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On to Convention!

New G. P. U. Frame-Ups Exposed; Purge Continues

By Max Shachtman

The Stalinist frame-up system continues to work at top speed. With brutal and monotonous regularity the firing squad of the G.P.U. mows down all the real and potential opponents of the Stalinist regime, concentrating especially upon all those old Bolsheviks who are a living reminder of the Russian proletarian revolution of 1917.

The Assassination of Karakhan

Hardly a day passes without a new report in the press of a sensational execution of individuals and groups of persons by the all-powerful bureaucracy. Now comes the news of the assassination of Leo Karakhan—assassination, because no serious or informed person can lend the slightest credence to the charge that this old Bolshevik, who served the revolutionary movement and the revolution itself for decades, even in the horribly distorted form of working silently for Stalin, was guilty of having provided Fascism with Soviet government secrets.

With Karakhan, the G.P.U. murdered seven others, including Aveli Yenukidze, another old revolutionist whose whole life was given to the cause of the working class, framed up on the utterly unbelievable charge of counter-revolutionary activity in alliance with foreign imperialism in his native Georgia.

G.P.U. Ravages Abroad

But it is not only with citizens of the Soviet Union that the counter-revolutionary terror of Stalin concerns itself. The murder of Nin, Berneri and Durrutti in Spain, and the imprisonment in G.P.U. private dungeons of hundreds of other revolutionists, is adequate proof of the worldwide activity of the frame-up gang. The hectic attempts made to involve militant revolutionists in Minneapolis on the frame-up charges of gangsterism and murder, in connection with the slaying of Patrick Corcoran, is proof that the labor movement of the United States is not exempt from the sphere of the G.P.U.'s devastations.

And now comes the latest attempt to frame up the whole movement of the Fourth International in this country, and comrade Trotsky—in connection with the "disappearance" of the two visitors to the Soviet Union who travelled under the name of Robinson.

The statement of our organization on the Robinson case, appearing elsewhere in this issue, gives a clear enough view of what is involved in the new frame-up.

I wish to add only a few comments, some of which involve me directly.

Stalinists Distort Interview

Soon after the news of the Robinsons' "disappearance" was published in the U.S. press, I gave an interview to the New York Daily News in which I expressed a hypothetical opinion on the case, none other being possible in view of the meager details. The Stalinist news-hacks in New York immediately wired a completely garbled version of my interview to Moscow.

A few days later, the capitalist press here reported that the

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Panay Incident Unmasks Aims of Imperialism

By Li Fu-jen

The sinking of the United States gunboat Panay and three American oil tankers in the Yangtze River at Nanking, occurring as an accompaniment to the capture of China's erstwhile capital by the armies of Japanese imperialism, has posed before the working class of this country, in sharpest form, the role and aims of American imperialism in the Far East.

During more than five months of warfare in China, the activities and aims of the Japanese imperialists have come into repeated collision with the interests of Japan's imperialist rivals—first of all, Great Britain and the United States. But both of these powers, unprepared to challenge

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Chicago Mass Meeting To Welcome Delegates

CHICAGO, Ill.—Rank and file delegates of the Socialist Party branches throughout the country were heading this week towards this city for the Emergency Convention of the Left Wing of the Party to reconstitute it on a revolutionary basis.

The convention will begin on December 31 at 10 a. m. at the Harrison Hotel, 57 E. Harrison Street, it was announced by the Convention Arrangements Committee.

All delegates have been requested to register immediately upon arrival in Chicago with the convention arrangements committee at the Harrison Hotel.

To Hold Mass Meeting

A large mass meeting to welcome the delegates has been arranged for Wednesday December 29, in the Randolph room of the Steuben club at 188 W. Randolph Street. It will begin at 8:30 p. m., according to the Chicago Socialist Party (Left wing) which is sponsoring the meeting.

Prominent revolutionary socialists will be speakers. They will explain the aims and purposes

of the emergency convention. Among those listed to speak are James P. Cannon, National Secretary of the Left Wing branches, Max Shachtman, editor of the New International, Vincent Ray Dunna, Minneapolis labor leader, and Cray Trimble, Secretary of the California Socialist Party (Left Wing).

A plenum of the National Action Committee of the Appeal association is expected to be held before the convention opens. It will make recommendations to the convention delegates.

Delegates From Class Struggle Fronts

Preliminary reports indicate that delegates from points as far apart as California and Massachusetts are on their way to this historic gathering. Rubber workers, steel workers, auto workers, maritime workers, and many other industrial unionists have been elected as delegates.

The convention culminates a long struggle of the revolutionary socialists in the Socialist Party to build a revolutionary party. The expulsion of the entire Left Wing by the Thomas-Hoan-Tyler bureaucracy of the national committee compelled the calling of a rank and file convention.

A three months discussion on all key questions before the revolutionary movement preceded the emergency convention. Special active workers conferences in various sections of the country, laid the basis for the trade union discussions at the convention. Recommendations from the conferences will be taken up at the convention.

ing steel locals with officers elected and controlled by the rank and file. 2. Insisting that district councils be composed of delegates elected by the locals and not appointed by the S.W., O. C. organizers. 3. Insistence on the calling of a convention within six months to set up a real international with delegates elected by the individual locals. 4. This convention to elect all convention committees from the floor, adopt a constitution, establish policies for the union. Wage, policy, executive and other major committees to be elected by the convention. 5. The establishment of a genuine system of shop stewards.

Steel Workers Meet Votes S. W. O. C. Full Power to Negotiate Contracts

PITTSBURGH, Pa.—On December 14 to 16 nearly one thousand steel workers met in Pittsburgh to attend the convention called by the Steel Workers Organizing Committee. In the call for the convention the leadership labelled the gathering a "Wage and Policy Convention." This meant that the convention would be asked to confine itself to certain immediate practical questions and not go into the many organizational matters, particularly the all-important matter of the formation of an international union and the discarding of the fake Amalgamated Association of Iron Steel and Tin Workers.

Reason for Calling Convention

The real reason for calling these thousand steel workers to Pittsburgh was to give the leadership a blank check in the business of negotiating wage contracts and determining the policies to be pursued in dealing with the steel manufacturers. Specifically, the S.W.O.C. leadership wanted full and unlimited power and authority to bargain with and sign contracts with the companies

of the United States Steel Corporation. The present contracts expire February 28.

On the first day of the convention one delegate took the floor and moved that the convention constitute itself immediately as a constitutional convention for the setting up of an international. Chairman Philip Murray declared the motion out of order but promised that he would answer the "question of the delegate" before the convention adjourned.

If there was any doubt in the mind of any wide-awake delegate as to who ran the gathering it was dispelled when the rules of the convention were read and in the course of Murray's explanations of the rules and his refusal to permit amendments to resolutions from the floor. One rule was concerned with order in the convention. Any delegate who acted in such a manner as in the opinion of the chairman "was disruptive or tended to hamper the work of the convention would be warned for the first offense." If he persisted the chairman could order his name "erased" from the list of delegates. It was clear that this rule was not to pro-

tect the convention from the disruption caused by drunks as some delegates thought but was for the purpose of stifling any persistent and militant opposition to the plans of the bureaucracy.

When delegates took the floor to amend resolutions they were declared out of order by Murray under the rules. "No changes, amendments or subsidiary motions," said Murray, could be made from the floor until after the report of the resolutions committee had been voted up or down. Upon being pressed further by a delegate Murray said that if the delegates did not like a resolution they could vote it down and send it back to the committee for reconsideration.

Without exaggeration it can be said that this convention was a useless expenditure of time and money for the rank and file steel workers. They could have remained home and handed over all power and authority to the S. W. O. C. by mail.

There are some things, however, that the steel workers should have learned from this experience: 1. The imperative necessity for digging in and build-

Midwest Conference Prepares T. U. Work of Party Convention

By Blake Lear

CLEVELAND, Ohio.—A mid-west active workers' conference was held at Cleveland, December 12th. Nearly fifty comrades, active in eleven different unions, were present.

The conference, which was an outgrowth of the Ohio active workers' conferences, was characterized by a high enthusiasm and intensity of discussion among the comrades, who arrived direct from the front lines of the class struggle—from the steel mills of Youngstown, the production lines in Detroit, the rubber shops of Akron, and from other industries of this industrial heart of America.

Prepare for Party Convention

Meeting on the eve of the convention of the revolutionary socialist party, this conference not only drew the balance of our trade union work during the past period, and provided for the closer organization of the comrades in this sector, but formulated recommendations to the convention arrangements committee upon the trade union and unemployed questions.

Comrade E. R. McKinney, the representative of the convention arrangements committee, opened the discussion with greetings from the Center, and outlined the points of the draft resolution of the Center upon the trade union question. This was followed by reports on rubber, auto, steel, and the unemployed. After discussion upon each report, resolutions were drawn up and recommendations formulated for the conventions arrangements committee.

The resolution on the trade union question listed the following points as the absolutely necessary and immediate steps which must be taken to implement the work of the comrades in the field:

Proposed Steps

(1) The immediate establishment of a trade union committee, with a full-time trade union secretary, which will collect data, receive reports, and provide regular national tours of inspection.

(2) The establishment of national trade union fractions in all unions, with a corresponding secretary to keep all comrades in touch with one another.

(3) The formulation of a concrete program of cheap publications on trade union questions for the broadest distribution. Assignments for the writing of these pamphlets must be made at the convention and their date of issuance set also.

(4) A change in the treatment of articles in the *Socialist Appeal*. More articles in the worker's language must be written on subjects which are of immediate concern to him—the C.I.O.-A.F. of L. struggle, Roosevelt, Congress, national and state legislation, trade union problems, etc.

(5) The compilation of bulletins by comrades in each industry on production, decentralization, labor policies, business trends, etc.

(6) The formation of progressive groups, who will project the issuance of papers in the name of progressive groups.

(7) The sending out of comrades to industrial cities to get into industry.

(8) The aid of all unemployed comrades in the field of industrial unemployed organizations.

(9) The establishment of joint A.F. of L. and C.I.O. relief committees.

(10) The holding of regular national and sectional trade union conferences.

Organized Unemployed Work

Two resolutions on the unemployed question were presented to the conference, the Minneapolis resolution and the Toledo resolution. The Toledo resolution, embodying the following analysis and proposals was adopted:

"The rank and file in the unions are pressing for relief help and for relief legislation. The unions are not giving effective leadership through present methods and control; Stalinists and other class-collaborationists too often giving leadership. The Workers' Alliance is completely Stalinized, and is becoming attached to the C.I.O. apparatus.

"The influx of young workers into the Workers' Alliance offers a fertile field for revolutionary socialists, especially as disgust with the Stalinized leadership is channeled into militant action.

