

LEAGUE SERVES TO CONSECRATE ETHIOPIAN RAPE

(Continued from page 1)

submit, with the tolerance of the League, to the arbitrariness of Polish aggression—will declare that the law of the League is always on the side of the mightier.

China Pleads In Vain

The representative of victimized China has already repeated his request for protection against Japanese aggression. His appeal will disappear noiselessly in the dusty archives of the League for the Protection of Anglo-French Imperialism.

The delegate of the legal government of Spain will again invoke the written law of the League in an attempt to save his country from foreign conquest. But in vain.

The Jews of Roumania and Austria will remind the Council of the stipulations for the protection of national minorities. Adjournment, as usual, will be the answer.

In the meantime, Mussolini, who is the sole beneficiary of this low comedy, has, with the British treaty in his pocket and a French treaty on its way, given a popular fiesta in Hitler's honor. The greater the misery under the fascist dictatorships, the more dazzling are the spectacles which they stage for the outside world.

Mussolini Wants Time

Hitler's visit has produced nothing new. The military alliance originally planned has not been realized. But Mussolini was circumspect enough to maintain the "axis." After his Austrian defeat he must gain time. As Britain's simple partner he would be no less helpless than as Hitler's simple ally. Only as the decisive weight in the balance of power between England, France and Germany can he hope to gain positions for Italy which would surpass by far her economic importance in the imperialist system.

In the midst of these changes, what has become of the foreign policy of the Soviet Union? After Russia's entry into the League of Nations in 1934, Litvinov was assigned the task of making all the crimes of imperialism palatable to the masses. The criminal policies of the Soviet and Comintern bureaucracy facilitated by Mussolini's Abyssinian adventure, aided "non-intervention" in Spain, and assisted the Japanese invasion of China.

Now that Stalin has disarmed the international proletariat for the sake of his dealing with the imperialists, Halifax knocks the diplomatic saber out of his hand. The increasing elimination of the League from any active role in international politics, and its replacement by bilateral agreements in the diplomatic style of Hitler, is to a great extent directed against the Soviet Union. Litvinov's speeches in the Council are the swan song of the Stalinist foreign policy of collective security. They may prove to be his own swan song as well.

Workers Are Ready

Despite Stalin and all his crimes, the overwhelming majority of the exploited masses of the world are still ready to defend the first workers' state. There is no dearth of possibilities for its defense. There is a dearth only of correct policies for exploiting them.

Over all the fascist countries hangs the pall of a war economy, strained to the utmost. In Japan one political crisis follows another. The Abyssinian war brought Italy to the verge of revolution. France, Belgium, and even present-day Spain contain tremendous revolutionary possibilities. In China Chiang Kai-shek maintains himself only thanks to Stalin's political assistance. In Central and Eastern Europe dozens of little nations live in social and economic decay, under the constant threat of national enslavement.

What tremendous objective possibilities for the development of an audacious policy of international revolution! Today, perhaps more than ever before, the Soviet Union could act as the liberator and protector, not only of the colonial but also of the small European nations, and gather around herself a genuine League of Nations of the oppressed.

Stalinist "Audacity"

But the Soviet bureaucracy displays "audacity" only in the persecution of revolutionists. Through its cowardly retreat before world imperialism it throws the first proletarian revolution in history into unspeakable dangers, and calls forth the audacity of the imperialists.

The defense of the Soviet Union through proletarian revolution and the liberation of the oppressed

German Centrists Give Bleak Conference Report

London Bureau, Uniting Miscellaneous European Groups, Fails To Make Headway

PARIS.—The April number of the Neue Front, the organ of the S.A.P. (Socialist Labor Party of Germany) contains an extraordinarily pessimistic report of the last conference of the London Bureau of the so-called "independent" parties (British Independent Labor Party, Swedish Socialist Party, Spanish P.O.U.M., etc.). As is already well-known, the S.A.P. signed a declaration calling for a Fourth International together with the Trotskyist organizations in the fall of 1933.

Shortly afterward, however, they turned against our alleged "sectarianism" and took up international collaboration with parties like the Norwegian Labor Party and similar "mass" parties as models of revolutionary realism and genuine connections with the masses. They said at that time that while we were repelling the masses by our sectarianism, the S.A.P. would win them by means of wise and patient tactics.

