

# Now's the Time For A Labor Party!

## Socialist Appeal

Official Weekly Organ of the Socialist Workers Party, Section of the Fourth International

We propose that the regular 1940 session of the Congress of the United States shall enact emergency legislation to put into immediate effect the following:

1. Appropriation of \$10,000,000,000 to provide, at once, jobs on housing and other public works projects for all employable workers.
2. Amendment of the Wages and Hours Act to provide throughout private industry and public works a maximum work week of 30 hours and a minimum weekly pay of 30 dollars.
3. 30 dollar weekly old age and disability pensions.
4. Appropriation of \$3,000,000,000 to guarantee either maintenance at school or jobs for all youth.

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# LEWIS-FDR SPLIT REFLECTS MASS FEELING

## Lay Offs Stopped In Flint

Militant Action Checks Attack On WPA Workers

FLINT, Michigan, Jan. 24—Militant action stopped in its tracks an attempt to begin mass layoffs by the WPA Administration when, after an all day demonstration at the district WPA office, the UAW-CIO WPA and Unemployed union succeeded in getting 120 workers put back to work.

A fine example of what determined action can do, the demonstration began early in the morning, after an entire project with the exception of a handful of men had already been sent out by the WPA office, the sight of a couple of hundred union men, and the roaring strains of "Solidarity" which echoed in the office, changed the officials' mind sufficiently to cause them to tear up all 403's and put all the men back on the job without exception.

Makes the Difference!  
WPA cuts have been very slow in coming to Flint, and are generally lower in Michigan than elsewhere, since WPA administrators know very well what dynamite lies ready to blow up in the ranks of the workers of this section.

(Continued on Page 2)

## Minneapolis Teamsters Latest Victims of Court Drive

New Ruling Opens Union Books to Agents of Finks

MINNEAPOLIS, Jan. 30—While the federal district attorney and judges pause for breath in their campaign against the labor movement here—with 33 convictions and the rest of the 162 indicted WPA workers still to be tried for last summer's WPA strike—the state courts are taking up the battle against labor.

District Judge Carroll last week ruled that the books and records of General Drivers Union Local 544 are to be open to the inspection of five finks, their attorneys and accountants. This ruling came after three weeks of testimony by a score of union men, who testified that the five plaintiffs were organizers or members of a boss-initiated "Associated Independent Unions," which has been warring against the bona fide unions here for over two years. The plaintiffs presented themselves as ex-members of Local 544 who had been discriminated against.

A dead give-away was the plaintiffs' charge that the union officials had forced the city to disburse more funds than necessary for relief, through the activities of the Federal Workers Section of the union.

The International Brotherhood (Continued on Page 2)

## BUT OF COURSE!

J. Edgar Hoover was telling a mystery story writer recently about the widespread efforts of the Federal Bureau of Investigation to combat subversive activities. After a long exposition of the bureau's efficiency in spotting Nazi agents, the writer said:

"And now, Mr. Hoover, tell me something about your work on British and French agents."

"Oh," said Hoover, "we've got nobody working on them. The State Department won't let us."

## WPA UNION WORKERS OPEN NEW DRIVE

Campaign Launched At Spirited Mass Meeting in Mpls.

MINNEAPOLIS, Jan. 22—The Federal Workers Section of Local 544 held a spirited mass meeting last Friday, marking the beginning of a new organizational drive, coming on the heels and in spite of the campaign by the federal and city governments to smash this militant unemployed organization. The attendance at the meeting was significant and heartening, in view of the government drive, through its WPA prosecutions, to terrorize all relief workers.

Carlos Hudson, acting editor of the Northwest Organizer, was the main speaker, analyzing Roosevelt's latest budget, and calling for the appropriation by Congress of a \$10,000,000,000 public works fund and a \$3,000,000,000 fund for the unemployed youth.

Others who spoke were Max Geldman and Oscar Shoenfeld, both convicted on conspiracy in the recent third WPA trial. Shoenfeld spoke on the situation among the youth, pointing out that the so called "war boom" had not assimilated any youth into industry and that Roosevelt's proposed \$72,000,000 cut in NYA and CCC leaves the youth in a worse position than at any time in the last decade.

Karl Kuehn, recording secretary of the FWS, indicted but not yet tried on a conspiracy (Continued on Page 2)

## Anti-Lynch Bill Passage At Stake

Mass Pressure Needed Back Of Measure

On February 6th the Anti-Lynching Bill goes again to the Senate.

Again and again this bill, or one with substantially the same provisions, has passed the House only to be blocked in the Senate by a Southern filibuster. Each time there is a tacit agreement by the large majority of our Senators that the bill shall not be passed. The Southern contingent acts the direct role, calling on their confederates not to "sacrifice the virtue of Southern womanhood and mongrelize the race" (Representative Cox of Georgia in the recent debate). And others speak grandly of the necessity of maintaining "democracy" in these United States and refuse to apply the cloture rule to put a time limit to debate. "Democracy" in these United States consists, not in checking mob savagery with even a grossly inadequate law, but in allowing the representatives of Southern Bourbons to shout lies until their lungs give out.

