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**FIGHT WITH THE SOCIALIST
WORKERS PARTY FOR:**

1. A job and a decent wage for every worker.
2. Open the idle factories—operate them under workers' control.
3. A Twenty-Billion dollar Federal public works and housing program.
4. Thirty-thirty! \$30-weekly minimum wage—30-hour weekly maximum for all workers on all jobs.
5. Thirty dollar weekly old-age and disability pension.
6. Expropriate the Sixty Families.
7. All war funds to the unemployed.
8. A people's referendum on any and all wars.
9. No secret diplomacy.
10. An independent Labor party.
11. Workers Defense Guards against Vigilante and Fascist attacks.

The Auto Union Crisis

The present crisis in the Automobile Workers Union demonstrates once again that Stalinism is a rotten cancer that eats away at the vitals of the labor movement. Either all honest union men will join ranks and destroy Stalinism or Stalinism will destroy the labor movement. There is no third road.

This is lesson No. 1 for all union progressives. Once they have grasped this, they will know how to organize the broadest anti-Stalinist group of all genuine militants to fight for the honesty and integrity of the union movement.

For two years, Martin and his supporters have attempted to fight the Stalinists, not as union militants, but as reactionary union politicians. If the Stalinists were dictatorial, Martin fought them by his own dictatorship. If the Stalinists signed rotten union agreements with the employers, Martin fought them by signing equally rotten union agreements.

With what results? Martin made the auto workers easy game for the demagoguery and slander campaigns of the Communist party and finally succeeded in pushing the most progressive sections of the union into the arms of the Stalinist-controlled Executive Board.

Last year Martin had every opportunity of rallying the majority of the membership behind him and beating the Stalinists hands down. But by his dictatorial methods, his rotten relations with the corporations, his campaigns against "unauthorized" strikes, his incompetent and discredited reactionary co-workers, he turned the rank and file against him and missed his opportunity.

The struggle of the last year demonstrates one thing if it demonstrates anything at all: You can fight Stalinism successfully only in one way—By daily preaching and practicing a militant and democratic brand of unionism. Neither Martin, nor the pitiful Lovestonite politicians have ever understood this: Their futile reactionary campaign has only succeeded in building and expanding the Stalinist strength for the last year.

Lacking the support of the decisive sections of the membership, Martin was inexorably forced into his suicidal step of breaking with the C.I.O. and calling his own anti-C.I.O. convention in Detroit. Martin is now definitely headed towards an alliance with the reactionary leaders of the A.F. of L. Executive Council and an attempted deal with the Michigan automobile manufacturers. The automobile workers cannot and will not follow Martin on this road.

In spite of the top bureaucracy of Lewis, Hillman and Murray, the C.I.O. still represents the industrial union movement of America and therefore the most progressive section of American labor. The automobile workers must remain part of the C.I.O.

It is therefore the obvious duty of all progressives of the U.A.W. to attend the Cleveland Convention and to reorganize the ranks of the progressive for a new fight against the Stalinist cancer—not by lining up with discredited reactionaries, nor by preaching "respectability," but by an educational campaign for a responsible and aggressive union-building program which will command the support of the rank and file and rebuild the auto workers' union.

Let Us Rejoice!

While Congress and the President quibble over the exact depth to which relief appropriations can be lowered without creating "internal disturbances"—the needs of the unemployed naturally are of no concern to these gentlemen—the unemployed can rejoice and find comfort in the fact that profits continue with a merry tinkling ring to lift the dollar sign in the cash registers of the wealthy.

The United Fruit Company, only one of the many pirate enterprises operating in the Caribbean Sea, reports to its shareholders that the take for last year was not less than ten and a quarter million dollars, and that each share of common stock in the family vault of its owner gathered not only dust but the

not insignificant sum of \$3.54 the year's idleness. This, of course, does not take into consideration the take on treasury stock nor such other transactions in the company books as do not rise to the level of "fit for publication."

Both the abysmally paid Latin-American workers who sweat out these good round profits under the rifles of company-supported dictators and their brothers in the United States whose relief allowances are now being slashed far below the starvation level, will be overjoyed at the good news of United Fruit's superprofits. Once again they will wonder comfortably with the lucky shareholders as this \$10,272,746 take is distributed: How can you want a revolution in a country as rich as the United States?

Twelve Dictators

The opening barrage of high explosives in the coming war will shatter first of all England's last remaining pretense to democracy.

