

# Brazil Communists Repudiate Moscow

## Sao Paulo Regional Committee Issues Call For United Front Congress to Form New Party

(Special to Socialist Appeal) SAO PAULO, Brazil.—The Sao Paulo Regional Committee of the Communist Party has openly broken with the Communist International and issued a call to all working class organizations, including the Leninist Workers Party (section of the Fourth International) for a national congress to form a new revolutionary working class party in Brazil.

This action climaxed the crisis in the Brazilian Communist Party which has been alternately simmering and boiling over during the past six months.

The Sao Paulo regional committee represents possibly the largest and certainly the best body of working class militants in the party.

In a resolution announcing its action, the committee charged the Comintern with capitulating to the capitalists and the imperialists in the semi-colonial countries of Latin America and on a world scale. It denounced it in particular for abandoning the struggle against Yankee imperialism.

**Polices of C. I. Condemned**  
It declared that the Comintern "policy of class collaboration disorganized the world revolutionary movement and sowed the most harmful illusions within the ranks of the working class."

The Sao Paulo committee's resolution said that the Munich conference had resulted in the perilous isolation of the Soviet Union and that this in turn was due to the political disarmament of the world working class by the ruinous policies of the Comintern.

It condemned the "policy of support to the 'democratic' bourgeoisie on a national and international scale in place of a proletarian class policy. Far from removing the fascist danger . . . this has succeeded in giving Fascism greater international influence and new national bases."

The resolution declared that the present Stalinist leadership was undermining the conquests of the October revolution and heading for abrogation of the foreign trade monopoly which protects Soviet trade from foreign finance capital.

**Organic Break**  
It concluded by announcing the Sao Paulo party's determination:

"to make the class struggle and working class internationalism the fundamental principles of our policies against fascism, imperialism, imperialist war, and for the defense of the U.S.S.R.;

"to counterpose the policy of the workers' united front to the criminal policy of collaboration with the capitalist class . . . ;

**Calls Conference**  
"to break all organic connection with and political subordination to the bureaucrats in Moscow and their agents abroad, whose errors and crimes with every passing day only aggravate

the difficulties of the working class, compromise the gains of the Russian revolution, and retard indefinitely the world socialist revolution;

"to enter into an understanding with the other sections of the Brazilian Communist Party and other working class political groups moving in the same direction, to convocate a national conference destined to lay a new foundation for the revolutionary vanguard of the Brazilian working class."

## Muniz, Carlini Awaiting Trial on Phony Charge

### Counsel Asks for Mental Test of Witness

BARCELONA.—The trial of Comrades Carlini and Muniz, leading members of the Spanish Bolshevik-Leninist organization (Fourth International) was scheduled here for some time in December.

After many postponements the date had been set for Nov. 8 but was put off once more at the request of counsel for the defense who demanded medical examination of Luis Zanon, the witness whose testimony represents the only basis of the murder charge made against our comrades. Zanon has officially withdrawn and repeatedly contradicted his own statements but he still remains the chief witness for the prosecution!

Zanon claimed to be a witness of an alleged murder of one Capt. Narvitch which he first said had been committed by our comrades. This he later retracted and the official case fell to pieces. Muniz and Carlini were nevertheless kept in prison and must still face trial on these repudiated charges.

Both Muniz and Carlini have been subjected to typical G.P.U. third degree methods during their imprisonment. In police headquarters Muniz was stood up face to a wall and several shots were fired on either side of him. Both he and Carlini, however, have openly assumed responsibility as leaders of the Fourth International movement in Spain.

Time is short for action in behalf of these brave militants! Wire your protests to the government here and to the labor organizations demanding their immediate release and, barring that, a public trial and the admission of working class representatives from abroad, especially from France.

Send your wires to President Companys, to the president of the Espionage Court, and to Spanish consulates in your cities.