Let us anticipate some of these lies and answer them. The most plausible is that the South is itself doing away with lynching and, if left alone, will entirely eliminate it in a few years more. Those who say this point, for example, to the list of lynchings, which shows a steady decline in recent years to a new low of three in 1939. Three men or women tortured by a mob and then murdered are not as unimportant as our Southerners would have us believe, but, yes, it is an improvement over previous years, when fifty or a hundred lynchings were recorded annually. Or is it?

When Lynching Dropped  
The sharp drop in the list of the NAACP, or of the Tuskegee Institute, or of any other list of lynchings has been since the year 1922. In that year for the first time an anti-lynching bill was introduced into Congress. The so-called Dyer Bill passed the House after a relatively short debate and was blocked by a Senate filibuster. But it was a sufficient threat to the right to indulge in mob sadism to check these defenders of civilization to some extent.

Only last week, for example, two Negroes were convicted in (Continued on Page 2)

## Discontented Workers Are Looking Toward Independent Labor Action

UMW Convention Denounces FDR for Slashing Relief

Speeches from platform and floor at the United Mine Workers convention have served to focus national attention on the problem which Roosevelt and Congress are trying to relegate to the background—the unemployment problem, characterized by resolution of the convention as the nation's "No. 1 economic problem."

John L. Lewis told the story how a committee of miners spent two and a half hours with Secretary Perkins only to be told that their fears of the consequences of unemployment were "exaggerated." "Woody in the head" was Lewis' pithy characterization of the lady.

Ten Billions  
Vice President Phil Murray, after describing new processes in steel which are throwing 90,000 men out of work, said he preferred to see the government spend ten billion dollars if need be "to put the idle to work rather than to spend one dollar for American-made bullets to be used to kill someone."

However, the only proposal for action on unemployment so far proposed by the UMW leaders has been a demand that Roosevelt initiate a conference of business, labor and the government on the question. What this "round-the-table" talk could do is not very clear.

The convention is continuing the half century old fight of the miners for the introduction of safety devices in the mines and the passage of safety laws to protect the life and limb of those engaged in "the most hazardous occupation." Thousands of men have been killed in the last half century of coal mining because the mine owners did not want to spend money on safety devices and because the federal government was totally indifferent to the welfare and the lives of the coal miners.

Negro Tells of Tragedy  
Wilfred Dickinson, a young Negro delegate from Bartley, West Virginia, brought the convention to its feet by his moving description of the mine disaster which occurred last month in his home town resulting in the death of 92 miners. He told the harrowing experience of the "wives waiting for their husbands, the mothers waiting for their sons."

Lewis took the floor under this (Continued on Page 3)

## No More Deals With Boss Politicians!

AN EDITORIAL

John L. Lewis has painted a vivid picture of the way in which Roosevelt has spat upon the working class. To get the workers' support and their votes, Roosevelt promised much, and gave as little in return as he could get away with. And he got away with not giving practically everything that he promised.

Then how can Lewis seriously propose to the workers that they should repeat the same merry-go-round with another Democrat? By what logic can Lewis argue that, if the labor movement repeats "an accord between the Democratic party and organized labor," the same thing won't happen again?

Did it happen because Roosevelt was a "bad" man? Did Roosevelt change his mind? Not at all! The labor movement got nothing out of its "accord" with the Democratic party under Roosevelt because, as August Bebel said more than fifty years ago, there is a law that in every coalition between a capitalist party and the labor movement, the workers get the dirty end of the stick. Roosevelt was no better or worse than any other presidential candidate of any capitalist party; it was part of his job for those he represents—the big bosses—to take the workers into camp. He did it—with the help of John L. Lewis.

Lewis doesn't try to analyze why what happened did happen. As an accessory to the deed of tying organized labor to Roosevelt, he isn't in the best position in the world to explain what happened.

The rest of us, however, have no reason to hide from ourselves what happened. Labor got taken for a ride by Roosevelt. The next Democrat (or Republican), if he wanted the labor vote bad enough, would give Lewis all the "guarantees of good faith and fulfillment of party promises" that Lewis is asking for—and then take the workers for the same kind of a ride that we got from Roosevelt.

The American labor movement has come of age! There isn't one argument for remaining a poor relation in a boss party.

The workers, together with the white collar workers, the agricultural laborers and working farmers, and their families, constitute the overwhelming majority of the country. They ARE this country. If the CIO, representing the most important section of the industrial working class, would step out and take the lead, the others would follow.

For an Independent Labor Party!

Otherwise Break Will Help Only Boss Politicians

By E. R. FRANK

John L. Lewis dramatically broke with Roosevelt and his administration at the "Cross Roads of Destiny" Golden Jubilee convention of the United Mine Workers of America, meeting this week at Columbus, Ohio. In scathing terms he denounced the New Deal and its recent attacks on the labor movement.

Reading a prepared statement at Wednesday's session of the convention, Lewis stated: "As the current year opens the Democratic Party is in default to the American people. After seven years of power, it finds itself without solution for the major questions of unemployment, low national income, mounting internal debt, increasing direct and consumer taxation and restricted foreign markets. There still exists the same national unhappiness that it faced seven years ago."