This is not just a revolutionary apothegm on the nature of capitalist democracy from one of the many articles in the Fourth International press warning the workers that war is an inevitable part of capitalist democracy, but a cold, deliberate pronouncement from one of the official government spokesmen of one of the world's greatest democracies.

Sir John Anderson, Minister for Civilian Defense, told the House of Commons in session on February 2nd that "democratic" England will convert itself into an open dictatorship second to none immediately upon the declaration of an "emergency" condition by the present government.

England, Scotland, and Wales will be divided into twelve regions and over these twelve regions twelve dictators will rule, each with a power over his region as absolute, arbitrary, and authoritarian as that wielded at any time during the bloody careers of Mussolini and Hitler.

Most of these dictators will be APPOINTED by next month. They will be ready at instant notice to replace the entire "democratic" process, all the "democratic" representatives of the people, and every one of the "democratic" institutions. This is of course quite understandable. Precisely so long as the danger to their existence is not great, the capitalist owners permit the workers to choose which capitalist agent shall rule them. To the exact degree that danger to their domination nears, the capitalists abrogate that democracy, and under war conditions they rip democracy away from the naked reality of their dictatorship like a fouled garment from a hideous body.

This was true during the last world war. Now democratic England's rulers have affirmed that it will be true in the next world war. England's rulers have no illusions. They are preparing for the coming slaughter like any other professional butcher.

All the venal slush about the "democratic" nations lining up against the "fascist" dictatorships is just that—VENAL SLUSH.

In the coming war there will be no capitalist "democracies" to defend against capitalist dictatorships. All the workers of the capitalist democracies will suffer under a yoke as rigid and bitter as that under which the workers of Italy and Germany are now bleeding. The choice between the concentration camps of the fascist nations and the concentration camps of democratic England, of democratic France, and—yes!—of democratic America will be the choice between a long hangman's rope and a short one.

Twelve dictators over democratic England! The enemy is not across the national boundary lines. The enemy is at home!

Can Spain Still Fight?

We agree 100% with the following estimate of the possibilities for continued struggle in Central Spain:

"The position of the Central Zone for resistance is strategically good. The army numbers around 500,000, the population is around 8,000,000 and the territory is protected by natural defenses in the mountain ranges of Nevada, Morena and Guadarrama.

"... By adapting their forces to the new situation the Loyalists can resist..."

Yes, we agree to this estimate, appearing in the Feb. 8 issue of the *Daily Worker*. These facts damn the Peoples Front government, Negrin, Azana, General Miaja, etc., who instead of resisting are capitulating to Franco. These facts damn, above all, Stalin and the Spanish Stalinist machine, who were primarily responsible for putting the Spanish masses into the hands of the traitors who are abandoning the struggle.

When, tomorrow, the *Daily Worker* tries to find an alibi for these traitors, justifying their failure to continue the struggle, remember its own estimate of the possibilities in Central Spain.

Dr. Benes Comes To Town

Dr. Eduard Benes, former President of Czechoslovakia, has come to town and immediately hailed the United States as "democracy's last great and truly powerful bulwark."

Not so long ago he hailed the regime he headed in Czechoslovakia as another great and truly powerful bulwark of democracy.

Somehow, the bulwark didn't seem to hold up very well when it was given a stiff blow from Fascism on the outside and its Czech lickspittles on the inside. The other great democratic bulwarks, France and England, which Benes served so faithfully and lauded as fulsomely as he now praises the United States, didn't seem to hold up very stoutly either. So Dr. Benes decided that the "democratic institutions" of Czechoslovakia were either not worth fighting for, or else beyond saving. Anyway, he abdicated and took the next boat train West.

Now he is headed for the University of Chicago, to lecture on democracy, democratic institutions, and how to keep them going. We can't imagine anyone better qualified by experience and record for such a job. By the same token, we suggest that the University invite the leader of Tammany Hall to lecture on "Civic Virtue and How to Preserve It."

By Leon Trotsky

For Grynspan:

Against the Fascist Pogrom Gangs and Stalinist Scoundrels

It is clear to anyone even slightly acquainted with political history that the policy of the Fascist gangsters directly and sometimes deliberately provokes terrorist acts. What is most astonishing is that so far there has been only one Grynspan. Undoubtedly the number of such acts will increase. We Marxists consider the tactic of individual terror inexpedient in the tasks of the liberating struggle of the proletariat as well as oppressed nationalities. A single isolated hero cannot replace the masses. But we understand only too clearly the inevitability of such convulsive acts of despair and vengeance. All our emotions, all our sympathies are with the self-sacrificing avengers even though they have been unable to discover the correct road. Our sympathy becomes intensified because Grynspan is not a political militant but an inexperienced youth, almost a boy, whose only counselor was a feeling of indignation. To tear Grynspan out of the hands of capitalist justice, which is capable of chopping off his head to further serve capitalist diplomacy, is the elementary, immediate task of the international working class!

