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ROOSEVELT PLOTS FOR WAR

Negrin Government Seeks Deal For Surrender To The Fascists

ABANDONS SPAIN TO MERCIES OF FASCIST HORDES

Treacherously Quit Struggle To Flee To France

AZANA FIRST TO GO

Having held on to the helm long enough to prevent anybody else from organizing resistance to the fascists, the Spanish Popular Front government has now abandoned all Catalonia without a fight.

The government leaders, fleeing to France, split into two factions, each with its own formula for capitulating to the fascists. General Miaja, commanding the Loyalist forces in central Spain, is reported by Havas, French news agency, to be negotiating for peace with Franco.

President Azana, accompanied by President Luis Companys of Catalonia, President Aguirre of the Basque Republic, and ex-premier Jose Giral, arrived in Paris, in search of a plan for peace with Franco. Having scuttled the boat, the rats are leaving the ship.

Another crew, led by Premier Negrin, also fled to France, after requesting that Britain open negotiations with Franco to end the civil war.

Catalonia Deliberately Abandoned

Both groups paved the way for Franco by deliberate abandonment of Catalonia without a fight.

Twenty-four hours after a solemn pledge by the government to defend the city to the last, Barcelona was surrendered to the fascists without a siege. A similar assurance to defend the munitions industry, located just north of Barcelona, was followed by a similar abandonment without a fight.

Then, on February 1, came the meeting of the remnants of the Cortes in Figueras, at which Negrin—returning from France for the occasion—swore that "We shall fight on to save Catalonia," and pointed out that "if Loyalist Spain can hold even part of Catalonia it will mean a considerable prolongation of the war."

But two days later the Loyalist government abandoned Gerona, again without a fight, and the next day evacuated Figueras, 15 miles from the frontier. "Even in the little village near the frontier where the last outpost was established," wrote Matthews of the N.Y. Times on Feb. 4, "we could find no government, no press bureau."

The Popular Front government postured as a last-ditch defender only in order to delude the soldiers, workers and peasants who wanted to fight to the end. This pose enabled Negrin-Azana to persuade the fighters to make "strategic" retreats . . . all the way into France.

In the dispatches there suddenly appeared the name of General Sebastian Pozas, as military governor of Gerona province. The last heard of him was when he was deposed and jailed for treason after the fascists' last March broke through the Aragon front which he then commanded. Pozas commanded Gerona long enough to abandon it without a shot fired.

Workers Stripped of Arms

Before fleeing, however, Pozas had issued two orders, one ordering all soldiers in the vicinity to rejoin the units under his command, the second requiring all workers and peasants to deliver any arms they had to Pozas' headquarters.

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By Leon Trotsky

The Tragedy of Spain

One of the most tragic pages of modern history is now drawing to its conclusion in Spain. On Franco's side there is neither a staunch army nor popular support. There is only the greed of proprietors ready to drown in blood three-fourths of the population if only to maintain their rule over the remaining one-fourth. However, this cannibal ferocity is not enough to win a victory over the heroic Spanish proletariat. Franco needed help from the opposite side of the battlefield. And he obtained this aid. His chief assistant was and still is—Stalin, the grave-digger of the Bolshevik party and the proletarian revolution. The fall of the great proletarian capital, Barcelona, comes as direct retribution for the massacre of the uprising of the Barcelona proletariat in May 1937.

Insignificant as Franco himself is, however miserable his clique of adventurists, without honor, without conscience, and without military talents, Franco's great superiority lies in this, that he has a clear and definite program: to safeguard and stabilize capitalist property, the rule of the exploiters and the domination of the church; and to restore the monarchy.

