

# Bob Minor And The Times A Revealing Commentary

We have always contended that under the slogan of "collective security," one gang of imperialists is preparing to justify its war against another gang of imperialists.

The Communist Party, most ardent advocate of the slogan, has contended that only by enforcing it can war be averted, peace maintained and the "fascist powers" kept in check. It has denounced us violently for declaring that "collective security," and "joint action of the democracies," are fancy terms for war. Not at all, said the Stalinists, for the joint economic pressure of the "democracies" will be enough to stop the "fascist aggressors" without resorting to war.

### That "Frank Commercial Interest"

In commenting in our last issue on the sensational editorial in the *New York Times* of June 15, we emphasized the frank statement by this outstanding organ of American finance capital that its concept of "joint action of the democracies" meant an advance pledge to hurl the American masses into the coming war. With cynical candor, the *Times* acknowledged that "we are not ashamed of a frank commercial interest in desiring the continuation of the Open Door" (in China).

A week later, Robert Minor, in the *Daily Worker* of June 23, covered a third of a page with delirious praise for the *Times* editorial. Just as cool as ice he quotes the *Times*—"We shall be fully prepared, if war on a large scale envelops Europe, to choose the side of the democracies"—and has the brass to comment that "The *Times* editorial is an expression of a tremendous advance that has already been made in the turning of the American nation, as a nation, to a policy of peace."

### Stalinists Favor Imperialist War

The commentary is revealing, more so than was perhaps intended by its author, who with his colleagues, referred up to yesterday to the *New York Times* as the "Tory organ." Now we know, by their own admission, what the Stalinists mean by "a policy of peace." In the language of the *Times*, extolled by Minor, they mean: "We shall be fully prepared, if war on a large scale envelops Europe, to choose the side of the democracies."

"Collective security" is a pledge to fight in the next imperialist war on the side of one gang of robbers. The Stalinists are merely recruiting agents for that war.

# Progressive Painters Force A Close Election

(Continued from page 1)

some it seemed like a choice between Stalinist bureaucrats and board bureaucrats, and since the former appeared to be the underdogs in the case, a number of painters voted for them as an expression of protest.

In spite of this direct aid of the reactionary board—whether prearranged or not—the Stalinists just managed to squeeze through. Their victory remains a straight machine victory. The progressives, in spite of the smokescreen provided by the board and without any of the material advantages at its disposal that the machine naturally has, piled up more than 3,000 votes on their program.

That program, elaborated and expanded, is bound to increase the strength of the progressives in the future.

The secret ballot, the machine rotation system for the dispensation of jobs coming in through the union, the election of all paid officials, the setting up of a genuine housing program to clear the slums and provide the unemployed union painters with work—these progressive demands struck a tremendous echo of approval among the painters that voted last Saturday. If, within the short six weeks the progressives worked out this program and began to organize around it, it could rally 3,000 painters then this means that persistent orga-

nization and patient agitation for such a program can assure the progressives of victory in the days to come.

### The Fight Goes On

In the locals, in the progressive opposition clubs, on every issue that confronts the union in the near future—the progressives will have to continue to draw the membership around their program. In developing and spreading it, they will have to make clear to every member that they have nothing in common with the reactionary general executive board or any of its supporters in New York.

The New York painters have proved by this election that, although they are fed up with Stalinism, they do not want any return to old union methods—the methods of the board. What they will rally to, what they will endorse and support, is a progressive group with a militant program and a clean banner. They will not only rally to such a militant, progressive banner but will strive for its success. It is up to the progressives not to disappoint their hopes. It is up to the progressives to build for the future, to build on the firm foundations of program and policy. The election results are only an indication of the victory to come. The program is an assurance of it.

# July New International Is Finest Issue Yet Published

The July issue of *The New International* is now on sale. With its variety and quality of articles, this issue is the best-remembered so far published. In addition, new and important features have been added. Dwight MacDonald, formerly of *Fortune* magazine and now of the *Partisan Review*, begins a new monthly feature, the "column about columns" entitled "They, The People," certain to be of great interest.

