

U.S. Japanese Clash Due Over Nine-Power Treaty

Free the P.O.U.M. Leaders!

Fourth International Lashes G.P.U. Trial in Barcelona

The Fourth International is throwing the full weight of its world organization into arousing the widest possible protest against the savage sentences meted out to P.O.U.M. leaders at the trial which concluded in Barcelona last week.

The trial patently a frame-up, engineered by the G.P.U., resulted in prison terms ranging from 11 to 15 years for five of the leaders of the P.O.U.M.: Julien Gorkin, Juan Andrade, Jordi Aquer, Pedro Ponet and Enrique Gironella.

Below we reprint a statement issued by the International Secretariat of the Fourth International at the opening of the P.O.U.M. trial in Barcelona. It is more imperative than ever before that we follow the advice of this appeal and organize international pressure strong enough to obtain the release of the framed P.O.U.M. leaders.

Statement of I. S.

The newspapers have announced the opening in Barcelona of the trial of the P.O.U.M. accused of collusion with fascism and of conspiracy against the republican institutions. The Fourth International, to which the P.O.U.M. is not affiliated, has always voiced the most vigorous protest against any repetition of the Moscow trials on the soil of Republican Spain. It points out that after more than a year of postponements, during which time it has been amply proved that only forgeries and provocations characteristic of the work of Yagoda and Yezhov, have been the basis of the lying accusation of collusion of the P.O.U.M. with fascism, that the Negrin government decided to stage a trial.

The Negrin government has agreed to submit to the compromise with fascism (arbitration) desired by Chamberlain. It has expelled the courageous international phalanxes who were the first to stand against Franco and his minions, the first elements of whom had been organized by the P.O.U.M. in July, 1936. At the very time when this compromise of "democracies" is making ready to deliver workers Spain to reaction and dictatorship, the government is staging a trial based on patent forgeries against a Socialist workers' party.

"No serious guarantees have been granted the defendants, only daily slanders in preparation for the trial. Only international working-class protest has forced the opening of the sessions. But to date the government has denied foreign defense attorneys and an independent labor commission access to the trial.

"The Barcelona trial can have no other meaning than that of political revenge. But the slanders and the wretched provocations of the Stalinist agents there will be exposed through action of the international working class. Already, the G.P.U. has assassinated Andres Nin, one of the leaders of the P.O.U.M. At the same time, legal action based on various forgeries has also been "instituted" against the Spanish Bolshevik-Leninist group (Munis, Carlini, Rodriguez and others).

Just as Yezhov is collapsing under the weight of the internal reaction he has unleashed, so the P.O.U.M. trial must mark a decisive halt to gangsterism in the labor movement. The sentiment of all honest workers will be ranged on the side of the Barcelona defendants who are guilty only of having kept alive the socialist faith in the heart of the Catalan proletariat.

"Secretariat of the Fourth International."

ANNOUNCEMENTS

CLUB IN YORKVILLE willing to rent its headquarters to other organizations four days a week. Seating capacity, 75. Please write to "Yorkville Club," care of Socialist Appeal.

ATTENTION—READERS OF THE SOCIALIST APPEAL

You only have two weeks left in which to greet the Tenth National Convention of the Young Peoples Socialist League, which is being held in Chicago during the Thanksgiving weekend. Send in your greetings NOW—\$1, \$3, \$5 or \$10 for the Convention Program Book to the National Convention Arrangements Committee, 160 N. Wells St., Room 308, Chicago, Ill. Ensure yourself of a copy of our attractive Program Book and enroll yourself amongst the supporters of the revolutionary youth movement in America. National Convention Arrangements Committee

VETERANS PICKET FOR BLACKWELL

Members of the Veterans of the Spanish Revolution, newly-organized body of returned veterans from the Spanish war front, joined last Saturday in a demonstration in front of the Spanish Consulate in New York City demanding the immediate release of Russell Blackwell, American anti-Fascist held prisoner by the G. P. U. in Barcelona. The demonstration also called for full democratic rights for working class militants now being hounded by the Loyalist regime.

The veterans also wired the Spanish Embassy to the same effect and in a further message to the State Department demanded its intervention on behalf of Blackwell.