"... I am convinced that, with conditions now confronting the nation and the dissatisfaction now permeating the minds of the people, his (Roosevelt's) candidacy would result in ignominious defeat."

Lewis accused Roosevelt of breaking "faith" with organized labor and complained that "in the last three years labor has not been given representation in the cabinet, nor in the administrative or policy-making agencies of government."

"In the Congress," Lewis pointed out, "the unrestrained baiting and defaming of labor by the Democratic majority has become a pastime, never subject to rebuke by the titular or actual leaders of the party."

Where is Bread?

Speaking the following day to newspapermen at the Neil House, Lewis remarked: "I see by the papers that William Green hauled a cake over to the President on a truck. While the people are crying for bread, Mr. Green hauls a cake over to the President. If the President eats the cake that Mr. Green provides him, the common people feel entitled at least to have bread."

"Those democrats who are good historians might see an historical allusion and say 'Let them eat cake.' Rather than spending my time toadying to the President with cake, I'm going to spend my time and efforts trying to get bread for the people who are crying for it."

Lewis Reflects Masses

On more than one occasion, John L. Lewis has revealed his sensitivity to the feelings and needs of American labor. Lewis knows that the existence of a permanent economic depression with ten to twelve million workers doomed to unemployment and insecurity, and the Roosevelt policy of steering America headlong into the European blood-bath, is storing up tremendous dissatisfaction, bitterness and hatred, that is bound, before long, to explode in the face of the New Dealers.

The CIO is based on the mass production industries, steel, coal, (Continued on Page 3)

## Behind the Lines

By GEORGE STERN

Winston Churchill, England's No. 1 warlord, made a speech at Manchester last Saturday in which he unexpectedly introduced the notion that the Allies might terminate their waiting game, take the initiative into their own hands and leave to Hitler the job of worrying where the next blow will fall.

"We do not wish indefinitely to continue merely awaiting the blows..." Churchill said. "We hope the day will come when we shall hand that job over to Hitler, and when he will be wondering where he is going to be struck next."

This was supplemented for special consumption in this country by Augur, journalistic mouthpiece of the British Foreign Office, in a special dispatch to the New York Times on Jan. 29. Augur's version is that the masses in England and, indeed, throughout the Empire, are beginning to get impatient for more blood. "This country's demand for resolute action is growing all the time. Resistance to German attacks, however stout, ceases to satisfy. . . . The Allies cannot achieve victory if it is irrevocable that they remain on the defensive. . . ."

Since the beginning of the war every responsible leader on the Allied side, including Churchill, has repeatedly stated that the Allied victory will consist in sitting tight and compelling German submission largely through the blockade and other forms of economic warfare. This has been only in part the real basis of Allied strategy.

Actually the twin line of massive fortifications on the Western front makes any offensive there prohibitively costly to either side. Any offensive, if one is to be undertaken, must of necessity take place across countries now des-

perately striving to remain neutral—Belgium, Holland, Switzerland, Scandinavia, and on the other side of the map, the Balkans.

So far the Allies have been content to wait and leave up to Hitler the heavy risks involved in starting an offensive at any one of these points. Then they could march across these frontiers as "saviors" and not as "aggressors."

For in their reaction to Churchill's open bid of a few weeks ago to all neutrals to come in on the Allied side, Holland, Belgium, and Switzerland showed plainly that they do not intend to rise to the bait but will fight anybody who tries to cross their borders.

And now Churchill, and his echo, Augur, speak in terms of direct menace to the neutrals. Augur, indeed, says openly: "The moment is now foreseeable when the British and French will openly become the aggressors." This, clearly, is not intended only for ears in Berlin, but in Brussels, Bern, and the Hague, and in Scandinavia as well.

Churchill may simply be trying to egg Hitler into starting the offensive over which the Nazis hesitate like the man who hovered on the hotel ledge seventeen stories above the ground.

But Churchill is at the same time holding up a heavily mailed fist under the noses of the neutrals. Britain's economic warfare is waged not only against Germany but of necessity deals heavy blows to the smaller neutral states.

He is saying to them in effect that if they do not yield to British pressure and openly join the Allies, they may be forced to whether they like it or not. For the Allies will "openly become the aggressors."

The drive to make EVERY SUNDAY A RED SUNDAY has been launched from coast to coast—with the sale of TWICE AS MANY APPEALS the goal in every branch. Literature agents are seeing to it that poster artists prepare room-length streamers carrying the campaign slogans: "Every Sunday a Red Sunday"—"We Will Sell Twice as Many Appeals!" These streamers, stretched across the front wall of the branch headquarters, bring the campaign home to party members as nothing else can. Has your branch put them up yet? We will send both of them to you and bill you, at nominal cost, if your branch lacks an artist. (Literature agents, here is your chance to put the problem of sales squarely before the branch, all during the meeting, every meeting! Get those streamers up!)

In the first week of the campaign, a certain effect has already been noted. Requests for decreases in bundle orders have stopped abruptly. Let every request henceforth be a request for an increase!