A syndicalist militant gives a graphic eye-witness account of the treacherous role of the Popular Front in the struggle against the Fascists in Spain in a timely and significant article, "The Betrayal in Spain." Leon Trotsky discusses tactics in the struggle against imperial-

ist war in his article, "Learn To Think," and Max Shaachtman reviews the recent convention of the successors to the Daughters of the American Revolution—the Communist Party.

The intellectuals and fascism is a subject dealt with in James Burnham's article, "Fascism's Dress Clothes." The archives section this month is of exceptional interest, with a reprint of a speech of L. D. Trotsky on the question of the united front and the trade unions.

The subscription rate is \$2.00 per year and single copies are 20 cents. For copies and information concerning the magazine, address *The New International*, 116 University Place, New York City.

# Cleveland Workless In A Desperate Plight

CLEVELAND.—Food distribution centers and relief offices in this city were crowded again by desperate women and children when relief was cut off for the second time in a few weeks, due to an exhaustion of funds.

While the unemployed turned their eyes in vain toward the State Legislature, where a miserly emergency appropriation has been tied up by a challenge of its legality, the City Relief Commissioner declared his belief that "we are coming closer and closer to a show-down."

Although the Legislature has been in mock "special session" for upwards of five weeks for the sole purpose of meeting the relief crisis, only a \$1,500,000 "stop-gap" measure has thus far been passed, and not a penny of that sum has yet been released.

The state-wide crisis has arisen as a result of the Legislature's failure to enact a program at the beginning of the year. In consequence of this "oversight," Cleveland's relief funds were exhausted on April 30, when the last regular two-week food orders were mailed.

# Akron Labor Defense Hit By Stalinist

(Continued from page 2)

get the lessons of the Goodyear strikes; and substitute class collaboration for the building of strong, progressive unions.

Fearful of alienating the labor movement, Keller is forced to praise some of the actions during the strike, namely the radio publicity, the frequent strategy board meetings and the calling of a special Goodyear meeting.

These actions, he calls "non-Trotskyite" policies when, as a matter of fact, these policies were adopted unanimously by the Defense Committee, which Keller claims was dominated by the "Trotskyites."

### Record of Militants

After declaring the Trotskyites were responsible for all actions leading to the settlement, and thereby confessing the weaknesses of the Stalinists, Keller tries to save face by claiming the Trotskyites "were badly whipped."

Unfortunately for Keller's position, Akron militants know that the so-called Trotskyites pressed hard for A.F.L.-C.I.O. unity for a favorable settlement of the strike; and that they were extremely active in helping the Akron labor movement to achieve these progressive aims.

It is highly significant that the Keller article has not yet been distributed in Akron, because the C.P. fears that the openly reactionary policies expressed in the *Midwest Daily Record* would further expose them.

Meanwhile, the Akron labor movement is warned and prepared against further attacks on its militancy under the guise of attacks on "Trotskyism."

# Coast Federation Is Being Primed For Blacklegging

(Continued from page 1)

of the C.I.O. and the I.L.W.U. The Federation has been split and captured only in order to dismantle it completely.

Meanwhile, the voting which has occurred to date in the S.U.P. indicates an overwhelming sentiment among the sailors for affiliation to the A.F. of L. Out of 3,038 votes thus far cast, 2,087 are for affiliation, 913 against, and 33 void. The voting procedure has been strikingly democratic. The voting period was extended from four to six weeks to enable ships' crews to cast their ballots.

The returns are impressive, considering the fact that the bulk of the S.U.P.'s 8,000 membership is at sea. They indicate that the sailors are determined to fight in the September 30 show-down, and that they are ready to unite with the teamsters, longshoremen and other maritime unions on a militant program to defend the closed shop, union conditions and their stand against all forms of government control.

# Virginia Workers Vote Strike To Force Pact

ETTRICK, Va.—A six-months' controversy between the American Hardware Company and the Luggage Workers Union is near a climax as workers laid plans for a strike to force a contract settlement, pending since last December when the original pact expired.

Power to call out the 1,200 workers in the factory was voted to the union's executive committee some time ago and strike sentiment is growing rapidly as the company refuses to concede the demands of the union. The luggage workers constitute the largest organized group in this area, only recently touched by labor's organizational drive.