Among those present at the organization meeting last week of the Veterans of the Spanish Revolution were representatives of the 29th Division, the 31st Division, the 15th Brigade Staff of the 15th Division, an aviator from the Air Corps, a member of the Garibaldi Brigade, and a representative of the 35th Division.

C.N.T. DELEGATE SUPPORTS AID TO BLACKWELL

Vigorous repudiation of Spanish G.P.U. charges that Russell Negrete Blackwell was an American spy and a counter-revolutionist were cabled to Barcelona last week by Maximiliano Olay, American representative of the Spanish C.N.T., anarchist trade union federation.

Carlo Tresca, well-known anti-Fascist leader and editor of *Il Martello*, seconded Olay's cable with a message of his own declaring that Blackwell was being framed by the Stalinist G.P.U. in Spain.

Fresh Charges

These messages were sent following receipt of a letter from Secretary Inigo of the C.N.T. in Barcelona giving information of fresh charges against Blackwell.

Blackwell, an American militant, was released by Spanish authorities last summer but was kidnapped on Aug. 1 by G.P.U. agents from the boat upon which he had been placed by the American vice-consul for repatriation via France. He has been held incommunicado ever since.

Secretary Inigo wrote that the Military Investigation Service now charged:

"Agent 29" that Blackwell was Trotsky's secretary; that he was the author of various books of "Trotskyite tendency"; that he was "sent to Spain to promote the counter-revolution in combination with United States authorities, to whose espionage service he belonged as Number 29.

The C.N.T. secretary said the C.N.T. sought authoritative word that these charges were false in order that it could continue with its efforts in Blackwell's behalf.

Olay's Cable

Olay cabled at once in return: "Blackwell not a spy, well-known in revolutionary circles, person of integrity, letter with information follows." Tresca's cable was: "Blackwell not counter-revolutionary, not spy, but framed by Stalinists."

To this it may be added that Blackwell was never Trotsky's secretary, never even met Trotsky, and is the author of no books.

The American Vice Consul in Barcelona informed the State Department in the early stages of the case that the chief of the secret police there had described Blackwell to him as a "dangerous revolutionary."

Stalinist Slanders

The Stalinist press charged him with being a Fascist spy. In the recent trial of the P.O.U.M. leaders he, together with James Maxton, John McNair, and Fenner Brockway, leaders of the British Independent Labor Party, was accused of being an agent of the Nazi Gestapo and the OVRA, Mussolini's secret service.

"If all the charges against him are combined," said Mrs. Edna Blackwell, his wife, "he is everybody's spy except the G.P.U.'s. This shows clearly who is making the charges."

Washington Delegation

On November 4 the Blackwell Defense Committee sent Liston M. Oak and Edna Blackwell to the State Department in an effort to find out the exact charges against Blackwell and what the Department is doing to obtain his release and repatriation. They learned that a cable had been received on Nov. 3 from the Charge d'Affaires at Barcelona, Walter C.

Spanish Trotskyists Demand Their Trial Be Open

BARCELONA, Oct. 13—The trial of Munis, Carlini, Rodriguez and the other Bolshevik-Leninists scheduled for Oct. 5 was postponed, on the request of their attorneys, to the beginning of November. The two attorneys, obtained after much difficulty, were finally permitted to examine the briefs.

At the same time comrades Fernandez and Sans, accused in the same trial, were released. The liberation of these comrades blows up the G.P.U. frame-up against the others still awaiting trial. According to the indictment, Fernandez was accused of having held the alleged victim while Munis shot him.

Below are demands made by Munis, Carlini and Rodriguez, held on charges punishable by death, in an open letter addressed to Gonzalez Pena, Minister of Justice and to the President of the Generality of Catalonia. The letter which exposes the work of Stalinist agents such as Mendez and of police "pressure" which forced a "confession" from Luis Zanon, one of the defendants, ends with the following demands:

Demands of Defendants

"1. A public trial with the right of participation especially for national and international labor organizations;

"2. That the conclusions of the prosecutor be submitted to us as soon as possible as well as the points of the indictment so we may be able to refute them and present all the necessary evidence;

"3. That as a preliminary, Luis Zanon be called upon to make a new and truthful declaration, and a guarantee against any violence against him;

"4. That the Commissioner General Mendez be summoned to court in order that he may be freely questioned by the defendants;

"5. The right of a defense for the foreigners, by a foreign attorney who must be given a passport so he can enter Spain and then be guaranteed the right to free examination.