POSSESSORS ARE WITH FRANCO

The possessing classes of all capitalist countries—whether fascist or democratic—proved, in the nature of things, to be on Franco's side. The Spanish bourgeoisie has gone completely over into Franco's camp. At the head of the republican camp there remained the cast-off "democratic" armor-bearers of the bourgeoisie. These gentlemen could not desert to the side of Fascism, for the very sources of their influence and income spring from the institutions of bourgeois democracy, which require (or used to require!) for their normal functioning lawyers, deputies, journalists, in short, the democratic armor-bearers of capitalism. The program of Azana and Co. is—nostalgia for the day that has passed. This is an altogether inadequate basis.

The "People's Front" resorted to demagoguery and illusions in order to swing the masses behind itself. For a certain period, this proved successful. The masses who had assured all the previous successes of the revolution still continued to believe that the revolution would reach its logical conclusion, that is, achieve an overturn in property relations; give land to the peasants and transfer the factories into the hands of the workers. The dynamic force of the revolution was lodged precisely in this hope of the masses

for a better future. But Messrs. Republicans did everything in their power to trample, to besmirch, or simply to drown in blood the cherished hopes of the oppressed masses.

SPIRIT OF MASSES DULLED

As a result, we have witnessed during the last two years the growing distrust and hatred of the republican cliques on the part of peasants and workers. Despair or dull indifference gradually replaced revolutionary enthusiasm and the spirit of self-sacrifice. The masses turned their backs on those who had deceived and trampled upon them. That is the primary reason for the defeat of the republican troops. The inspirer of deceit and of the massacre of the revolutionary workers of Spain was Stalin. The defeat of the Spanish revolution falls as a new indelible blotch of infamy upon the already bespattered Kremlin gang.

The crushing of Barcelona deals a terrible blow to the world proletariat, but it also teaches a great lesson. The mechanics of the Spanish "People's Front" as an organized system of deceit and treachery of the exploited masses has been completely exposed. The slogan of "defense of democracy" has once again revealed its reactionary essence, and at the same time, its hollowness. The bourgeoisie wants to perpetuate its rule of exploitation. The workers want to free themselves from exploitation. These are the real tasks of the FUNDAMENTAL classes in modern society.

ARTISANS OF DEFEAT

Miserable cliques of petty bourgeois middlemen, having lost the confidence and the subsidies of the bourgeoisie sought to salvage the past without giving any concessions to the coming day. Under the label of the "People's Front" they set up a joint stock company. Under the leadership of Stalin they have assured the most terrible defeat when all the conditions for victory were at hand.

The Spanish proletariat gave proof of extraordinary capacity for initiative and revolutionary heroism. The revolution was brought to ruin by petty, despicable and utterly corrupted "leaders." The downfall of Barcelona signifies above all the downfall of the Second and Third Internationals, as well as of Anarchism, rotten to its core. Forward to a new road, workers! Forward to the road of the International Socialist revolution!

LINE UTILITY CO. POCKETS BY T.V.A. PURCHASE PLAN

Excessive Sum Paid Assures Electric Rate Rise

Having finished up on Friday with its W.P.A. Bill to reduce the unemployed to starvation, the New Deal on Saturday announced another of its generous gifts to Wall Street, this time in the form of an agreement by T.V.A. to purchase at a total of approximately \$80,000,000 the Tennessee electrical properties of the Commonwealth and Southern Corporation.

Gov't Pampers Magnates

For five years the utility magnates have been shrewdly attacking the T.V.A. program, realizing that if the T.V.A. should actually undertake on a large scale the production of cheap electricity the public would come to understand the extent to which it is being robbed by the inflated rates of the privately owned utilities.

However, the utility magnates have always been more than willing to let the government bail them out of their less profitable properties, especially if the price paid by the government would ensure that the government would have to charge high rates.

A couple of years ago experts hired by the T.V.A. estimated that the highest possible value of the physical plant of the Commonwealth and Southern properties in Tennessee could be put at \$55.

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Refugee Numbers Increase As Democracies Stall Aid

Conditions under which the Nazi regime will permit "the orderly emigration of persons who want to leave Germany on account of their political opinions, religious beliefs or racial origin" will be communicated to the Inter-governmental Committee on Refugees in London on Feb. 12 by the committee's director, George Rublee.