# SH--SH! UNITED STATES ALSO USES SPIES!

The professional pay-tribots, with the Stalinists in the forefront, have been conducting a first-class spy scare campaign for the past few months. German spies here and Japanese spies there; military secrets stolen in the East, naval secrets stolen in the West, strategic secrets stolen in the Canal Zone. The President is indignant and Browder is infuriated.

What? Is there any country so base as to use spies to hunt out the government secrets of our fair and unsuspecting land? Yes, sir, and not one but two: Germany and Japan. Both are "aggressor" nations, and fascist to boot. What is the solution? A bigger and better army, navy and air force. More billions for "defense" (and less for the unemployed). Smash the Hun and scotch the Yellow Peril.

**Drumming Up War Scare**  
In a word, the spy scare has been cunningly manipulated to whip up a feverish war-spirit in the country.

The Socialist Appeal has stated repeatedly that the whole scare is a vicious fraud. Are there German and Japanese (and English and French and Italian and Russian!) spies in the United States? Of course, there are. But so are there American spies in every other important country of the world. It is the sheerest hypocrisy to deny this fact which every intelligent person knows or ought to know.

And now we have a tactless admission that the United States

like every other big power—also engages in spy activities!

A couple of weeks ago two alleged Soviet spies were arrested in Los Angeles, Cal., on the charge of having stolen American military secrets. If it were true, it wouldn't surprise us a bit and would shock us less. But the Stalinists find it a little embarrassing and the Daily Worker flings itself into the breach. In a Los Angeles dispatch printed in its issue of December 14, it says:

"Federal Bureau of Investigation operatives who arrested two men as alleged Soviet agents said today they were not involved in stealing any American defense secrets. They were held on suspicion that they had obtained military information which American intelligence agents had garnered concerning the Japanese war machine" (Our emphasis.)

Now, how do you translate "American intelligence agents" into simple English? By the words: "American spies." And how did our own spies—excuse us, "agents"—"garner" the Japanese military secrets? Did they pluck them from the Japanese cherry blossom trees in Washington? Did they buy them in a Japanese candy store in Tokyo? Or from a gelsha girl in Yokohama? Or did the Japanese ambassador drop them out of his pocket, while sliding down the banister at an embassy reception?

## How Shall We Fight Anti-Semitism--By Felix Morrow

# SOCIALISM: ONLY HOPE FOR JEWS

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That the Jews, if they are to survive, can do so only by linking their fate to that of the labor movement, is the inescapable logical conclusion to which all our analysis points. On numerous occasions, this conclusion has driven itself home to the minds and hearts of many a leader of the Jewish community, in discussions I have had with them. The debacle of assimilationism, the blind alley into which Zionism has led, the sharp fact that only where the labor movement still stands strong can Jews lift their heads—all this leads them to agree that Jewry must cast in its lot with the working class and with labor's allies, the colonial peoples oppressed by the great powers.

But that same Jewish leader, hearing one bark out of a Coughlin, drops all this and reverts to the near-sighted cowardice in which he has been nurtured. Whipped into line by Coughlin, the Jewish leader proceeds to work with might and main against any link between Jewry and the labor movement.

### THE MECHANICS OF ANTI-SEMITISM

So prevalent is this attitude among Jews that to refute it requires a concrete exposition of the mechanics of anti-Semitism at work.

In a typical American city of half a million, the Jews number 20,000. The proportion of wage-workers among them is a minority (the development of capitalism never proceeded to the point where the Jews were able to complete the transition from the middlemen occupations they had been limited to under feudalism). The small minority of Jewish workers are concentrated primarily in the needle trades. A larger group are store-keepers and peddlers. The workers and petty bourgeoisie live in one part of town, in houses and at living standards generally below that of the well-united Gentile workers, but the latter have practically no contact with these poor Jews. The average Gentile worker in the city sees Jews only as employers, owners of department stores, saloons and gambling joints, loan sharks, etc. "Did you ever see a Jew do a real day's work?" "There isn't a single Jew in my union." These are typical remarks by Gentile workers, heard not once but regularly. Here is propitious soil for anti-Semitism. But it takes systematic, deliberate fanning to create flames.

