

Britain Not Yet Ready To Fight Hitler

Chamberlain Declines Role Of Savior of "Democracy"

Prime Minister Neville Chamberlain of Great Britain delivered in the House of Commons on March 24 his eagerly-awaited speech on British foreign policy. The speech demonstrated:

1. That the differences and antagonisms between the "democratic" capitalist states and the "fascist" states are not of an "ideological" character, but reflect, rather, the fundamental rivalry which is the characteristic of the entire imperialist world;

2. That "democratic" Britain is more than ready to make a deal with Hitler's Germany (just as now she is making a deal with Mussolini), if thereby the knife-edge of Hitler's expansionism can be turned away from Britain and her French ally in the direction of—the U.S.S.R.

No Advance Commitment

Chamberlain made it clear that Britain would not commit itself in advance to defend Czechoslovakia against German aggression, even if France goes the length of assisting her central European ally in the event of a German attack.

"This position," he said, "is not one which His Majesty's Government could see their way to accept in relation to an area where their vital interests are not concerned in the same degree as they are in the case of France and Belgium."

He was careful, however, to add that British assistance might be given to Czechoslovakia against Germany, and that if either France or Belgium are attacked by Germany, Britain will without hesitation come to their aid.

Stalin Proposal Dismissed

Contemptuously dismissing the proposal of the Stalin government for a conference of the "democratic" powers to consider measures for restraining "aggressors," the Tory Chamberlain was able to make use of the proposal in order to discredit Stalin's foreign policy, as making for war. Said he:

"The proposal appeared to involve less consultation with a view to settlement than concentrating of action against an eventuality that has not yet arisen... (Such a conference) would aggravate a tendency toward establishment of exclusive groups of nations which must be inimical to the prospect of European peace."

Chamberlain has smashed to bits the Stalinist illusion that the advance of fascism could be stopped by the creation of a bloc of "democratic" capitalist states whose self-assumed task it would be to protect "democracy" against fascism. Imperialist Britain, through its leading mouthpiece, has now made clear what the Marxists have proclaimed all along, namely, that "democratic" capitalism has no interest in maintaining "democracy" in foreign lands.

Democracy and Fascism

The Marxists have gone further. They have pointed out that the bourgeoisie in the "democratic" countries will themselves establish a fascist regime when the institutions of their "democracy" become an impediment to their continued rule over and exploitation of the working class. Today, in the light of Chamberlain's very clear declaration, any worker swallow the Stalinist lie that capitalist democracy and the defense of capitalist democracy is any kind of a bulwark—much less the ONLY bulwark—against fascism?

Consider Arbitration Board To Settle Rubber Disputes

AKRON.—A tentative proposal to set up in the rubber industry an arbitration board headed by an industrial coordinator, is now under consideration by the National Labor Relations Board as a possible "solution" of the current wages and hours dispute at the Goodrich plant.

Feeling out the reaction unofficially through the press before making definite announcement of its plans, the N.L.R.B. contemplates lengthening of the working day above the six-hour limit, coupled with indefinite commitments regarding wages.

The plan is being presented ostensibly as a guaranteed annual

Loves Peace Too



NEVILLE CHAMBERLAIN

"Democratic" Britain will make war on Nazi Germany only if and when Hitler menaces Britain's imperialist interests. The rise of "Greater Germany" under Hitler has destroyed Britain's ancient role as arbiter of Europe's fate. If and when Hitler, after rounding out his "mittel-Europa," challenges France and nears his goal of becoming master of the European continent, the British imperialists will fight.

Preventive War Possible

They may, as Chamberlain so clearly hinted, even embark on a preventive war against Germany if Hitler's armies march into Czechoslovakia. But Chamberlain makes no prior commitments. He needs a free hand to decide when the time for war is ripe.

Meanwhile, British imperialism hastens the building of its mighty war machine in preparation for "the day." Apart from the vast navy and army building programs, all efforts are being bent to insure a first line strength of 1,750 fighting planes within six months, instead of within a year as previously planned.

Behind these first line planes, reports from London declare, are to be placed an unknown number of reserve planes of identical type, and it is understood that a total strength of 10,000 planes is aimed at.

Labor Traitors Busy

As an integral and indispensable part of the government's war plans the cooperation of the workers is being sought through the General Council of the Trade Union Congress. The government proposes to double the rate of armaments production. If the T.U.C. accepts the government proposals, it will mean not only the harnessing of the labor unions to the imperialist war machine; it will mean that the workers in industry will be forced to submit to a lowering of their wages and working conditions. For the government plans to draft unskilled labor into industry on a vast scale in order to augment the labor force, and the unions are to be asked to abrogate rules providing restrictive conditions on new entrants, including minimum wages restrictions.