"We must advance upon the basis of the following proposals:

(1) We must continue and intensify our work in the Workers' Alliance. (2) We must press for relief committees in the unions and work for unification of trade union and W.A.A. committees. (3) The convention arrangements committee must initiate discussion on the unemployed question. (4) In connection with the national convention on De-

ember 30th, an unemployed conference must be held."

The following urgent recommendations were also made to the convention arrangements committee:

(1) That the conference urges the committee to give a major part of the convention to the trade union, unemployment, labor party, Labor's Non-Partisan League, and party organization questions.

(2) That the conference urges the committee to draw up a special resolution on the question of the labor party and Labor's Non-Partisan League.

Reports by individual comrades, which preceded the drawing up of the resolutions and provided the basis upon which the resolutions were elaborated, gave a sharply defined picture of the status of the basic industries in the mid-west area.

The comrades active in the following unions were present: The Workers' Alliance, The Amalgamated Clothing Workers, The United Automobile Workers, The United Rubber Workers, The American Federation of Teachers, The Teamsters, The Retail Clerks (A.F. of L.), The United Retail Clerks (C.I.O.), The Painters' Union, The SWOC, and The Office Workers.

Through every report, through every discussion, through every recommendation to the center pounded one theme: Face to the factories!

Every comrade realized that now, because of the business "recession," because of the wave of unionization which has suddenly replaced trade union problems with political problems in the theatre of the class struggle, because of the onrushing war crisis, because of the decadent and vicious C. P., and because of the cadres of young militants which the unionization wave has thrown into class action, that now if ever we must entrench ourselves in the masses.

With The Party

AKRON, Ohio.—Speaking on "The Crisis in France," before a crowd which packed the headquarters, Robert Stiler, organizer of the Akron local, last week concluded a two weeks' round of speeches which brought the message of revolutionary socialism before many groups in north-eastern Ohio.

Stiler also spoke before the Yipsels in Cleveland on "The Beginning of the Bolshevik Party"; before the Parlance Club, a large liberal discussion group at Kent state university, on "Spain"; at the Akron Jewish Center on "The Coming Imperialist War"; at Youngstown before a meeting of Yipsels and steel workers on "Trade Unions and War"; in Akron for the socialist party (left wing) on "The Present Relief Crisis"; and at the Young Circle League on "The Political Situation in Europe."

At their meetings last week the two Akron branches selected their delegates and alternates to the national convention. The delegates are B. J. Widick and Blake Lear; the alternates, Ed

Davis and Richard Ferguson.

Despite the opposition of an administration owned body and soul by the rubber barons, a Socialist Club has been established upon the campus of the University of Akron. An uncompromising fight by the youth comrades stretching over a period of months finally forced the hand of the india-rubber man, Hezleton Simmons, president of the university, and his faithful hound, Dean Donfred H. Gardner.

CLEVELAND.—Left wing Socialists of Cleveland have arranged a mass meeting and dinner with Max Shachtman as main speaker for both events to initiate the new Revolutionary Socialist Party in Cleveland following the national convention.

The mass meeting will be held at Cleveland Public Auditorium on Friday, January 7th at 8 P. M. and the dinner will be at Schenley Restaurant, Saturday, January 8th at 7 P. M. All indications point to record attendance at both events.

New G. P. U. Frame-ups Exposed; Purge Continues

(Continued from page 1)

Case of Juliet Stuart Poyntz

Moscow Izvestia printed a story announcing that I had declared the Robinsons to be "innocent American citizens," and implying that the "American Trotskyists" must therefore have had early and conspiratorial contact with the "suspicious" Robinsons.

The Izvestia story is a typical Stalinist lie, woven out of the whole cloth! We challenge the C.P. gutter-press to produce a single quotation from any newspaper interview with Shachtman or any of his comrades in which the phrase "innocent American citizens" appears. We did not say this because, like the Stalinist prostitutes, we believe the "Robinsons" to be guilty, on faith and in advance, but because we do not know who they are, where they come from, what they are charged with and whether or not they are guilty of the charge at least, not yet.

Lie No. 2: the report that the "Robinsons" visited comrade Trotsky in Mexico before leaving for Moscow. We challenge the Stalinists to present an iota of evidence to prove their charge. We state categorically that this story, appearing first in the capitalist press, was deliberately disseminated among Moscow newspapermen by the Soviet officials at the very time when these same officials were denying that they had the slightest knowledge of the whereabouts of the "Robinsons" or that they had any charges against them. Let the Stalinist penmen dare deny that the story of the "visit to Trotsky" was deliberately and lyingly inspired by the Moscow authorities!

And a word of advice to the Stalinist liars when they prepare their "denials": For your own sake, let them be a little better than your statement on the disappearance of Juliet Stuart Poyntz.

We do not know what happened to Juliet Poyntz, where she is and how she came to be there—if she is still alive. But we do know enough about the unscrupulousness of the G.P.U. and its record in the Soviet Union, in Spain and in France, to be fortified against any "surprises" that may yet develop in this case. For the time being, we need only say that the first statement issued by the C.P. was not only false, but suspiciously false—for it declared that Poyntz had severed her relations with the C.P. in 1928, which was promptly disproved in the press by facts and photographs demonstrating her party membership for years after that date. The second statement of the C. P.—that Poyntz was not a party member after 1934—is also a lie, for we know that she spoke in public as a C. P. representative as late as 1935.

There is no perfect murder, it is said. However, that may be, the Stalinists are certainly incapable of a perfect frame-up. These clumsy, police-minded bureaucrats trip up at every other step. Their most recent attempts are no exception. The brand of "Frame-Up" is still engraved, ineradicably, on their brazen foreheads.

Expulsion of W.A.A. Militants Meets With Strong Opposition

NEW YORK.—The drive by the Workers Alliance leadership against the rank and file continues.

With the membership rallying more and more around the program of the Progressive Group in the Alliance, the top bureaucrats are getting really frantic.

Over one hundred members of the Alliance jammed the city office demanding an open hearing for Ida Lipp, militant member from Brooklyn, who was bureaucratically expelled from her local for daring to criticize the so-called Washington March which arrived in the Capital—after Congress had adjourned.

The trumped-up charges against Neil Harrison, chairman of local 15, show to what degrading depths the Stalinist leadership of the Alliance has fallen. The charges being made up of a pack of lies and slanders, the local to a man has asked for an open hearing on this case, too.

An open hearing on all expulsion cases against the militant rank and file is what the leadership fears most. Their interests are best served in the dark. They fear open hearings—the accused and the membership at large do not fear them, but welcome them; what's more, will fight for them. The open hearing before the eyes and ears of the membership—that is the best method of exposing the slanderous, disrupting, framed-up charges of the Stalinist bureaucrats at the head of the Alliance.

Militants are being persecuted.

Members, afraid of losing the miserable pittance they are allotted on relief, are blackmailed to support Communist party "drives" for this, that or the other money-grubbing purpose of the Stalinists. Stamps issued by the Communist party are pasted into Workers Alliance books—and woe to the poor unfortunate member who refuses to shell out.

With such disgusting and cheap tricks to milk the unemployed of their sorely needed nickels and dimes, it is no wonder that the Alliance is rapidly declining in membership, and that those stalwart enough to remain are coming into greater and greater conflict with the leadership.

In the meantime the conditions of the unemployed are truly appalling. Even if one is starving and freezing to death, it still takes from three to six weeks to get on relief. Thousands are being worn down and driven away by the red tape at the bureaus of the "little Flower."

And what is the solution offered by the Stalinist leadership? A march on Wall Street—to embarrass the bankers! Combined, of course, with the usual conferences with the mayor behind closed doors.

It is only the Progressive Group, organized by rank and file militants of the Alliance, that has offered any serious plans to combat the drive against the unemployed by the Federal and city administrations.

Layoffs and Wage Cuts Hit Living Standards; Unions Must Act Now

By James Casey

(This is the concluding article of a series on the economic situation).

The wage-cutting plan to check the new crisis already is in motion and soon will reach nation-wide proportions. This development is in accordance with the theory propounded during the last economic crash by Wall Street's leading advisers.

Writing for the corporations in 1932, Prof. Alvin H. Hansen in his book "Economic Stabilization in an Unbalanced World," proposed pay slashes either through "trade union agreements" or "shop committee plans" (company unions) as a means of "tiding over the depression period." Similarly, Prof. Paul H. Douglas, another Wall Street expert, in his volume "Controlling Depression," urged reduction in pay "to prevent the disappearance of profit margins."

Wall Street's most popular spokesman, Walter Lippman, wrote on September 24, 1931:

Lippman in 1931

"After the stock market crash of November, 1929, almost everybody believed that there was not going to be a real depression and that prices and business activity were going to return within sixty or ninety days to the level of the boom. On that assumption there was good sense in saying that since nothing else was going to be deflated, employers ought to bind themselves not to deflate wages. The assumption was wrong....

"The real interest of a wage-earner today is in the amount of money he has at the end of the week. This is already drastically reduced and it cannot be restored without a restoration of business activity."

Advice Utilized Today

The manufacturers and industrialists have taken this quick course to maintain regular dividends and, if possible, to preserve and increase their resources. At the same time the epidemic of layoffs by large corporations has started, led in New York City by the B.M.T., with its dismissals announced on December, 14.

To further strengthen their position, the corporations are driving ahead for legislation to abolish the profits tax and other levies by Congress before the final March payment date. Simultaneously they are standing firm against Federal projects and relief appropriations to meet the needs of the deepening crisis.

Beginning now and within the coming months, the practical leadership of Revolutionary Socialists, as well as their energy and devotion to the cause, will be severely tested. As a result of the bosses' offensive, strikes, large and small, will continue to spread through the land and it is the task of Revolutionary Socialists to correctly guide the workers in all their struggles.

Revolutionary Socialists' Tasks

They will insist on the maintenance of prevailing union rates and point out that reduced purchasing power could only tend to shift more of the burdens of the crisis on the masses of the people. They will press demands for additional Federal projects, against dismissals on existing

ones and for the prevailing union scale on all such work. They will strive for the organization of the unemployed by the C.I.O. and A.F. of L.

Revolutionary Socialists will mobilize the workers and call for prompt action in all relief cases, will intensify the campaign for adequate relief and will aim to solidarize tenants and consumers against eviction, for lower rents and cuts in the prices of food, clothing and other essentials.

In rural communities they will demand necessary government loans to tenant farmers, a moratorium on mortgages for small farms and against legalized destruction of wheat, cotton, etc., under the proposed crop control program.

