

Real Plan Behind Reubens Case Now Becoming Clearer

By Junius

One relation of Mr. Earl Browder to the impending "Robinson-Rubens" frame-up, which is already clear, and which he wishes could be kept obscure, is the contribution of his party to the groundwork of the frame-up in the United States. All trails have led to the door of the Communist Party, and some behind the door, nine floors up. Despite the reticence of Mr. Hull and Mr. Yezhov, which was absolute this week, new facts that point in the same direction continue to come to light.

Mr. Browder has another relation to the case through his politics, which today consist chiefly of "struggling against Trotskyism," and "implementing Roosevelt's Chicago speech." The Communist Party, however, is a feeble arm to wield such a big speech.

Franklin is implementing it himself with Uncle Teddy's big stick: the billion dollar armament program. No one is better aware of the feebleness of 13th Street's blatant jingoism than its absentee proprietor, Stalin himself. But the Stalinists have other methods of "implementing" speeches: the spy scare and the program against "foreigners."

Browder's Japanese Scare

In a most candid statement of the war program of the Communist Party, Mr. Browder in the current New Republic advocates a Soviet-American alliance against Japan. He says that a continuance of weakness at Washington will cause Japan "to take over the Philippines, Hawaii, Guam and Alaska, as guarantees against the future, when the United States might dare to fight. From that it would not be a large step to recall how much more successful are the Japanese than Americans in cultivating the beautiful and rich lands of California." Any Jew in Rumania today could tell you what that means.

Browder's chauvinist remark "implements," in addition to Roosevelt's, a recent speech of a Vice-Commissioner of the G.P.U., who declared that California is overrun with Japanese spies. The Japanese-in-California crack is a tip-off on the "Robinson-Rubens" frame-up. Double R will supply the link in the Trotsky-Mikado formula. The locale will be California.

California Setting

There are of course both Trotskyites and "Trotskyites," as well as Japanese in California. According to the 1930 census (not a 1917 Baedeker), about 70 per cent of the Japanese in America are concentrated in California, and fully 90 per cent on the West Coast. And anyone who has a slight acquaintance with that part of the country knows how rampant is the anti-Japanese chauvinism. The soil is rich, as Browder says. A hotel in San Francisco, Los Angeles, or San Diego looks like a better proposition than the Bristol in Copenhagen.

Another time we will take up the deeper implications of the Browder remark and the frame-up, in the matter of national minorities. Abandoning principle, the question of whose minority rights the Stalinists will champion and whose they will attack becomes one of expediency. Italians and Germans may come next. And who can say for sure that it will never be expedient for Browder to unload even those racial groups that have no mother country?

Is Stalin Rebuffing U. S.?

The Soviet action in rebuffing the State Department's attempt to visit Mrs. Rubens is remarkable in view of the enthusiastic efforts of the Stalinist government to court the "democratic nations," especially the United States. That Stalin should risk the loss of much of the good will obtained through the 7th Congress of the Comintern and reactionary moves on all fronts, by treating the United States like hostile fascist Germany in a case involving an American citizen, is at first blush, inexplicable.

Perhaps the G.P.U. has been caught in its own trap. Refusing the interview strains diplomatic relations; but permitting it might expose the magician of the Moscow Trials, and strain everything. If a trial is held, it may be taken for granted that Stalin will attempt to recoup his diplomatic fortune by involving Americans for the apparent be-

nefit of the American Government. Certainly Washington is not above allowing Moscow the courtesy of proceeding with its frame-up. The two governments share hostility to the left. Diplomatic developments, the present situation of the American Government, and certain differences between Browder and Roosevelt seem, however, to be against, not the possibility, but the probability of such collaboration.

Nature of C. P. Patriotism?

The Stalinists here are trying to be more American than the Americans; but their parvenu vulgarity sets them off from the real McCoy. Browder announces that he is an American more often than a Legionnaire in his cups. The affectation is consistent with Stalinist politics. For the American Stalinists are not the garden variety of nationalists. They do not reflect or represent, however hard they try, the total national interests of the American bourgeoisie.