Thurston, to the effect that Minister of State of the Spanish Republican Government, Alvarez del Vayo, and Minister of Justice, Gonzalez Pena, had stated to him that "legal difficulties" were still to be overcome.

Mrs. Blackwell urged the State Department to take more drastic action for her husband's release and stated that she feared delay might be fatal in view of the assassination of Andres Nin, Camillo Berneri and Mark Rein, and the disappearance of Erwin Wolf and others. Mrs. Blackwell pointed out that if del Vayo and Pena favored her husband's release it can only mean that the Communist Party and the G.P.U. are blocking it and trying to frame him.

Telegram to Hull

Simultaneously with Mrs. Blackwell's visit to the State Department, Cordell Hull received a telegram from Norman Thomas, John Dewey, John Dos Passos, Anita Brenner, Max Eastman, James Osoal, Carlo Tresca, Lewis Corey, Suzanne LaFollette, Gerry Allard, Roy E. Burt and others in which they pointed out the danger to Blackwell's life from the Communist Party and urged the State Department "to take renewed and emphatic action to obtain his release and repatriation." The Veterans of the Spanish Revolution, an organization of men who fought in the Loyalist trenches, sent a similar telegram.

The Blackwell Defense Committee which consists of men and women who are active in almost every tendency of the labor movement is mobilizing support for Blackwell's defense among labor organizations and unions. At present it is appealing for funds which should be sent to the Committee at Room 1609, 100 Fifth Avenue, New York City.

Y.P.S.L. Mass Convention Rally

The Tenth National Convention will open in Chicago on Wednesday evening, Nov. 23 at the Hotel Majestic, 29 W. Quincy, with a monster mass meeting on "What Next—American Youth?"

Speakers—James P. Cannon, Martin Abern, Nathan Gould, Hal Draper, Ernest Erber.

Chairman—Irving Bern.

Tokyo Hopes For Far Eastern Munich Pact

But Big-Navy Man Roosevelt Prepares Steadily for War as Diplomatic Conflict Grows Acute

Japanese imperialism has declared diplomatic war on its rivals in China, primarily the United States.

Through the Tokyo press and by broad implications in a speech delivered last week by Premier Konoye, Japan has indicated that it intends to junk the Nine-Power Treaty in much the same fashion as Germany has succeeded in junking the Treaty of Versailles.

The result has been an acute sharpening of the Japanese-American antagonism which is destined to flare out into the open in the near future.

What the Pact Is

The Nine-Power pact was concluded in Washington in February, 1922, at the same conference which established the 5-5-3 naval ratio for the United States, Britain, and Japan. The pact represented the diplomatic instrument whereby American and British imperialism restrained the voracious appetite of their younger imperialist rival, Japan. It guaranteed the "territorial integrity and administrative sovereignty of China." It also guaranteed what is called the "Open Door."

This means, in effect, that the pact was designed to preserve and safeguard American interests in China and to protect them from Japanese inroads.

Japanese Pressure

In the last seven years Japan has already slashed the provisions of that treaty to pieces. It dismembered China, taking over first Manchuria, then North China, and in the most recent phase of its imperialist expansionist drive, has occupied the entire coast, all the railroads, and principal waterways in Central and South China. This has been accompanied by systematic pressure against rival foreign trade interests and investment. What happened in Manchuria—where rival foreigners were gradually forced out of business altogether—has begun to happen in China proper. Throughout this period the United States has made the diplomatic record with a series of sharp diplomatic protests. The most recent was a note delivered in Tokyo on Oct. 6—published on Oct. 29—detailing Japanese inroads on American business privileges and sharply demanding adjustments. This note Tokyo has taken its own good time in answering. Meanwhile it has made it plain that it considers the "privileges" of other Powers in China quite obsolete and that it expects to substitute for the Nine Power pact a new bloc uniting China, Japan, and Manchukuo, with the benevolent participation of Germany and Italy.