In fighting the ravages of the crisis and the onslaughts of the bosses, militant workers cannot expect any quarter from Wall Street and they must be vigilant against any compromise moves by bureaucratic trade union leaders. Moreover, they will have to cope with the most pernicious enemy within the ranks of the working class, that is, the Communist Party with its People's Front Program of class collaboration.

Having announced their intention to side with the "non-reactionary" monopolists against the "reactionary" ones, as discussed in a previous issue of the Socialist Appeal, the Stalinists will combat every plan and act that does not carry the stamp of approval from the New Deal wing of the Wall Street oligarchy.

What Can Be Expected of C. P.

Exposed, discredited and repudiated by the International Commission of Inquiry for the frame-ups beginning in Moscow and circling the globe, Communist Party leaders can be expected under orders from the Kremlin to use the trade unions, more than ever before, as pawns for class collaboration, and the unemployed groups to build a bureaucracy within the apparatus of government projects.

They can be expected also to resort, more than ever in the past, to gangster tactics of intimidating workers and criminally assaulting members of the militant opposition.

The counter-revolutionary actions of the Stalinists must be revealed in trade union meeting rooms, in shops, offices and in the halls of unemployed organizations. Labor must be rallied and placed on guard against the whole Stalinist set-up for terrorism, frame-ups and class treachery.

Especially must the C.P. ties with the New Deal capitalists be constantly counterposed to the Stalinist position on Roosevelt and his administration before the inauguration of the People's Front line. For instance, in a May Day pamphlet entitled "Day of Solidarity," published by the American Communist Party just

before the advent of the People's Front, the Stalinists said this of Roosevelt:

C. P.'s Old Position

"The Roosevelt program has had one aim—increase profits of the rich by cutting wages and raising prices. To increase prices, the Roosevelt administration destroyed cotton, corn, wheat, etc." (P. 7).

And further:

"Roosevelt tries to hide his refusal to establish unemployed insurance and his relief cuts with the 'cry' of 'security' and jobs. This 'social security of the New Deal' is a security of hunger. Roosevelt proposes a wage of \$50 a month on the much boasted public works. This means not only starvation of the unemployed. It is a vicious attack on the wages of all workers. This attack upon the prevailing union wage rates by the government is a signal to private industry to follow the government's example." (P. 87).

And yet again, in amazing contrast to the Stalinists' current cry of a "war for democracy," they said in 1935:

"The New Deal got the U. S. ready for war. The war budget for 1936 is 64.6 per cent over the actual cash paid out in 1933-34. The C.C.C. camps are for war. Plans are already made to increase these semi-military camps to train one million boys for cannon fodder. The bosses tell us that we will not get mixed up in a European war. Don't believe it. Wall Street is preparing not for peace, but for war." (P. 13).

All this from the pen of the C.P. leaders, who now are clamoring for support of Roosevelt, his wage, relief and war programs—hook, line and sinker. Were the Stalinists deceiving the workers in 1935, or are they lying today? They must be challenged and cornered on these questions again and again.

Effective exposure of the treachery of the People's Front will smash C.P. influence in the unions; strengthen the workers' fight against the crisis; aid in the growth of militant trade unionism, unhampered by orders from the Kremlin; help in the building of a strong revolutionary socialist organization, and broaden the movement against Reaction and for Socialism.

JERSEY CITY, N. J.—The C.I.O. scored a signal victory over "I am the Law" Mayor Frank Hague here last week when it obtained two contracts with employers after a one week strike.

The Standard Cap and Seal Corp., and the Fargo Cap Corp. signed up with the C.I.O., it was announced by W. J. Carney, C.I.O. regional director.

Mayor Hague's boasts that he would keep the C.I.O. out of Jersey City and the widespread belief in his invincibility were rudely shattered by these latest developments.

"Panay" Incident Unmasks Aims of U. S. Imperialism

(Continued from page 1)
Japan at arms, have been obliged to rely for the protection of their "stakes" in the Far East on such opposition to the Japanese invaders as the Kuomintang government was able to put up.

Tragic Rout at Nanking

Events, however, have exposed the regime of Chiang Kai-shek as a frail reed for the British and American imperialists to lean on. Incompetence, corruption, treachery, and the Kuomintang's fear of mobilizing the Chinese masses, have converted China's defense campaign into a tragic series of retreats and routs. Living forces have been heedlessly sacrificed. The "defense" of Nanking became a sacrificial display of self-immolation by thousands of brave Chinese soldiers who had been deserted by their officers. Results of the fighting to date have proved the Kuomintang to be incapable of defending itself, let alone the interests of the British and American imperialists.

In London and in Washington there is a lively appreciation of this fact. Roosevelt, in his Chicago "peace" speech, told Japan in no uncertain terms that American imperialism was preparing to defend with more than words its position in the Far East. British imperialism, spurred by the threat of a fresh Japanese military drive—this time into South China, nerve center of Britain's Far Eastern interests—is considering the dispatch of additional warships to China waters and is feverishly building fortifications to protect its Hongkong territories against possible Japanese assaults. The touch-off of the new world war conflagration may well occur in the Far East, and that in the not distant future.

War Sentiment Created

In preparing for this event, mass sentiment in the United States is being created for war against Japan. Roosevelt has given the cue: America (meaning the American working class) must prepare to go to the shambles to preserve "democracy" against the fascist and militarist aggressors. The time is coming to "save" poor defenseless China from the Japanese bully. All the old deceptive phrases are trotted out.

All the liberals and pacifists are busy sowing illusions about the "peaceful" role of American imperialism. The editorial and news columns of the bourgeois press are given over to the chauvinistic drugging of working class opinion so that the masses may be corralled into support of the coming imperialist war. Vile atrocities committed in China by Japan's armies help grease the wheels of the war propaganda machine. Agents of the bourgeoisie in the ranks of the working class, from the trade union bureaucrats who sponsor consumers' boycotts of Japanese goods while doing nothing either to prevent shipment of munitions and supplies to Japan or to stop the landing of Japanese goods in this country, down to the Stalinists who call on the Washington government to take "collective security" action against Japan in the name of "peace," are the budding recruiting sergeants of American imperialism.

Meaning of "Panay" Incident

American trade with China amounts to about 3 per cent of the total foreign trade of the

United States. This percentage, relatively insignificant, assumes importance when it is remembered that in the foreign trade of China the leading place is occupied by the United States. A steady increase of American trade with China over a period of years gave promise of a growingly profitable export market for the throttled industries of this country. As this prospect recedes before the advance of Japanese imperialism, it becomes more and more apparent to the American ruling class that war, in the final analysis, is the only means by which the positions of American imperialism in the Far East can be guaranteed and extended.

U. S. Plans for Future

American investments in China, totalling less than \$200,000,000, are only one-tenth of British investments in China and one-tenth of American investment in Mexico. China's importance to Yankee imperialism, however, lies less in present investments than in prospects for the future. The maintenance of the capitalist system requires not only foreign markets but also fields for investment. In the period of capitalist decline, the search for these economic outlets assumes added urgency. Apart from Soviet Russia, China is the one large undeveloped country which has not yet become the colonial property of one or several of the imperialist powers. The world role of American imperialism is therefore closely linked with the fate of China.

Revolutionary socialists seek a revolutionary solution of the problem involved in the Sino-Japanese conflict. In China, they direct their efforts toward the independent mobilization of the masses in order to continue, on the plane of the revolutionary class struggle, the war for China's independence from imperialism. In America and other strongholds of imperialism, they promote the class struggle of the workers with the aim of overthrowing the imperialist bourgeoisie and establishing workers' governments, which alone would be true friends and allies of the Chinese masses.

Position of Revolutionists

Scorning appeals to the imperialist government at Washington to save China from Japan—which is the line of the Stalinist traitors, serving only the interests of American imperialism—the revolutionary socialists turn to the American workers with a plea for solidarity with the Chinese masses. Such solidarity will not only aid the Chinese masses in their struggle, but will also advance the historic interests of the American workers. Every blow struck at imperialism advances the cause of the international proletariat, and therefore the interests of the American workers as well. If the American imperialists should succeed in realizing their aims in China, they will be able to fasten the shackles of wage-slavery still more firmly on the toilers of this country.

Not a shipload of munitions or supplies for the Japanese imperialists!

Refuse to unload Japanese merchandise arriving at United States ports!

Unmask the imperialist aims of the Washington government!

For the fraternal international solidarity of all the exploited and oppressed!

Forward to the class struggle and the socialist revolution!

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HAIL THE NEW PARTY!

The New Year will witness the birth of a new revolutionary working class party in Chicago, where the delegates representing the left wing socialist movement will gather to consolidate their forces.

The new party will be launched under the most suspicious circumstances. It represents a fusion of all the best elements who came out of the old Communist party and the Socialist Party, as well as hundreds of revolutionary militants who rallied to its banner without having passed through either of those organizations.

It moves into action in the class struggle, for the leadership of the working class, without facing any rivals in the revolutionary field. The Communist Party has long ago stricken its name from the rolls of the revolutionary movement. It is not only a simple tool of the Kremlin autocrats, but the most persistent force for reformism and class collaboration in the ranks of labor. It no longer even claims to be the enemy of present-day murderous capitalist society, but the most active supporter of "democracy", that is, of capitalism. What is left of the old Socialist Party is a melancholy collection of reformists and confusionists, dominated by a right wing bureaucracy and its centrist friends, and looking about anxiously for some pleasant way of committing political suicide by self-dissolution.

The new party will make its appearance in a period of tremendous ferment in the ranks of the workers. Never before have so many workers been organized into trade unions in this country. Never before have they had so much power to advance their class interests. Rarely have they displayed such militancy and aggressiveness in fighting for the own cause, breaking through on more

than one occasion the restraints which the government and their own labor misleaders sought to impose on them.

Even on the political field, where the American working class has lagged behind so badly, the forward movement is clearly visible. The illusions of Rooseveltism are being broken by the realities of capitalism and the class struggle. The proletarian party that links itself inseparably with the working class and fights in its ranks and by its side in the daily battles, will speed their development beyond the stage of a reformist Labor party and towards revolutionary political action.

The present period is one that is also filled with grave difficulties, which demand the greatest spirit of responsibility on the part of the new party. The infamous persecutions which every section of the Fourth International is subjected to, both by the Stalinists and the bourgeoisie, will not leave our movement unnoticed. The attempt to hound and isolate the revolutionary Marxian movement is an inseparable part of the preparations that are being made so hectically for the coming imperialist war—in which both Stalinists and bourgeoisie rightly recognize us as their most irreconcilable foe. They see in the new party that which it will always be: the most determined fighter for socialism, the bitterest enemy of their murdering imperialist wars.