The long-drawn-out discussions between Rublee and Hitler's representatives in Berlin were concluded on Feb. 2, when a communique was issued which gave little hint of the actual terms of the agreement.

Rublee indicated, however, that about 200,000 Jews would be permitted to emigrate.

It is now up to the democracies to make it possible for these refugees to enter these countries. Will they?

With the French government already declaring that it can take no more refugees in view of the MONTANA UNION OPPOSES ROOSEVELT WAR PROGRAM

PLENTYWOOD, Mont.—Clayton McCall, secretary of the Federal Labor Union, A.F. of L., has condemned the hypocrisy of Roosevelt's armaments-building and relief-cutting program in a telegram sent to Senators Burton K. Wheeler and James E. Murray.

Roosevelt, says the telegram, has asked "funds for the future murder of millions of unemployed. These victims are now being turned into the streets by the hundreds of thousands, hungry and homeless. . . . We need bread and butter to sustain our families and not bullets to bring about their murder."

influx from Catalonia, and with the British government taking very few except those pledged to move on within two years, the main initiative for offering a solution is now up to the Roosevelt administration.

Two far-reaching decrees promulgated Feb. 1 by the Czechoslovak government added several tens of thousands of Jewish and political refugees to the hundreds of thousands from Germany and Austria already clamoring for haven.

One decree took their citizenship away from Jews formerly residing in territory now ceded to Germany, Poland or Hungary, and those who became citizens since Nov. 1, 1918. The same decree will also be applied against anti-fascists falling into the two categories. The second decree ordered all immigrants—including under this all non-citizens and those who fled from Germany and Austria—to leave the country within six months.

Roosevelt Won't Budge Meanwhile, the Roosevelt administration remained dead-set against all attempts to induce it to drop the bars against immigration. No bills have as yet been introduced into either house of Congress on behalf of the refugees.

Desperate and finding it absolutely impossible to remain in Germany, many Jews are simply embarking on German boats, hoping to find a haven somewhere in South America. One such pathetic shipload is now cruising along the Venezuelan coast. The authorities permitted 86 to disembark at Puerto Cabello, but 350 others were turned back. Whether they might be landed at another port was not known.

CLEVELAND AUTO LOCAL ATTACKS FACTION FIGHT

Unanimously Favors Militant Unity Program

CALLS FOR ACTION

(Special to Socialist Appeal)

CLEVELAND—The Executive Board of Local 88 of the United Auto Workers, meeting here on January 18, unanimously decided to take steps, independently of the Martin and Stalinist factions, to unify the auto workers on the basis of a militant program.

In a statement, the local board declared: "Since the Milwaukee convention the International Union has been plagued with a factional fight. This fight among the officers of our Union has been a hindrance in carrying on the work of organizing the unorganized and in strengthening the locals that are organized.

Unprincipled Fight

"Since the last convention the International Executive Board has met thirteen times, and most of the time spent in session was used to discuss factional issues and fighting to retain control and jobs rather than in the earnest consideration of the problems of the rank and file, and in carrying out the organizational work so much needed in Ford and the competitive shops. These many meetings of the Executive Board have been an expense to the International Union which is not justified.

"At the present Board meeting which was called some two weeks ago, factionalism was again the issue, and it has finally ended in the calling of a convention to be held in Cleveland March 20th.

"Since the Milwaukee convention Local 88 has taken no sides in the factional fight. The result is we have one of the best locals in the city and in the state. We have spent our time in fighting the employer against wage cuts and for higher wages and better working conditions. Today we have a well paid up membership. We have kept our per capita tax paid to the International Union; we have never withheld it or asked any other local to do likewise. We have carried out, to the best of our ability, the decisions of the convention and the rulings of the International Executive Board. We are and must be interested

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They Fear the Decision of the People

AN EDITORIAL

Last week's sensational events in Washington laid bare only a small corner of the secret diplomacy by means of which the lives and fate of millions of people are disposed of as if so many match-sticks were involved.