At the insistence of Murray Baron, international representative of the union, a Federal labor conciliator is due to arrive and attempt to avert the strike by participation in parleys between the company and the union. Local union spokesmen, however, stated that plans for the strike

will be carried out despite Federal intervention.

### Optical Men Organize

Another union, organized in recent months, is the Optical Workers Union, which this week is voting under supervision of the National Labor Relations Board to determine the collective bargaining agency for the workers of the Titmus Optical Company. Workers of the production and shipping department will participate in the balloting.

The company has carried on a bitter campaign against the workers and numerous men have been discharged for union activity. A recent investigation by an agent of the N.L.R.B. resulted in the investigator recommending to the board that the company be compelled to reinstate four union members and that the company be instructed to desist from anti-union activities. The N.L.R.B. has not yet acted on the investigator's report.

# Drive For Fund To Aid Revolutionists Gathers Momentum In Country

The campaign of the American Fund for Political Prisoners and Refugees is getting under way fast in many parts of the country. Following New York, local committees are being set up in Philadelphia and Newark. Friends in Detroit are planning to hold a meeting to organize activities in the auto area. Other cities have written for information before launching their local campaign.

Since its formation two weeks ago, several new cases requiring assistance have come to its attention, the committee of the American Fund reports.

### The Need Is Urgent

Several Austrian revolutionists hiding from the Nazi persecutors in that country require money to enable them to go to other lands. One Austrian revolutionist who was freed from jail by the Schusnigg amnesty before the Nazi occupation of Austria, is living

under difficulties in another country. This comrade is suffering from a serious lung disease. Funds are required both to give him medical care and enable him to travel to another country.

A well-known Polish revolutionist, formerly a member of the Executive Committee of the Communist International, expelled from Poland and several other countries for revolutionary activity, and now living in Europe illegally with his wife and baby, has written asking for aid.

A folder giving detailed information on the activities of the American Fund and describing what can be done with each dollar you are able to give, was being prepared this week. Copies can be obtained from the office of the American Fund for Political Prisoners and Refugees, Room 1609, 100 Fifth Avenue, New York City.

- The Most Persecuted People In Europe
- The Revolutionary Refugees from Fascism
- Appeal To you For Aid

The American Fund for Political Prisoners and Refugees has been organized to assist the revolutionary refugees from fascist countries who are barred from citizenship and denied the right to work by the "democratic" countries of Europe.

Their main hope now rests with their friends and sympathizers in the United States. We must come to their rescue. Your contribution will lighten the load of these fighters for socialism and give them the material aid and moral support to carry on. Please respond quickly and generously.

George Novack, Secretary, American Fund for Political Prisoners and Refugees, 100 Fifth Ave., N. Y. C.

I am enclosing ..... to help with your work.

Name .....  
Address .....

# ON GUARD AGAINST SPY SCARES!

AN EDITORIAL

The entire jingo press, from the *Daily Worker* and Hearst at the yellowest extreme to the liberal and isolationist sheets at the other, have snatched up the Big Spy Scare like a pack of snarling, starving hounds at their first whiff of fresh blood.

The meaning of this spy scare stands out on its face. It is so gross that even the sober bourgeois press has had to admit it.

The crimes charged are of infinite triviality, from any point of view, including the Army's and Navy's. Only four of the nineteen indicted are in this country; the rest are all in Germany and can be called neither as defendants nor as witnesses; they can be neither questioned nor examined. As the *Times* pointed out, inclusion of the fifteen non-residents shows that the indictment is intended not as a criminal prosecution, but "as a moral indictment of the German nation."

The indictment, that is to say, is a

major step in the lifting up of a war psychosis.

But much more ominously, hard on the heels of the indictment have come howls for deportation of aliens, huge funds for the intelligence services, campaigns against "subversive elements." And the chief war-monger, Roosevelt, joins the pack with a cry for more millions and more "vigilance" in the search for "enemies within."

Experience teaches. The full brunt of these funds and campaigns and searches will be borne, not by the foreign agents, but by the militant workers and revolutionists who oppose the war plans of American imperialism.