The new party in undeterred by the difficulties facing it, and is inspired by the great traditions and principles on which it is based and by the great prospects of growth which lie before it. It will march forward in spite of all its detractors and enemies, for it marches with the confidence of the ultimate victory of the proletariat and of socialism.

Long live the new revolutionary Marxist party!
 Long live the Fourth International!
 Long live the triumph of the working class of the world!

On One Condition: That History Be Falsified

We reprint the following news item from the British New Leader:

To mark the twentieth anniversary of the Russian Revolution (the London Evening Standard tells us), the News Chronicle planned to serialize John Reed's "Ten Days That Shook the World". The copyright belongs to the Communist Party. When approached, the C. P. gladly gave permission for its publication, without any fee, on one condition: that all reference to Trotsky should be eliminated from the text.

Horror at Nanking

A vividly horrifying lesson in imperialist frightfulness has been furnished by the Japanese capture of Nanking, capital of the Kuomintang regime in China.

Newspaper correspondents have told of the mass slaughter of non-combatant civilians, the wholesale execution of defeated Chinese soldiers, the rape of women, and the wild looting of the city by the conquering hosts of Japan.

Although months—indeed years!—were available to Chiang-Kai-shek to prepare the capital against invasion, the Nipponese troops had, by all accounts, relatively little difficulty in entering and investing the city. As they surrounded the city, the Chinese officers in charge of the defense deserted their commands and fled to safety. The rank-and-file of Chiang's armies on the outskirts of Nanking, pressed back within the city walls by the onslaughts of the invading hordes, ran disorganized through the streets in search of military headquarters.

The search was vain. There were no more headquarters. The whole tribe of Kuomintang officers had deserted and left the soldiers to their fate. It was too late for the men to retreat. The enemy was closing on all sides. Realizing that they were trapped, the Chinese soldiers shed their arms and their uniforms, seeking safety in the guise of civilians.

What followed is reminiscent of the Paris Commune. Just as the armies of Thiers examined the palms of the Parisian workers, shooting all those found to have gunpowder marks (which indicated that they had fought in the ranks of the Communards), so the Japanese conquerors of Nanking ripped the clothing from the backs of the male inhabitants in search of marks left by the shoulder- straps of military haversacks. Men bearing such marks were herded together and mowed down by machine guns.

The bestial terror inaugurated by the Japanese imperialist conquerors, copying similar events at Shanghai and in North China, stands in murderous contrast to the hypocritical formulation from Tokyo: "the establishment of permanent peace in eastern Asia" and "friendly cooperation between the Japanese and Chinese people." As always, however, the methods used indicate the real aims, and the real aim of Japanese imperialism is to terrorise, cove and subdue the Chinese people in order to convert them into colonial slaves.

Workers in the United States must rally to the Chinese cause. Not a single ship should leave these shores with munitions and supplies for the Japanese imperialists, nor should a single shipload of Japanese merchandise be unloaded at any United States port. Only international solidarity action by the working class, manifested in workers' sanctions, can really aid the cause of the oppressed masses of China.

C. P. Pickets "Tsar to Lenin" In Philadelphia

PHILADELPHIA, PA.—"From Tsar to Lenin" opened in Philadelphia Sunday, December 19, in a small neighborhood theater at 6th and Poplar Sts. The manager opened his show in the face of telegrams and letters of protest from the Communist Party and its stooge organizations. The manager invited them all down to see the picture.

"Champions of Democracy"

These champions of democracy that tell us they fight for freedom of expression, picketed the theater carrying placards reading "Trotskyites with the aid of Hitler killed Kirov and hundreds of the workers in the Soviet Union", "Tsar to Lenin" is an historical distortion," "Stalin was the real leader of the October Revolution." "Trotskyites fight against the people of Spain, China and Soviet Union." The manager replied with a sign reading, "Respect our Pickets, we have no labor trouble," etc.

Stunt a Boomerang

Far from keeping people out of the theater, the Stalinist picket line created considerable publicity and attracted crowds of people that would not, ordinarily, have attended the show.

Our comrades selling papers outside of the theater were pushed around a bit by the Stalinists. We had too many people present for them to get rough.

Stalin Purge Strikes New Soviet Deputies

A Tass dispatch for Dec. 17 gives the number of ballots "voided" in the election for the Supreme Council as 1,487, 582; and the number of ballots on which the name of the only candidate running was struck off as 562,402. About the only "official" reason for "invalidating" a ballot, if the alleged rules regulating the elections were adhered to, would be the failure to seal the envelope in which the ballot was enclosed. It is hardly likely that the "trusted persons" supervising an election would throw out a ballot on this ground. It must be assumed therefore that the bulk of the ballots that figure in this category were "scratched" in one form or another. These figures constitute an admission on the part of the Stalin regime that there was a sizeable opposition vote cast in the last election, the true proportions of which will be established only at some future date, if ever.

Much more symptomatic of political opposition, however, is the evergrowing list of candidates (who were in effect delegates) removed either on the very eve of the election or immediately thereafter.

We have already listed among the missing "deputies" the names of Rudzutak and Postyshev (members of the Polbureau); Yakovlev (at the July Plenum of the C. C. he delivered the report on the electoral law); Rukhimovich (head of the Defense Industry) and Mezhlauk; and the elimination of Generals Alksnis and Bokis. Now comes the report of more than a score of prominent names to be added to this roll of "deputies-for-a-day": Dybenko (head of the Leningrad military district), A. N. Tupolev, famous aeronautical engineer (the initials of his name NAT have been reported removed from Soviet airplanes); General Velikanov of the Trans-Baikal military district (Blucher's bailiwick) Ozolin of the Military Council of Kharkov; Mezis of the Military Council of White Rus-

sia; Apse of the Military Council of Trans-Caucasia; Genner, the acting President of Biro-Bidjan; Chamurzin, acting President of Kirghistan; Gerwald of the German Volga Republic; Abrahimov, Kirghistan Commissar of Agriculture; Barakanov, secretary of Komsomol (Young Communist League) of Kirghistan; Nasurova and Goldbrot, secretaries of the Central Caucasian Komsomol; the President of the Tartar Republic; Sidersky, Commissar of Agriculture for the Ukraine; Niazov, Commissar of Education of Tadjikistan; Petrichenko, Chairman of the Dnepropetrovsk district; Gulki, director of Azerbadjan petroleum plants; Jutchenko, member of Poltava C.E.C.; M. Geladze, member C.C. of Georgian Komsomol; S. Burbian, director of Azerbadjan Theatre; three chairmen of the C.E.C. in Ordjonikidze, Tambov and Kazakstan respectively; two party secretaries, and one "propagandist" from Taganrog.

We can only repeat what we said last week: the full scope of the purge among the candidates will only be revealed when the complete list of the deputies is finally published. To this we must now add, that the purge among the deputies, allegedly elected, has begun, and its full scope will be revealed only when the Council convenes.

NOTICE

The January issue of The New International, mailed over a week ago, should now be in the hands of every Literature Agent and Subscriber. If any Agent or Subscriber has not received The New International, please advise the office immediately.

Literature Agents and Subscribers are requested not to send cash in payment of bundles and subscriptions, but instead to use either Money Order or Check. Address all communications, checks and money orders to: **THE NEW INTERNATIONAL** 116 University Place New York, N. Y.

WAR!

The Socialist Appeal is not only a newspaper—it is also an educational organ for PEACE. While the capitalist press and the Stalinist press prepare the international working class for another imperialist war, the Appeal wages a consistent battle against it. It is not a passive fight that the Appeal makes against war, but a militant, revolutionary, Marxist fight which in the last analysis is the only means of preventing war. The Appeal alone cannot stop the coming war. But it can be a tremendous factor in educating the masses to understand the nature of it. And should it come despite the inherent hatred of the working class, the Appeal is the only

Marxist newspaper that can teach the American workers what course to follow to create a society in which there can be no war.

On the eve of the convention of the Socialist Party (left wing) let all friends and party members make a final drive for subscriptions and contributions to put the Appeal in a position to carry out its program after the convention when we will make public our position on the war problem and the other great, burning questions of the day—a position which will represent a true Marxian analysis of the world situation.

Use the blank below and act it now.

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Answers to Questions of Journalists On Verdict of Dewey Commission

By Leon Trotsky

Question: If we are to admit that the Moscow trials represent a frame-up then how could Stalin have decided upon such a crime?

Answer: We have to distinguish in this matter two aspects, the social and the individual. The bureaucracy, arrived at judicial frame-ups not at one stroke but gradually, in the process of the struggle for domination. Lying and frame-up are lodged in the very essence of the Soviet bureaucracy. In words, it fights for communism. In actuality, it fights for its income, its privileges, its power. With the fright and maliciousness of a social upstart, it exterminates all oppositionists. To justify this mad terror before the people, it is forced to attribute to its victims ever more monstrous and fantastic crimes. Such is the social basis of the Moscow crimes.

However, not by accident has Stalin become the leader of the Moscow bureaucracy. His personal qualities correspond to its political needs. In March 1921 Lenin had already given the advice not to choose Stalin as the General Secretary since, as he put it, "This cook will prepare only

peppery dishes." In his "Testament" (January 1924) Lenin advised that Stalin be removed from the post of General Secretary, invoking the fact that Stalin is rude, disloyal, and has propensities for misuse of power. These personal qualities have greatly developed in Stalin in proportion to the growth of power and the appetite of the bureaucracy. Thus the Kremlin "cook" came to the most peppery "dishes" in the form of the Moscow trials.

One could raise the objection: but a frame-up of such dimensions could not help being revealed in the end, how then could the "cautious" Stalin decide upon such risky actions? To this I answer: (a) he had no other choice; (b) from lesser frame-ups, he gradually went over to big ones; (c) with all his political perspicacity and shrewdness Stalin is very limited and believes in the omnipotence of police violence; (d) Stalin does not know either foreign languages or foreign life. He seriously takes the voices of his agents and every kind of paid friend abroad for the voice of world public opinion. Thus in the end he becomes the victim of his own system.

Question: You say that Stalin has become a victim... but meanwhile the victims appear to be others.

Answer: Completely correct. Stalin still has the possibility of exterminating his opponents and not only in the U.S.S.R. but also abroad. For the past year the agents of the GPU have committed a series of murders in Spain, in Switzerland, and in France. One can expect such actions in a series of other countries. These murders, as the recent exposures demonstrate, are also very risky undertakings; however, Stalin has no other choice than adding new victims to the old ones. In that sense your remark is correct. However, in a broader sense, Stalin is the victim of his own system. Those ideas against which he fights gain ever more defenders. The opponents, slandered and murdered by Stalin, will be rehabilitated in world public opinion. For Stalin there is no rehabilitation. It is not a question of the severity of his measures but of their inner falsity and putridness. His system is condemned. Stalin will leave the stage, covered with disgrace.