The only genuine international interest is that of the working class, which the Stalinists have long since ceased pretending to represent. The Stalinists represent the interests of the Soviet bureaucrats, and only through them the historical interests of capitalism. There is, however, a considerable gap in immediate interests between the patriotic Roosevelt and the double-dyed Browder.

Browder's patriotism is simulated for the purpose of bringing about an alliance between the Soviet bureaucracy and the American Government. With or without an alliance, however, the American Stalinists tend to push the American Government toward war with any nation that is threatening the Soviet Union. Hence Mr. Browder's super-patriotism. From the viewpoint of an imperialist diplomat like Hull, to whom war is military politics to be handled with finesse, Browder may well look like an irresponsible provocateur.

Roosevelt really does represent the American bourgeoisie, which, unlike the European, has had little experience or use for the peculiar contribution offered by the Stalinists: the policing of the revolutionary workers. At present Roosevelt is satisfied with Lewis; and although Lewis is sheltering the Stalinists, they are not indispensable to him.

What Does Washington Know?

It seems unlikely that Washington will at this time assist Moscow in getting control of labor by further frame-up drives. There is more reason to believe that Washington feels that, as long as a left exists, it is better split than a Moscow-controlled monolith.

The State Department in the "Robinson-Rubens" affair is evidently out to catch as big a fish as it can. It is releasing only such data as it finds advisable to release. The impression already given by the bourgeois press, is that the political left is composed of conspirators, chiefly foreign, engaged in shady rackets—a variation of the impression Browder seeks to create. But Washington may try to turn the affair into a scandal of the left with a plague on all its houses, including the one with the American flag and the red light. It may sometime release information on its findings; but pressure must be brought to get this information released now.

The labor movement can look for trouble in the "Robinson-Rubens" affair from Mr. Browder and both governments. From Moscow the spy scare frame-up. From Washington the "alien agitator" campaign. From Mr. Browder a continuance of his Yellow Peril.

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Frame-up Artist



ANDREI VISHINSKY

Roosevelt War Speeded Up By Naval Budget

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Realize Mass Opposition

Roosevelt is aware that the masses are opposed to his imperialism. The Gallup Poll showed at least 60% of the electorate favoring withdrawal of U. S. forces from China, and an equal percentage in favor of the Ludlow amendment. The masses are hostile to the League of Nations, and the whole idea of "collective security." But the forces of jingoism, militarism and social-patriotism are intent on swinging them into line.

The Japanese are counted on to assist. There will be more Panay incidents, and a few more U. S. diplomats will stick out their chins to be slapped. The American war front is forming: the sixty families, the economic royalists, Landon and Knox, the Nation and the Daily Worker, William Green and Lewis, Heywood Brown and Barney Baruch, Nicholas Murray Butler and Earl Browder.

Browder's Fair Fields

Browder salutes the "President's declaration of a positive peace policy" more lyrically than anybody. Debating with Charles H. Beard in the New Republic he openly undertakes the defense of American imperialist interests and colonies. He conjures up the possibility of the Japanese seizing Guam, the Philippines and Alaska. There is a throb in his voice, as he evasions the danger confronting "the beautiful and rich lands of California."

We must not, he suggests, encourage the enemy by giving them a picture of an America sharply torn by class struggle. There is little that can be added by way of comment to "expose" Browder. The Stalinist agents of imperialism proceed so brazenly now that their own statements are the plainest avowals of their treason. Browder in the U. S. loyally follows in the path of the Social Democratic allies in France and Czechoslovakia who vote the war budgets without a quaver.

The greatest of all the lies which Browder uses to trick his own following is the distinction between "aggressor" and "non-aggressor." In 1915 Lenin wrote: "The truth is that for decades three highway robbers, the bourgeoisie and the governments of England, Russia and France, were arming to sack Germany. Is there anything surprising in the fact that two highway robbers launched an attack before the other three got the new knives they had ordered? Is it not sophism when the phrases about the 'initiators' are used to obliterate the equal guilt of the bourgeoisie of all countries?"

Why The Lag?