Masses Absent

Today, however, the S.A.P. complains that not a single representative of a truly mass organization was present at the conference. The Norwegian Labor Party, the only party in the London Bureau worthy of the name, has just joined the Second International without any appreciable opposition within its own ranks. The P.O.U.M., which appeared to be developing into a mass party, but was encouraged by the S.A.P. and the London Bureau to take an opportunist path, has in the meantime been crushed by events. It is becoming ever more clear that in any case the London Bureau is an entirely useless instrument for winning the masses.

The skeptical report of the Neue Front on the conference of its own International acquires real meaning only when one knows that the S.A.P. itself already stands with one foot, or more correctly, with a foot and a half, outside of the London Bureau.

To Follow N.L.P.

Since the S.A.P. did not succeed in winning the Norwegian Labor Party for the Fourth International, it is now making ready to follow it into the Second International. It is interesting to note what Haakon Meyer, the former representative of the N.L.P. in the London Bureau and a particular friend of the S.A.P., writes about the latest

developments in the latter party in the last number of the theoretical organ of his own party.

Now that the S.A.P. leaders have been sobered up not only by their experiences in the London Bureau but also in the German "People's Front," they are considering either building a new party together with Max Braun, Victor Schiff, Breitscheid and other social democrats or else, a fraction within the old social democracy. "The international question constitutes no stumbling block for the S.A.P.," says Meyer, who ought to know. "It knows that a broader realignment of groups will pose the question whether this realignment should take place within the folds of the Socialist and Labor (Second) International and it will not oppose such an idea."

New Allies

The new allies of the S.A.P.—Messrs. Max Braun, the hero of the Saar plebiscite, Breitscheid and their colleagues—differ from the old party only in the considerably greater degree of their corruption. Herr Braun published a paper with means furnished by the French government and one of his pet ideas is incorporating a volunteer corps of German emigrants, in the army of French imperialism. As can be seen, the S.A.P., in its endeavor to win the masses, is trading on new paths.

One further little irony offered us by history is the fact that at the very moment when the leaders of the S.A.P.—Walcher and Froelich—are preparing to leave the London Bureau, their former factional colleagues, Brandler and Thalheimer, are making their entry into it. And making this entry by defending the same position that Walcher took against us in 1933. This position, reduced to its shortest formula, reads as follows: "To be sure, the Trotskyists are right in many things, and we shall make use of their arguments insofar as it is of service to our brand of political merchandise, but naturally, Trotsky is a hopeless sectarian; it is too soon to found a new International—it is necessary to be wary of excessive demands, and to collaborate with all independent tendencies."

Brandler and Thalheimer may rest assured that they will have no more luck with their brand of anti-Trotskyism than did Walcher and Froelich. They need but study the development of the latter to read their own horoscope.

MAX EASTMAN SUES THE DAILY WORKER

NEW YORK—Max Eastman, well-known radical author and lecturer, this week filed a \$250,000 libel suit against the Daily Worker, organ of the Communist Party of America, and three individuals, including Earl Browder, general secretary of the party.

Last March, basing itself on evidence reportedly given in the frame-up trial in Moscow of Bukharin, Rykov and 18 other Soviet leaders, the Daily Worker described Eastman as a "spy for the British government," an "agent of the German and Japanese secret services," a "notorious person," a "bandit and notorious swindler," etc., etc.

Eastman told the press: "Browder is trying to assassinate my character only because he cannot assassinate me. I want to discuss these lies with Earl Browder in a court of justice where people are tried before and not after they are condemned."

Pioneer Frivolities Music Hall Revue

DANCING • REFRESHMENTS With a large cast including such eminent actors as: MAX EASTMAN, EUGENE LYONS, SIDNEY HOOK, JAMES RORTY, MAX SHACHTMAN, MAURICE SPECTOR, etc., etc.—supported by a chorus of dazzling diversionists.

SPECIAL FEATURES A Political Fashion Show (With hotcha models!!!!)

Elections to the Order of the Enemies of Mankind See the mad dogs, spies and diversionists in person Browder Toes the Line Yesterday and Today

Come To Irving Plaza WEDNESDAY, MAY 18th at 9 P. M. to dance, drink and laugh with us Music Hall Tables seat 10, 12 and 14 persons Tickets: \$1.00—On Sale at: Pioneer Publishers, 100 Fifth Avenue; Labor Bookshop, 28 East 12th Street. For Benefit of Pioneer Publication Fund

Cowley Labored

-And He Brought Forth Some Mice

In a previous issue we commented on the circular letter being sent out to the Stalinist sucker list by Messrs. Malcolm Cowley, Marc Blitzstein and other pseudonyms for E. R. Browder for signatures to a public statement calculated to whitewash Stalin, the G. P. U. and their Moscow frame-ups in the name of Peace, Justice, Democracy and Liberty.