The weak link in bundle sales of the APPEALS has been lack of information about WHAT HAPPENS TO THESE PAPERS ONCE THEY REACH THE BRANCH. We're going

## Sell Twice as Many Appeals!

to try to change that. When branch bills go out this week, a small form with spaces for all essential figures will go with them, as it will with every single issue from now on. A remittance is requested with each report, and we will expect a WEEKLY report and a WEEKLY remittance from every branch in the country. It should be immediately apparent to every party member that the APPEAL week-to-week income will jump SHARPLY with this practice—which will give us finger-tip control over the weakest part of our sales system.

Every branch received this week a red-signal letter on back bills. The APPEAL needs money—lots of it—immediately. What is your branch doing about it? The financial jam doesn't become cleared simply because you've become aware of it. It will be cleared up only when you DO something about it!

—THE MANAGEMENT

P.S.—A note to non-party readers of our press: Your subscription or contribution, sent now, will benefit not only you, but the APPEAL as well. You are sympathetic to our cause—why not aid the members of our party in pulling the APPEAL out of its financial difficulties? Every dollar, we assure you, counts!

## 'First Lady' Barges Through Picket Line Against Jim Crow

WASHINGTON, D. C., Jan. 23—Pickets at a Jim Crow theater here last night failed to persuade Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt, four Cabinet members and three Supreme Court justices from passing the picket line.

Negro and white pickets were protesting against the barring of Negroes from Washington's theaters. The occasion was especially appropriate, for it was the premiere of "Abe Lincoln in Illinois." "Negro citizens may not see the picture of the Great Emancipator," read one of the picket signs. "I think it's a shame that such a fine picture should be picketed," Mrs. Roosevelt told reporters.



# Con-Edison Moves to Split IBEW Locals

## "INDEPENDENT" UNION IS A COMPANY TOOL

IBEW Militants Will Build Union Anew On Progressive Basis

Two class "B" locals, 829 and 830 of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers (AFL), representing the Bronx and Manhattan electrical divisions and the gas division of the Consolidated Edison Company, announced on Jan. 25 their withdrawal from the IBEW and their decision to set up a new "independent" union, the Brotherhood of Consolidated Edison Employees. Five other class "B" locals are scheduled to vote on this same proposition within the coming two weeks.

These seven locals comprise the New York IBEW Utility Council, which claims to represent the 35,000 employees of the Consolidated Edison Company.

### Claim Jurisdictional Raid

The leaders of the secession movement, Patrick J. McGrath, former business manager of Local B-829 and Joseph Fisher, former business manager of B-830 and President of the Utility Council, claim that they are withdrawing from the IBEW because the International office recently awarded jurisdiction over construction work of the Waterside Generating plant and other disputed projects to Local 3, the New York electricians local.

"It is not my intention," Wm. McGrath stated, "to be identified with any organization whose constitution has as its purpose the taking away of work from members of this company. I say, leave this constitution and identify ourselves with the company."

### Branded Company Move

Harry Van Arsdale, Business Manager of Local 3, IBEW, branded the "secession" as an out and out company union move. He stated: "Bluntly, this is an effort to deliver many thousands of workers into the hands of one of the most powerful monopolies in the world—the Consolidated Edison Company."

Every union man at the Consolidated Edison Company knows full well that the formation of the new "independent" union is nothing but the revival of the old company union representation system. The campaign to destroy unionism on the properties of the Consolidated Edison Company has been deliberately prepared and carefully organized for the past year by Floyd Carlisle, Vice-President of the company. In this nefarious scheme, Carlisle was well aided by the archaic, inefficient and inept union machinery of the IBEW.

### Background of Fight

The year 1937 saw a great revolt flaring up among the employees of the Consolidated, against the insecurity and the tyranny of the open shop. Tremendous enthusiasm was displayed for union organization and the IBEW was called in to conduct the drive. The IBEW, however, repelled immediately these workers by its ultra-conservative policies and its outmoded union structure. The IBEW offered these men a class "B" local set-up. (A class "B" local is composed of "non-benefit" members who pay lower dues. Such locals enjoy no autonomy and are entitled to only one vote at national conventions, regardless of membership.)

The Consolidated Edison workers, keenly disappointed by this proposal, began turning towards the CIO for redress of their many grievances. Suddenly, in March, 1937, like a bolt from the blue, came the announcement that a "closed shop" contract was signed by Carlisle with Dan Tracy, International President of the IBEW. The contract negotiations were conducted only from the top, with no consultation of the workers or reference to their desires and needs. The workers found themselves suddenly herded into a union like a pack of sheep. They had just "won" a closed shop contract and a check off system, but no increase in wages, no improvement in working conditions, no redress of their grievances.

The following day, the company union declared itself "dissolved." The IBEW then proceeded to set up seven class "B" locals. All workers were forced to join the union and pay dues through the check-off system. Overnight, the IBEW bloomed out into a huge organization on the properties. It had all of the outward attributes of a legiti-

## Crucible Steel Signs A Pact

But What It Says, Union Members Don't Know—Resent SWOC's Dictatorship

The recent "accord" reached between the Steel Workers Organizing Committee and the Crucible Steel Co., as announced in the December issue of "Steel Labor," which abrogated strike votes taken in nine plants of the Company, is no longer a mystery to the rank and file of the Crucible workers.