But enough was revealed to show the cynicism and perfidy used by all governments—Roosevelt's included—in preparing an army and plunging the masses into them, without asking their opinion about it, without giving them knowledge or warning in advance.

Roosevelt makes secret munitions or airplane deals with other governments. He doesn't even bother to let Congress know about them, much less the people.

Roosevelt talks about "measures short of war" but he and his War Department have fully-completed plans for conscripting an army and sending it to fight a "new war for democracy" along our new "frontier in France." What he so cynically denies today will prove to be a fact tomorrow. Isn't that the way we were tricked into the last war by Wilson?

Roosevelt doesn't tell the people about his plans. He doesn't even tell Congress. He assembles a committee of Senators and gives them some idea of what is really in view. When the inevitable leak occurs, he takes refuge in calling everybody a liar.

Behind the backs of peoples everywhere these cynical lackies of the big capitalists are preparing for a new blood bath.

The fine phrases about "democracy" mean no more today than they meant 22 years ago. Great Britain, preparing for the war "for democracy" publicly announces that "twelve regional dictators" will rule England in time of war. Isn't this a sinister kind of joke when we realize that our bosses, fighting among themselves for markets and raw materials, are preparing to sacrifice millions of lives for their own miserable dollars?

Yet these people whom we permit to be our masters have to tread softly, they have to mouth vile lies in order to deceive us and put over their monstrous plans secretly and in the dark. They have everything possible to confuse and befuddle us, the better to lead us to the slaughter when it suits them.

Why? Why this deceit, this hypocrisy, this deliberate confusion?

The answer is a simple one. THEY FEAR THE DECISION OF THE PEOPLE. They fear that if the people have the opportunity to express their own views they will, with a thunderous voice, make plain their horror, their repugnance, their repudiation of the war plots of the bosses.

That is why last year the Ludlow Amendment, which offered the possibility of giving the people a voice in these fateful decisions, was smothered by Roosevelt and all his minions, including Earl Browder and his *Daily Worker*.

"Good God," cried Senator Johnson last week, "don't you think the American people have the right to know if they are going down the road to war?"

Yes, we say they have the right, not only to know, but to DECIDE whether they shall travel that road that ends only in death and suffering.

The people must and shall demand the right to decide their own fate.

The power to go to war shall be the power of the people alone!

Let every man and woman over 18 say for himself whether he shall permit the capitalist class to drag him down to a state of barbarism!

THE MASTERS FEAR THE DECISION OF THE PEOPLE.

THEY KNOW THE PEOPLE WILL BE OPPOSED TO UNLOOSING ANOTHER FRIGHTFUL SLAUGHTER IN THE WORLD.

FOR A POPULAR REFERENDUM ON WAR!

STALINIST CONTROL OF TEACHERS UNION IS A.F.L. EXCUSE TO HIT REAL PROGRESSIVES

(Special to the Socialist Appeal)

MIAMI, Feb. 5—Opening an attack against progressive members of the A.F. of L. under guise of an attack upon the Teachers' Union for not expelling "communists" from its ranks, Matthew Woll, ultra-reactionary labor fakir and chairman of the A.F. of L. Committee on Education released a statement to the press today, denouncing the Teachers' Union and threatening revocation of its charter. "Indeed," stated Woll, "the action of the Central Trades and Labor Council of New York (expulsion of three teachers' union locals) is only the beginning."

Woll threatened that a rival union would be set up by the Executive Council of the A.F. of L. unless the Teachers' Union purged itself of all elements labelled "red" by Woll and company.

