Bolshevik-Leninists rests the responsibility for building a new revolutionary party, which alone can lead the struggle to victory. The first step in this direction is to strive to win the confidence of the masses, including Chiang Kai-shek's soldiers, by tireless practical work in the present struggle, and by a consistent exposure of the treachery of the Kuomintang and the Stalinists.

A Non-Sectarian Zamite

"Attention Left Wing Socialists. A statement appeared in the *Reading Eagle* of last evening which implied that I am supporting the Right Wing Socialists. This is false. I am actively supporting the candidates of the workers' party, the Democratic Party. The statement above referred to is false and probably inserted in the paper by those who wish to mislead the voters as to the stand I have taken, as a desperate last minute, futile attempt to rescue the Right Wing Socialists from defeat. (Signed) Harry Gross." The above advertisement appeared in the *Reading Times*, November 2. Its author is a member of the Penn. State Executive Committee of the Socialist Party. The Right Wing Socialists referred to in the advertise-

ment are the members of the Reading section of the Social Democratic Federation. By "Left Wing" Gross meant the Thomas-Tyler outfit. This Gross who talks so freely about "Left Wing" Socialists while endorsing Democrats, was dug out of bed on October 2 by the Clarity members of the State Executive Committee in an attempt to get a majority for the expulsion of the Appeal members of the SEC. On that occasion he voted faithfully against the real left wing and with the Clarity leader, Mickey Harris, District Disorganizer of the S. P., on all questions. It is now reported that Herbie Zam is being sent in to "straighten out" Reading. Zam's success in "straightening out" Altman and Thomas eminently qualifies him for the job.

India's Striking Masses Are Colliding With "Own Bosses"

BOMBAY, India.—In the past seven months, since the advent of the "Popular" governments in various Indian states, widespread labor troubles and strikes have developed in one province after another. It began in Bengal with a strike of the jute workers. This was brutally crushed by the action of the ministry. A dispute then arose in the cotton industry which threatened to involve the entire population in the United Provinces. A Ghandist deal, working for a "peaceful settlement," handed the matter to a "liberal" Congress member for arbitration. The strike has not yet been settled. In the meantime 3000 cotton workers from the Cawnpore Mills have joined the strikers, bringing the total to 7000.

In Bombay, where these lines are being written, a procession of workers of the Dlum Mills last night was dispersed by the police. A huge mass demonstration was held later and militant speakers condemned the police intervention. Because of the great unrest, the Provisional Committee has appointed a Commission of Wage Inquiry.

In Madras there have been strikes in at least three of the mills. The Madras government and the Bengal Minister are spending considerable time trying to assure the workers that everything is alright, and at the same time protecting the interests of Indian and British capitalism. Adopting the deceitful language that the more experienced Western bourgeois governments have used for years to fool the workers, they speak about the maintenance of "industrial peace at any cost" and declare that "internal settlement of industrial disputes is preferable to an external settlement." The trade union leaders, many of them originating in the Stalinist Red Flag Union, are almost solidly lined up with the interests of British and Indian-boss capital. The trade union bureaucrats have disapproved many of the actions of the cotton workers, both in striking and in the conduct of

the strike. They permit the mill owners unanswered to designate the strikers as "extremists who foment class warfare." As in all "democratic" countries, so in India, the boss class weeps over the poor working folks. Really, they tell the workers, you must have unions, let us build them for you. The minister of Labor in Bengal recently said:

"It has been suggested that my policy of encouraging and giving recognition to unions is merely a subterfuge to combat active strikers. The question of subterfuge does not arise. I do not consider the agitators and trouble makers who are always ready to strike, to be representing the trade unions at all. Hitherto, these people were nothing else but a conglomeration of chronic soreheads, who are always willing to fight their employers on the basis of class warfare and disseminating class hatred... To my mind, a trade union, in order to be genuine and responsible must first accept the principle of collaboration with the employer and cooperate with him on the basis of adjustment of rights. Also it must have a leadership capable of influencing the membership."

These sentiments will undoubtedly provide for thought to those Indian workers who have hitherto had the notion that any brand of political theory, provided it professes to espouse the cause of the working class, is really fighting for its interests. It is already evident that in these struggles there is arising from the ranks a fighting new leadership, free from the poisonous class-collaboration line of the old union leaders. This new leadership will have a great task to perform. They have not only to lead the oppressed Indian masses in their daily struggle against their masters but they must give to their less-informed comrades the political guidance that will show the necessity of linking their fight with that of the western working masses. Only then will the Indian masses be free.

Milton and Beatty Speak At Successful Meets in Chicago

CHICAGO. — Two successful meetings were held in Chicago for Harry Milton, member of the International Brigade of the POUM militia, who recently returned from Spain.

On the afternoon of November 2, Milton spoke to over 100 students at the University of Chicago. He was accompanied by Henry Beatty, a former member of the Lincoln Battalion, recently resigned from the Canadian Communist Party and Young Communist League because of his opposition to the traitorous line pursued by the Stalinists in Spain.

The meeting was attacked by the YCL group on the campus and its affiliate, the American Student Union. They distributed leaflets denouncing Milton as an agent of the POUM, which in turn was an agency of Franco. Despite these attempts at sabotaging the meeting, it was extremely successful and had a good effect upon the audience made up of students.

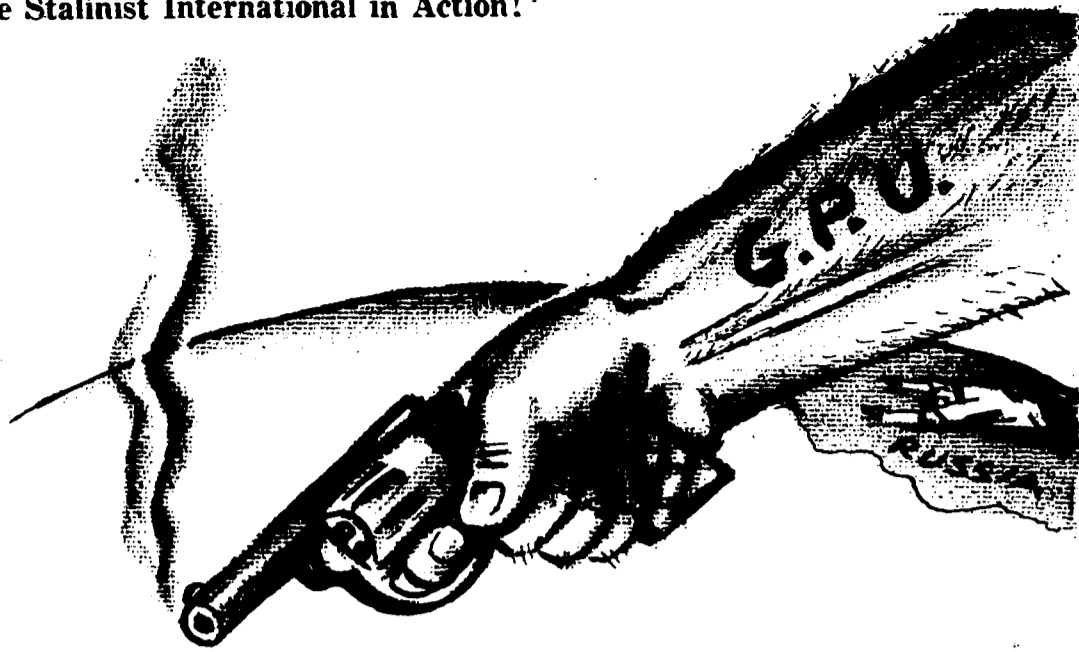
In the evening, Milton and Beatty addressed a public meeting of 175-200 people, called by the left wing organization of the Socialist Party. At this spirited meeting, Milton traced the development of the Spanish struggle, the rise of the independent organs of power of the working