The following letter from far away South Africa might well be used as an example of what many of the lagging Party locals right here in America should be doing for the Appeal:

"Johannesburg, December 26, 1937.
Dear Comrade:
"We have here in Johannesburg an ever-widening circle of comrades working for the platform of the Fourth International. We welcome the re-appearance of the Socialist Appeal, particularly its clean-cut exposure of Stalinist corruption and degeneration.
"We would like to assist in spreading the paper's circulation. We enclose herewith a draft for \$10.00 towards the paper's funds and shall be pleased if you would kindly send us every week four

Stolberg CIO Articles Faulty In Analysis

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breed. Brown picks one flaw in an effort to discredit the main import of the articles.

Unprincipled Opposition

It is a fact, testified to by the minutes of the International executive board meetings, that those "opponents" to Martin-Mortimer, Reuther, etc. (Stalinist stooges of the Brown variety) have voted with Martin on all important union questions since the convention last fall! That is why their "opposition" is unprincipled.

In the recent Pontiac sit-down, the entire executive board approved of Martin's actions and criticism of the rank and file that had been goaded into a sit-down by the company. Incidentally, on all these questions, the Lovestonites went along as appendages to the Martin machine.

The pitfalls of liberal analysis are clearly indicated in the Stolbergian evaluations of the C.I.O. top leaders. Dave Dubinsky was called a "shrewd politician, a hard bargainer, as tough as he is honest, and full of fun." At whose expense, we might ask? What about the Dubinsky who fought the left-wing for years? Hillman, according to Stolberg, is "almost the opposite of Dubinsky. He lacks Dubinsky's good humor, his tough and homely democracy."

Hillman's fault is his self-overestimation." Yes, yes, but what about the internal situation in the Amalgamated Clothing Workers union? Remember what Hillman tried to do to Joseph Schlossberg because Schlossberg would not go along with the Roosevelt election campaign?

Weaknesses Ignored

Stolberg, throughout his series, said nothing about the fatal weakness of the C.I.O., its bureaucratic structure. In his desire to protect the C.I.O. from vicious outside opponents and from the insidious Stalinists, Stolberg did some unnecessary "white-washing" of the leadership.

John L. Lewis deserves credit for promoting industrial unionism as C.I.O. chairman, as Stolberg pointed out. But that does not excuse his faults. The Ohio district miners are still fighting for the right to elect their own officials. And when are the steel workers going to

be permitted to hold a constitutional convention to set up an autonomous international union? Is Phillip Murray ever going to allow the S.W.O.C. to elect its own international officers?

Harry Bridges' policies have divided the once powerfully united West Coast labor movement as Stolberg showed. But Lewis arbitrarily appointed Bridges, and thus bears joint responsibility.

Union Democracy

When Stolberg told about the struggle of the top C.I.O. leaders to establish "industrial democracy," he did not emphasize that a necessary pre-requisite is "union democracy." This weakness in the C.I.O. is fuel for the fires of labor's opponents, and the way to take away the fuel is to establish union democracy in the steel and other C.I.O. unions where it is lacking.

Stolberg's summary deserves special attention. "The program of the C. I. O. is simple, progressive and historically inevitable. Modern industrial labor must organize in industrial unions," Stolberg wrote. Will the Daily Worker hack journalists call this a "fascist" argument? Stolberg is absolutely correct.

"The C.I.O. is not getting ready for independent political action in 1940. The political arm of the C.I.O. is Labor's Non-Partisan League, of which the various local and state-wide labor and farmer-labor parties are completely autonomous bodies."

Stolberg shrewdly indicated. It is precisely this policy that offers dangers to the C.I.O. movement. The failure of the C.I.O. to organize genuine independent political action has cost the workers plenty. The strike-breaker, Martin L. Davey, governor of Ohio, was the Labor's Non-Partisan League nominee only a year and half ago, despite the protests of many progressives, especially in the rubber workers' unions. Dependence on the capitalist politicians takes a heavy toll in the organized labor movement. If the workers in the "Little Steel" strike had depended only on their own strength and power, aided by the union movement, they would not have been trapped by the Daveys and Earles in whom they had been told to have confidence. Stolberg apparently assents to the C.I.O. class-collaboration policies. We do not.