On guard, then! Eyes fixed on the main enemy: not the small handful of adventurers in the pay of foreign powers, but "our own" imperialism, "our own" bourgeoisie, which uses spies and spy scares as it uses every other device, to secure its own power and privilege and to strengthen its yoke on the backs of the masses.

# Russian-Speaking Comrades Form Club

NEW YORK—Plans for the formation of a club to be known as the "Friends of the Bulletin of the Opposition (Bolshevik - Leninists)" were laid by a group of Russian-speaking comrades and sympathizers meeting here last Tuesday.

Members of the club will participate in cultural and social activities and will receive information and correspondence from Oppositionists living in Europe. The group is expected to be organized on a national scale and clubs are being formed now in Chicago and California.

The first activity of the New York group will be to arrange a lecture in Russian, to be followed by a "vechinka." Announcement of the date will be made later.

All Russian-speaking persons interested in such a club, both comrades and sympathizers, are urged to communicate with Rae Spiegel, 5 Washington Square North, N. Y. C.

# S.P. ADVANCES PHONY U.A.W. PEACE PLAN

(Continued from page 1)

the verdict. The fact is that Martin has made no effort to convince the membership of the justice of his position or to expose the heinous role of the Stalinists where it would really count—in the local union meetings!

### Split Menaces Union

Unless Martin veers in his course immediately, the danger of split immediately after the trial is a menacing possibility. Against this danger Martin will have no other course than further autocratic actions. Every step in this direction will drive him deeper and deeper into rule by fiat alone, until he reaches the realm of John L. Lewis, where lifting charters and suspending whole batches of members is no more important than flicking a fly from one's arm. This is the road to disaster.

The Stalinists cannot be fought with the weapons of bureaucracy. Indeed, the very idea of using a bureaucratic stick on the worst proponents of bureaucratic rule—the Communist party and its stooges—is so ridiculous and stupid as to make no sense whatever. But if Martin persists in his present course, there will be no other alternative but this impossible position. At that moment, he will have to reckon on the opposition of every progressive worker and progressive group in the union. From that time on, he himself leaves the camp of progressive unionism.

Such a solution of the factional fight is both wrong and unnecessary. The "Peace Group," tied to the apron strings of the Stalinists, talks about safeguarding the democratic rights of the rank-and-file. This is the sheerest hypocrisy, as we have explained in article after article.

The Stalinists are vulnerable in a hundred spots. They come into this fight with dirty hands. But the membership is ignorant of the truth. They must be told the whole story. There is no other way. When this is done, the tide in the union will turn. The record of Stalinist activities—of the violation of the 20-point program—stinks to high heaven.

# Soviet Economy Lags As Purge Intensified

## Denny Succeeds Duranty As Cover-Up Man For Stalin; But Facts Show Bureaucracy Is Digging Grave Of Workers' Power

By JOHN G. WRIGHT

At the beginning of May we wrote that "judging from the past procedure, it can be stated with virtual certainty that the present wave of arrests will reach its crest early in June, in the days immediately preceding the elections, and that shortly after the elections the next trials will be staged." (*Socialist Appeal*, May 7, 1938.)

The first part of this forecast has been completely confirmed by recent dispatches from Moscow. Kossior and Chubar, two of Molotov's deputies and yesterday pillars of Stalinism, have been "missing" for weeks. The secretaries of party organizations in the Ukraine, Kazakhstan, Kirghizia, and Bashkiria have been removed.

### Sukhomlin Out

Sukhomlin, former member of the Ukrainian Political Bureau, has been removed from his post as vice-chairman of the Ukrainian Council of People's Commissars. Sukhomlin's downfall leaves only one member still remaining of the 13 who composed the Ukrainian Political Bureau at the beginning of the latest purge.

The purge has been extended to lower officials in Biro-Bidjan. Harold Denny, in reporting the latest purge in the Ukraine, cites the arrest of 10 important party officials and comments as follows: "The fact that confessions have been obtained indicates a trial will be held or that a secret one has been held." (*N. Y. Times*, June 20.) On June 21, the *Times* carried a dispatch concerning "an intensive purge in the political ranks of the army" which is being directed by Mekhlis, Stalin's former private secretary. These and many other additional facts are indubitable proof that the current purge is as widespread and intensive as the preceding ones.