class and the subsequent destruction of these organs by the bourgeois people's front government and its most active force, the Stalinists. He recounted the May Day struggles in Barcelona, the persecution of Anarchists and Proudhonists, and the arrests and assassinations of hundreds of leading militants and revolutionaries from the ranks of the working class. Most important of all, Milton pointed out how great was the possibility of establishing the workers' state in Barcelona and the great support it would have had throughout Catalonia and the rest of Spain.

Beatty gave an account of his recall from Spain, following his disabling wounds at the front, for the purpose of propaganda in the interests of the Negrin government and the Stalinist course. He related how his speech was prepared for him by the Political Committee of the Canadian Communist Party and his subsequent refusal to carry out the line imposed upon him by the bureaucrats of the Party.

Following a period of questions and discussions, both ended their remarks with a ringing call for the 4th International. The meeting closed with the singing of the International.

The Stalinist International in Action!



Vargas Coup Entrenches Hold of U.S. Imperialism

When considering semi-colonial Latin America, a clear understanding of politics is inconceivable unless it is analysed in the light of imperialist machinations. This is all the more true of the most backward of all the South American countries, Brazil, whose colonial nature can hardly be overlooked. Reposing upon a feudal economy, with coffee as its economic foundation, virtually the entire industrial life of the nation is monopolized between American and British imperialism.

The contradictions between these two imperialisms have been the main dynamic force behind Brazilian political happenings of the last decade. The two imperialist camps struggling for the upper hand have organized political cliques and parties. During this time, the pliant tool of American Dollar Diplomacy has been and still is Don Getulio Vargas. In 1930 he was nominated as presidential candidate by the feudal landlords of Rio Grande De Sul, Minas Geraes and Parahyba in connivance with Wall Street which controls the railroads, banks and electrical industries of those states. His opponent was Julio P. de Albuquerque of Sao Paulo, the hope of the British Lion which dominates the economic life of that state. With the government of President Washington Luis favoring the candidacy of de Albuquerque, Vargas and his Yankee masters, demagogically flirting with the masses, carried through a successful coup d'etat against Luis.

Oliviera undoubtedly would be swept into office. The desire of the Vargas feudal clique for self-preservation and with it, the exigencies of American imperialist domination determined the action of Vargas.

The Daily Worker striving to prove to the American bourgeoisie the virtues of Russo-American accord, warned Wall Street editorially on November 12 that "Dictator Vargas in Rio de Janeiro has taken his orders directly from Hitler, Mussolini and the Konoye cabinet in Tokyo." We by no means wish to ignore the role of Germany in Brazilian politics. German imperialism, almost asphyxiated as a result of Versailles, has been turning frantically, during the last few years, toward Latin-America as a source for war materials and as an outlet for her industrial commodities, and has succeeded in obtaining mining concessions in some South American nations.

By means of government subsidies on exports, Germany in 1936 led the U. S. in exports to Brazil. The "Integralist" party overtly expresses its friendship for Nazi Germany. The large, influential German population of Brazil is overwhelmingly Nazi in its sympathies. However, at the present time, German economic and political influence isn't of great significance and the Integralist party is still far from being a decisive force in Brazilian political relationships and struggles.

The fact that Vargas has given free latitude to the "Integralists" in their activities does not prove that he is an agent of Germany, but stresses the point, that lacking any social support, he rests to some extent upon that fascist rabble in his efforts to perpetuate his rule.

As for Japan, we can add, that although Japanese trade with Latin-America has grown by leaps and bounds during the last few years, only the most naive political observer could maintain that Japan exercises at the present time, influence on Brazil. The same can be said for supposed Italian influence. The Daily Worker, trying to place the responsibility for the Vargas coup upon the Rome-Berlin-Tokyo axis and furthermore, by maintaining in that same editorial that Roosevelt's Latin-American policy is for "peace and Democracy" shamelessly attempts to dissimulate the fact that Vargas is the product of American imperialist manipulations.

Has Brazil turned fascist? A sober political analysis would bring an observer to the conclusion that what presents itself today in that country is just another form true, more naked of the personal, military dictatorship so common throughout Ibero-American history. The tyrant Gomez ruled Venezuela for 25 years no more democratically than Vargas will rule under the new constitution. A fascist movement is an upsurge of discontented petty-bourgeois masses and lumped proletarians directed in the interests of finance capital. Vargas hasn't any mass base at all, having long since alienated the sympathies of virtually the entire Brazilian nation. The new tyrant rests upon the precarious support of an army which will inevitably reflect the social antagonism which the very logic of his politics will not mitigate but only intensify.

Bernard Ross.

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To The Aid of the Brazilian People

With the evident objective of facilitating the penetration of German and Italian fascist imperialism into this continent and of sapping the positions acquired by North American capitalism, Brazil on the night of November ninth officially became a totalitarian state. President Getulio Vargas disclaims having made a fascist coup d'etat. He has more reason for his denial than he himself thinks. The regime he has introduced is not fascism, but its colonial parody.

Fascism is the product of contradictions insoluble to imperialism, that is to say, capitalism in its final stage. The real beneficiary of fascism is finance-capital. The instrument of fascism is the petty bourgeoisie of the town and country, ruined by finance-capital, desperate, and falling into the trap of its exploiter.

Brazil, like all the Latin American countries, itself possesses no finance-capital, or almost none. It is foreign imperialism which dominates the economic life of the country and dictates its laws. The coup d'etat can only serve therefore to enslave the country more thoroughly to foreign capital.

Contrary to Europe, the petty bourgeoisie of the cities have never played an important economic role in Latin America. The peasant masses are not yet free from a semi-feudal servitude. They have no tradition of political struggle. They are not enlisted in the fascist party. The so-called "green shirts" represent a negligible quantity and it appears that Getulio Vargas has not even found it necessary to enlist them in the coup d'etat.

Because of the political misery of the petty bourgeoisie, it was the state apparatus and primarily the military apparatus, that is to say, the instrument of foreign imperialism, which became at the same time the instrument of the coup d'etat. Hence the totalitarian regime of Brazil has had since its origin a purely bureaucratic character. It is more like the dictatorship of a Primo de Rivera than that of a Hitler or of a Mussolini. Deprived of any social and political base in the masses of the country, established only in order to more

thoroughly subdue these masses and to stifle their social and political aspirations, the totalitarian regime of Vargas will prove more feeble than any other regime in the countries of Latin America. The sub-fascism of Vargas cannot act as anything but a docile instrument for the genuine imperialist fascism which created it. In other words, the totalitarian coup d'etat is not a step along the road from a semi-colonial position toward national liberation, but on the contrary, a step back from the semi-colonial position toward complete colonial enslavement.