The traitors of the General Council, who sold out the British general strike in 1926 and who have already pledged their support to the government's arms program, may be expected, in keeping with their long record of treachery, to do all in their power to harness the workers completely to the imperialist war chariot.

No Opposition Yet

Opposition from the ranks has not yet developed, largely because of the tightly-bureaucratized character of the trade unions. That it will develop is certain. It should not be forgotten that the British workers by their militant struggle, through their own Councils of Action, forced the government to end its military intervention against the Russian Soviets after the Bolshevik Revolution. Similar action may be expected when the war plans of British imperialism collide sharply, as they inevitably must, with the basic economic interests of the workers.

New Wave Of Strikes Hits France

Workers Open Offensive Despite Treachery of Popular Front

(Continued from page 1)

Union, a government less susceptible to working class pressure, to which to entrust the imperialist arms program. The Stalinists, loyal servants of the bourgeoisie, want a leading role in preparing the imperialist war. They want to be recruiting sergeants in the ranks of labor. The ousting of the Blum government and the creation of a National Union cabinet would leave them out in the cold. And so, with all the criminal irresponsibility for which they are noted, they propose to use the might of organizing French labor to further their aims, which are nothing more nor less than the aims of the Moscow foreign office.

Gift to Bourgeoisie

Meanwhile, Blum's popular front government has hastened to lay an important gift at the feet of the 200 families of France: the unanimous adoption of the law providing for the mobilization of nation and economy in war time.

French finance—capital can sleep quietly. It now has full power from the representatives of the working class for the legal establishment of a totalitarian dictatorship. However, it is not by any means satisfied with this. It considers that the time has come to put an end to the luxury of a popular front government, in order to gain a free hand both in internal and external matters.

The Radical Socialists, as well as the Socialists, would for their part be happy to be rid of the fetters of the People's Front and the alliance with Stalin. But neither of these two parties dares as yet to assume the responsibility for this step. For a moment it seemed that the Moscow trials might serve them as a pretext for breaking with their embarrassing Stalinist partners, in order to participate in Britain's deal with Germany at the expense of Russia. But Hitler's thrust at Austria frustrated these plans.

For months the Socialists and Radical Socialist tried to create a "counter-weight" against the Stalinists through the enlargement of the government toward the right. Their concessions to the reaction went so far as to release from prison all the leaders of the secret fascist organization, the Cagoulards. The Stalinist organ, *Humanité*, carried mild protests against this step. But for it there was no question here of a fight against fascism. A one-hour protest strike would have forced the Chautemps government to revoke this measure.

What interested and interests the Stalinist leaders, above all, is to frustrate maneuvers designed to eliminate their influence over French foreign policy. For this purpose they would even be ready to sit in one government with the right-wing parliamentary sponsors of the fascists.

Reaction Fears Workers

But all the efforts of the left wing for a national union government are in vain. The reaction insists on unconditional renunciation of the People's Front, that is, on a break with the Stalinists. The Senate, fortress of the right wing, does not let any occasion slip by to remind Blum of that, and has recently, as a political demonstration against the People's Front, partially refused to grant armament credits. The reaction, naturally, does not fear either the Stalinists or the People's Front. What it is really afraid of is the still unbroken strength of the working class, upon which the Stalinists lean for support.

In order to retain their position in the People's Front, the Stalinists play with the fire of the class struggle. Accustomed to dominate their party by decree, these bureaucrats think they can control the action of the working class at their own whim. But they are mistaken. The dissatisfaction of the masses with the results of the People's Front era is steadily growing.

Several weeks ago the convention of the Metal Workers of the North, representing 42 union bodies, adopted a resolution charging that "the government (that is, the People's Front government), in spite of its promises, has intentionally abolished the Matignon agreement" (reforms subsequent to the great strikes of June, 1936). Strikes extend



These were photos used by Mr. and Mrs. "Donald L. Robinson" to secure the passports with which they travelled to the Soviet Union. Did Garber make them?