The Stalinist Campaign All the more revolting in its police stupidity and inexpressible violence is the campaign now being conducted against Grynspan by command of the Kremlin in the international Stalinist press. They attempt to depict him as an agent of the Nazis or an agent of Trotskyists in alliance with the Nazis. Lumping into one heap the provocateur and his victim, the Stalinists ascribe to Grynspan the intention of creating a favorable pretext for Hitler's pogrom measures. What can one

say of these venal "journalists" who no longer have any vestiges of shame? Since the beginning of the socialist movement the bourgeoisie has at all times attributed all violent demonstrations of indignation, particularly terrorist acts, to the degenerating influence of Marxism. The Stalinists have inherited, here as elsewhere, the filthiest tradition of reaction. The Fourth International may, justifiably, be proud that the reactionary scum, including the Stalinists, now automatically links with the Fourth International every bold action and protest, every indignant outburst, every blow at the executioners.

It was so, similarly, with the International of Marx in its time. We are bound, naturally, by ties of open moral solidarity to Grynspan and not to his "democratic" jailers, or the Stalinist slanderers, who need Grynspan's corpse to prop up, even if only partially and indirectly, the verdicts of Moscow justice. Kremlin diplomacy, degenerated to its marrow, attempts at the same time to utilize this "happy" incident to renew their machinations for an international agreement among various governments, including that of Hitler and Mussolini, for a mutual extradition of terrorists. Beware, masters of fraud! The application of such a law will necessitate the immediate deliverance of Stalin to at least a dozen foreign governments.

The Stalinists shriek in the ears of the police that Grynspan attended "meetings of Trotskyites." That, unfortunately, is not true. For had he walked into the milieu of the Fourth International he would have discovered a different and more effective outlet for his revolutionary energy. People come cheap who are capable only of fulminating against injustice and bestiality. But those who, like Grynspan, are able to act as well as conceive, sacrificing their own lives if need be, are the precious leaven of mankind. Seek Another Road! In the moral sense, although not for his mode of action, Grynspan may serve as an example for every young revolutionist. Our open moral solidarity with Grynspan gives us an added right to say to all the other would-be Grynspans, to all those capable of self-sacrifice in the struggle against despotism and bestiality: Seek another road! Not the lone avenger can free the oppressed but only a great revolutionary movement of the masses which will leave no remnant of the entire structure of class exploitation, national oppression and racial persecution. The unprecedented crimes of fascism create a yearning for vengeance wholly justifiable. But so monstrous is the scope of their crimes, that this yearning cannot be satisfied by the assassination of isolated fascist bureaucrats. For that it is necessary to set in motion millions, tens and hundreds of millions of the oppressed throughout the whole world and lead them in the assault upon the strongholds of the old society. Only the overthrow of all forms of slavery, only the complete destruction of fascism, only the people sitting in merciless judgment over the contemporary bandits and gangsters can provide real satisfaction to the indignation of the people. This is precisely the task that the Fourth International has set itself. It will cleanse the labor movement of the plague of Stalinism. It will rally in its ranks the heroic generation of the youth. It will cut a path to a worthier and a more humane future.

**Negrin, Azana and Company
Dicker for Capitulation Terms**

(Continued from Page 1) press (*Daily Worker*, Feb. 8) admits that Negrin made the offer. The sole point of dickering now is over the hides of the Popular Front leaders.

All Avenues Closed If Franco finally refuses to permit the Popular Front leaders in central Spain to leave under safe-conduct, it can hardly be expected that the Loyalist troops will conduct a struggle to the death merely for the sake of getting passports for the leaders. Actually, therefore, the Loyalist government leaders have left themselves no way in which to continue the struggle, even if they actually decided to renew the fight.

The psychological moment for a declaration of continuation of the struggle was offered to Premier Negrin when Azana arrived in France on Monday and announced he wanted peace immediately. But Azana's open treachery met with not a word of comment from Negrin! Although he had been profuse with promises, immediately broken, of making a stand in Barcelona, Gerona, Figueras, etc., Negrin kept silent once Azana made his declaration. Azana's associates insisted that he had left Spain on the basis of a "complete agreement" with Negrin.