For the Latin American proletariat, as for the working masses in general, facing this situation, it is a question above all of rejecting with contempt the diplomatic lie of non-intervention. Getulio Vargas is preparing for the most starved and the most aggressive imperialism a base from which it will be able to intervene in the internal life of all Latin America. For the workers it becomes then a question of defending themselves with the powerful arm of international solidarity. The duty of this solidarity falls primarily upon the workers of Latin America.

The Brazilian proletariat who number almost 11,000,000 workers in industry and agriculture have many times demonstrated their magnificent combative qualities. The totalitarian regime will be a severe school for them, but no one of long duration. This Brazilian dictatorship, the last to appear, will very likely be the first to fall.

In order to preserve Latin America from the colonial slavery which menaces it more and more, it is necessary to unite it. It is not the "national" bourgeoisies, these agencies of foreign imperialism, who will assure the success of this task. It is only the working masses who are capable of creating by their indomitable revolutionary struggle the United Socialist States of Latin America.

Workers of Mexico! Workers of Latin America! Workers of the entire world! We must tighten our ranks. We must explain to the general masses the real meaning of the Brazilian coup d'etat. We must help the Brazilian advance guard, materially and morally. We must assure the right of asylum for Brazilian political refugees. We must help them in the creation of a genuine nucleus for the future revolution.

The van-guard of the Mexican workers send their vibrant appeal for the solidarity of world labor and above all of the powerful working class of the United States which is called by history to become the leader of the oppressed people of this continent.

Down with world fascism and its miserable lieutenants in Latin America!

Down with foreign imperialism and its national agents!

Long live international socialism!

Liga Comunista Internationalists (B.L.)
Seccion Mexicana de la IV International.

It Is High Time To Launch a World Offensive Against Stalinism

An Open Letter to All Workers' Organizations

By Leon Trotsky

The world social movement is being consumed by a terrible disease. The source of contagion is the Comintern, or to put it more correctly, the G.P.U. for whom the apparatus of the Comintern serves only as a legal cover. The events of the last few months in Spain have shown what crimes the unbridled and completely degenerated Moscow bureaucracy and its hirelings from among the declassified international scum are capable of. It is not a question of "incidental" murders or "incidental" frame-ups. In question is a conspiracy against the world labor movement.

The Moscow trials could, of course, have taken place only under a totalitarian regime, where the G.P.U. dictates, alike the conduct of defendants, the prosecution, and the defense. But these judicial frame-ups were from the outset designed as a starting point for a crushing offensive against the opponents of the Moscow clique on the world arena. On March 3 Stalin delivered a speech at a plenum of the Central Com-

mittee of the CPSU in which he declared that "the Fourth International consists two-thirds of spies and diversionists." This brazen and truly Stalinist declaration already indicated quite clearly at what the Kremlin Cain was aiming. His designs are not confined, however, to the framework of the Fourth International. In Spain the POUM, which was itself in an irreconcilable conflict with the Fourth International, was enrolled among the "Trotskyites." After the POUM came the turn of anarcho-syndicalists and even left Socialists. And now, all those who protest against the repression of anarchists are being enrolled among the Trotskyites. The frame-ups and crimes are mounting at a fearful rate. Isolated and especially scandalous details may, of course, be accounted for by excessive zeal on the part of individual agents. But the activity as a whole is rigidly centralized, and is being conducted in accordance with a plan elaborated by the Kremlin.

An ECCI Plenum Served To Prepare The World Murder Campaign

On April 21 an emergency plenum of the ECCI convened in Paris, at which the most trusted representatives of 17 most important sections participated. The sessions were strictly secret in character. The world press carried only a brief dispatch mentioning the fact that the deliberations of the plenum were devoted to an international struggle against Trotskyism. The instructions came from Moscow, directly from Stalin. Neither the discussion nor the decisions have been published. As is evident from the information at our disposal, and from all the ensuing events, this mysterious plenum was in reality a conference of the most important international agents of the G.P.U. for the purpose of preparing a campaign of framed accusations, denunciations, kidnappings and assassinations against the adversaries of Stalinism in the labor movement the world over.

At the time of the Zinoviev-Kamenev trial (August 1936) there was still some wavering in the ranks of the Comintern. Despite the efforts of hoary hirelings of the G.P.U. like Jacques Duclos in France, even the inured cadres of the Comintern were

loath to prostrate themselves in the mud which was soaked with fresh blood. But within a few months, the resistance of the waverers was broken down. The entire press of the Comintern, which Stalin keeps in a dog-collar of gold, was drawn into an orgy of slander unprecedented in villainess and cruelty. The guiding role was assigned, as it always is, to the emissaries of Moscow like Michael Koltsov, Willie Muenzenberg and other scoundrels. Pravda confidently promised that the purge in Spain would be conducted with the same ruthlessness as in the USSR. Its words were followed with deeds: framed documents against the POUM, assassinations of anarchist writers, the murder of Andres Nin, the kidnapping of Erwin Wolfe, the kidnapping of Mark Rein, dozens of less prominent stabbings in the back or murders from ambush, incarcerations in Stalin's extra-territorial prisons in Spain, confinement in these prisons in special cells, beating and infliction of all sorts of physical and moral torture—all this under the cover of continuous, crude, poisonous and truly Stalinist slander.

The G.P.U. Works On a World Scale With Anyone Who Will Serve

In Spain, where the so-called Republican Government serves as a legal shield for Stalin's criminal gangs, the G.P.U. found the most favorable arena for fulfilling the directives of the April plenum. But matters were not confined to Spain alone. The French and British military staffs, as appears from the press of the Comintern itself, were supplied with some sort of mysterious documents pertaining to "Trotsky's meeting with Rudolf Hess." The Czech military staff was handed forged correspondence intended to establish a connection between the Gestapo and old German Revolutionist, Anton Grylewicz. Jacques Duclos tried to link up the "Trotskyites" with mysterious terrorist acts in Paris, concerning which the GPU undoubtedly have supplied

some information to the French police. On September 4, in Lausanne, Ignace Reiss was murdered, only because, horrified at the crimes of Stalin, he had publicly broken with Moscow. Some of Reiss's assassins have been arrested.

They are members of the Comintern and agents of the G.P.U. recruited from among Russian White Guards. The investigation of the French and Swiss court authorities provides every ground for the assumption that this very gang had committed a whole series of hitherto unrevealed crimes. White Guards serve Stalin as assassins, just as they serve him in the guise of prosecutors (Vyshinsky), publicist (M. Koltsov, Zaslavsky etc.) or diplomats (Trojanovsky, Maisky, and the rest of the fraternity).