School Holds Class In Party Principles

The program of the Socialist Workers Party will be discussed in detail by Maurice Spector, co-editor of the New Internationalist, in the Marxist School course on "Principles of Revolutionary Socialism." The lecturer will elaborate the "Declaration of Principles" of the party. He will trace the laws of imperialism and explain the development of the New Deal, fascism and war; the role of trade unions and Farmer-Laborism; the struggle for working class power; the workers' state, the socialist ideal and the Soviet Union today; the role of the Second and Third Internationals and the tasks of the Socialist Workers Party and the Fourth International. The course will be held Tuesday evenings, 8:45 P. M.-10:15 P. M., commencing February 15.

Another course of great value particularly to trade unionists will be given by E. J. Widick, national labor secretary of the Socialist Workers Party and E. R. McKinney, former organizer for the Steel Workers Organizing Committee and present New York organizer of the S.W.P. These comrades will cover the historical background of the C.I.O.-A.F. of L. dispute, the real issues involved and the tasks of the progressives and revolutionary socialists in the trade union movement today. The

course, "Problems of Trade Unionism," will be held Wednesday evenings, 7:00 P. M.-8:30 P. M.

Dockmen Tie Up Ships, Cargoes

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the seriousness of a rise in food prices can be judged.

Bosses Threaten

The business and industrial interests of the Island, on the ground that the strike is "jeopardizing the livelihood of every inhabitant," are threatening to take things into their own hands. At a meeting of the Chamber of Commerce in San Juan on January 23, they cabled to President Roosevelt, asking his intervention.

Fears were expressed that neither the Federal Government nor the President had "adequate authority in law" to meet the situation. A suggestion that "outsiders" (the C.I.O. representatives) be given 24-hour departure notice was cheered. One of the leading industrialists advocated a complete "commercial sit-down" to arouse the community against the strike. Others, in true vigilante spirit, wanted the "community" to step in and settle the strike, regardless of the Government and contending sides.

A "Socialist" Acts

Santiago Iglesias, resident Commissioner at Washington, for forty years A.F. of L. boss of Puerto Rican labor and leader of the misnamed Socialist Party, tried to get the strikers to go back for a 25 per cent increase, but his proposal was howled down.

Governor Winship next took a hand, issuing an ultimatum on January 25 that if an agreement was not reached in 48 hours, he would intervene. But when the 48 hours had expired, the steamship companies' Puerto Rican representatives told the governor they had no authority to accept his proposal for arbitration, and had referred the whole matter to their New York offices. The annoyed governor could do nothing but await the pleasure of the companies in New York.

SPANISH HOLD FRANCO BACK ABOVE TERUEL

But Deadlock Threatens For Want of Bold Social Program

The military deadlock in Spain continued virtually unchanged last week, with the struggle for control of the vitally important mountain passes north of Teruel still proceeding. While the Government forces seemed to have the upper hand in the immediate Teruel salient, the Rebels fought desperately to retain their feeder highways through the Palomera Mountains. Along with this stubborn defense Franco continued the most systematic and vicious series of aerial bombings of Loyalist cities which the war has yet witnessed.

Distinctly inferior to Franco's machine in point of equipment and training, the Loyalists have made a certain headway in Teruel only thanks to the heroism of the proletarian fighters in their ranks. The peasantry of the entire district seem passive. The bulk of the soldiers on the Teruel front are workers of the anarchist CNT-FAI and of the POUM, a fact omitted from all official press dispatches.

Bold Program Needed

The military deadlock of the last months makes it increasingly clear that definitive victory in Teruel, as in the war in general, is impossible without a bold social program.

Writing in the Paris Journal of January 2, a bourgeois observer had the following to say about the Teruel offensive: "Since it (the government) did not have the military superiority, it was necessary to make an effort on the political plane, and, instead of opposing them to each other, to attempt a union between the peasant of Navarre and the worker of Barcelona."