Woll's attack against the "communists" in the Federation of Teachers is not an attack directed at the disruptive tactics and policies of the Stalinist in the Teachers' Union, but the opening shot of a fresh offensive against all progressives in the A.F. of L. who oppose the barnacle-encrusted

clique headed by such old-time fakirs and reactionaries as Matthew Woll and Bill Green.

At the same time as Woll opened his barrage against labor progressives, William Green made public a resolution of the A.F. of L. Executive Council favoring appropriation of "adequate" funds for the notoriously reactionary Dies Committee which has led the offensive during the past year against every shade of liberalism in the United States.

In a further resolution to investigate the Associated Farmers on the Pacific Coast which sponsored the recent anti-labor campaign in Oregon, Washington, and California, Green paid reluctant lip service to the insistent demands of West Coast labor that this vicious combination of bankers, shipping interests, and land owners be fought on a militant basis.

About two weeks ago, the Central Trades and Labor Council of New York City suspended the WPA Teachers Union and the College Teachers Union, Locals 453 and 537 of the American Fed-

eration of Teachers. The delegates of these Locals were removed as "un-American and communistic." Specific charges in the case of the WPA Teachers were that it participated in the Congress of the American League for Peace and Democracy, and that its banner (with that of the Workers Alliance and the Young Communist League) appeared at a demonstration welcoming home a group of soldiers of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade. These charges were not made public by the C.T.L.C., but the Union delegates were sharply questioned on them at a meeting of the Executive Council just previous to the suspension.

All Teachers Now Out As the remaining New York Local of the A.F.T. Local 5 of the Teachers Union was suspended by the C.T.L.C. over six months ago for sponsoring a joint C.I.O.-A.F.L. conference, all three Teachers' unions are now out of the A.F.L. city organization.

Undoubtedly the suspended locals are under Stalinist control. Nevertheless the action of the

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PLANS SECRETLY TO HURL NATION INTO CONFLICT

Cynical Denials Do Not Conceal His Intentions

WANTS FREE HAND

Acting behind the backs of the American people, President Roosevelt has in effect committed the United States to direct participation in the war that is brewing in Europe.

Now 'he is maneuvering to break down the weight of isolationist opinion in Congress and anti-war feeling in the country generally. His immediate aim is to remove the hampering Neutrality legislation from the books. His broader aim is to hasten the development of a war psychology which will make it easier to swing the whole nation into the conflict for which he is preparing.

That is the real meaning of the events in Washington last week. That is the real meaning of the present debate in Congress on the broadest issues of the administration's foreign policy.

"Frontier in France" Two weeks ago the crash of a Douglas air bomber being tested for the army in California and the



Injuries sustained by a French air ministry official who was aboard inadvertently revealed the fact that by Roosevelt's express order, the latest designs in American fighting planes were being made available to France. This started a minor storm in Washington, where it was learned that the president had authorized the sale of 600 fighting planes to the French government.

On Jan. 31 Roosevelt summoned to the White House all the members of the Senate Military Affairs Committee and there read them a lecture to the general effect that this country had to be prepared to line up with Britain and France against Germany, Italy, and Japan.

In the papers next day he was quoted as having said that the "American frontier is in France" and that the Senators would be well-advised to refrain from "petty criticism" of his acts when the threat of war was so close.

Related Denial For nearly three days these reports went uncontradicted by the White House. In Europe they had the desired effect of making it clear that Roosevelt was preparing to line this country up with the so-called "democracies" when war breaks out. In this country there was turmoil and confusion and a slew of contradictory reports on what actually transpired.

Roosevelt waited until the issue of the coming war had dramatically intruded itself into every home in the land. Then he called in the press and issued a diplomatic denial of all the newspaper reports, calling them "bunk" and "deliberate lies" and "misrepresentations." Meanwhile he had fully accomplished his purpose. The press and all his political opponents were calling for the "abasing" of American foreign policy and the whole issue was thrown open on the floor of Congress.

"Good God," exclaimed Senator Hiram Johnson, "don't you think the American people have the

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