In reply Secretary of State Cordell Hull issued a statement to the press on Nov. 4 asserting that as far as this country is concerned, the treaty position in the Far East remains unchanged by more than one speaker. During the first eight months of this year alone the total trade of this country with Latin America tallied more than \$650,000,000. In 1937 Latin America purchased from the United States more than it purchased from Great Britain, Germany, Italy, and Japan combined. The United States share of the total trade was 34.4 percent as compared to 14.1 for Germany, 12.6 for Great Britain, 2.7 percent for Japan, and 2.6 percent for Italy.

LIMA CONFERENCE WILL SEAL LATIN AMERICAN PACTS

ton considers itself the capital of the entire hemisphere and is making its war plans accordingly. Only recently Admiral William D. Leahy, chief of naval operations, bluntly said that the South American coasts formed a vital element in the plans of the American navy. It is not a question of "good neighborliness." It is a question of maintaining the undisputed hegemony of American capitalism on both continents.

Foreign Trade Convention

This, too, was the principal theme of the annual convention of the National Foreign Trade Convention held in New York City last week. The German, Japanese, and Italian threats to American trade supremacy in Latin America almost entirely dominated the deliberations of the hard-headed business men concerned with expanding their trade and increasing their profits.

James Carson, vice-president of the American and Foreign Power Co., declared that "our country and our commerce with the southern republics is confronted with a new set of conditions which call for energy and resourcefulness if we are to maintain our position of leadership in inter-American affairs." Richard C. Patterson, assistant secretary of Commerce, said: "We are entering a period of intensive competition for the Latin American markets."

Interests Involved

The extent and importance of these interests was emphasized

and that the United States would continue to insist upon its "rights" in China.

New Phase Opens

This marks the beginning of a new phase in the diplomatic preliminaries to the eventual Japanese-American clash in the Pacific. Japanese imperialism considers that its conquest of China has proceeded far enough to force recognition from the other Powers of Japan's "special" (i.e., exclusive) position in the Far East. It is preparing to set up a puppet Central Government in the conquered territory—or rather, along the conquered lines of communication—and is reportedly planning to put Wu Pei-fu, one-time tool of British imperialism in China, at its head. With this government it apparently intends to establish brand new treaty relations which will wipe out the previous treaties imposed upon China by the powers granting the latter economic and political privileges which Japan now expects to preempt for its own exclusive enjoyment.

This Japan is not going to do without meeting strenuous opposition from the Roosevelt administration. The British Empire is in decline and striving desperately to save itself. That is why Chamberlain signed the Munich pact and why he is trying also to come to some terms with the Japanese. But Roosevelt is the spokesman for American imperialism, which is systematically preparing to dominate the Pacific and the entire world. He is not likely to sign a Japanese Munich accord. American resistance to Japanese ambitions in Eastern Asia will eventually lead this country into war with Japan. That is what the U. S. Navy is openly preparing for. Meanwhile on the diplomatic and economic fronts, the early stages of this war are now being fought or anticipated.

Where We Stand

With this quarrel among thieves, the American workers have nothing in common. Remember that Roosevelt and U. S. imperialism are not one whit interested in liberating China from the imperialist yoke. The conflict toward which this country is heading in the Pacific will be fought to establish American control over markets which will guarantee super-profits to American capitalists, not freedom to the Chinese masses.

We have no interest in fighting our bosses' fight against Japan. The workers and peasants in China, and in Japan, will take care of Japanese imperialism, if we know how to take care of our own class of war-makers, our own bosses who can offer us war as their only way out of the crisis that condemns millions to starve. Our enemy is in our own country!

BELGIAN FOURTH INT'L CANDIDATES SCORE AT POLLS

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ents against supporting the revolutionists.

Preserved "Peace"

The pro-government parties waged their campaign on the platform of the preservation of "peace." By and large the electorate fell victim to this duplicity. But the significant thing is that the Liberals and the Catholics were the chief gainers and the Labor Party the principal loser. Once more a Labor Party has assumed charge of a bourgeois government in order to pull the chestnuts out of the fire for the bourgeoisie! The masses were duped into believing that the national union would save Belgium from the threatening war.