But the stubborn defense of private ownership of the land in Catalonia has alienated the peasantry and placed severe limitations on mass recruitment from their ranks. Further than that, the entire Aragon-Huesca-Saragossa front was sabotaged for many months by the government because of anarchist and POUM predominance amongst the militia stationed there. No basis, either military or social was laid along this front for the rapid extension of the Teruel drive.

Reaction Advances

On the other hand, political reaction, forced by joint Russian-British-French pressure, is making steady inroads on the earlier social conquests wrested by the workers and peasants. The Stalinists and socialists of the PSUC have been pushing vigorously to eliminate union delegates from factory administration boards. A proposal to that effect was voted down at the recent Barcelona congress of the UGT. However, the Stalinist City Council has already forced the municipalization of the Barcelona transport system, thus taking it out of the hands of the workers' organizations. Centralization proceeded one step further last week with the Catalan government taking over the war industries previously under union control.

Against this background of rising reaction, much speculation has arisen on the meaning of the Teruel drive. Why this offensive now, at this particular time?

There are many indications in the European press that France and England decided upon a localized Teruel victory for a two-fold reason: (1) to chastise Franco for resisting a break with Hitler and Mussolini; (2) to furnish Prieto with the necessary basis for negotiations leading to armistice. In no other way can Prieto's paper, quoted above, be understood when it comments on the proposals of "an English politician" identified only as a great friend of Spain, and adds that England's demands for a government entirely under its domination are burdensome but nevertheless "preferable to the prolongation of the war."

The social reaction which accompanies the new offensive lends credence to the suspicion that London and Paris—with Moscow's approval—are intent upon an armistice. Undemocratic centralization proceeds in the army, the death sentence for soldiers lacking in respect for their appointed reactionary officers has been passed, workers' control over transport and vital industry is harshly removed, revolutionists continue to be imprisoned and shipped to distant villages.

Stalemate Prevails

Success at Teruel can be only temporary at best, in view of its being accompanied by steady encroachment upon proletarian and pea-

SOVIET UNION NOTES

Litvinov's Removal Certain — Case of A. N. Tupolev — Shadows Over Stakhanovism
By JOHN G. WRIGHT

Litvinov's Removal Certain.

The oft-repeated rumors concerning Litvinov's downfall in connection with the purge of the diplomatic corps will be substantiated in the near future. His post has already been stripped of its previous significance, for, on a motion by Beria, the Supreme Council voted to establish a permanent committee on Foreign Affairs which, in effect, supersedes the Commissariat for Foreign Affairs. The chairman of this committee of eleven (on it are Beria, Mekhlis, and Khrushchev) is none other than Zhdanov, member of the Politbureau, who excoriated Litvinov's Commissariat in his speech at the session. The Chairman has the power not only to guide and alter foreign policy but to intervene in the appointment of ambassadors, etc. Because of the role played by Litvinov and his public prominence, it is quite likely that a special "method" will be used in his case. Rumors, which appear to be officially inspired, have been circulating that Litvinov will "retire" in six months, and his place taken either by Zhdanov or Potemkin, with the latter appearing to have the inside track.

While the stage is being prepared for Litvinov's "retirement", Stalin's hangers on mopping up the Commissariat itself. Among those just liquidated is Sabanin, head of the legal department of the Commissariat for Foreign Affairs, and a close friend of Litvinov's. Together with him, four other functionaries were placed under arrest: Fachner, Neumann, Shakhov and Beckman.

In the case of Litvinov, the blows aimed at him, as well as inevitable elimination, are intimately linked with a change of Soviet foreign policy that is doubtless being contemplated by Stalin.

The Case of A. N. Tupolev.

Perhaps the most sudden and least expected of the recent purges was that of Andrei N. Tupolev, head of Tsagi (Soviet Aerodynamic Institute), one of the world's outstanding aeronautical engineers and inventors, creator of the Red Air Force, better known to the general public by his initials ANT which used to appear on Soviet planes, in particular, ANT 25 which made the record Moscow-San Diego flight. The Special correspondent of the Paris Temps, Pierre Berland, gives some interesting details relating to Tupolev's downfall in a communication devoted entirely to the current purge (Le Temps, Jan. 7).