Arrested Photographer A Stalinist Sympathizer

Ossip Garber, Held In Rubens Passport Fraud, Is Well-Known In C. P. Periphery

By JUNIUS

The first "break" in the Robinson-Rubens-G.P.U. case in several months came Monday night with the arrest in New York of Ossip Garber, a Fifth Avenue photographer. He is charged with being a member of a conspiratorial ring which aided in obtaining for Adolph Arnold Rubens, G.P.U. agent, the false American passports in the names of Mr. and Mrs. Donald L. Robinson on which Rubens and his wife entered Russia last fall. Garber's name first entered the case more than a month ago, when he was hailed before the Federal Grand Jury investigating the passport fraud. Several newspapers then indicated that he had been linked with passport photographs made for Rubens.

A Known Stalinist

Like almost every figure in the case, Garber is a known sympathizer of the Communist Party. Only last week he was heard telling newspaper reporters in a city room which occasionally buys photographs from him, that all critics of the Moscow trials are allies of "Trotskyite-Bukharinite - Gestapo - Japanese agents."

Arrest Confirms "Appeal"

Thus the first arrest on this side of the "water in connection with this case confirms the repeated statements made in the Appeal that the Robinson passport game was a Stalinist performance. Among known Stalinists involved, besides Garber, are Arthur Sharin, Helen Ravitch, Marshall Shaw (one-time hero of Corbett Lamont's "Friends of the Soviet Union"), and a number of residents at an East 17th Street address once used by the Robinson-Rubens couple. Rubens' former attorney is also a Stalinist.

Mrs. Rubens herself, of course, is a Stalinist. She is apparently still in Butyrki Prison in Moscow, having repudiated the offer

Anti-Labor Law Sought

For two months these leaders have been trying to carry through parliament a law which would place working class activity in a straightjacket. It is a question of a "modern labor statute," a law for "conciliation and arbitration." Such measures are not new. In the post-war period the reformists everywhere created similar laws, intended to insure the stability of the bourgeois regimes against the fighting actions of the working masses.

In the Germany of Bruening and Schleicher, the famous "Schlichtungsverfahren," that is, the arbitration of conflicts between workers and bosses, served to condemn the trade unions to impotence and the workers to defeats. The French Stalinists themselves admit openly that the aim of the proposed law is to organize "social peace." If at the present time the French bourgeoisie hesitates to accept this law, is it only because it does not want to entrust the People's Front with the arbitration.

On the other hand, the workers, for their part, demonstrate that they still know only one form of "social peace": through the tested method of the sit-down strike. Thirty thousand workers of the Parisian Citoyen auto plants and of the northern metal factories have begun to conquer, through their own strength, what their representatives in the government are incapable of attaining.

Stalinists For Sale

The Stalinists are again trying to use this wave of strikes as a proof to the bourgeoisie that only through their intermediation can social stability be reached

of the United States Government to aid her. Rubens, whose entire record establishes his connection with the G.P.U., is also still held.

Family's Mouth Shut

The New York Post, in reporting the Garber arrest, ventures the guess that the reason Mrs. Rubens repudiated aid from America was that she feared that would guarantee the death of her husband at the hands of the G.P.U. In a recent article in the *New Leader*, Herbert Solow disclosed that the family of Mrs. Rubens in Florida has received from her a secret message conveyed by the U.S. State Department, pleading with them not to intervene on her behalf. As a consequence, it is believed that the family instructed their attorney, a Mr. Troop of New York, to undertake no action. The State Department, moreover, is absolutely passive as far as the Moscow prisoners are concerned, and also refuses to make public the data it has gathered on the Robinson-Rubens-G.P.U. affair.

What the Stalin regime proposes to do with its prisoners, at least one of whom, Mrs. Rubens, is an American citizen, is not clear. The scheme of using them in one of the show-trials, a scheme which *Isvestia* and the *Daily Worker* indicated was about some months ago, was postponed. This was necessitated, apparently, by the publication of articles in this country (in the *New York Sun* and the *New Leader*, as well as in the *Appeal*) which exposed the nature of the frame-up plans and the G.P.U. connections of Rubens.

FUND FOR CHINA MOUNTS TO \$143

Sums received by the National Office during the past week have boosted the fund being raised by the Socialist Workers Party for the Fourth Internationalists in China to nearly \$150. The fund now stands as follows: Previously acknowledged \$117.31

Wm. P. K. Gates, Kansas 50
San Francisco Branch 3.15
Minneapolis Branch 10.00
Asjoria Branch 1.00
Newark Branch 2.10
East Side Branch, N.Y.C. 2.50
Rochester Branch 3.15
Toronto (Canada) 4.00

TOTAL \$143.71
Of the foregoing sum, \$115 has already been remitted to China.