Those interested in creating the flames appear: the conscious reactionaries and Fascists, interested in anti-Semitism as a weapon against the labor movement. They tell the masses: your real oppressors are the Jews. They fan hatred of the Jews, and then proceed to turn this hatred upon the militant labor movement by lumping together labor and the Jews as "Jewish Bolshevism." Of Bolshevism itself, the backward worker or farmer knows little, and generally has no active hostility to it; the mechanism of fascism serves to transfer his dislike of the Jews to the Bolshevism which is described to him as Jewish.

### HOW NOT TO FIGHT ANTI-SEMITISM

The only way to fight this anti-Semitic mechanism is to expose it as being aimed against the labor movement. But the smug, complacent Jewish leader, completely blind to this mechanism, concludes that the people have a lively hatred of Bolshevism and that this hatred is being directed from Bolshevism to the Jews. Therefore he calls upon the Jews to separate themselves as far as possible from the labor movement, in order that the Jews not share the stigma of Bolshevism; he denounces the young Jewish radical as responsible for anti-Semitism. Actually, only the presence of these Jewish radicals in the labor movement, where the Gentile workers can see them, serves to show the Gentile worker that the Jew is not universally the oppressor that he is pictured to be by the fascist!

If timidity and cowardice could save the Jew, he would have been free of anti-Semitism by this time. Russian-Jewish capitalists gave endless proofs to Czarism that they repudiated radicalism and submitted to the regime; but Czarism nevertheless employed

hatred of Jews to smear radicalism. German Jewry, predominantly middle-class, fawned upon the Kaiser and the Weimar Republic's Junkers and capitalists; far from saving the Jews, all this facilitated Hitler's picture of the Jews as oppressors. Neither timidity nor silence have saved the Jew from anti-Semitism, for, as we have already demonstrated, anti-Semitism is an indispensable instrument to the decaying social system of capitalism.

### COUGHLIN, STALIN AND THE JEWS

"I can see the logic of all you say," said a leader of a Jewish community to whom I developed this thought. "But after all, you must admit that when Coughlin attacks us for instigating the Russian Revolution, we can't very well say, yes we did, or that we approve of the Soviet regime. Coughlin's audience takes him to mean that we are responsible for the decimation of the Russian farmers, the dictatorial regime in the factories, the terrible blood purges, the Moscow trials, and so forth. We can't very well identify ourselves with that."

The answer to this argument is not an easy nor a simple one. There is no doubt whatever that Stalin's foul regime has served to discredit the Russian Revolution in the eyes of millions of American workers and farmers who greeted it with hope and longing: Stalin's crimes facilitate the fascist propaganda of Coughlin. But this complication cannot be solved by joining Coughlin in attacks upon the Russian Revolution. One must learn to understand the full meaning of the Russian Revolution, and then one must learn to tell the people what has happened to the Russian Revolution.

### THE SPIRIT OF THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION

In the revolution of November, 1917, the working class, led by a revolutionary party and backed by the vast masses of the peasantry, took the power and established the first Workers' Government in history. That meant complete liberation from Czarist and capitalist oppression. Every national minority, including the Jews, were provided with free scope to develop, both within their own national grouping and in the general society. The scourge of anti-Semitism was eradicated, for the peasant no longer could be befuddled by the oppressing landlord into believing that not the landlord but the Jew was his oppressor. Such anti-Semitism as remained as a dark heritage of the past was ruthlessly punished if it assumed overt forms. The Jew could confidently lift his head, a man among men. That was the spirit of the Russian Revolution.

But that spirit could not live if the Soviet Union remained indefinitely an isolated garrison surrounded by hostile capitalist states. The whole weight of capitalism pressed in upon Russia. Either the revolution must be extended into Western Europe, or the surrounding capitalist states would press in and strangle the revolution.