No sooner did military activities begin in the Far East than Stalin launched a crushing offensive against his revolutionary opponents in China. The method is identical with that applied in Spain. Stalin sells to Chiang Kai-shek, as to Negrin, products of Soviet industry at high prices, and with the income thus obtained pays his falsifiers, journalistic swindlers, and hired assassins. On October 5, a cable dispatch from Shanghai appeared in the new York Daily Worker, accusing Chinese "Trotskyites" in Kwangsi of an alliance with the Japanese General Staff. The Daily Worker is an organ of the G. P. U. published in New York;

The Amazing Testimony of a Canadian Communist Who Revolted

The Canadian Communist, Henry Beattie, who participated as a volunteer for four months on the Spanish front, and who was then sent back to his own country as an agitator by the militiamen themselves, has recently recounted in the press how the party of Canadian Stalinists had compelled him to say at public meetings that Trotskyites in Spain "shot wounded militiamen." For a while, Beattie, according to his own statement, fulfilled this monstrous order, "submitting to party discipline," i.e. the decision of that same secret plenum directed by Stalin. Today, after Beattie escaped from the poisoned atmosphere of the Comintern into the clear air outside he is of course branded as a spy and a diversionist, and it is even possible that there is a price on his head. When it comes to such understandings Stalin is not stingy: the technical expenses alone for the murder of Ignace Reiss amounted to 300,000 francs!

To cover up or justify these

The Leaders of the Second International And Their Relation to Stalin

There is a somewhat different but not greatly improved situation with regard to the leaders of the Second and Labor International. Out of considerations of diplomatic or internal-political character Leon Blum, Leon Jouhaux, Vandervelde and their counterparts in other countries have organized, in the full sense of the term, a conspiracy of silence around the crimes of the Stalinist bureaucracy both in the USSR and on the world arena. Negrin and Prieto are direct accomplices of the G.P.U. All this they do—under the guise of defending "democracy!"

We know that the enemy is powerful; he has a long reach; gold clicks in his pockets. He covers himself with the authority of the revolution which he is strangling and dishonoring. But we also know something else: however powerful the enemy may be, he is not omnipotent. Despite the Kremlin's treasury and apparatus and legion of "friends," truth is beginning to cut a path

The Truth Will Out: We Must Organize To Make It Known

Ignace Reiss was not the last to bring us his revelations. The murderers of Reiss apprehended in Switzerland and France, may disclose a good many things. Thousands of revolutionary vo-

lunteers in Spain will spread throughout the globe the truth about the hang-man of the revolution. Thinking workers are asking themselves: "To what end is all this? What aim is this end-

its Shanghai correspondent is a G.P.U. agent who fulfills the decisions—of the April plenum. Informed Chinese sources have in the meantime ascertained that there was and is no Trotskyist organization in Kwangsi. (Socialist Appeal, October 16). But this does not alter the situation: The Shanghai cable signifies that in China there has opened the chapter of framed documents, kidnappings of "Trotskyites" and murders from ambush. The prisons of Chiang Kai-shek have already in them not a few impeccable revolutionists. Their lives are now being directly threatened by Stalin.

crimes, dozens of foreign bourgeois journalists of the Walter Duranty-Louis Fisher school are kept on the payrolls of the G.P.U. It has long been no secret to those able to read between the lines that the amiable-critical-equivocal dispatches and articles from Moscow signed by "independent" names, often accompanied with a notation "uncensored," are in reality written under the dictation of the G.P.U. and have as their aim to reconcile world public opinion with the sinister figure of the Kremlin Cain. "Independent" journalists of this type differ from the Messers Duranty only in this, that they come at a higher price. But the reporters are not the only ones mobilized. Writers with high-sounding or famous names like Romain Rolland, the deceased Barbusse, Malraux, Heinrich Mann or Feuchtwanger are in effect pensioners of the G.P.U. which pays liberally for the "moral" services of these friends through the medium of the State Publishing House.

for itself into the consciousness of the labor masses of the world. Drunk with impunity, Stalin has grossly over-stepped that boundary which caution dictates even to the most privileged criminal. It is possible to dupe so brazenly only those who want to be duped. Not a few of the dubious luminaries belong to this category. But the masses do not want to be deceived. They need the truth. They are striving for it, and they will attain it.

No longer bound by any principles, Stalin has over-stepped the final boundary. Precisely therein is weakness. He is still able to kill. But he cannot halt the truth. More and more worker-communists, socialists and anarchists are being seized by alarm. Even Stalin's allies in the Second International are beginning to cast fearful glances at the Kremlin. Many literary "friends" have already cautiously withdrawn to the sidelines under the pretext of "neutrality." But this is only the beginning.

less chain of crimes serving?" And the answer is hammering its way into their minds: Stalin is preparing his "coronation" over the ruins of the revolution and the corpses of revolutionists.

The Bonapartist coronation of Stalin must coincide with his political death for the working class movement. It is necessary to rally the efforts of all revolutionists, all honest workers, all true friends of the proletariat, to purge the ranks of the emancipatory movement from the horrible contagion of Stalinism. There is only one way to attain this: By disclosing to the workers the truth, without exaggerations, but also without any embellishment. The program of action thus flows well nigh automatically from the situation itself.

We must definitely establish and make public the names of all the national delegates who participated in the recent Paris plenum, as the men directly responsible for the organization of frame-ups, kidnapping, and murders in the respective countries.

We must definitely establish and make public the names of all foreign Stalinists who either held or are holding any kind of military, police, or administrative posts in Spain. All these individuals are agents of the G.P.U. implicated in the crimes committed in Spain.

We must carefully follow the international Stalinist press, as well as the "literary" activity of the avowed and under-cover friends of the G.P.U., inasmuch as from the character of the fumes they emit it is often possible to forecast what new crimes Stalin is preparing.

It is necessary to institute in all labor organizations a regime of rigid mistrust of everyone directly or indirectly connected with the Stalinist apparatus. One must always expect any kind of perfidy on the part of the agents of the Comintern who are the spineless tools of the G.P.U.

We must tirelessly gather printed material, documents, testimonials of witnesses concerning the criminal work of the agents of the G.P.U.—Comintern. We must periodically publish in the press rigorously substantiated conclusions drawn from these materials.

It is necessary to open the eyes of public opinion to the fact that the honeyed and lying propaganda of many philosophers, moralists, aesthetes, artists, pacifists and labor "leaders" in defense of the Kremlin, under the guise of "defense of the Soviet Union" is paid for liberally in Moscow gold. These gentlemen must be covered with the infamy they so richly have earned.

Never before has the labor movement had in its own ranks so vicious, dangerous, powerful and unscrupulous an enemy as Stalin's clique and its international agency. Remissness in the struggle against this enemy is tantamount to betrayal. Only windbags and dilettantes but not serious revolutionists can confine themselves to pathetic outbursts of indignation. It is necessary to have a plan and an organization. It is urgent to create special commissions which would follow the maneuvers, intrigues and crimes of the Stalinists, warn the labor organizations of danger in

(Continued on page 7)

INTERNATIONAL NOTES

Stalin Tightens the Screws on His Plebiscite

Stalin's Central Committee sat in plenary session for two days on October 11-12 to "take up the question of the electoral campaign". While the decisions of this session have yet to be published in full, the keynote of the campaign has been issued, and the fear of the ruling clique given a more graphic expression.