As Berland comments, "Tupolev was perhaps the most decorated man in the Soviet." He was given the Order of Lenin, the Order of the Red Star, and that of the Red Labor Banner. Privileges were heaped upon him. He had a vast luxurious apartment in Moscow and a summer house. And, according to Berland, the Government opened for him an unlimited bank account to use for his experimental and construction work. He had free entrance to the Kremlin and even, it is reputed, to Stalin, an honor accorded only to Voroshilov and Yezhov. He was likewise chummy with Voroshilov. It goes without saying that he was designated as candidate for the Supreme Council. When his name was removed at the last moment from the roll of deputies, the world learned of his fall from grace. Officially, of course, there has been no news. The darkest rumors are circulating as to his fate. Many of his colleagues have been placed under arrest. At a recent meeting of the workers of Tsagi a "party representative" (i.e., G.P.U. functionary) urged the assembly to unmask the "Tupolevites," declaring that a "ruthless struggle" must be waged against this latest variety of the enemies of the people, the "Tupolevites," in no way to be distinguished from the "Trotskyites," "Bukharinites," "Rykovites," etc. etc.

Tupolev's initials have been removed from all planes, even from ANT 25, with which Gromov established the world record. It is now only a number: 25.

Soviet circles are reported as lost in speculation as to the reasons for Tupolev's arrest. Comments Berland: "It may well be that Tupolev objected to the methods of the purge which was creating breaches in the war industries. No official comment has appeared as yet to provide a key to this mystery. The customary accusations of sabotage-espionage seem hardly applicable to a Tupolev. All his achievements gainsay the charge of sabotage. As for espionage, it bears no semblance of truth. He had nothing to gain and everything to lose from a change in the regime."

To the crushing blows he has dealt to the Soviet Army and Navy, Stalin has now added a blow at the Air Force, which the bitterest enemy of Russia could not have hoped for in his most sanguine moments.

Berland reports among those arrested as "Nazi terrorists," one Nissen, a crack camera man, usually detailed to cover big events. It was he who took pictures of the unanimous vote for the Constitution in the great hall of the Kremlin on Dec. 5, 1936.

Shadows Over Stakhanovism.

The Soviet press, in general, and Stalin's lackey and apologists abroad, in particular, used to raise a howl whenever anyone pointed out either the disruptive effects of Stakhanovism on Soviet industry (the more Stakhanovists in a plant the lower the output) or the fraudulent and spurious nature of many of the records. It may sound unbelievable but it is nevertheless a fact that both Izvestia and Pravda on the same day (Jan. 9) in their leading articles admit the beneficial effects and frauds of Stakhanovism, in guarded but plain terms. Says Pravda: "Certain enterprises are still being carried away by organizing for individual records to the detriment of organizing the Stakhanovist work of entire brigades, shifts, and plants." The editorial then goes on to warn the managers, engineers and technicians not to "forget" their duty of assuring to each worker "the opportunity for over-fulfilling the norm." And then Pravda adds the following eloquent statement: "Some industrial directors countenance a sporting attitude toward individual high records and, as was to be observed in the Donbas, countenance therewith even fraud, ascribing the results achieved on the basis of a division of labor between a group of workers to a single individual alone. The sooner we put an end to such distortions of the Stakhanovist movement, the more the country will benefit from it. A correct leadership of the Stakhanovist movement... leads to the growth of the productivity of labor not only of individual record holders, but of entire groups of workers, and entire groups."

Economic difficulties, especially those in connection with the spring sowing campaign, are compelling the ruling clique to revise its attitude toward one of its pet panaceas, Stakhanovism. A retreat has already started. Shortly scape-goats will be produced. An "expose" of record-holders is in the cards.

social conquests. Under the fascist forces by the illegal Bolshevik-Leninists (Fourth Internationalists): "WORKERS! The Front government has brought the general military situation to a stalemate. Only deep-going social reforms can draw the peasants into the fight and revitalize the entire working-class in face of a technically superior fascist military machine. Legality and liberty for the workers' press and organizations! Freedom of political propaganda distributed among the anti-