Speed the collection, comrades! We must reach the \$200 mark as quickly as possible.

However, the days of the reformist services of appeasement are gone. Encouraged by the imminent fall of the Spanish popular front, the French fascists, just released from prison, are preparing their day of revenge. On the other hand, the French workers, appraising the merits of pacifist and democratic methods through the experiences of Spain and Austria, are passing over the heads of the leadership to direct struggle with the class enemy.

This is the great significance of the new strike waves: that they occur precisely at the moment when the People's Front, and the Stalinists in the first place, declare that "the external situation makes social peace more imperative than ever" (*L'Humanité*, March 2.) The French workers show that, even facing the war danger, they are not at all inclined to renounce the class struggle and disappear silently from the social scene.

French Technicians Denounce The Trials

Declaring that the Moscow frame-up trials of the Stalin regime would hinder the accomplishment of international trade union unity, the Executive Committee of the Federation du Nord of the French Technicians Union, affiliate of the General Confederation of Labor (C. G. T.) denounced the trials in a resolution made public on March 25.

"Our movement of technicians, 80,000 strong," the resolution said, "is participating in the struggle for the emancipation of the workers. The atmosphere of intellectual probity in which this struggle is being carried on can allow neither silence nor approval of the gross improbabilities which feature the Moscow trials."

LABOR ALONE CAN PREVENT SPAIN'S DOOM

(Continued from page 1)

But exactly here lies the central issue of the civil war: defeats will be transformed into victory by the heroism of the masses only if the masses are aroused and inspired by the realization that they are fighting for a better life for themselves.

It was that spirit which animated the bareheaded workers who smashed the first armed outbreaks in July, 1936, in Madrid and in Barcelona. But it is that spirit which has been progressively crushed and broken by the People's Front regime. Under that regime the workers have met with one deception after another. The high hopes of a complete revision of the rotten social order against which they had been unflinchingly fighting for six years were smashed, one after another. Out of the desperate struggle of the first days of the anti-Franco upsurge emerged not a workers' and peasants' regime but thanks to the Communist Party and the People's Front, a new edition of the same bourgeois regime which they wanted to destroy forever.

Jails Filled

And soon the jails began to fill with all who resisted this evolution and sought to continue the fight for a workers' Spain. And soon in dark streets and on highways agents of Moscow's G.P.U. threw the bullet-riddled bodies of workers' leaders, Nin, Berneri, and who knows how many hundreds—or thousands of others.

The brutally hounded Spanish section of the Fourth International, tirelessly carrying on its propaganda and agitational work despite the persecution and its own lack of resources, issued the following appeal to the workers at the celebration following the short-lived Teruel victory:

"We can assure and follow up the Teruel victory only by struggling against the bourgeoisie. Defend the collectivizations, which are threatened by the People's Front government! Freedom for the 15,000 imprisoned revolutionists! Legality and liberty for the press and for workers' organizations! Workers' committees to distribute bread and food! Freedom for revolutionary propaganda among the soldiers! Workers, spread these slogans in your demonstrations."

Meanwhile outside of Spain the "democratic" nations played with the heads of the Spanish masses like pawns across the chess-table, trying not to save "democracy" in Spain but to sell it as dearly as possible in return for a deal from the Fascist powers. Stalin kept Russian aid down to a minimum and in France the People's Front checked the instinctive surge of the French workers in support of their Spanish brothers. All over the world "solidarity" was reduced to futile "urging the government" to do this or that. In this country Roosevelt's government, the apple of Browder's eye, made carefully sure to see that no serious aid went to the "democratic" cause in Spain.

There Is Still Time

The workers' cause in Spain is in peril but it is not yet lost. A resolute turn toward the revolutionary policy urged by the Bolshevik-Leninists and the left-wings of the PCUM and the anarchists, the creation of a new revolutionary party which can mobilize the workers and peasants, can still turn the tide.

It is not yet too late! Great responsibility rests upon the workers of all countries but especially upon the workers of France who are in a direct position to proffer serious material aid to their embattled Spanish brothers.

SOVIET UNION NOTES

Purge Goes on—New Trial Of Red Army Generals Is In Prospect—Soviet Deputies Begin To Get The Axe

By JOHN G. WRIGHT

Stalin Intensifies Purge

After each of the previous trials, the blood purge was intensified. The same procedure is being followed as an aftermath of the most recent Moscow frame-up. Reports of executions all over Russia are again appearing in the press.