Question: What, according to your opinion, are the possible political consequences of the verdict of the Commission?

Answer: I do not, it is understood, expect that the sound of a trumpet, even though it be the trumpet of truth, will immediately cause the walls of Jericho to fall. But, considered from a more lengthy perspective, the decision of the Commission will have tremendous political consequences both in relation to the Comintern and to the Soviet bureaucracy.

The Comintern will suffer in the first place. It is necessary to clearly understand that the apparatus of the Comintern consists of people exactly the opposite to the type of a revolutionist. A real revolutionist has his own self-conquered opinion, in the name of which he is ready to make sacrifices, including even the sacrifice of his life. The revolutionist prepares the future and because of that it is easy for him to endure all sorts of difficulties, deprivations, and persecutions during the present. In counterpoise to this the bureaucrats of the Comintern are full-blown careerists. They have no kind of opinion and subordinate themselves to the orders of the authority which pays them. Since they are agents of the omnipotent Kremlin, each of them feels himself a small "superman." Everything is permitted them.

They lightly libel the honor of others since they have no honor of their own. This organization, completely degenerated and demoralized to the marrow, maintains itself in radical public opinion, including the workers, only through the authority of the Kremlin as the alleged builder of socialist society. The exposure of the role of the Kremlin oligarchy will deliver an irreparable blow to the authority of the Comintern.

On the other hand, the power of Stalin continues not only through violence and bureaucratic inertia but also through his artificial authority as a supposed "leader of the world proletariat." To uphold this reputation in the eyes of the Soviet workers, the Comintern is necessary to Stalin.

The downfall of the Comintern will deliver a severe blow to the positions of the oligarchy inside the U.S.S.R.

Question: Who can, in your opinion, replace Stalin?

Answer: First of all, I will answer this negatively: in no case bourgeois democracy. Before our eyes bourgeois democracy is tottering even in those countries where it has behind it a long tradition. There can be no talk about its revival in the U.S.S.R. If the Stalinist bureaucracy should be overthrown from the right, then its place will be taken by the most savage and unbridled fascism, alongside of which even the regime of Hitler will look like a philanthropic institution. Such an overturn is possible only as a result of long convulsions, economic chaos, the destruction of nationalized economy and the re-establishment of private ownership. If on the contrary Stalin will be overthrown from the left, i.e. by the working class, then Soviet democracy will take the place of the bureaucracy. Nationalized economy will be preserved and reformed in the interests of the people. Development toward socialism will receive a new powerful impetus.

Question: Which of these two is the more probable?

Answer: I prefer on this account not to occupy myself with guesses. The outcome will be decided in the struggle. The verdict of the Commission becomes from now on one of the elements of this struggle. It is hard to overestimate its significance. In the eyes of the whole world this verdict clears the left opposition of the U.S.S.R. from the disgusting slander and by that token helps the working class in its struggle against the bureaucracy. The verdict thus heightens the chances for a progressive uprising. In this lies its greatest historical service.

Question: From the stenographic Report of the Coyoacan sessions and from the verdict of the Commission, it follows that a series of crude contradictions and incongruities occurred in the Moscow trials. If Stalin himself, the Chief Judge of the Court, Ulrich, prosecutor Vishinsky, the head of the GPU, Yezhov and their helpers occupied themselves with organizing the juridical frame-up, then how could they allow such crude mistakes?

Answer: All these people, beginning with Stalin, have become depraved through impunity and lack of control. In the articles and speeches of Stalin we meet at every step not only political contradictions but also the crudest factual distortions, not to speak of the errors in grammar. Since no one dares to criticize him, Stalin has gradually lost the custom of controlling himself. The same is true of the remaining bureaucrats. They do not learn, they do not think, they only order. A totalitarian regime assures the apparent success of orders. The Chief Judge of the Court, the prosecutor, the accused, the defenders, witnesses—all executed an assigned lesson. The newspapers subordinate themselves to the ring of the telephone. There is no discussion, there is no criticism. The people have the right only to give thanks. Under such conditions the

stimulus for good work falls to the ground, even in the sphere of frame-ups.

To this there is added another circumstance of no less importance. The construction of a scheme of alleged conspiracy involving hundreds of people, and not people we meet for the first time, but people known to the whole world, with their own past, with their definite political physiognomies, with their intricate personal ties and relationships,—the construction of such a scheme without crude contradictions in a police office is a problem completely insoluble. Of course, if we assign such a task to a dozen people of the type of Shakespeare, Cervantes, Goethe, Freud, then they would carry out the task in a much more competent manner than Stalin, Vishinsky, and Yezhov. But people of genius, as a general rule, do not occupy themselves with frame-ups. In any case, there have not remained even capable people at the disposal of Stalin. Vishinsky and Yezhov are miserable nonentities. Stalin himself is only a grandiose mediocrity, and at that the grandiosity is due to his historical position and the mediocrity to his own personality. It is not surprising that these people proved doubly impotent before a problem which is insoluble in itself.

Question: What is the position of the Soviet ambassador Troyanovsky in relation to the New York Commission?

Answer: His position is little to be envied. Diego Rivera told me Saturday: "Troyanovsky has lost his career and, together with the career, perhaps his head." I think that my friend is right. It is true that Troyanovsky has a great advantage: during the revolution he was in the camp of the Whites. But this alone is not sufficient. The most important problem that faced Troyanovsky for the past year was to compel American public opinion to believe in the justice of Stalin. However, nothing came of this. Stalin, as always, needs a scapegoat. One should not be surprised if Troyanovsky were invited to Moscow for "explanations."

Incidentally, if you publish the answer to your question, you can show Troyanovsky a serious service since it will not be easy for Stalin to act in strict accordance with the prediction of Diego Rivera.

Question: Do not pessimistic conclusions in regard to socialism flow from the Moscow trials and from the verdict of the Commission?

Answer: No, I do not see any basis for pessimism. It is necessary to take history as it is. Humanity moves forward as did some pilgrims: two steps ahead, one step back. During the time of the backward movement, all seems lost to skeptics and pessimists. But this is an error of historical vision. Nothing is lost. Humanity has developed from the ape to the Comintern. It will advance from the Comintern to actual Socialism. The judgement of the Commission demonstrates once more that the correct idea is stronger than the most powerful police force. In this conviction lies the unshakable basis of revolutionary optimism.

Coyoacan, D. F.
December 13, 1937.

Stalin's Cultural Inquisition

By John Glenner

The press reports the fall of one of the greatest figures of the Russian and general contemporary theater, V. E. Meyerhold. The fact that among the accusations one concerns a play with Trotsky as the hero, produced in 1921, under Meyerhold's direction, shows again how Stalin cannot allow those forces which had even the slightest contact with the fighting and victorious revolution to live in any realm of human activity.

Meyerhold's Genius

Meyerhold has accomplished mighty things in his effort to break through the rigid forms of the traditional theater, to bring them closer to the life of the modern industrial age, and to stimulate the imagination and the participation of the spectator through the simplicity and abrupt contrasts of the scene. If, thereby, he gave preference to classical pieces, it was not only to emphasize these features of his art but also because he was rooted less in the proletarian revolution than in the radical petty-bourgeois intelligentsia.

The victorious revolution, however, proved in Meyerhold's case that it alone can offer unlimited possibilities to these circles for creative expansion. And what a tremendous leap forward could have been accomplished by the combination of pioneering theater-forms with the thematical inspiration of the greatest revolution in world history, unhampered by bureaucratic fetters!

In the International Theater Festival in Moscow in 1934, Meyerhold experienced true triumphs. The sterility of the modern theater in decadent capitalist countries could not but make the novel exploitation of classical themes especially attractive to the foreign visitors. Everything which the modern theater in the Old and New World has since produced in this field has been only a pale image of Meyerhold's art.

But Meyerhold's school was to know another fate in Russia. The reactionary bureaucratic fever of the last years has penetrated rapidly from politics and economics into the domains of cultural expression. Like every parvenu, who tries to conceal the briefness of his career among the privileged, the bureaucracy accomplishes its "adaptation to the West" by insipid imitation of the "solid" bourgeoisie. One need think only of the sad destiny of film-direction (Eisenstein) and the decadence of architecture!

The degradation of young artistic creators into scribblers for the "general line", on the other hand, has, during the last years, inevitably deepened the desire to turn away from present-day themes. When the impulse toward the new was deprived of expression in the word, there remained for it only flight into a revolution of forms.

Mediocre Uniformity— The Rule

Here also the ever-present Stalinist police-snout sniffed rebellion and protest. And with reason. The Soviet press accuses Meyerhold of "left formalism," of sabotage of Soviet plays, of refusal to "portray Bolshevism" (i.e., Stalin; similarly, Riazanov, the greatest expert on Marx's writings, refused to "portray" Stalin).

If, moreover, we keep in mind that under a regime of totalitarian constraint, many, especially young, elements of the stifled political opposition are pushed into the back-alleys of cultural activity, it would not be astonishing if Meyerhold's school had become, probably against its own will, a little hearth of non-conformism, stamped immediately as "Trotskyite counter-revolution."

With the elimination of Meyerhold, the Stalin regime has taken another step in the adaptation of Soviet society to its own provincial narrowness, in the replacement of originality by mediocre uniformity.

Grocery Drivers Win Strike in Minneapolis

C. I. O. Director Repudiates C. P.; Carpenters Oust Stalinist Stooge

MINNEAPOLIS.—Complete victory on December 13 over the wholesale grocery bosses after a four-days strike has demonstrated the undiminished power of the Minneapolis Teamsters' Unions. The bosses involved in this strike were the last die-hards to yield to unionization last year, after a bitterly-fought seven-week strike.

Despite the lesson taught them last year, the bosses hoped to be able to take advantage of any confusion created by the Stalinist slander campaign.

Issues of Strike

Union demands for sole bargaining power and a ten-cent increase of hourly wages were the chief issues of the strike. Although it involved only a few hundred men, the strike was conceded by both sides to be a test of strength which would determine who would hold the advantage when contracts expiring next May, covering most of the teamsters of this area, would come up for revision. The absolute solidity of the ranks of the strikers, their ability to shut tight every house involved, and the extraordinary speed with which they forced the bosses to capitulate, indicate that the unions will have an easy time of it in the coming negotiations for the whole industry.

Sole jurisdiction and the ten-cent hourly wage increase, raising the drivers to a minimum of seventy cents per hour and the inside workers to a bottom of 60 cents per hour, were embodied in the contract signed by the bosses, recommended for adoption by the executive board of 544, and adopted unanimously, by a mass meeting of the strikers.