It will be the job of the Revolutionary Socialist Party to show them that this is a vain illusion, that Belgium will not reap peace but war from the rule of its capitalist regime and that the only way out is the revolutionary war, the only way to fight imperialist war is to fight the war-makers, the capitalist class.

The day after the election the workers of the Borinage and surrounding districts staged an enthusiastic demonstration to celebrate the Revolutionary Socialist Party's victories. When Comrade Walter Dauge emerged from the party headquarters he was greeted by a great crowd and literally covered with flowers. A band of local musicians, who had spontaneously offered their services, played the "Internationale" and other workers' songs which were sung lustily. Two young girls, members of the Revolutionary Socialist Youth at Wasmuel, brought congratulations and flowers in the name of their section.

Dauge Honored

The demonstration, Dauge said in reply was "being held simply under the banner of revolutionary socialism and the broadest proletarian united front against capitalism, fascism and war."

Someone in the crowd proposed a procession to the grave of Comrade Dauge's father, at whose knee Dauge had first learned of the workers' struggle for emancipation. Lines spontaneously formed and wended their way through the commune, greeted enthusiastically by workers everywhere. Hundreds joined the march. Large delegations were present from neighboring towns, from Cuesmes, Jemappes, La Bouverie, Quargenon, Wasmuel, Hornu, Eugies, and Frameries.

Fighting Program

Later a grand meeting was held, presided over by Comrade Flandroit. Comrade Dauge analyzed the results of the poll, locally and on a national scale. He pointed out that the small successes we had won had been secured in the face of a formidable coalition which used political slander as its chief weapon.

"Fenu," he said, "will be a beacon for all the communes. We shall do everything to realize our program." He told them the Revolutionary Socialist Party would lead the fight for the 40-hour week, two-week paid vacations, reduction of the age for pension eligibility, etc. He said that workers would be able to depend upon Fourth Internationalist representatives not to betray their interests as the reformists and Stalinists had repeatedly done.

He concluded by reaffirming the party's struggle for revolutionary socialism and calling upon the workers to join the party's forces. The meeting ended with the singing of the "Internationale."

This week Col. Fulgencio Batista, blood-stained dictator of Cuba, is being welcomed at the White House as a stalwart ally in the ranks of inter-continental "democracies." Getulio Vargas, boss of Brazil, is another of the staunch "good neighbors." Vargas' representative at Lima, the *New York Times* informed us last Sunday, will actually insist that "continental unity can only survive under democratic principles!" But Vargas himself rules five government that did exist in Brazil. This does not disqualify him, however, as a supporter of the Rooseveltian united front in the Americas!

No, it is not for "democracy" or "good neighborliness" that United States imperialism is marshalling its power in the Western hemisphere. The dollars still decide. At Lima the representatives of the Roosevelt government will seek to create a solid bloc in this hemisphere under American domination not only to safeguard and extend trade and investments, but to strengthen the foundations for the world empire which American capitalism expects eventually to control.

Let's Remember The Armistice!

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throw of the war-mongers and their social system, capitalism, which breeds war—

REMEMBER that the German ruling class decided to sue for peace only after the millions of German workers and peasants in soldier's uniform resolved to stop murdering their French and English brothers and to turn their guns instead upon their Junker officers and their own ruling class.

And as the new world war threatens—the new war which would be infinitely more horrible and destructive than any in history—

REMEMBER the Armistice, REMEMBER the lies of capitalism which drove the masses into the war that led to the Armistice,

REMEMBER the frightful "peace" which came after the Armistice,

REMEMBER that only the independent action of the working class, that only the war of the masses upon the war-mongering rulers, can put an end, really and once for all, to wars in general.

In the great class war between the exploited and exploiter, the oppressed and the oppressor, there is neither armistice nor peace.

It is only by our victory, only by smashing capitalism and its ugly offspring, war, that the socialist society can be ushered in, and along with it abundance for all men, freedom from all social iniquity, and a true and lasting peace!