When the post-war revolutionary upsurge of 1918-1923 failed to break through the capitalist cordon around Russia and the revolution fell back, a mood of retreat and compromise with capitalism arose within Russia. This mood was enormously enhanced by the fact that Russia was pitifully backward in its technology, far below the level of the surrounding states.

### STALIN, ENEMY OF SOCIALISM

This mood of retreat and compromise found its expression in Stalin and his clique. Step by step, in their course of making peace with the surrounding capitalist world, the Stalinist clique degenerated until their political methods have become indistinguishable from those of Hitler. Nor, it is clear, will Stalin hesitate at employing anti-Semitism. Walter Duranty, Stalin's unofficial spokesman, has indicated that in his now-famous dispatch of November 11, 1938, to the North American Newspaper Alliance, predicting a rapprochement between Stalin and Hitler: after all, Duranty pointed out, "Stalin has shot more Jews in two years of

the purge than ever were killed in Germany." Despite widespread comment in the labor press on this extraordinary cynical remark, the Communist parties nowhere have repudiated Duranty's statement! How else explain, too, that Stalin has said no word on the Nazi pogroms, and the doors of the Soviet Union remain closed to the refugees.

The spirit of the Russian Revolution is as alien to Stalin as it is to Hitler. That must be understood, must be explained tirelessly to the people. When Coughlin accuses the Jews of instigating the Russian Revolution, the answer to him is that he and Stalin are of one mind and that mind is the deadly enemy of all that Marx, Lenin and Trotsky stand for.

### REFORMISTS OPENED DOOR TO FASCISM

Why did not the revolution spread from Russia into Western Europe in those surging years of 1918-1923? This key question, too, the Jew must learn to answer. He must acquaint himself with the stark tragedy of the German, Austrian and Hungarian revolutions, all but successfully achieved, but then thrown into reverse by those who stood at the head of the majority of the workers: the reformist Socialists, the Social Democrats of the Second International. The Kautskys and Hilferdings stood at the head of those revolutions only to behead them. In the name of "democracy," they gave the power back into the hands of the Junkers and capitalists. So, too, Leon Blum and the other French Socialist leaders, in 1936-1938, smothered the revolutionary will of the struggling workers. In each case, the question was posed inexorably: either socialism or fascism. Refusing to take the road of socialism, the reformist Socialists thereby opened the road for fascism. Some of these gentlemen, who in the stark days of the fight against the Moscow trials were living cheek by jowl with the Stalinists in the People's Fronts and would utter no word of criticism of these allies, today dare to justify their original hostility to the Russian Revolution of 1917 by pointing to Stalin's crimes. But it was they who strangled the development of the Russian Revolution, they who left it an isolated garrison and, finally, gave way to a fascist encirclement of the Soviet Union to which Stalin is now yielding. Reformist socialism and its "democracy" is no alternative to Stalin. The destroyers of the Western European revolutions are no less despicable than the destroyers of the Russian Revolution!

### CHOOSE YOUR FATE: SOCIALISM OR FASCISM

Time presses upon all of us the real, inescapable alternatives: either down in the dark with fascism or up into the kingdom of freedom with the socialist revolution. Shackled slaves or valiant fighters for humanity. Choose your fate! For the Jews, moreover, the question is posed even more sharply: either physical extermination or a new social order. The number of countries which have declared totalitarian war upon the Jews increases incessantly: Germany, Italy, Czechoslovakia, Roumania, Poland. Next on the order of the day is France; we have already indicated why a middle road for France is no longer possible; it is now a case of either a victorious revolution or a fascist dictatorship. And if the French workers do not mobilize in time, if the revolutionists in France are not aided in every possible way by partisans in the rest of the world to make the necessary forced march to victory, French fascism, triumphant, will immeasurably increase the fascist process in England and America. Even if one would, it is impossible to heighten the picture. The facts are too gripping in themselves. He who will not hearken to them has already condemned himself to the fascist terror.