Twenty-four hours before the bosses capitulated, Mayor Leach attempted to go over the heads of the union leaders by sending every striker a "secret ballot" on the boss proposals. Leach's strike-breaking attempt fell completely flat, the strikers bringing all ballots to union headquarters. The bosses, more realistic than the mayor, did not even wait the necessary day to see if any strikers would respond.

Equally flat fell the attempt of Mayor Leach to foment hostility against the drivers' leadership in a radio speech the second night of the strike. Utilizing the old formula of "a plague on both your houses" Leach called on the labor movement to purge itself of both Stalinists and Trotskyists.

Ructually mindful of the aroused indignation of the masses here against the attempts of the capitalist press to arouse a lynch spirit against the unions during the first days after the Corcoran murder, the press made no attempt to bolster Leach's speech. Seldom indeed has a mayor's move to declare himself in a labor situation received less attention from the daily press which elected him and continues to support him.

Call Bosses Bluff

Northwest labor had been mobilized against the capitalist press in one of the most strongly-worded editorials that has ever appeared in a trade union paper. The Northwest Organizer, official organ of the Minneapolis Teamsters' Joint Council and spokesman for the 25,000 drivers of the North Central District Drivers' Council, as well as for the Northern States' Power Company

workers, the machinists, the warehouse men, etc., bluntly had called the bluff of the boss press:

"Threats of vigilantism are made by these hirelings of the bosses, for the first time since the strikes of 1934. The most conscious agent of the reactionary forces, the St. Paul Daily News, made such an open threat in a scare-head editorial on the front page, on November 29, after a 12-day campaign of identifying unionism with terrorism. With this "build up" as preparation, the News finally screwed up enough courage to bluster: 'If the terrorism continues, a vigilante movement will develop.'

Labor's Answer

"The answer of organized labor to such bluster is the answer we gave to it in 1934. Bring on your vigilantes, if they dare come out of their comfortable clubs and mansions! Just try it! Yes, just even try thinking about it! There is only one answer to such talk: put up or shut up! Organized labor knows that it has achieved its victories because of its own strength, and can continue to protect its victories only by its own strength."

Neither the St. Paul Daily News nor any of the boss papers called to account by the Northwest Organizer had the courage to accept the challenge. Their slander campaign immediately tapered off.

C. P. Pulls in Horns

Beaten from pillar to post, the local Stalinists have pulled in their horns. The five-day sessions of the coroner's inquest into the murder of Pat Corcoran gave the progressive labor leaders an opportunity to put the Stalinists and their stooges on the witness stand, where their insinuations against the "Dunne brothers" were effectively punctured.

C. I. O. Director Repudiates Stalinists

George Cole, Regional Director of the C.I.O., had to testify that the attacks on Corcoran and the labor movement, made under the name of the "C.I.O. industrialist Unionist," had been issued without his knowledge and that he did not accept any responsibility for that. "Will you assume responsibility for the statements in the paper?" Cole was asked by one of the jurors. "No, sir!" was Cole's immediate answer.

By the end of the inquest a total of eleven A.F. of L. officials had testified that their names had been signed to a Stalinist "innocent" leaflet without their knowledge or consent.

Stalinist Kicked Out By Union Membership

Detlaf Wieck, a Stalinist and paid official of the carpenters' local No. 7, was thrown out of his union post by the indignant membership, at a meeting on December 9, after Wieck had testified at the inquest that alleged gangsters who threatened him had said, "We're Corcoran's men."

In an editorial of its issue of December 9, the Northwest Organizer said:

"Every conceivable device is being used by our enemies to derail the hunt for Pat's murderers into a slimy attack on the memory of Pat and the integrity of his unions. Let us cite an example which can be verified by scores of labor officials. Last February, when the alleged threat at revolver-point was made by unknown persons against Detlaf Wieck, he and his friends—the Bean-Mauseth-Smith crowd—reported it the night it allegedly happened, to the Central Labor Union meeting. At that time they made no reference whatsoever to Pat Corcoran. Nor did they ever, in Pat's lifetime, attempt to link him with the incident.

"But now Pat's dead. He can't speak up and defend himself. So Detlaf Wieck, in his testimony at the coroner's inquest, introduced an entirely new detail, invented for the occasion: He said that his alleged assailants told him: 'We're Corcoran's boys.'

"We shall be blunt. Detlaf Wieck, in saying this, acted as the mouthpiece for an attempt to brand Pat Corcoran as an employer of gangsters, and by so branding him to discredit the unions for which Pat lived and died."

Another Serious Blow

Within twelve hours after the appearance of the issue of the Organizer, the membership had ousted Wieck.

Another serious blow to the boss-Stalinist slander campaign was the exposure and refutation, by William Wright, National A. F. of L. representative here, of an affidavit which the Stalinists produced as proof that Meyer Lewis, William Green's representative here, had plotted the murder of Harry Bridges. Wright was able to prove that every reference to facts which could be checked branded the affidavit as the instrument of a deliberate frame-up.

MINNEAPOLIS, Minn.—Art Hudson, president of the St. Paul General Drivers union, was elected chairman of the North Central District Drivers council to fill the post held until recently by the martyred Pat Corcoran.

Thirty-five delegates from the 29 union locals of the district council gathered here for a special meeting of the council's executive board to fill the vacant position.

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INTERNATIONAL NOTES

Illegal Conference of Austrian Revolutionary Socialists—Esthonia Social Democrats and People's Front—Swiss Leader Exposes Stalin

By John G. Wright

The third Conference of the Austrian Revolutionary Socialists was held in October. While complete account of the proceedings at this Conference has not yet reached us, the material at hand is sufficient to characterize the political platform under which the shattered ranks of Austrian social democracy are seeking to rally the working class movement there. The Austrian "Revolutionary Socialists" are pursuing a centrist course. The chief document issuing from the Conference is a Manifesto to the Austrian workers. The Manifesto, after criticizing the sham of bourgeois democracy, goes on to say: "Only a socialist struggle for emancipation on the part of the toiling masses can liberate Austria from the yoke of National-Socialism (Fascism)". The manner in which the Austrian Revolutionary Socialists propose to wage this emancipatory struggle may be gathered from the Resolution on party tactics which was adopted.

The Conference placed itself on record against the Stalinist "illusions". The chief point of criticism being that under the slogan of the "People's Front" or the "Democratic Republic" the Stalinists turn with proposals of alliance to all kinds of groupings, "down to unimportant groups in reactionary camp." Instead of a forthright condemnation of the "People's Front" policies and of Stalinism, the resolution on party tactics confines itself to a declaration that the Party struggles for political freedom and considers the immediate task of this struggle to be the re-establishment of the organizational freedom of the labor movement. The party combines this struggle with the struggle for the economic and social demands of the masses.

It is hardly necessary for us to delineate the course pursued by the Stalinists in Austria. Suffice it to say that the Stalinists in Austria as elsewhere demanded, as an integral part of the People's Front betrayal, complete solidarity on the part of the Austrian Socialists with the Moscow frame-up... which proved a bit too much to swallow. The Conference complained of the "disruptive tactics" of the Stalinists, placed the blame for the break-up of the united front on the C. P., and then proceeded to empower the Central Committee to initiate steps aiming to convince the C. P. of the ruinousness and worthlessness of its present tactics and urge the C. P. to cease its struggle against the Revolutionary Socialists so that the existing unity of action its not destroyed but rather made firmer and more effective in the interests of the socialist struggle for emancipation and against the Fascist dictatorship.

The Austrian Revolutionary Socialists claim to be the partisans of the dictatorship of the proletariat. "If they persist much longer in the conciliatory, not to say grovelling, attitude towards Stalinism, they will at best only repeat the tragic experience of the Anarchists and the POUM in Spain. The first condition for revolutionary action is to cherish no illusions about Stalinism but to brand it for what it is: the most dangerous and corrupt enemy of the working class movement.

Esthonian Social Democrats Reform Ranks For a People's Front.

In 1934 the Esthonian S. P. split into three sections. In September 1936 negotiations for unity were initiated. One year later, in September, 1937, two of the sections reached a final agreement to fuse, in order to lay a basis for a "People's Front." The newly fused organization declared itself against any united front action with the Stalinists. But "recognizing that the Soviet Union is one of the main bulwarks of peace", the Esthonian social patriots pledged themselves not to "attack" either the Stalin regime in Russia or the C.P. in particular. Needless to say the Stalinists will not take kindly to this offer of "non-aggression", which is in essence similar to the attitude of the Austrian Socialists.

Former-Head of Swiss Stalinists "Exposes" Stalin

Berner Tagwacht, organ of Swiss social democrats has printed the revelations of Walter Bringolf former leader of the Swiss S. P., and follower of Brandler, who had broken some time ago with the Comintern. Citations from these articles have been widely reprinted, among others by the Russian Mensheviks (Sots. Vestnik, Nov. 30, 1937). Bringolf deals primarily with the behind-the-scenes struggle between Stalin and the opposition in Russia. He does not specify the source of his information, but in the status of an "old Bolshevik" asserts that the idea of the New Constitution originated among the Red Army tops, as part of a campaign to bring the regime closer in line with the demands of the expanding production in Russia. It was the plan of this opposition headed by Red Army generals to retire Stalin either by assigning him to some sinecure or by altogether removing him from the political arena. Stalin pretended to go along, and then assumed the offensive. The "inside" story of Yagoda's downfall, to believe Bringolf, is as follows:

"Yagoda had always been personally tied to Stalin and absolutely devoted to him. Back at the time of the first trial against the opposition (Zinoviev, Kamenev), Yagoda went along with Stalin without any reservations. But following this trial some sort of inner conflict seized Yagoda. The thing is that in connection with this trial, a memorandum was handed to the Central Committee of the party, signed by 2,000 old Bolsheviks and decisively condemning Stalin's methods. Among the signatories were a good many of Yagoda's old friends and comrades-in-arms. Confronted with the necessity of applying harsh measures against those whose names adorned the memorandum, Yagoda wavered. This was his undoing. The avenging hand of Stalin descended on Yagoda himself."

Bringolf considers Bluecher's conduct of especial interest. "General Bluecher was taken by everybody for an oppositionist. And there is no doubt that in the main Bluecher was in agreement with those of his comrades in the Red Army who were shot."