The hook has netted some fish, not very big ones, it is true, but fish nevertheless. The Daily Worker of April 28 prints on its obscure fourth page the list of those who bit. Space limitations alone prevent us from rescuing their names from oblivion by printing them all; from obloquy, nothing can rescue them. For, those who are not Stalinist party members and hence under compulsion to put their names to whatever piece of infamy and self-debasement is shoved under their pens—and half the signers fall into this category—have only besmirched and dishonored themselves by signing a statement which includes the sentence: "The link between Hitler and the Trotsky-Bukharin camp is plain for us to see."

Is it really so plain to see, Messrs. and Mesdames Signers? And pray, where do you see it? In the official records of the trials? In the official record of Trotsky's counter-argument before the Dewey Commission of Inquiry? But surely you would not—at the very least, nine-tenths of you would not have the effrontery to ask us to believe that you even thumbed through the pages of those records, much less read them with sufficient care to warrant a declaration on what is and what is not "plain" to see!

"Educators" — "artists" — "professors" — "Hollywood stars" and "Broadway figures"! What a tidy collection the Stalinists made! Half the signatories are saved by their own obscurity, for even a fair questioning of experts in the field fails to reveal who they are. As for others—again, apart from the known Stalinist party members—we are of course gravely impressed and even a bit shaken by such authoritative voices on the Moscow

Trials and the history of the Russian Revolution, as the eminent Hollywood warriors for human liberty: Melvin Levy, Samuel Ornitz and even Miss Dorothy Parker, the Martini Stalinist whose weight in these questions is established by her well-known belief that Brest-Litovsk is the Lithuanian May West.

No less devastating is the judgment of such signers as Mr. Guy Endore, who believes in witches and consequently knows a witch-trial when he sees one; moreover, his famous manuscript, "Autobiography of an Idiot," assuredly entitles him to a voice in such matters. Signers like ex-General Victor A. Yakhontoff, who is selected by God and nature to sit in judgment upon the organizer of the Red Army by virtue of the fact that he was for years General in the Army of His Imperial Majesty, Nikolay II, Czar of All the Russias, later Military Attache of the Czarist Embassy at Tokyo, and still later attached to the General Staff of the Armies of Alexander Kerensky, the originator of the accusation that Trotsky (and Lenin) was a German spy. Signers like Charles Recht, Bachelor of Laws, and cynical stipendiary of the G. P. U., who knows better. Signers like Dashiell Hammett, who knows a good detective story when he writes one and apparently sees no serious rival in mystery-story writers and frame-up artists like Yezhov and Co. Signers like Paul Peters, who is New Masses and Labor Defender Bolshevik under one name, and a not poorly paid editor of "Life" (which the "Daily Worker" calls "fascist") under another.

But enough is enough, for at this point nausea triumphs over all. One need only compare this jolly crew with the list of the members of the Trotsky Defense Committee and the personnel of the Commission of Inquiry, to see on which side stand the serious and reputable elements in American intellectual life. The latter asked for but one thing: that the truth be objectively investigated. The Stalinist suckers airily put their name to a murderous lie. A gulf separates the two.

'Enemies of Man' Will Cavort At Pioneer Shindig

NEW YORK—Pioneer Publishers are putting off all their cares and worries for one evening—the evening of May 18—when they invite all their friends—creditors, too!—to celebrate with them at Irving Plaza.

Having rounded out seven years of service to the revolutionary movement (believe us, a good enough reason for celebrating), Pioneer has been unusually fortunate in getting the outstanding wits and satirists among the radical intelligentsia to collaborate in a show which will be remembered as the gayest in the annals of the radical movement.

Irving Plaza will be especially decorated for the evening. Guests will be seated at Music Hall tables. The prettiest waitresses in town will serve drinks and refreshments. An eight-piece popular swing-band will provide the music for dancing.

The piece de resistance—and we don't mean maybe—will be the MUSIC HALL REVUE, in which such luminaries as Max Eastman, Eugene Lyons, James Rorty, Max Shachtman and Sidney Hook, etc., etc. will give a practical demonstration in the Enjoyment of Laughter. Ben Lieberman has composed original scores for the songs. Pioneer predicts that the songs, which will later be available for use throughout the country, will be "sensational" hits.