Lovestone Comes Out For Boss Candidates In Poll

In a brazen editorial featured in the November 5th issue of *Workers Age*, the Lovestone group has come out into the open for support not only of the full American Labor Party ticket, but of the Democratic Party's gubernatorial candidates in both Michigan and California.

Support of the full A.L.P. ticket in New York means voting for Lehman, Poletti, Wagner and Mend, as well as for several dozen other lesser Democratic and Republican candidates placed on the A.L.P. slate through the shameful deals of the A.L.P. officials.

This sell-out of the interests of genuinely independent working class politics, hypocritically justified by claiming that a straight A.L.P. vote will help to strengthen and build the party for the future, pales into insignificance, however, beside the policy advocated for Michigan and California.

Support Imperialist Party

In neither of these States is there even the semblance of an existing Labor Party. Murphy and Olson are the candidates of the Democratic Party, the party of Hague and Cotton Ed Smith and Nash and Kelly, the reigning party of American imperialism, and of no other party. Voting for Murphy and Olson is voting for that party, for Hagueism, for Roosevelt's armament program and his approaching war.

Lovestone has been making a

big noise this past year about his opposition to the Popular Front and the Democratic Front. As usual with centrists, this opposition turns out to be nothing but words used as a cover for opportunistic actions. Supporting Murphy and Olson is, in fact, the Democratic Front pushed to an extreme that it seldom reached even in the nations of its original application.

Belly-Scraping Opportunism

Nevertheless, the Lovestone position on Murphy and Olson is not just an editorial accident. It follows logically from the "American approach" line formulated by Herberg for the recent Convention of the Lovestone organization. Here, as everywhere, Lovestone tries to hold on to a little roost for his clique by adapting himself to the current whims of the trade union bureaucracy. It is for Murphy and Olson. By acting as radical office boy, and delivering the good word to the "advanced workers," Lovestone figures he can win tolerance for his followers and perhaps pick up a post or two—as he did for a brief while in his late lamented experiences in the U.A.W.

By his present action, Lovestone places himself squarely among the enemies of the movement for a genuine and independent party of the workers, and aligns himself with those whose whole aim is to prevent that movement from reaching healthy fruition.

Roosevelt Bids Welcome To Butcher of Workers

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men had been ripped out by pincers, the bones of their skulls had been crushed by the pressure of a twisted wire, their arms had been broken at the elbows and their legs at the ankles."

"Fifty Spanish-born Cubans were seized en masse in the meeting hall of the Socialist Circle. Cooped up in the Castillo del Principe for more than a month, they were made to sleep on a concrete floor without bedding or cover and were not permitted to communicate with the Spanish consul. Prison officials amused themselves by making them run around and around a narrow room, shouting 'Vive Mussolini' and 'Vive Hitler' until they would drop from exhaustion. Several of the more stubborn were forced to kiss pictures of Mussolini until they fell bleeding."

Workers Shot Down

These were only a few. Batista's army has shot down hundreds of sugar plantation workers for the crime of trying to organize. Castor oil, imported by the police, was used by army and police on thousands of tortured militants. There were at that time more than 4,000 political prisoners in Batista's foul dungeons. The majority of these were trade unionists.

imprisoned by Batista in his murderous drive against the Cuban trade union movement. These, Pincus said, were only a fraction of hundreds that could be named. Batista's attack on the unions after the 1935 general strike was described in the following passage:

"Batista's murder gangs physically destroyed all union headquarters, all workers' centers on the heels of the 1935 general strike. Files and correspondence were heaped in the streets and set afire. Windows were smashed, walls leveled, and typewriters and mimeograph machines crumpled by axes. Following Hitler's and Mussolini's example, decrees-law declared all union funds to be state property."

This is the record of the "democrat" Batista, the "man of the people" Batista! This is the honored guest of today at Roosevelt's White House. This is the new hero of the Stalinist Daily Worker!

We say: Out with Batista! Our solidarity is with the Cuban working masses whom he rules by naked terror, by the gun, the knife, the whip. Let workers who still have illusions about Roosevelt, "friend of the working class" realize that Wall Street's dollars in Latin America are Roosevelt's main concern, not the interests of the workers there or at home.