Under the slogan of "Strengthen the Ties With the Non-Party Masses!" joint slates with 'non-party Bolsheviks' have been made mandatory. All indications point to the certainty that "non-Party" delegates will constitute a very substantial block, if not the majority of those elected to the Supreme Soviet. The press features the nominations of members of this new aristocracy from among the "well-to-do" kolkhozniki, Stakhanovites, technicians, Stalinist "intelligentsia" and so on. They receive prominence second only to that of Stalin and his closest henchmen-pro-tem.

Whatever Stalin's plan may be, his fears of possible hindrances are being given ever clearer expression, with the progress of the campaign. The press no longer speaks in generalities, but openly stresses not only the danger but the likelihood that anti-Stalin candidates will be elected! For days prior to an "official" confirmation in Pravda, "preventive" resolutions on this theme dotted its columns. We select one instance out of scores:

"We will strain all our efforts not to permit a single one of the vile enemies of the people from among the Trotskyite-Bukharinist-Rykov gang, not a single double-dealer and traitor to the interests of the people, to sneak into the highest organs of state power of our happy and free country". (Resolution of the Nevsky plant in Leningrad, Pravda, Oct. 14.)

Pravda more than bears out the "need" of straining "all efforts" Referring to "one of the most important, and perhaps the key organizational question of the electoral campaign," i.e., the election of district and regional electoral committees, Pravda wails:

"The enemy elements, understanding the full political significance of electoral committees, strive, and in some places not unsuccessfully, to sneak 'their own' creatures into them, especially into the district committees. In the Ordjonikidze province in five districts alone, from among 81 candidates put forward for the district electoral committee, 14 either had criminal records or were implicated in ties with enemies of the people. In the face of that, what good is all the talk about vigilance on the part of local regional party militants!" (October 18).

Another instance: "It is silly and dangerous to expect that the still lurking enemies—the splinters of the crushed counter-revolutionary parties, the Mensheviks and S.R.'s the churchmen, the most venomous of the enemies of the people from among the Trotskyite-Bukharinist Fascist gang—will not strive to and perpetrate abominations, and engage in wrecking on the sly". (October 17).

And again: "Despite the absolutely clear directives of the plenum of the C.C. of C.P.S.U. which stressed the paramount importance of electoral districts in the coming elections, party organizations and Soviets, in many places, did not attend in a Bolshevik manner to the selection of district electoral committees. In several places, shocking negligence was shown, which enabled shady elements to sneak into some district electoral committees. This occurred in the Kuibishev and Smolensk regions, as well as in the Ordjonikidze province." (October 27. Our emphasis throughout).

The disappearance of candidates is beginning to assume nationwide proportions. A certain number of these can doubtless be accounted for by clerical and typographical errors, but the illuminating comment in Pravda, coupled with the fact, that the remiss regions listed above have figured prominently in the latest reports of executions, is ample proof that Stalin's G.P.U. is

rectifying with bullets any acts of "negligence" in the "most democratic elections in the world."

But the G. P. U. is obviously having its hands full. So, on the initiative of Petrovsky, Chairman of the Ukrainian C.E.C. of the Soviets, the Komsomol (Y.C.L.) committees have mobilized pioneers and all school children of pioneer age "for active participation in the electoral campaign." Petrovsky in an article in Pionerskaya Pravda specifies just what this participation entails. Among the chief duties of school children is to agitate against the "excrements of the bourgeoisie, the nationalists, the followers of Pethura, the Trotskyites, the Rights and other traitors of the people."

With each passing day, the terror is gathering momentum. Krasnaya Gazetta for October 10, carries an announcement of a new regional conference of the Leningrad Komsomol, necessitated by "additional" exposure of "enemies of the people who had sneaked into leading posts"—of a Komsomol organization that has been purged three times in the last few weeks! At the head of these enemies, this time, was none other than Vaishlya, secretary of the Regional Committee, one of Zhdanov's closet henchmen and himself one of the most ruthless "purgers". In the five weeks ending with October 31, more than 400 individuals have been shot for "sabotage and wrecking"—according to reports published in the Soviet press. No sphere remains untouched by the purge, not even the Political Bureau! At the XVII Party Congress of February 10, 1934 Stalin handpicked 10 men for this body. Of these, three died; Kirov, Kuibishev and Ordjonikidze. They were replaced by Mikoyan, Chubar and Petrovsky, who were three of the 5 candidates likewise selected at the time. The other two were Rudzutak and Postyshev. In 1935, after Kirov's assassination, Zhdanov and Eikhe were appointed candidates. Rudzutak and Postyshev fell into "disgrace." And now with the appointment of Yezhov to the Political Bureau, the members of this body are (for the time being): Stalin, Molotov, Kaganovich, Voroshilov, Kalinin, Andreyev, Mikoyan, Chubar. S. V. Kossior, Zhdanov and Yezhov. Of those "missing", Eikhe has just been kicked down stairs into the People's Commissariat. Petrovsky is on the spot in the Ukraine. Who is next?

To cope with difficulties Stalin has found it necessary to add bribes to "agitation" and bullets. On November 1, the People's Commissariat issued a decree raising the wages "of lower paid workers and employes in industry and transport." The decree cautiously avoids specifying the precise amount of the raise, but specifies "guiding considerations" which establish minimum monthly wage scales of "not less than" 110 and 115 rubles "exclusive of premiums and other additional earnings." For the first time we have an "official" wage scale for "lower paid" workers, i.e. the bulk of the Soviet proletariat. The ruling clique has lifted a corner of the veil that hides one of its darkest secrets! That they have been compelled to do so is another indication of the growing ferment among the masses.

...

On October 20, the Soviet press hailed the entry of the electoral campaign into a "new phase." The "first candidates" were nominated. Their names are, indeed, important: Stalin, Molotov, Kalinin, Zhdanov and two "non-party" Stakhanovists Pichugina and Smetanin. Was it an accident that Voroshilov's and Kaganovich's names are conspicuously absent among these "first"?

Beginning with October 29 Pravda began printing long lists of organizations nominating Stalin. Only on November 2nd were the names of others included. Here is the order as of November 2nd, arranged according to the "number" of nominations.

Stalin	446
Molotov	106
Kaganovich	102
Yezhov	68
Voroshilov	68

On the first appearance of these "figures" Yezhov ran ahead of Voroshilov 37 to 36; and Kaganovich swamped Molotov by a score of 52 to 48. Knowing Stalin's gentle methods, these "hints" are highly significant, indeed!

J. G. W.

West Coast Labor Notes

Labor Editor Resigns

Somewhat of a sensation was caused throughout the ranks of the Maritime Federation of the Pacific last week when Ralph Chaplin, editor of the "Voice of the Federation" resigned, charging that the Communist Party, through a process of slow and deliberate strangulation, has put the "Voice" on the rocks.

In his statement printed in the paper, Chaplin, well-known working class poet, announced he "refused to serve as a scape-goat for the cunning plot hatched by the local Moscow wrecking crew... The principles of genuine industrial unionism upon which the Maritime Federation was founded are too important to be discarded for the cheap substitute proposed by the Communist CIO Maritime Council."