Tickets for the affair are \$1.00. They can be obtained at Pioneer Publishers, 100 Fifth Avenue, or at the Labor Bookshop, 28 E. 12 Street.

Hague's Rule Still Awaits Real Challenge

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skins by proceeding to Jersey City, despite Marcantonio's warnings. "It was a damn thing, getting us all worked up over this and then talking us out of it," Bernard was reported to have declared in irritation. "In certain respects we've made fools of ourselves," O'Connell declared, as they departed for Washington.

He said that he and his partner were only beating "a strategic retreat in preparation for a new offensive when the organization of the masses has been brought

about." Marcantonio found support, however, from Chief Harry Walsh of the Jersey City police, who remarked that "it's just as well they're not coming. It would have been murder if they had."

Instead of "organizing the masses," Marcantonio stated that "we would call upon President Roosevelt to intervene to restore law and order in a lawless city." Despite numerous appeals in the past months, the President has not yet shown any more inclination to proceed against his fellow Democrat Hague than has Marcantonio himself.

Thanks to the failure of the Stalinist leadership and their liberal Congressmen to prepare in any adequate way to meet the mobilization of Hague's gang by rallying the workers of Jersey City in a counter-demonstration against them, they had no forces at their disposal and were compelled to capitulate in a cowardly manner before the threats of Hague's thugs. To avoid a repetition of this fiasco in the future, it is imperative that the organized workers of New Jersey take the initiative in creating a movement of self-defense against Hague's henchmen. The organized workers in the C.I.O. constitute the only force capable of mobilizing the masses and generating a movement powerful enough to undermine Hague, dislodge him from power, and restore the elementary rights of free speech and public assembly to Jersey City.

Motivates Back-Down "However, as president of the I.L.D., I cannot permit innocent people to face certain bloodshed, violence, and perhaps death at the hands of a mob incited to do violence by Mayor Hague through his henchmen.

"We are interested in preserving law and order against lawlessness, in defending the democratic and civil rights of the American people. The issue is not one of physical courage, for that issue is well settled against Hague's mob.... They act brave only when the odds are 1,000 to 1."

The two congressmen spoke far more militantly than their Stalinist saviors. They were evidently willing to risk their

Mass Meeting on Spain

Commemorate the Barcelona uprising of May, 1937

SPEAKERS: HARRY MILTON Participant in the Barcelona events MAX SHACHTMAN Editor of the Socialist Appeal 8:00 p. m., SUNDAY, MAY 15 Germania Hall, (Third Ave. at 16th St.) Auspices: Socialist Workers Party, New York.

200 French Communists Hear Trials Denounced

Rappoport, Ex-Party Leader, Denounces Stalin's Totalitarianism At Paris Gathering

NEW YORK.—The Jewish Daily Forward of April 27 reports an unannounced and unadvertised meeting of Communist Party members held in Paris two weeks ago to protest against the counter-revolutionary terror of the Stalin regime.

Most of the 200 attending the meeting had already tendered their resignation from the C.P., according to the report. The main speaker was Charles Rappoport, a leading theoretician in the French Marxist movement and Paris correspondent of Isvestia (official Soviet organ in Moscow) up to the time of his resignation from the Communist Party of France four weeks ago. Another speaker was F. Shragar, until recently the editor of the Jewish language paper of the C.P., Neie Presse.

Marxism Vs Stalinism

Forward quotes Rappoport, according to the Paris daily Haint, as follows:

"It is not simply a matter of my activity or of the activity of others. It is a matter of rehabilitating the meaning of socialism. Marxism is a science; science is criticism, not faith. Karl Marx always combated the cult of personalities against the Utopians who used to link up the victory of socialism with the strength of various personalities. In the political field socialism was a continuation of democracy. Without freedom of thought socialism is impossible. This is one of the essentials of socialism.

"But what do we see in the Communist Party today? Everything is turned upside down. The party is ruled by the most abominable cult of personalities, it studies neither life nor society, but the whims of Stalin. It has almost reached the point where a Communist is prohibited from reading Marx. It is enough, there, to read only Stalin, just as the Catholic church once prohibited the reading of the Evangelists and ordered only Papal encyclicals to be read."