Clinton S. Golden, director for the north-eastern region of the SWOC, informed the membership of lodge 1289 (Harrison, N.J.) through a circular letter January 25, that a new contract has been signed to remain in effect for a period of one year. (Provision is made, however, for opening up the contract for revision of wage rates at any time by either party upon ten days' written notice.) Another highlight of this letter was the announcement that "the charter of lodge 1289 has been suspended until further notice; that all lodge officers, committeemen and stewards have likewise been suspended."

### Terms of Contract Unknown

The rank and file of the Crucible lodges have waited two years for a new contract. Last July, the leadership in the Jersey City and Harrison plants took the initiative and instituted a drive for a new contract. As a result of this action the SWOC was forced to institute proceedings for bargaining with the Company.

After five months of interrupted negotiations—broken off from time to time by the Company—Golden announced the signing of a new agreement—the terms of which are shrouded in deepest secrecy, and buried in the files of the SWOC.

### Local Leaders Removed

The January 2 issue of the "Voice of 1289" informed the

mate labor union—dues books, by-laws, charters, constitution—everything but the support and the loyalty of the membership it was supposed to represent. In the two and a half years of the IBEW existence at the Consolidated Edison Company, no more than a few hundred members have attended union meetings in an organization supposed to represent well over 35,000 men. Most of the union officers were the same officers as of the "dissolved" company union.

### CIO Contests Contract

The CIO Amalgamated Utility Workers Union immediately contested the contract and filed charges with the National Labor Relations Board. For the last two and a half years, this case has been tossed around in various courts, governmental boards and the US Supreme Court. Meanwhile, the IBEW National Office has permitted a situation to exist where, under its name, functioned a semi-company union at the Consolidated Edison.

Van Arsdale lifted part of the veil when he stated in his interview: "It must be admitted that the International Organization was unwise in permitting inexperienced and incompetent leaders, in many cases former officers of the Edison Company, to head the IBEW locals."

"These officials have consistently sabotaged the efforts of the CIO and are now attempting to sabotage the work of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers."

The scheduled NLRB election, which was supposed to take place in the next weeks, brought the whole situation to a head. The local IBEW officers, McGrath and Fisher, in collusion with company officials, cleverly engineered the "secession" scheme in order to throw the elections into further turmoil and legal red tape and thus further discredit the cause of unionism among the workers.

Now that the horse has been stolen, Tracy rushes to shut the gate. From Washington, he announces that the "IBEW will go the limit" to fight the company now and build a union on the Consolidated Edison properties.

IBEW Militants Reorganize. Militant union men in the IBEW are now planning to reorganize the union from the ground up. They realize that they must build their union at the Edison Company under the banner of the IBEW, because the IBEW is the national organization of the utility workers. The IBEW men are now demanding full autonomy in the conduct of the local union and its affairs, to enable them to regain the confidence of the Edison workers and to rebuild the union on a new healthy foundation.

## MPLS. DRIVERS VICTIMS OF COURT RULING

(Continued from Page 1)

of Teamsters and the Minneapolis Central Labor Union are backing the local union's fight against permitting enemies of labor to have access to its records. Under an old state law, members may, at court discretion, examine the records of the association of unincorporated associations in order to prepare a case. This amounts to letting the finks go on a fishing expedition amid the records, to turn up material which, though in no way of use in the courts, will nevertheless be very useful to the bosses.

Once before, in the summer of 1938, a judge gave similar permission to the finks. But the outcry from the labor movement was so strong, that the state supreme court stayed action. Labor is not taking it this time lying down either.

## WPA UNION WORKERS OPEN NEW DRIVE

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charge, reported on the banquet given to the WPA defendants by the labor movement. Kuehn reported that over 75 unions were represented at the banquet and many central and joint labor bodies from all over the state had representatives present.

During the course of the meeting, many workers took the floor and told how the WPA administration, believing that the WPA trials meant that the FWS was licked, was bearing down on the workers on the projects. With the weather 20 below zero last week, the administration attempted to force the men to continue working on the outdoor projects. Much to the administration's surprise, members of the FWS immediately contacted their union officials and very shortly after that, the WPA district director was forced to issue an order directing that outdoor projects be closed and that workers be given opportunity to make up lost time when the weather became warmer.

### Fighting Spirit High

Many of those present had never been at a FWS mass meeting before. At the conclusion of the meeting, the great majority of those who were non-members indicated their willingness to join the organization. The spirit of the membership was typified by the remark of Max Goldman during his speech, who said, "It will take more than 162 indictments or convictions to smash this organization. If the government wants to stop the unemployed from demanding their right to live, they will have to indict and jail not a hundred or even a thousand, but all 12,000,000 of us."

## QUICK ACTION STOPS FLINT WPA LAYOFFS

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The attempt to fire the 120 men was only the first gun in a planned general stream of lay-offs. With this attempt effectively frustrated, new efforts will be even more difficult, and will be met with even more determination by the union, which now feels its strength.