Several trials are in preparation. The most prominent names mentioned in this connection are: Antonov-Ovseyenko, Rudzutak, Mezhlauk, Bubnov, Krylenko, Kaminsky, Lubimov, Bogomolov, Yurenev, Davtyan, Yakubovich, Karsky, Asmus and Rosenberg.

Apart from Voroshilov, Budenny is the only well-known army leader who has not yet fallen into disgrace. Bluecher's name has not appeared in the press in recent weeks. Marshal Yegorov has been arrested, together with the head of his staff, General Zhukov.

So many prominent Red Army men have been seized by the G.P.U. that it is possible another trial involving only the military personnel will be staged. Such a trial—which would doubtless be held behind "closed doors"—would involve: Marshal Yegorov, Zhukov (head of Yegorov's staff), Gorbachev (member of the Military Council of Defense), Alksnis (head of the Air Force), Orlov (head of the Navy), Generals Dybenko, Belov, Rybalko and others.

The arrest of Marshal Yegorov is the first indication that Stalin's purge has already extended into the ranks of the deputies recently elected to the Supreme Council. Yegorov was a full-fledged deputy, and as such "immune" from arrest except by vote of the Presidium, as provided for by the Stalin "Constitution." (There has been considerable speculation as to the precise functions of the Presidium. Apparently, one of its most important duties is to provide a cover for Yeshov's handwork.) No such vote of the Presidium has been made public, although several deputies have already been arrested.

Sidelights On The Last Frame-Up

In the campaign conducted around previous trials, a prominent part was played by "resolutions" passed at "mass meetings" which were given prominent display. Characteristic of these resolutions in the past has been the invariable pledge: to "make good" the damage done by the wreckers, and to over-fulfill the plan. The tone of the resolutions revolving around the frame-up of Bukharin-Rykov et al has been strikingly different. No mention is made of improving the functioning of plants, collective farms, tractor stations, etc. Instead, the resolutions are filled with denunciations of "additional" acts of diversion, wrecking and so on, allegedly perpetrated by the "plotters," and to which they did not confess but of which they were nevertheless guilty. We cite a few instances from a single issue of *Pravda*:

"The enemies of the people also sought to wreck the locomotive and freight car repair plant at Tbilisi. They worsened the working conditions of the workers, disrupted the supply of materials to the plant, sought to arouse dissatisfaction among the workers." (*Pravda*, March 8.)

"The gang of bandits also operated in our factory. The bandits and wreckers caused a tie-up of capital investments, bought equipment for hundreds of thousands of rubles that was absolutely worthless and useless in the plant, hindered the expansion of the plant, sought to liquidate the large nail-works, broke down the boiler-works No. 2, left the factory without fuel and so on." (*Idem*. Resolution of the Krasnaya Etzna plant at Gorki.)

"The Trotskyite-Bukharinite bandits also operated in the Uglich district. They have caused great injury to our socialist economy. The vile enemies liquidated the collective farms Svoboda and Zuevo, deprived the collective farmers of land given them in perpetuity, left the cattle in the collective without feed, ploughed over fields and pasture-lands. In 1936 alone they destroyed 5,470 head of horned cattle, 11,616 pigs and sheep, 612 horses. They also wrecked the trade network, disrupted the building of schools in the village of Platunov, Orzine and elsewhere. It is impossible to enumerate the crimes of these scoundrels." (*Idem*. Resolution of a "Meeting of Workers, Collective Farmers, and Employees of the City of Uglich and Uglich District in the Yaroslavl Province.")

As testified to in the trial, Trotsky received a "subsidy" of 250,000 marks from Germany precisely during the years when German marks were so inflated as to be virtually worthless. They were sold in the streets of New York, among other things at the rate of 100,000 marks for 5 cents. Remember?

Vyshinsky On Zinoviev In 1925

Before he became prosecutor for Stalin, Vyshinsky wrote a book: *Sketches in the History of Communism*. It contains a chapter on the "Third International" with innumerable servile quotations from Zinoviev, Bukharin and other "spies, moral degenerates, swine, foxes, etc."

We cite from the book: "From the very first day of the war, the revolutionary section of the Marxists led by Lenin, Zinoviev and Rosa Luxemburg conducted an energetic campaign against the war, against the conciliationism of the Second International, and exposed all of the treachery of the leaders who had betrayed Marxism" (*Sketches in the History of Communism*, Vol. II, p. 336, Moscow 1925).

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