Indorse Independent Industrial Union

In the meantime, the progressive campaign for unity among the maritime unions gains headway. San Pedro and Seattle branches of the Marine Firemen and Oilers union, and the headquarters meeting of the Sailors' Union of the Pacific have all voted by an overwhelmingly majority to amalgamate the three unlicensed union groups on the Pacific Coast into an independent industrial union affiliated to the Maritime Federation.

By a majority of more than 14,000 votes, organized labor in San Francisco last week again prevented reactionaries from securing an antipicketing ordinance.

Unionists Framed

LOS ANGELES. — In recent months the District Attorney and the courts in Los Angeles have intensified their drive against the militants in the unions. Another attempt of the D. A. and the courts to break a strike occurred when two militant members of the I.L.G.W.U., Josephine Snyder and Frances Sanchez were arrested on charges of kidnapping and grand theft. These charges and arrests are as patent a frame-up as ever experienced by labor. Two weeks ago a scab attempting to enter the plant of the Chic Lingerie Co., whose employes were on strike, engaged in an argument with the picket. A fight ensued, during which the scab dropped her purse. Witnesses present proved that the purse had fallen into the gutter and was swept into the sewer. A while later, Marshall Ross, union attorney, accompanied by a detective, discovered the purse lying in the sewer.

The charge of kidnapping arises out of the following circumstances. During the first days of the strike, Mrs. Snyder and Frances Sanchez convinced a union member, employed in the plant, who was attempting to pass the picket line, to remain on strike. She was taken to the union headquarters, given lunch money, and after a further conversation asked to return home. The employer later visited the girl and prevailed upon her to return to work and sign a complaint for kidnapping.

This is one of many such experiences that unionism has encountered in Los Angeles. The forces of labor throughout the city must be aroused against this kind of vile strike-breaking.

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Sidney Hook, in the
New York Herald-Tribune

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—James T. Farrel, in the
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Congress Convenes to Pass Relief Slashes And Help Bosses

(Continued from page 1)

atic, are essentially the same. Their purpose is identical, namely to save capitalism.

Many workers have wondered why Wall Street has insisted that Roosevelt balance the budget. Does not the meaning become clear today? Balance the budget means to cut down relief programs so the taxes can be eliminated which hurt the pocket-books of the rich.

"Our tax revenues come largely from individual earnings and business profits. We do not wish to impose levies which tend to dry up the sources of revenue," Morgenthau point out. So instead of taxing the rich, the government decides to starve the poor.

More than that, Roosevelt wishes, "to encourage the expansion of business through revising taxes found to be inequitable." But business considers all taxes they pay as "inequitable." That's why Wall Street maintains powerful lobbies in Washington to fight against taxes.

Business "Opposition" Disappears

Is it any wonder the business opposition to the special session of Congress has disappeared? The financiers and industrialists worried that perhaps Roosevelt might do something which would hurt them.

Instead, his message and his program as outlined by Morgenthau, told them, in advance, that the special session would be for the capitalists' benefit and against the interests of the working people.

Talk of legislation for a 30 hour week died completely many months before this session of Congress began. The 40-hour week, too, is considered impractical by the Roosevelt administration! Even a modified wage and hour bill received but vague support in the Roosevelt message!

The industrial rulers of America are thus being given a silent approval of their campaign to lengthen the hours of work in the factories. Every economic gain that the organized Labor movement won by determined struggle in the past two years has been placed in acute jeopardy by the Roosevelt policies.

Why does Roosevelt pursue these policies? Why has he

made the slogan, "Aid Business," the theme of his legislative program?

Roosevelt understands that capitalism is a system based on private property of the means of production from which profit is made through the exploitation of labor.

What "Prosperity" Means

"Prosperity" under capitalism can only mean that private industry is making enough profit to maintain production schedules which give the workers the means of subsistence.

"The basic need today is to foster the full application of the driving force of private capital. We want to see capital go into productive channels of private industry. We want to see private business expanded. We believe that much of the remaining unemployment will disappear as private capital funds are increasingly employed in productive enterprises." Morgenthau explained the basic motives of the Roosevelt policy. What does it mean? Is it possible?

Certainly the guarantee that taxes will be reduced is an incentive to big business to use capital for private industry. More important, however, is the basic consideration that profit can only be made by exploiting labor, by having long hours, low wages and poor working conditions: By not paying labor its full due.

The Roosevelt program of ignoring the 30-hour week demand, of passing up a wage and hour bill, assures the capitalists of little opposition from the political direction to their attempts to lower wages etc.

The Roosevelt policy of reducing relief has the effect of making labor cheaper too. The bargaining power of the workers is less when millions are unemployed. It is harder to fight the bosses through strikes to maintain or increase wages when millions of unemployed want jobs. Potential scabs are too plentiful.

Workers Must Prepare

In other words, Roosevelt's program can do only one thing: attempt to save capitalism at the expense of the working people and the masses of unemployed. That's his encouragement to Big Business.

Even this is impossible, however. The millions of unemployed

can't buy whatever industry produces. Each time that capital spends money in private industry to produce goods, it introduces labor-saving machinery which continues to throw more men out of work permanently.

The home market can't absorb the goods produced: the foreign markets are tied up by other capitalist nations and a crisis develops, as it has periodically for many decades.

When the crisis can't be solved by political measures, by allowing millions of working people to starve during what is called a depression: when the workers begin to rebel against the damnable injustices of this vicious capitalist system, the capitalists have two answers.

Either they plunge America into another world war to obtain bigger and more lucrative foreign markets for the goods they produce (which the exploited workers at home can't buy) or they crush the workers through fascist forces.

Organized Labor can't and won't stand for the betrayal of the working people by Roosevelt's policies. A militant struggle against them must come.

Then, it will be necessary to prepare to keep America out of the next imperialist war, which shall be declared under the guise of "Fighting for Peace and Democracy."

The workers' answer to imperialist war and fascism must be the revolutionary overthrow of capitalism, the system of unemployment, misery, starvation, as so strikingly revealed today.

In its struggle against the betrayal policies of Roosevelt, the workers will develop the class-consciousness, the power, and the self-confidence which shall prepare them for the task of overthrowing the capitalist system.

In the vanguard of this struggle, will be found the revolutionary socialists around whose program and banner the fight against capitalism can succeed, as it did 20 years ago in Russia.

Open Letter to All Workers' Organizations

(Continued from Page 5)

store, and elaborate the best methods of parrying and resisting the Moscow gangsters.

It is necessary to publish appropriate literature and collect funds for its publication. In each country a book should be issued, exposing completely the respective section of the Comintern.

We possess neither a state apparatus nor hired friends. Nevertheless we confidently fling our challenge to the Stalinist gang before all mankind. Our hands will not hang. Some among us may still fall in this struggle. But its general outcome is predetermined. Stalinism will be laid low, crushed, and covered forever with infamy. The world working class will march out onto the open road.

Coyoacan, Nov. 2, 1937.