Previously a 403 was considered to be irrevocable and final. Trying to put men back who had received 403's was like trying to bring the dead back to life. But militant action did it!

### Changed His Mind!

Negotiators for the union said that when they first went into the administrator's office they were met with a firm refusal. But all obstacles melted away, when he heard the shouts and singing of the union men massed in the hall just outside his room.

Union leaders made very clear in several speeches to the workers that the reason for lay-offs is the Roosevelt policy of spending billions for guns at the expense of the unemployed, and they demanded that the unemployed be provided with JOBS NOT GUNS.

## Transport Union Brief Poses Security Demand

Hasty Demolitions Imperilling Jobs Of 3,000 Men in New York Pressure Needed to Force

### BULLETIN

Several hundred members of the Transport Workers Union picketed City Hall last Saturday afternoon, protesting the demolition program of the La Guardia administration and demanding that jobs be provided for the three thousand employees of the Second and Ninth Avenue elevated lines, before these lines are razed.

A letter addressed to the Mayor by Austin Hogan, President of Local 100 of the TWU demanded that "employment be provided for every man now employed on these lines."

Attorneys for the Transport Workers Union submitted a brief to the Transit Commission on January 8, refuting the arguments set forth by the New York City administration in its application to demolish the Second and Ninth Avenue elevated lines.

The Transport Workers Union brief proves that the hasty demolition program is motivated solely by the needs of the administration to pay out large sums of money to the bankers in conformity with the infamous "unification" deal put over last year by the La Guardia administration. It is estimated that eleven million dollars will be raised in increased property assessments on the adjoining properties when the demolition program is approved.

The Transport Workers Union

repeated its demands for complete protection of the more than three thousand members who stand in danger of losing their jobs, if the present demolition program goes through.

In spite of the repeated promises of the phony "friend of labor," Mayor La Guardia, about providing jobs for all of the men who are thrown out of employment, the La Guardia administration is rushing to jam through the demolition program in order to hasten its "unification" deal with the bankers.

The Transport Workers Union should by all means continue to fight this rotten demolition scheme through the courts and through every conceivable legal action. But legal action alone, will not save the jobs of the three thousand union members. It is necessary to supplement the legal fight by mass pressure on the city administration. It is necessary that the Transport Workers Union inaugurate a dramatic campaign of mass meetings and demonstrations and call for support upon the whole labor movement in order to stop the La Guardia administration cold, smash the La Guardia anti-union program which is designed to destroy the Transport Workers Union and to weaken the whole New York labor movement. Only in this way will the jobs of three thousand union members be saved and the open shop campaign of the bankers and their agents be successfully repulsed.

## Pressure Needed to Force Anti-Lynching Bill Through

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Prentiss, Mississippi, of the murder of a former marshal, a white man. The mob was ready for a lynching spree. They milled about the courthouse and worked themselves up to a frenzy. Hilton Fortenbury and Jerome Franklin would undoubtedly have been added to Mississippi's long list of lynching victims but for one fact. The Governor sent state troops to protect them. Each door of the courthouse was heavily guarded, and when the prisoners were taken to the jail they marched in the center of a cordon of troops. Why did Governor White take this "extra precaution"? He tells us, quite frankly. Because of the debate now going on in Congress on the anti-lynch bill.

### Lynching—New Style

So the sharp drop in the number of lynchings in recent years is not a reason for not passing the bill but a direct result of attempts to pass it. Moreover, the drop has to a large extent not been a real one. The old-time lynching was a community affair. Local newspapers announced it days in advance, to give the people from neighboring counties time to reach the scene. Then before a crowd of hundreds the victim would be tortured to death. This practice has not passed out. Only in 1937 at Duck Hill, Mississippi, a new refinement was introduced; blow-torches were applied to the bare bodies of the two Negroes.

But it has to some extent been supplanted by another sort of lynching, one which seldom is to be found in any of the annual lists. A group of men waylay their intended victim in some deserted spot, kill him, and fling the body into a river or swamp. Lynching has gone underground.

### Lists Inadequate

All sorts of evidence can be adduced to show that the list of three lynchings given by the NAACP barely scratches the surface. The International Labor Defense, the Stalinist defense agency, gives twenty-five apparently well authenticated cases for 1939. In a recent issue of

Editor and Publisher Southern newspapersmen tell some things they omit from their papers. One man has killed no fewer than twenty Negroes, according to this article, none of which was ever in the list of lynchings.

Again, William Standard, deputy sheriff in New Orleans, says he is being haunted by the ghost of Oscar Smith, a Negro he killed in January, 1938. The story is in the newspaper solely because of this macabre touch; only incidental is the fact that Standard has killed six men in his life. The murder of Smith, allegedly because he was frequently seen in the company of a woman with whom the officer was in love, was almost recorded by the publicity director for the Southern Regional Conference as the first

lynching of 1938. Because of this a grand jury investigation was started. The witnesses did not show up, and a no-true bill was returned by the jury. No action was taken against either the witnesses or Standard. The case died. But because a grand jury had been called, this was not a lynching.