### Everlasting Purge

To have forecast this latest development required no particular prophetic gifts, but rather an understanding of the inextricable position in which the Stalinist clique is situated, and the mechanics whereby it has thus far maintained itself in power. In the face of growing internal and external difficulties it has and can have only one formula: Purge, purge and re-purge—with the periodic "elections" serving as a cover for the bloodbaths. The only difference between the past and present purges is that the current one has received far less publicity both in the Soviet and foreign press.

We have already pointed out on several occasions the intimate connection between the crisis in Soviet economy and the purges. Is the economic crisis one of the causes of the current purge?

Only the other day Harold Denny broke a rather prolonged period of silence to report "progress" and "gains" in Soviet economy. (*N. Y. Times*, June 5.) Denny, who has apparently supplanted Duranty (so mysteriously silent) as foreign press agent for Stalin's "victories," centered his extremely optimistic dispatch on the alleged fact that "industry as a whole has been increasing production from month to month this year after a poor start in January."

### Duranty Style

Denny wrote this dispatch in the familiar Duranty manner, arraying statistics, citing "average increases," indicating "further progress" and so on, with a few evasive comments on past difficulties, calculated to cover the report with an air of objectivity. According to Denny (and the official Stalinist press which Denny echoes), the current purge is taking place against the background of economic recovery.

But from Denny's own dispatch

we learn that at the beginning of the year Soviet industries were disorganized and the state planning apparatus had broken down. Further on, Denny gave another inkling as to the real extent of the crisis: "... just when the second Five-Year-Plan was drawing to a close, no third Five-Year-Plan was announced." The reason? "Trotskyist - Bukharinist wreckers," of course! After thus glibly linking up the "exposure" of the "wreckers" with the unprecedented failure to even announce a new plan, Denny stated the following: "The disorganization of industry was one cause of the purge that took such toll of industrial executives last year. The purge itself caused further disorganization by the removal of experienced executives and technicians and the discouragement of initiative among those remaining."

### What We Learn

And so, we learn: (1) that Soviet industries were "disorganized" not only at the beginning of this year but throughout all of last year; (2) that this critical condition of industry was one of the causes of the purge (and of the Moscow frame-ups!); (3) that in the process of this purge the bulk of the administration staff was removed; (4) that this "removal of experienced executives and technicians" only acted to aggravate further the breakdown of industry.

What then caused the alleged miraculous improvement? Denny assures us that "new executives" were now mastering their jobs. But he himself is obliged to list grave "lapses" in such branches of industry as coal, copper, petroleum and the like. He likewise reports a lag in the cement industry. "The same is true of timber." This "lag" is holding up construction "both of industrial plants and dwellings." Denny also comments on a shortage of paper supply and textiles. Yet, to believe Denny and the Stalinist press, industry as a whole has nevertheless been increasing its production.

### Unfounded Optimism

There is no ground whatever for the official optimism which Denny has dished up in his dispatch. Apart from the purge itself, those official statistics that are still issued by Stalinist authorities (reports of average daily production in industry have been suspended for months) give the lie to assurances that Soviet industry is being pulled out of the rut. Far from increasing, the production of steel, iron and rolled products has been stagnating. The figures for May and June even indicate a serious decline. We cite the figures for the coal industry. Since the beginning of the year the daily average (in thousands of tons) has been as follows:

	Sov.	Don
January	373.5	227.0
February	365.2	225.3
March	355.4	224.4
April	349.8	213.5
May (first part)	326.6	203.3

The surprising thing is not that the crisis in Soviet economy is still raging, but that Soviet economic life has not been more drastically affected. How long could industry in any capitalist country have functioned after "removal" of its staff of experienced executives and technicians?

What, then, has thus far prevented a complete collapse in the Soviet Union? There is only one answer. It has been prevented by the colossal force that is lodged in the nationalized means of production, the real foundation that Stalinism has been undermining all these years. But how long can the debacle be averted? How long will the blood-baths and the reign of terror continue to maintain Stalinism in power?

# The Whole N. Y. Party

will be out for the

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