Rappoport dwelt for some time on the conditions in the C.P. when the slogan "France for the French" was adopted. Many were expelled for opposing this slogan, he said. Rappoport himself had pleaded with the leadership against its adoption. He had pointed out that this chauvinistic slogan was originally launched and was still being propagated by the well-

known French anti-Semite, Drumont.

Totalitarian Cruelty

"In the ancient Byzantine empire," he continued, "the emperor gouged out the eyes of his opponents; in Turkey, the Sultan used to kill off his brothers. Stalin is far more cruel than that; he also robs the victims of his murders of their very honor."

With great emotion, the old theoretician recounted his experience in conducting a campaign to save Christian Rakovsky from execution at the hands of the Rumanian government before the war. "Now Rakovsky is accused of being an agent of the British Intelligence Service," he exclaimed in a bitter cry.

"People ask," he went on, "why the accused old Bolsheviks confessed. But how many hundreds did not confess and nevertheless were shot without a trial? To come into court in Russia one must be a celebrity."

Rappoport then told how the Radical Senator DeMonzie, a "Friend of the Soviet Union," related to him stories of pleas he had received to intervene for Rakovsky's daughter, who has been arrested in Russia. DeMonzie advised those who made the pleas to write to Romain Rolland, the famous French author. But Romain Rolland replied: "I have written some twenty letters and received no answer."

This reply by Romain Rappoport said he had seen with his own eyes.

He concluded with the following words:

Fastens Responsibility

"Responsible for the bad name Russia is getting are those who are shooting revolutionists; responsible are those who have made a prison out of Russia. They are dragging in the mud the face of the Russian Revolution. This must not be allowed. We must not remain silent."

Shragar, the second speaker, told of the dual life led by C.P. members, who have to say one thing in public and think something else in private, in order not to be denounced as "Trotskyists" or spies. Others who took part in the discussion stressed the plight of the Jewish Communists in Russia. According to one of the participants, the works of Aaron Lieberman, the pioneer Jewish Socialist writer of Russia, have been proscribed by the government.

Franc Devaluation Hits French Workers' Standard of Living

(Continued from page 1)

ively introduced this method of expropriation of the proletariat and petty bourgeois population, belongs to none other than Leon Blum, leader of the French Socialist Party (S.F.I.O.). After

the workers had won wage increases of 25 per cent in the strike movement of June, 1936, the Blum government immediately invalidated them by diminishing the purchasing power of the franc to almost the same degree. Thus Daladier can claim that he is preserving faithfully the traditions of the People's Front.

Big Business Seeks Trade Union Curbs

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workers organized into industrial unions insist on fighting for their rights; and this, from Knudsen's point of view, is the height of irresponsibility. If things continue in that way, Knudsen might have to take a wage cut down to a quarter of a million.

Once again the division in the ranks of labor was helping the bosses. Knudsen, who was of course attacking unionism in general, was able to pretend that he was attacking only one form of unionism—industrial unionism, and was thus making a play for A. F. of L. support or at least sympathy. The continuance of the A. F. of L.-C. I. O. split at every step is weakening the strength of the workers.

Wants Strikes Outlawed

Knudsen was aiming at even bigger game. His stress on "irresponsibility" referred to the strikes, sit-downs, etc. in the Michigan area which have been provoked by the outrageous violations of the union contract by General Motors and its rank discrimination against active unionists. The Chamber of Commerce, by agitating against union "irresponsibility" and by calling for the amendment of the Labor Relations Act to make unions "responsible," is seeking a formula whereby, under the cover of contracts ambiguously drawn up and interpreted by the courts uniformly in the bosses' favor, strikes will be legally prohibited.

Knudsen has no doubt observed how "responsible" labor is in living up to its contracts in Germany and Italy.

The government, which could not find the necessary armament credits on the money market, has through devaluation made it possible to "create" money through printing new banknotes. On the other hand, the employers breathe more easily, since the cheapened cost of labor permits them again to work "profitably."

But they are not yet satisfied. Pointing to the 60-hour week in Germany, they insist that the government formally abolish the 40-hour week, which even now is frequently violated, especially in the war industry, where the government itself is the chief employer.

The Daladier cabinet, which, through the voluntary vote of confidence of the workers' parties has acquired the aspect of a National Union government, is working might and main to carry through finance capital's program of offense against the working class. It remains to be seen how lasting is the strength of the workers' bureaucracy in restraining the proletariat from a counter-offensive against the Daladier program.

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