### Bill Has a Chance

The bill in Congress will never stop lynching; only the abolition of the capitalist system can do that. But the mere threat of its passage has reduced somewhat this pastime of Southern gentlemen, and its passage would undoubtedly reduce it more. This time the bill has a better chance than ever before. This is an election year, and in half a dozen Northern states the Negro vote holds the balance of power between the two capitalist parties. If sufficient pressure is brought to bear on the Senate, the bill will pass.

## February 'New Int'l' Is Out

The February issue of the New Internationalist will be off the press by the time this paper reaches you. Financial difficulties and the fire in our headquarters compelled us to skip the January number.

The omission of the January number is more than compensated for by the excellence of the new magazine which will be thirty-two pages.

The issue features a discussion on the Russian question which is once again the hub of all revolutionary politics. The role of the Soviet Union in the war, the invasion of Finland, the foreign policy of the Stalinist bureaucracy since the Hitler-Stalin Pact, the question of "Soviet imperialism"—all of these are treated extensively.

Among the articles on this question are: "Again and Once More Again on the Nature of the U.S.S.R." by Leon Trotsky.

Resolutions of the Political Committee of the Socialist Workers Party on the Soviet Union and on Stalin's invasion of Finland.

A speech by James P. Cannon on the attitude of revolutionists toward the Soviet Union. Also included in this issue is an important speech by Leon Trotsky on the occasion of the 50th anniversary of the death of the Russian scientist, Mendeleev: "Dialectical Materialism and Science."

A revolutionary Marxist cannot afford to miss this issue. Order your copies now!

## WORKERS' FORUM

### Editor:

In your four points for Congressional legislation before Congress you forget one big item—and that is cost of production for the farmer.

Because the farmer having no buying power would flock into the cities and wreck your No. 2 proposition.

On the other hand when the farmer gets cost of production he will take a lot of labor out of the cities also buy so much more of labor's products.

Except for this I think you have a splendid program.

FLOYD A. LARSON  
Minneapolis, Minn.

### Editor:

While Old Man Knudsen, \$500,000-a-year President of General Motors, went up and down Michigan whipping up a Jingo War Spirit under the guise of aid to "Poor Little Finland", abject misery typical of the dark ages

was uncovered in Flint.

A family of six, with another child on the way, was found living in a basement with a dirt floor, WITH NO WINDOWS, no light, and nothing but swill to eat.

Deputy Sheriff Harold Stalter of Genesee County reported the tragedy. The Deputy reported:

"There is no floor in the place where Edward Reigle and his family live. No ventilation of any kind. It is pitch dark at all times, the only light they have is an old kerosene lamp with a broken globe. The conditions are so deplorable they cannot be told in words. There is apparently nothing in the place to eat but an old pot of beans."

Knudsen's salary is sufficient in itself to more than support all Flint's unemployed.

EXPROPRIATE the 60 Families! Provide a decent standard of living for the workers!

G. M.

Flint, Mich.



### FIRST RESPONSE TO RED SUNDAY:

Several branches of the New York local have made a good beginning in response to the request for renewed and redoubled sales of the weekly Socialist Appeal.

These branches conducted house-to-house and street sales last Sunday and all report good success. They sold many Appeals, pamphlets and other party literature.

We repeat here the requests we made of all branches last week:

- (1) Organize a special sales campaign.
- (2) Make every Sunday of the week a RED SUNDAY, on which every available member of your branch goes from house-to-house to sell the press and literature of our Party.
- (3) Send in the proceeds of RED SUNDAY immediately to help pay on your regular bundle order account.

And don't forget to send us in regular reports on the successes and experience of your RED

SUNDAY activities. We'll publish all of these reports in the Appeal Army column.

The following subscriptions have come in during the past 2 weeks time. They represent a substantial increase in new subscribers and readers over the past period. We hope branches can keep up and build on this improvement:

NEW YORK CITY	7
BOSTON	7
Minneapolis	6
Foreign	8
Los Angeles	4
Pennsylvania	3
Chicago	2
Akron	2
Oakland	1
Syracuse	1
Florida	1
Newark	1
Ann Arbor	1
St. Louis	1
Youngstown	1

TOTAL: 46

The Detroit Party branch has increased bundle order by the substantial amount of 75 copies and now takes a total of 100 per issue.

### ANTI-WAR MASS MEETING

## Jobs Not Battleships!

Speakers:

**SARAH RICE**

Former Yorkville C.P. leader

**JAMES P. CANNON**

Natl. Secretary, Socialist Workers Party

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### ANNOUNCEMENTS

WANTED: Girl share light, airy 4½ room apartment. Rental \$16 with or without furniture. Subways convenient. Rhoda Pearson, Sarah Hertzberg-151 W. 97th St. New York City.

FOOD WORKERS Branch dance has been postponed to Saturday, Feb. 10. Place: Upper West Side branch headquarters, 910 Ninth Ave., N.Y.C. Beginning 8:30 p.m. Admission twenty-five cents.

UNSER WORT No. 1 (99) is available at the following bookshops and newsstands in New York City:

Modern Book Shop, 27 University Pl.