CANNON EXPOSES ATTEMPT TO USE THE "ROBINSON" CASE AGAINST U. S. TROTSKYISTS

On December 17, when the first Moscow dispatches implicating "American Trotskyites" in the so-called "Robinson Case", appeared comrade James P. Cannon, National Secretary of the Socialist Party (Left Wing), issued the following statement to the press:

Purpose Clear

The development of the "Robinson" case constitutes an attempt by the Stalin regime to transfer to American soil its methods of government by frame-up, which only a few days ago was dealt such a powerful blow in the report of the International Commission of Inquiry headed by Professor John Dewey. This new frame-up, in which the "Robinsons" are mere instruments, has as its primary aim the besmirching of that section of the American labor and socialist movement which resists Stalin's totalitarian regime. It has been contrived, moreover, as a desperate effort to rehabilitate in American public opinion the Moscow frame-up courts, whose verdicts have inspired widespread scepticism and loathing in the United States. Startling developments may be expected soon, but the details already published show that, despite extended experience and unlimited resource the Stalinist secret police are still incapable of concocting the perfect frame-up.

So far, "Izvestia", official Moscow organ, hints only that "American Trotskyites are somehow implicated." When Stalin's agents become more specific in their "implications," we will be ready to answer them. We have nothing to hide and nothing to fear.

Feared Outcome of Inquiry

The planning of the present frame-up began when the Communist Party in the United States, the Soviet Embassy staff, and the Stalinist secret police, failed in their attempt to block the creation of an impartial commission of inquiry into the Moscow trials. The Kremlin decided on a new frame-up to cover the holes in the old one.

On December 3, nine days before the publicly announced date on which the Dewey Commission was to announce its findings, news of the "Robinson" case first appeared in the press. The coincidences of the dates in these two developments is one clue to the motives of the frame-up: the Kremlin's desire to head off the much-feared outcome, of the Dewey Commission's study.

Background of Affair

It is now alleged that the "Robinsons" are deep-dyed conspirators, members of a powerful international spy ring, who entered the Soviet Union in November. It is significant that last summer Soviet authorities took the unusual step of barring from Soviet soil American tourists equipped with visas and papers ordinarily sufficient to effect admission. At that time the world press reported that special pains were taken to bar all Americans named Robinson. Here is an indication of another preliminary step: the preparation of the public mind to attach sensational significance to the name of Robinson.

The arrest was effected in ex-

traordinary fashion. On December 2, Mr. "Robinson" was taken into custody. His "wife" was permitted for a whole week to move freely about Moscow, informing American journalists that her "husband" had disappeared. Only after she spread this news, the first to reach the public, was she arrested. Thus the Soviet police led the United States Department of State to inquire after the fate of alleged American citizens. Only after a delay of two weeks was it announced that the "Robinsons" had forged passports, were alleged spies, and were in jail. These circumstances, too, point to an elaborate frame-up scheme.

The latest development is a series of press reports tending to link the "Robinsons" with various New Yorkers. To my knowledge, not one of these persons has now or ever had any connection with our organization. On the contrary, more than one is connected with the Stalinist movement.

Usual Frame-Up Structure

Nobody need be surprised if the "Robinsons" affair mushrooms fantastically in a few days. Already a Warsaw report, probably of Moscow origin, alleges that the "Robinsons" once visited Trotsky in Mexico. How convincing! How true to form! A Moscow frame-up would never be complete without a single "visit to Trotsky."

Our knowledge of thefts by the G.P.U. agents of documents belonging to our associates, for the purpose of forging "evidence", has prepared us for endeavors to implicate American Trotskyists in the endless frame-up chain. Nothing is too fantastic for the G.P.U. police mentality, not even a hysterical charge that the "Robinsons" are the nucleus of a Trotskyite ring seeking to establish Japanese rule in the United States, Italian rule in Mexico, and German rule in the Soviet Union, attended, of course, by the usual mythical assassination plots that never come off, irrefutable "evidence" which is "unfortunately unavailable" and the like.

Some Questions to Soviet Officials

One wonders only whether, having had at least since April to prepare this frame-up, and two weeks in which to work on the "Robinsons" in the G.P.U. secret chambers, the Soviet prosecutor is ready to produce the customary enthusiastic, if somewhat nonsensical, confessions of complete guilt without which no

Soviet political frame-up trial is really complete. Or does he need more time?

Other questions which I would like to put to Soviet officials through the press, are as follows: Are the two prisoners American citizens? If not, what is their nationality?

Are they the same people whose photos are filed in the United States passport bureau? Will the Soviet government permit American press correspondents to photograph the "Robinsons"?

How did the "Robinsons" get fake birth certificates?

At what mail address were the passports really received? Were they received in the United States by the prisoners, or by other persons and then shipped abroad for delivery to the prisoners?

When did the "Robinsons" enter the Soviet Union? If before he world press reported the Soviet ban on Robinsons, why did the Soviet government not arrest them when the ban was put on? If after, how did they get in?

How did it happen that the first news of the arrest came from Mrs. Robinson?

Why did the Soviet government delay in answering the American inquiry as to the fate of the "Robinsons"?

Such frame-ups may stick for a time in the Soviet Union where all criticism by oppositionists, especially revolutionary oppositionists who fight Stalin's destruction of the workers' victory of 1917, is answered with immediate arrest. That they will not stick elsewhere has just been demonstrated in Minneapolis, where last week I witnessed the ignominious rout by an indignant trade union movement of a local Stalinist frame-up machine.

Dr. Dewey's Prediction

Speaking over the radio Monday, Prof. John Dewey explained to the American labor and liberal public that it must expect the Stalinist frame-up machine to force the Moscow trials issue on them right here. His prophetic words find fulfillment perhaps sooner than he expected. The time has come when every American worker, liberal, and friend of labor must answer the question: how prevent the naturalization on American soil of the brutal and bloody methods of the Stalinist G. P. U.? The frame-up authors aim primarily at us Trotskyites, but they will not hesitate to use the same methods against every worker, every Socialist, every honest liberal and friend of labor, who dares oppose Stalin's force inside or outside the Soviet Union.

Firemen Take The Lead As Progressives Win Support In West Coast Maritime Unions

By Jack Cope

SAN FRANCISCO.—Once again the West Coast maritime workers are moving into the front lines in the battle against the bosses, not only on the picket lines alone but also against the most pernicious agents of the employers within their own ranks, the Stalinists. Recent events within the Marine Firemen, Oilers, Wipers and Watertenders Association have proven this to their hilt. Nine weeks ago a small group of rank and filers in the union launched the "West Coast Fireman", a little four-page sheet founded on a program of amalgamating the three unlicensed crafts on the West Coast into one industrial union affiliated to the Maritime Federation of the Pacific, and with the perspective of joining with the progressive elements on the Gulf and East Coasts to extend this union nationally. Today an aroused rank and file is rallying behind this program and has an excellent chance of realizing its aims.

960 Endorse "Fireman"

Number 9 of the "Fireman" carried 960 names of endorsers, a full one-fourth of the entire membership of the union. Up and down the coast, locals have gone on record supporting the amalgamation move and calling for a referendum on the question. Only the Stalinist-controlled headquarters local, at San Francisco, has held out. This program has also received the full support of all locals of the Sailors' Union of the Pacific and the Seattle local of the Cooks and Stewards Association. The San Pedro local of the cooks which condemned the "Fireman" when it first appeared has rescinded

this condemnation and it is expected that this local too will endorse the amalgamation move soon. The SUP is at present conducting a referendum on the question.

From the very first, the "Fireman" has been a thorn in the hide of the Stalinist clique which now controls headquarters local. In every meeting of the firemen since its appearance they have divided their time between castigating the paper and calling Harry Lundeberg of the SUP, a fink, phoney and misleader in general, but all to no avail. Week by week the number of sponsors mounted. Even these notoriously thick-skinned lads are beginning to get the idea. They have begun to let up on their wild attacks and whereas it was at the risk of life and limb the first copies of the paper were distributed near headquarters, the last issue was distributed right in the hall along with copies of the Northwest Organizer carrying the story of Pat Corcoran's murder and the expose of the Stalinists' attempt to lay the blame on labor itself.

Gain in Election

Further indications of the growth and influence of rank and file sentiment against the union wrecking of the Stalinists—such as their sabotage of the fight against the shipowners in the recent steam-schooner "beef"—was registered during the election of the balloting committee which will count the ballots of the election of officers, now in progress. One of the two committee members elected in San Francisco was the choice of the progressive group publishing the "Fireman" and all six of those elected by out to town locals had the support of this group.

WELCOME THE DELEGATES

at the

New Year's Eve

CONVENTION BALL

Douglas Park Auditorium

Ogden & Kedzie

Chicago, Ill.

Free Favors — Door Prize — ADMISSION 75c

December 31 — 10 P. M.

Auspices: Y. P. S. L. and S. P. (Left Wing)

Chicago Mass Meeting

NEW REVOLUTIONARY PARTY LAUNCHED!

COME AND HEAR

James P. Cannon
Editor, Socialist Appeal

Vincent Ray Dunne
Prominent Minneapolis
Labor Leader

Max Shachtman
Editor, New International

Crary Trimble
Sec'y California Socialist
Party

WEDNESDAY - DEC. 29 - 8:30 P. M.

Randolph Room, Steuben Club
188 West Randolph St.

(Enter thru main lobby)

Admission 25c.

Auspices: Socialist Party (Left Wing)

Room 308, 160 North Wells St.

Chicago, Ill.

Christmas Eve Dance

Friday, December 24th, at 9 P. M.

IRVING PLAZA

15th STREET AND IRVING PLACE

Tickets: In Advance 55 cents — At the door 75 cents

For Sale at: Labor Book Shop, 28 East 12th St.

AUSPICES: Convention Arrangements Committee
Socialist Party (Left Wing)

Bridges Pulls a Boner; "Plot" Fails to Thicken

By Jack Cope

SAN FRANCISCO.—According to Mr. Harry Bridges, West Coast C.I.O. director, there are number of conspiracies afoot. These "plots" are being hatched, he indicates, to rid the West Coast of its most militant, courageous, honest and efficient representative of rank and file labor in the American labor movement, namely, Mr. Harry Bridges. Conspiring together to achieve this dastardly end, says Harry, are to be found such people as the Dunne Brothers of Minneapolis, William Green, Dave Beck of the Teamsters' Union, Harry Lundeberg of the Sailors Union, Mayor Dore, the shipowners, and every one else who for good reasons or bad does not approve of the Communist Party in general and Mr. Bridges in particular.

The most recent of these plots uncovered by the Bridges Bureau of Investigation, Inc., have like many of these discovered in the past rebounded to the great discomfiture of their discoverer. Plots there are in plenty but it would seem that it is Mr. Bridges who has a hand in their hatching.