Worker Wants Relief; Sent to Lunatic Asylum

By Neil Harrison

Harry Roffman has been confined to Bellevue Prison Ward for mental observation for the last sixteen days because he is unemployed and asked for relief. About five days before election, Roffman, a member of the Workers Alliance, went to the Single Men's relief bureau to inquire why he had been cut off relief. Being cut off meant for Roffman either to starve or steal. He refused to do either. He demanded to be put back on relief. He was ordered out of the bureau. In desperation, on being shoved out of the door, he threw a copy of Wells' Outline of History through the glass pane of the door. Thereupon he was arrested and taken to the Tombs. He was there five days and then brought before Magistrate Ford. At this point His Mightiness, Magistrate Ford, asked him:

Roffman's "Crimes"

"Do you believe that the government should feed the unemployed and give them jobs?" To which Roffman replied: "Yes." Thereupon, Justice Ford said:

"Commit him to Bellevue for observation"

Roffman is still in Bellevue. The Stalinist leaders of the Workers Alliance had refused to lift a finger in his behalf. Before election day they advised caution so as not to embarrass LaGuardia. With LaGuardia well taken care of by these misleaders of the unemployed, they have still refused to do a thing for a rank and file member of the Alliance.

Progressives Rally Aid

It was only the Progressive Group of the Workers Alliance, organized to protect the real real interests of the rank and file in the Alliance, that went to bat for Roffman. After getting the facts from him, they immediately got in touch with a lawyer from the Workers Defense League, Attorney Fleischman. Fleischman is handling the legal aspects of the case. The Progressive Group is carrying on a campaign of mass pressure through publicity, leaflets and mass picket lines before the Single Men's bureau.

Paula Aragon, Young Socialist Leader And Labor Organizer, Sentenced To Jail

Paula Aragon, National Executive Committee member of the Young Peoples Socialist League, serving now as a Los Angeles organizer of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union, is to begin serving a sentence in the Los Angeles County jail this week.

Arrested several months ago on charges of battery and disturbing the peace, Paula Aragon was placed on trial. After a vicious patriotic tirade by the prosecutor she was found guilty by a jury who listened with open mouths to the statement of the city attorney that "Miss Aragon probably never saluted the American Flag."

The witnesses of the prosecutor attempted to prove that the defendant had attempted to beat up a scab working in the Darling Dress shop during a strike. In spite of the testimony of the state's own witnesses, who testified that the union organizer had been held by a police officer while the scab had struck the militant trade union organizer several times in the face, Judge Guerin

severely condemned the defendant for her trade union activity and sentenced her to 90 days in the county jail, 45 days suspended and a year probation.

The case was appealed because of alleged improper instruction given to the jury and because of the refusal of the Judge to permit the defendant's attorney, James Carter, to question the jurors in an effort to elicit their bias and prejudice against trade unions. The court of Appeals recently upheld the decision of the lower court and without much chance of securing a new hearing Paula Aragon must begin serving her term.

In all charges of battery and disturbance of the peace the usual sentence is a fine of \$25 or \$50. Unquestionably the unusually severe sentence against the union organizer is an effort to handicap the organization work of the I.L.G.W.U. which has been successful in the past several months in securing contracts with several factories in Los Angeles whose employees were never organized.

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Are You Ready for War?

A Discussion on Imperialist War, Past and Present, on the Presidential "Peace-Lovers" and How They Prepare the Minds of the Masses in Support of a New World-Wide War for Plunder and Exploitation.

(Continued from last issue)

Capitalism Must Expand

But the trade war cannot be settled by such weapons. When the economic or trade weapons prove inadequate for one of the imperialist rivals, it cannot merely accept defeat and give up. Its capitalist must expand and then expand again. There is a fatal drive behind them which forces them to reach out toward new lands—the necessity for new markets to dispose of the goods which cannot be bought by the impoverished masses at home, the necessity for fresh fields for investing capital when the rate of profit falls lower and lower at home. Capitalism must find new victims to feed upon as the old are sucked out, or else die itself. The fact that the whole world is already divided up, that it must inevitably collide with other imperialist robbers who likewise are prowling about outside or defending their conquered spoils, this cannot stop it.

And so when tariffs and trade treaties and local politics prove useless, a new change of weapons is made. And the last resort is to cannon, gas, tanks, airplanes, the guns that pop and the bayonets that flash. That is when you say war has begun.

But this thing you call war is not something that suddenly appears with no connections with the past, like the visitation of a plague. It is a continuation of the imperialist politics of the past. In general, war is a continuation of the politics of a nation—with a change of weapons.

This is the reality. Anything else used to cover up this reality is a lie. Behind the screen of "peace-time", war is raging always.

Who Is the "Aggressor?"

And in all this, who is the aggressor? During "peace-time", the imperialist nations prowl around each other, crouching like wrestlers who are looking for the most favorable opportunity to spring upon their rival. The question of who-attacks-whom-first is a matter of military expediency, preparedness, diplomatic maneuvering, degree of imperialist drive; it does not decide our attitude. The imperialist war began far back in economic rivalries, and both groups of imperialists are equally the aggressors.

Who is the aggressor? Capitalist imperialism itself means a continual aggression. It is a continual attack upon the working masses at home, who are exploited and oppressed so that the money lords may raise themselves on their backs in order to reach farther out. It is a continual attack upon the working masses in the colonial and semi-colonial countries, who are squeezed dry by foreign imperialists, kept in dictatorial slavery by the capitalist "democrats", used as cannon fodder against rival dictators, or shot down unmercifully when they rise against their double yoke of foreign oppressor and native capitalist. The working masses of both America and Japan, plus the colonial peoples, are the attacked; the imperialists of both America and Japan are the attackers. This is the division between aggressors and defenders.

Understanding this, what is to be done? International collaboration—not with one group of imperialists against the other—but international organization and action of the workers of all countries against the imperialists of all countries. And in each country, the workers face their most immediate aggressor, their "own" capitalists, "the enemy at home". This is revolutionary socialism. What a crime it is if, instead, the workers of America join hands with their own exploiters to slaughter the workers of Japan and help the imperialists keep their colonial slaves in chains! This is social-patriotism, this is betrayal.

There is another bait for the peace-lovers. The fascist nations, we are told, want war; the democracies want peace. We must defend our democracy against the fascists, and thereby stop their war-plans. Therefore we must support war—by the line-up of "peace-loving" democratic nations versus fascists.

Well, how peace-loving are the peace-loving democracies? England, whose empire was built on the blood and slaughter of helpless natives; which lives by keeping its colonies under an iron heel of militarism; which did not stop at fomenting war in the Gran Chaco to protect its imperialist interests; which is feverishly building its military establishment. America—the other parti-

cipant in the Chaco war; which is waging war now upon the Cuban people, thru the military dictatorship of its man Batista; which has the biggest peace-time budget in its history. France—whose hands are dripping with the blood of the Moroccan war of 1925; which today under the People's Front, has the biggest military machine on the Continent and is building beyond it; whose "democratic" army is led by avowed fascists, whose positions are not touched by the People's Front. How peace-loving are the capitalist politicians who run these governments, and how peace-loving are the bankers who run these politicians?