Supplies Abandoned Press reports from the frontier that hundreds of truckloads of war materials were drawn up at the customs barricade, gave the lie to Negrin government alibis that the abandonment of Catalonia was necessitated by the exhaustion of all munitions.

The precipitate abandonment of Catalonia without any attempt to make a stand, either at Barcelona



Juan Negrin

units arriving at the frontier, as well as the truck-trains of munitions accompanying them, are certainly evidence bearing out Matthews' report of the conclusion reached by French military circles.

Stalinist Alibis The Stalinists, part of the government and the general staff and therefore desperately seeking to provide an alibi, have resorted to numerous ludicrous explanations. That provided by Harry Gannes in the *Daily Worker* of Feb. 7 achieves a new record in invention. Gannes declares:

"The spurious talk of surrender to fascism comes from the dives of the Munich traitors in London and Paris. . . .

"Even after the fall of Barcelona, the Loyalist government proved its determination to resist. Despite the grueling battles, the Loyalist Army reformed its lines numerous times. Despite exhaustion and cruel lack of arms, they kept up the fight to the last shot and to the last inch."

What battles? There was none at Barcelona, or thereafter. No attempt was made to defend Barcelona, which was not even subjected to a siege. No attempt was made to defend the rest of Catalonia. The "last shot" was never fired, and the "last inch"—the last hundreds of miles of inches—was surrendered intact. Gannes simply lies to befuddle the anxious and heart-broken readers of the *Daily Worker*.

The International Brigade

The official Spanish News Agency presented an alibi which included the following, published by the *Daily Worker* on Feb. 7: "The Army of the Ebro was greatly weakened by the withdrawal of the International Brigades, which were replaced by young recruits."

That the brigades were withdrawn by the government, with the approval of the Stalinists, in the hope of thereby showing Loyalist subservience to Franco and England and thus securing outside munitions, which of course were never forthcoming—of this the *Daily Worker* says nothing! That the Loyalist general staff

simply abandoned Catalonia is clear enough. It is important, however, to point out the reason they did so.

The fact is that at no time during the civil war have the government leaders ever made a strong stand in defense of an industrial city or area. The industrial cities of the north—Bilbao, Gijon, Santander—were never besieged by the fascists; as soon as they approached, the cities were surrendered intact to them in 1937. The same thing has now happened in Catalonia.

Saving Their Property

The bourgeois leaders of the Loyalist government and general staff, infinitely more loyal to capitalist property than to the fight against fascism, preferred to surrender their property intact to Franco, with a prospect of eventual reconciliation with him, rather than to carry on a death struggle involving destruction of their property.

Rather than submit their property to aerial and artillery bombardment, the Peoples Front lead-



Manuel Azana

ers abandoned Barcelona and the adjacent industrial towns—the industrial heart of Spain—to the fascists.

Now, with Azana racing in the lead and the others trying to keep up with him, they are rushing to show Franco that they deserve at his hands restitution of their private property. Haven't they shot workers and peasants who dared to socialize property? Didn't they fill the cemeteries and prisons with revolutionists?

In the final act, the French and British governments—"the great democracies" whose favor the Stalinists, Socialists and anarchists sought to curry by crushing the revolutionary wing—sent their emissaries to Franco to offer him attractive loans, without waiting for Negrin & Co. to conclude their surrender. As in Czechoslovakia, the Peoples' Front government puppets are cast aside, despite all their servile treachery.

**IN THIS
CORNER**

By Max Shachtman

Not as widely noticed as he should have been, a distinguished visitor has arrived in the United States, on an important mission. He is the once powerful editor of the *Berlin Vorwarts*, central daily paper of the German social democracy—Mr. Friedrich Stampfer. In exile with the rest of the party leadership, he has been from its inception editor of the emigre party weekly, *Neue Vorwarts*.

You would think that after the ignominious capitulation to which they brought the German working class in 1933, the best thing for the social-democratic leaders would be to retire from the labor movement and politics and hope that if they could not be forgiven they would at least be forgotten. But the old and now army-less bureaucracy lingers on. It is equipped with a generous supply of funds which it thoughtfully took along into exile. It is as vociferous and active as if nothing awfully serious had happened. And it is just as rotten as ever.