But many Jews will, that I know, for many are already joining the struggle. For what else, in the whole wide world, is there left to fight for, except the socialist revolution? All other roads have failed. Fascism or Socialism: thus stands the order of the day.

## ARMS PROGRAM CLOSING DOOR TO REFUGEES

(Continued from Page 1)

Meanwhile, the tremendous scope of the refugee problem grows ever greater. In the last week or two, the Nazi terror has been supplemented by the awful advance of anti-Semitism in other countries.

Poland's three million Jews face all the implications of the action taken by the governmental party, the Camp of National Unity, in signing a motion on December 21st urging the government—i.e., itself—to speed up mass emigration of Jews. The government party has also introduced in to the "parliament," which they control, a series of far-reaching anti-Semitic laws. One forbids civil servants to buy in Jewish shops. Another establishes in certain economic and cultural fields the principle that only a given percentage of Jews may function in them. Preparations are afoot to suppress the Jewish Socialist Bund. A "Week Without Jews" is being arranged by the government party.

Roumania's million Jews were served notice last week that the government is prepared to take strong measures to enforce emigration. Concentration camps are to be opened for all Jews unable to prove their Roumanian citizenship.

Hungary's 600,000 Jews were placed last week under terms of a bill, introduced in Parliament and certain of passage, further reducing the number of Jews who may engage in various fields of enterprise. Hungary already forbids Jews from constituting more than 20 percent of those engaged in any calling. The new figure, it is understood, will be 6 percent.

The noose around the neck of the 350,000 Jews living in Nazi-dominated Czechoslovakia tightened still further this week, when

## In the Farmer Labor Party

AN EDITORIAL

Following the debacle in the November elections, at which it was swamped by the Republican Party, the Farmer-Labor Party of Minnesota has now plunged into a bitter fight upon the outcome of which will depend the Party's entire future.

The miserable showing of the F.L.P. in November can be traced entirely to the cowardice and timidity of the official leadership. Abandoning any attempt to rally the workers and poor farmers of the State through a militant program and campaign, they concentrated on trying to appear "more respectable" in the eyes of the Minnesota big shots than the Republican Party itself. Harold Stassen, the reactionary Republican nominee for Governor, was thereby enabled to pose before the people as a "liberal," and to carry an aggressive fight to every corner of the State, while the workers were left passive and disoriented.

**Finding Scapegoats**  
The election results threw the F.L.P. bureaucrats into a panic. Always more devoted to the Minnesota business men than to the workers and farmers of their own party, they felt that they had not been "loyal" enough to capitalism, and that now they must really prove their devotion to things as they are if they are ever to be permitted a comeback in Minnesota politics when the business men get tired of Stassen. At the same time they had to try to find a scapegoat to blame

for the catastrophic defeat at the polls. Part of the scheme decided upon came to light at a recent meeting of the State Central Committee of the F.L.P. Association. After a vehement session, a sharp resolution was passed condemning "Communism" and "Communists"; calling for their immediate expulsion from the Association; and threatening all local clubs of the Association with revocation of their charters if they refused to carry through the expulsions.

This, so far, is the sum and total of the "lessons" drawn by these bankrupt bureaucrats from the election. On the surface, the resolution is of course directed first of all against the Stalinists, who have in recent years made great headway in the F.L.P., to such an extent that they are already widely entrenched and actually have been threatening to take over control.

The stink that has been given off by Stalinism during the past year; the situation in auto and other unions, put the F.L.P. officials in a position to make demagogic use of anti-Stalinist sentiment of all types in order to protect their own positions.

But the real import of the resolution is not grasped by dismissing it as an attack merely on the Stalinists. The resolution states that "all local Farmer-Labor clubs . . . must forthwith expel from membership any member of the Communist Party and also such other persons as advocate the overthrow of the government by force or revolution."

proves that the nominal attack on the Stalinists is wholly reactionary in character, and that the real implicit direction of the resolution means an attack on the militant workers of Minnesota and on their program, an attack on any attempt to turn the F.L.P. back from its current headlong rightward shift, toward the perspective of genuine struggle for the interests of the workers and poor farmers of Minnesota.