The Real Line-Up

The fact is that democratic capitalism is no more "peace-loving" than any other kind of capitalism. The real line-up is not of the democracies versus the fascists. It is the same division that led to the World War: the imperialist robbers that have what they want and are willing to sit back on their bloodily-gained loot, versus the imperialist robbers that are dissatisfied with their share of the world—the Haves versus the Have-Nots.

The fascist nations are for the most part the dissatisfied powers—Germany, defeated in the last world scramble for colonies; Japan, which came late on the world scene, when the world had already been divided up; Italy, which thinks its share in the Versailles peace settlement does not measure up to its power. And it is precisely because these nations have been frozen out of the imperialist spoils upon which capitalism lives that their internal contradictions and weaknesses led to fascism, the last resort of a desperate capitalism seeking to preserve itself.

Should we support the successful robbers against the unsuccessful? Our answer is No—we cannot line up with the victorious imperialists against the defeated variety; we must conduct a determined struggle against both. The tiger with his belly full is less dangerous at the moment than the lean, hungry, tiger, but it would be exceedingly unwise for the lamb to lie down with him.

The lines forming today do not find the democracy arrayed against the dictatorships. The allies of "democratic" France on the Continent include Rumania and Jugoslavia, semi-fascist and militarist dictatorships, and fascist Poland is especially courted by the French democrats. These democracies, which raise the banner "Fight Fascism", are anxious to inveigle into their ranks even fascist Italy. Indeed, some of the chief supporters of this treacherous policy, the Communist Parties, go further. For the sake of including Italy in the anti-German front, the Italian Communist Party, has declared its willingness to give up the fight against fascism. In a recent manifesto, they called upon Mussolini to make a mutual assistance pact with the Soviet Union, offering in exchange an Italian People's Front with the fascists, for the "reconciliation of the fascists and anti-fascists" and the "liquidation of the struggle" between them.

And as for the "democratic" countries themselves—will they remain democratic in war-time? How democratic were they in the last war? How much more of democratic rights remained than exist in open military dictatorships?

"Democracy" In War Time

The sad truth is that no capitalist government can afford to be democratic in war-time. Already prepared for us is the Industrial Mobilization Plan of the American government, which provides for the setting up of a virtual military dictatorship over every aspect of our lives, civil as well as military, thru a special board of industrialists with dictatorial powers. Strikes will be treason, free speech will be sedition, the workers in the factories will be subject to court-martial for stepping out of line. France, the "democratic" France of the People's Front, has its M-day plan too, in the shape of the notorious Passive Defense Law, which puts every man, woman, and child under the control of the military administration. The Nye committee of the Senate, which reported on the American plan, concludes: "The price of war may be actual operating dictatorship, under military control in this country. Possibly, under certain circumstances, that price will not be too high for the people to desire to pay it..." As if anyone will ask the people! And will the "peace-lovers" who want a "war to make the world safe for democracy" accept this price?

Glimpses at Latin America

Political tyranny rules supreme in Central America. Trujillo in Santo Domingo, Vincent in Haiti and Samozá in Nicaragua dominate with pitiless brutality the oppressed, hunger-ridden masses of their respective countries, mercilessly quelling all opposition. And, one must not forget, that it is precisely in those countries that American imperialist hegemony is unquestionable, and no government could endure for any length of time in those parts without the support of the United States. And, by the way, we just recall that President Roosevelt called the western hemisphere a "bulwark of democracy".

Democratic government is not the rule but rather an exception throughout Latin-America and, it is precisely where Yankee imperialism dominates that the most naked police dictatorships exist. Vargas in Brazil and Batista in Cuba are just two excellent illustrations proving our contention. And in Peru, the despot, general Benavides remains in power despite the fact that his main political opponent in the presidential elections of October, 1936, received about eighty per cent of the popular vote.

—Bernard Ross

B. J. WIDICK
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Chicago Celebrates November 7th

About 500 people attended the spirited celebration of the Russian Revolution on Sunday, November 7th, at the Medical Arts Building. The meeting was organized by the Chicago local of the Left Wing Socialists and was featured by the first Mid-West showing of the great film, "From Tsar to Lenin".

Y.P.S.L. ushers in uniform helped to make an efficient and orderly meeting which was opened by the chairman, Lydia Beidel. Preceding the film, a speech was delivered by Albert Goldman on "20 Years of the Existence of the Soviet Union", in which he traced the development of the October Revolution and its subsequent degeneration under the Stalin leadership. The tremendous contrast of the Soviet Union of today and twenty years ago was made more visible by the film, in bringing home the fact that the entire leadership of the revolution is today non-existent, having been for the most part executed by Stalin.

An excellent part of the meeting was the brisk sale of literature and the general keen interest in our movement displayed by the many newcomers. The meeting ended with cheers for the 4th International and the singing of the International.

STALINISM and BOLSHEVISM

10¢ by Leon TROTSKY

Pioneer Publishers
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Bill's Column

Stalinized Cosmetics

Amid the mass of reports of purges, arrests and shooting of presidents, vice-presidents and premiers of Soviet republics, of commissars, vice-commissars and assistant commissars of industry, of managers, assistant managers and foremen of factories, it is a relief to read of one enterprise that is not cursed with "Trotskyist-Fascist saboteurs" and one commissar that rates not a firing squad but promotion. That exception was not found in the steel, coal, oil or machine industries. No, the one outstanding "industry" that remained free from "enemies of the people" and true in its entirety to the "Man of Steel" was and is the Cosmetic "industry." And the outstanding commissar that won well deserved promotion was none other than the wife of Stalin's right hand man, Premier Molotoff. Mme. Molotoff is to be congratulated on her choice of "industries" and of husbands.

A "Lunatic"

While George, who is substituting for Wally's boy friend as the puppet king of England, was celebrating Armistice Day along with some of the scoundrels who sent hundreds of thousands of English boys to their death in the World War, a man dashed out shouting: "This is all hypocrisy. You are all preparing for another war." He was sent to a psychopathic hospital, while those who cheered the butchers and their symbol king were allowed to walk around as sane men.

Looking Backward

In a 1923 issue of the Communist Jewish Daily Freiheit are found two pages of pictures of Communist leaders, including the governmental heads of the Soviet Union. They were all there—so many of them today dead, victims of Stalin's firing squads, or in jail awaiting death. Stalin himself was in the Cabinet, Commissar of National Minorities, but so little was he known, that the Freiheit named him "A. Stallin."

An Announcement

The 1938 edition of Earl Browder's annual repudiation of his past year's views will be published early in January, under the title: "People's Front." Persons close to Browder say it is a masterpiece of old fashioned horse feathers. Mr. Browder will demonstrate "the indivisibility of peace" the "infallibility of Stalin" and the gullibility of his followers, the "20th Century Americans."

A Governor's Cure for Depression

"I do not hesitate to say that to avert the threatening storm ahead it is my judgement and the judgement of many of the best friends of the President that he must come forward with an affirmative and positive program carrying the courageous and effective ring he has so often used in the past, but his message should contain the finest courage free from class consciousness and filled with healing comfort and hope for the whole people." — Governor Gardner, of North Carolina. Any day now we expect to see the veterans on the street corners selling pies. "We planned it this way." — President Roosevelt.