Who Really "Plotted"

Two weeks after the murder of Pat Corcoran in Minneapolis Harry rushed to the microphone with the startling information that certain Minneapolis labor men were out to "get" him. Why, he had a "confession" from Robert John Bell himself, the very man sent to do the deed. Among other things, Bell "confessed" that Minneapolis officials of the Teamsters' Union had given him a \$1,000 check for the job. He cashed the check, his "confession" continued, at the Marquette National Bank, gave \$600 to his wife and left for the West Coast. Unfortunately, for Mr. Bridges that is, an investigation disclosed that no such check had ever been cashed at the bank named and Bell's wife admits she never even saw the \$600 in question.

Now who was "plotting"? If this "confession" is questionable, and its failure to check with facts certainly indicates as much, then the motives of Mr. Bridges in publicizing it are doubly so. If his implication that the Minneapolis teamster officials are murderers is founded on a phoney confession then it would appear that Mr. Bridges is collaborating in a "plot" to frame these same leaders.

This conclusion acquires its full force when it is understood that Bridges used this "confession" as an excuse for calling for a Federal Investigation by Department of Justice agents! Just exactly what the bosses and the Stalinists are trying to get in Minneapolis in order to turn the search of Corcoran's killer into an anti-labor investigation of unions.

Case of Lundeberg

Another "plot" was discovered by Harry in the recent steam-schooner dispute on the West Coast. This time Bridges lifts the veil on the devious doings of Harry Lundeberg, leader of the militant Sailors Union of the Pacific. Lundeberg, according to Bridges, is working hand and glove with the shipowners. But alas, again the facts indicate that the converse is true, that it is Mr. Bridges himself who is working with the employers. Let us examine these facts.

For some time the operators of coastwise ships have been becoming more and more bold in violating their agreement to serve hot meals, or pay their equivalent, to the crew while the ships are in port. The most recent and flagrant attempt was made aboard the S.S. James Griffith. Angered by these attacks on their conditions the crew walked off this ship in San Pedro and refused to work her until they were paid for all missed meals and certain other bad conditions were eliminated. Harry Lundeberg took up the "beef" for the Sailors' Union and went to meet with the owners to negotiate a settlement. Enter the "plot."

Bridges Against the "Griffith" Crew

A meeting of District Council, No. 2, Maritime Federation of the Pacific (Bridges-controlled) is called at the very moment the negotiations are taking place. At this meeting the action of the Griffith crew is denounced as a scheme of Lundeberg and the shipowners to precipitate a coastwise lockout and word is sent to the shipowners in the conference that District Council No. 2 does not support the demands of the sailors!

Meanwhile the San Pedro local of the Marine Firemen, Oilers, Wipers, and Watertenders Association has come out in support of the Griffith tie-up. The Stalinist officials dash to the rescue. They call a meeting together and rush through a motion giving them the "authority" to wire San Pedro ordering that local to "furnish crew to the James Griffith" and threatening that "failure to do so will be held accountable for precipitating a coastwise lockout."

Never remiss in its duty to the "Ruling Clawss" the Western Worker described the dispute as "another disturbance... cooked up..." by "the shipowners" and "designed to effect legislation before Congress which would hamstring maritime unions."

As though to clinch all this strikebreaking sabotage Bridges now rushes into print with the following:

"This whole thing (the schooner dispute) is a provocative plot cooked up by the Sailors officials in collaboration with the Shipowners Association."

Sailors Win; Stalinists "Beef"

In order to allow the air to clear itself of this class-collaboration smoke the Sailors' Union agreed to let the Griffith proceed to San Francisco and there take up the whole matter anew. This was done and the dispute settled in short order, the sailors winning all their demands with very little opposition from the owners, thus proving all the sound and fury about a "lockout" to be only stage-thunder engineered by our Sherlock himself.

But if Harry Lundeberg and the other officials of the Sailors' Union are not involved in a conspiracy with the shipowners, then why is Bridges shouting "lockout" so loudly. A glance at the San Francisco Chronicle's editorial comment on the dispute may furnish us with a clue to this enigma.

Referring to the "complete stupidity of the walkout" and berating "unions that would let their men so heedlessly break their agreements with the threat of

S.U.P. Votes Fund to Sue Slanderers of Lundeberg

SAN FRANCISCO.—With 735 members present at one of the largest meetings held recently at headquarters of the Sailors Union, the membership took action on the libelous attacks on the S.U.P. and its Secretary-Treasurer, Harry Lundeberg by "the rat-sheet, the Western Worker, official organ of the Communist Party of California." The particular issue in question carried two articles, one of these charging Lundeberg and the Sailors Union with beating up members at meetings.

The stool-pigeon charges of the Western Worker, printed in its Dec. 13 issue, were based on an item in a national magazine called Newsweek.

Demanded Retraction

Lundeberg informed the membership that on Dec. 6th, his attention had been called to this item in Newsweek and he had immediately night-lettered the editor and publisher of the magazine that they had been completely misinformed, and that he demanded a retraction of them for the "information" they had published, i.e., that "Lundeberg had instigated the present deportation proceedings against Bridges." He added that he had included in his wire the demand for a retraction, or suitable action would be taken against them.

However, on Dec. 13 the Western Worker came out with its phoney charges, which had already been printed by the Daily Worker. Lundeberg pointed out that "this is just a continuation of the constant campaign of slander, lies, and vilification against him by the Communist

Party, its stooges in the S.U.P.; in D.C. No. 2 (of the West Coast Maritime Federation); in the CIO," and that they were spending unlimited sums and much space in the yellow rags in an attempt to discredit him and the officials of the S.U.P., so that they could take over the Union.

Sailors Nail a Lie

"That we answer them properly in the next issue of the WEST COAST SAILOR, and that we sue the libelers—the Western Worker and Newsweek—and that the secretary be authorized to draw \$500 out of the general fund as a bond in a suit for libel against the Western Worker, and that we give Brother Harry Lundeberg a rising vote of confidence as our answer to the attacks of the Western Worker and the Communist Party."

Rising vote taken: 715 Yes. 1 No.

—From the "West Coast Sailor".

Lundeberg repeated his challenge to anyone of the stooges to come before the membership and present his facts. So far not one has had any proof to present. Resort has been had, instead, to slanderous whispering campaigns and stoolpigeon activities against any union man who refuses to take the dictates of the Stalinists.

Several members stated that "it was high time we took action against these rags and moved in on these stool-pigeons in the maritime unions."

Aircraft Strikers Convicted of "Conspiracy to Felony"

LOS ANGELES, Calif.—Organized Labor rallied here this week to fight the outrageous convictions of 22 aircraft workers in a Superior Court on charges of "conspiracy to felony" which grew out of a sit-down strike last February at the Douglas Aircraft corp.

Included among the 22, all of whom are member of the United Automobile Workers of America, were William Busick and Andrew M. Schmouder, C.I.O. organizers who led the sit-down.

The sit-down was pulled against dismissal of union workers and the prevalence of low wage rates in the plant. District Attorney Fitts broke the sit-down by issuing felony complaints against 287 men who occupied the factory. It was the

first time that felony warrants were issued against sit-down strikers.

A huge army of deputies armed with machine guns and gas bombs caused the strikers to leave the plant and submit to arrest.

A first trial held with the 22 defendants ended in a victory as the jury disagreed and no convictions resulted.

This second trial lasted six weeks before the powerful anti-labor forces combined with the law enforcement agencies obtained the convictions. An appeal to higher courts was announced by defense attorneys.

Freedom for the strikers must be won since the trials were part of a carefully planned employer campaign to bust the union movement here.

tying up an industry" (exactly Bridges' argument), the Chronicle continues:

Bridges' Real Aim

"It seems probable that the speedy return of the sailors to reason (?) was due to their officers seeing, or being made to see (by Mr. Bridges perhaps?), the impossible position they had jumped into. The question still remains what sort of control the Union officers have over their men that permits such a stupid (!) outbreak to occur in the first place. If the officers do not maintain sufficient discipline to be able to prevent their men from

violating their agreements in a case so clear cut as this one then it is high time, for the good of the men and their union (oh, of course, of course, Mr. Editor!) that their official structure be reorganized."

This hardly needs any comment. Both Mr. Bridges and the Chronicle agree publicly that the structure of the Sailors Union should be "reorganized." And with the election of officials now in progress in the Sailors Union anything that discredits Lundeberg may rebound to the benefit of the Stalinist candidates. At least there is no harm in trying, Mr. Bridges seems to think.

Left Jabs

"Peace on Earth"

The disciples or prophets of the Prince of Peace are at it again and the "N. Y. Times" which has no comic page runs excerpts from their sermons.

The Right Rev. Shirley H. Nichols, Protestant Episcopal Bishop of Kyoto, Japan delivers the following "gem": "The Japanese worship the forces of nature and the war heroes of the past. How then can we expect them to do anything else than those things which are shocking us in the present struggle?" How does the Right Rev. Bishop explain Christian Britain's shocking "Opium War" which was settled by compelling China to allow the importation of opium and missionaries? Or maybe that didn't shock the Bishop.

1914-18 A. D.

The Rev. Dr. William Ward Ayer held "dictators Stalin, Hitler, and Mussolini" as the enemies that are thwarting the "prince of peace" today. Did the Doctor ever hear of that peaceful period of the "prince of peace" 1914-18. A. D. and B. D. (before dictators?). At that time, I recall, a "Very Rev." handing out this "star from the crown": "You can love your enemy as yourself even while thrusting a bayonet in him." You should have seen the "eyes with love light shining" when the "reverend's" advice was carried out later.

God's Spokesmen

"Give the Huns hell", was the parting words of another of God's spokesmen as we left the base camp for the front. On another occasion, a sawed off, five-foot-nothing "messenger of God" stood on a table and screamed, "If hell was turned upside down you'd find Made in Germany on the bottom."

Labor's Mayor

Under the title "Unpleasant Things Which Must be Said" the Social Democratic "New Leader" lets out a whine which reveals the anguish in its soul. It seems that the appointments of "our great mayor" are not in line with the expectations which were aroused in many breasts. The new office of deputy mayor, we learn, has been filled by a Republican "known as a conservative with reference to the great social problems". As for the new city treasurer "when he was accumulating his millions in the cloak and suit industry, his shop was strictly non-union." Langdon Post, "an outstanding example of what is far too rare—the sort of public servant who really serves the public faithfully" has been fired. "It must be made clear that no candidate, by being elected, becomes bigger than the party or can with impunity act as if he thought he owned it," concludes the "New Leader". Appointing conservative Republicans to the good jobs while there are all sorts of "deserving and willing" A. L. P. ers is certainly enough to cause a "leader" to wonder if this "People's Front" with the Republicans was really the road to Socialism in our Time. Horn and Hardart strikers, clubbed, arrested and jailed are getting another angle on "Labor's mayor" and we hope, on the leaders who took them into the "Popular Fusion Front" as well.