This is why the present moves of the bureaucrats must be met by the sternest resistance, and a counter-attack launched. One step in such resistance, though so far primarily organizational in character, has been taken by the Minnesota labor movement: the union of the party organization with the piddling local clubs, and the giving of due weight in the party to the mighty trade unions of the Gopher State.

This, however, is not by any means enough. The full reactionary character of the bureaucrats' move must be pitilessly exposed and made clear for what it is; and in the coming State Convention it is up to the worker-delegates to fight for a militant orientation and perspective such as that embodied in the S.W.P.'s "Open Letter to Governor Benson."

**People's Front Liberates Nazis**  
The first act of the new "People's Front" government of Chile, inaugurated last Saturday, Dec. 24, was to decree an immediate amnesty for the Nazis arrested in their unsuccessful putsch of Sept. 5.

The New York Times comments: "The signing of this decree confirms the report that Nazi support was given to Senator Aguirre in the understanding that he would endeavor to stage up charges against those arrested

after the thwarted September uprising."

Following the release of Gonzalez von Murees and his followers, the new government's second act was to lengthen the working hours of government employees.

The "People's Front" in Chile makes a stirring beginning in its democratic career.

Not a word about opening doors to the refugees! Thereafter—silence.

## Soviet Press Gives Scant Coverage to Nazi Pogroms

An analysis of Soviet press coverage of the Nazi pogroms reveals that the persecution of the Jews received scanty attention throughout the worst period of violence, did not get to the front page until Roosevelt and Chamberlain commented on the persecutions, and remains as silent as the tomb concerning the opening of Soviet doors to the refugees.

**The Tass (Soviet press service) dispatches to the Soviet press were not only extremely brief but in all cases except two were dated not from Berlin but from Geneva, London, Paris or New York, following the formula: "The Swiss (or English, or French) correspondents in Berlin reported as follows." The two dispatches that were date-lined from Berlin were very brief, stating merely that new laws were contemplated against the Jews, and reporting the fixing of a fine against the Jewish community.**

**A detailed description of the news handled by Pravda, Stalin's own organ, will indicate the general Soviet press treatment: The pogroms began November 10th. From November 11th through the 16th, the only items printed were on the back page.**

**November 11: Tass dispatch from Geneva. Back page.**  
**November 12: Tass dispatch from London. Back page.**  
**November 13: Back page, first dispatch from Berlin, reporting new laws and the fine against the Jews, but nothing under this heading about the pogroms themselves. Other dispatches datelined from Paris and London quoted**

**the French and English press on the actual events.**  
**November 14: Brief dispatches from London and New York. Back page.**  
**November 15: Reports from London and Paris. Back page.**  
**November 16: London dispatches. Back page.**  
**Only on November 17th was the news finally deemed to merit front-page notice, and then apparently only because Tass reported New York comment on Roosevelt's speech against the pogroms.**

**After Roosevelt—Plous Words**  
Roosevelt having spoken, on November 18th—10 days after the pogroms began!—published its first editorial comment, echoing the plous indignation of Roosevelt.

**From November 19th until the 29th the issue got front-page notice. A Tass dispatch from Geneva was the story on the 19th, and on the 21st dispatches on the American reactions. On the 22nd and the 24th the news came from London, on the 25th it consisted of the protests from Belgium. On November 27th Tass reported, "German People Indignant Over Jewish Pogroms."**

**"Intelligentsia" Protests**  
On the 28th came the second editorial comment, in the form of self-congratulation: "The USSR—Beacon of Culture." Also, for the first time, a report of "protests" by representatives of "Soviet intelligentsia." The protests include glowing descriptions of the happy life under Stalin.