**They Would Fight . . .
If They Were Not So Old**

Rudely deprived of their old "fatherland" by Hitler, the social-democratic leaders have nonchalantly hired themselves out to other capitalist nations. They have changed national flags, but not their nature. They were good patriots under the Kaiser and behind the lines they fought like tigers in the great War to Defend German Democracy from the Russian Cossack. Now they are ready to join in the new War to Defend Democracy from the German Nazi.

To be sure, most of them being elderly ladies and gentlemen, they would probably have to repeat what Henry Hyndman, the English social democrat, said during the last war: "If I were not 72 years old I would go out and fight myself." But thank God they do have enough strength left with which to exhort the more abled conscripts of imperialism to fight to the death in the coming war.

If the joints of some of them are properly lubricated by a little Democratic money—not much; they are modest folk—their strength is as the strength of ten, and their zeal even greater. There is the case of Max Braun, exiled leader of the Saarland social democracy, who was exposed last year by the German socialist Max Sievers. Together with two bourgeois emigrants, Braun approached the French government for financial aid to his paper and "movement" in return for a promise to impress upon the exiled German youth the desirability of joining the French army.

**One, At Least, Found His
Sympathies Profitable**

Another great lover of the "new fatherlands" is Albert Grzesinski, former socialist police president of Berlin, now in the United States, where he has just published a book on Germany. According to the same Sievers, Grzesinski found while he was in Paris that the secret supplying of arms to the Loyalists in the Spanish War for Democracy was a highly profitable enterprise, at least until the scandal became widely enough known to make a sea voyage desirable.

Most of the German S.P. leaders, however, seek no personal gain in the business of promoting a new War for Democracy. They are moved only by the loftiest of motives. They want, you see, to free prostrate Germany from the heel of fascism.

When they had a magnificent opportunity, at the head of an army of millions of free, organized workers, to prevent Hitler from coming to power, they demonstrated their complete bankruptcy. They couldn't and didn't do the job of winning socialism. They couldn't even do the job of preserving capitalist democracy, or their very own conservative labor movement.

To make up for all that, they have developed the ingenious idea of asking the capitalist class to do the job at which they failed! What Weis and Stampfer and Hilerding didn't do, they are asking Chamberlain and Daladier and Roosevelt—that is, the General Staffs of the English, French and American armies—to do for them. They wouldn't organize the German workers to smash fascism at the right time and bring liberty, peace and plenty to the land. Now these hopeless people hope to bring liberty to Germany on the point of foreign imperialist bayonets!

**Stampfer Comes Here
To Try His Luck**

It is this kind of a holy crusade, another "War for Democracy," that is preached every week in the *New Leader* by the emigrated social-democratic Reichstag member, Mme. Tony Sender. Another former member, Gerhard Segers, does his stint in the columns of his *Neue Volkszeitung*.

When France and England failed to launch a war against Germany a few months ago, during the Munich days, Mr. Stampfer's *Neue Vorwarts* was positively purple with rage and indignation at this outrageous betrayal of its fondest hopes.

Now Mr. Stampfer has come to the United States to try his luck here. Rabid war-monger and provider of socialist cannon-fodder to his Royal and Imperial Majesty Wilhelm II from 1914 to 1918, he is ready to act now in the same capacity for the Democratic Trinity. He wants, he indicates in his first interview, to see the United States "supporting Europe's democratic nations." He boasts of a considerable force behind him in Germany, ready to overthrow Hitlerism from within. No doubt he will generously offer to put this force at the disposal of the United Democracies to help them win the sacred war of Justice, Decency and Humanity.

Whatever may be the reception he gets from the American ruling class whose notorious love for democracy he seeks to enlist, we hope the working class salutes him with the contempt that an imperialist recruiting-sergent deserves.

**Labor Looks Through
The Press**

By ARTHUR HOPKINS

The figure of Lenin which will top the palace of the Soviets, now under construction in Moscow, will be twice as high as the Statue of Liberty. The building will be taller than the present world's tallest building, the Empire State. The teachings of the grand old revolutionary, however, will continue to remain buried by the Soviet regime.

Eugene Lyons, author of "Assignment in Utopia," and new editor of the *American Mercury*, upon hearing a description of Doris Duke's palatial new mansion in Honolulu, sighs: "It's enough to make one a Trotskyite. I say this because in these days a person doesn't know what to be, as a protest." You can join Max Eastman in his contemplation of his navel, but we Trotskyites will continue to build the labor and revolutionary movements.

G-man Hoover (Public Fink Number 1), lays the blame squarely at the door of parental over-indulgence for one of the greatest factors in crime.