Rand School, 7 East 15th St. 42nd St. & 6th Ave., S.E. Cor. 42nd St., Southern Side, near Library.

200 East 86th St. Moderne Deutsche Buchhandlung, 250 East 84th St.

Get it at once! It contains the article of W.H. on the War in Finland, a commentary on the Riots in Bohemia, and the important article by L. Trotsky, the USSR in War.

Boro Park Presents: Info Please with Gould and Gordon as our experts. An auction of auto-

graphed Diego Rivera prints. Dancing in a private ballroom. Bring 2 bits to 1181 E. 49St. B'klyn and the fun is all yours.

FOR SALE: Microscope, Spencer Binoculars, crystal sub-stage condenser-950 power, good condition. Reasonable. See S. Stanley in Socialist Appeal office at 116 University Place-N.Y.C.

THE HISTORY OF TROTSKYISM is incorporated in the file of the Militant and the New Militant which we have. Vol.1 No.1 Nov. 1928 to June 1938 except for about 25 of the later issues. We will sell it for the best offer we receive.

We have all books and pamphlets of interest to Socialists. Send for our lists. We pay cash for used and old books and pamphlets.

Have You Read: Unemployment and the American Workers—Swabeck—10c; The Meaning of Marx—Hook, Eddy, Russell, Dewey—20c; Hearst by Oliver Carlson—50c; Why Jews are Persecuted—A Catholic viewpoint—10c. LABOR PUBLICATIONS Dept. T. Box 785 Chicago, Ill.

GO H A R L E M ! This Saturday, Feb. 3, 8 P.M. Dance to the JIVE Music of the SAVOY BEARCATS BAND Entertainment, Refreshments, etc. Sub. 49c 186 Lenox Ave. Harlem Branch, S.W.P.

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## The Negro Question

By J. R. JOHNSON

First of all, as we showed last week, lynching has nothing to do with the protection of white "womanhood." Let us once more nail that lie. Some months ago the refusal of Miami Negroes to be frightened away from the polls by the Ku Klux Klan made national headlines in all the Negro papers and even had some attention in the capitalist press. It was only afterwards that we learnt what had frightened off the Klan. The Negroes sat in their houses waiting for the Klan with loaded Winchester across their laps. Backed by this not-to-be-despised argument, American "democracy" won a small victory.

Now a similar situation is developing in Greenville, South Carolina. Both sides are primed for civil war. The Klan is determined that the Negroes shall not vote. The Negroes are determined that they shall. They are carrying on a campaign for registration in the city elections. James A. Briar, 69 year-old head of the local National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, considered chiefly responsible for the agitation, has been arrested for illegal possession of a gun. This time Briar is defending not only "democracy" but his life. The Klan visited his house a few times in recent weeks, but he was always out. According to the N. Y. Amsterdam News (December 23, 1939), the Klan raided the Negro area and "have beaten up men, stripped and humiliated women and destroyed some property."

This conflict has been going on for months. How does it affect the Negro? Enter your Southern scientist: "Here is a situation where the Negro's uncontrollable lust for white women shows itself." William Anderson, 19 years old, president of the local NAACP Youth Council and very active in the registration campaign, was "framed" some time ago for disorderly conduct and breach of the peace, charged by the "authorities," "who insisted he had tried to date a white girl in town." There you have the kernel of lynching in the South. The "authorities" bring a case. The mob is less subtle. It tears the victim to pieces. It is a principle of propaganda today to smear your enemy with the crimes of which you yourself are guilty. Hitler is a past master at the art, Stalin its greatest exponent, living or dead. The South acts on the same principle. The Southern gentlemen pester the Negro women with their attentions. They accuse the Negro of this, their own besetting sin.

### Who Are the Savages?

Who are the "savages" in this lynching business? In his recent book, *The Black Man in White America*, John G. Van Deusen, Professor of American History and Government in Hobart College, details some of the practices of the lynch mobs.

In Mississippi a Negro woman had five splinters run into her body and was then slowly burned alive by white men—because the mob had failed to capture her husband. A Texas mob burned a Negro in a courthouse vault. A Georgian mob beat an insane man to death in a hospital. A Tennessee mob tied a fifteen-year-old boy to a train. Mobs in Tennessee and Georgia disemboweled pregnant women. In Louisiana they sewed a man in a sack, weighted it with stone, and threw him into a lake. In Mississippi they buried a man up to his neck, placed a steel cage over his head, and loosed a bull dog into the cage. A Mississippi mob bored corkscrews into the flesh of Luther Holbert and his wife, in arms, legs, and body, and then pulled them out, the spirals pulling with them big pieces of raw quivering flesh every time. Henry Lowry was burned to death over a slow fire in 1921. "Inch by inch the Negro was fairly cooked to death." Nine months later men, women and children in Hubbard, Texas, roasted a Negro to death and, to increase his pain, jabbed sticks into his mouth, nose and ears. In 1937 a mob at Duck Hill, Mississippi, tortured two Negroes with a blow torch before shooting them. "Occasionally fingers, toes and ears have been cut off the living wretch and distributed for souvenirs. Photographs are quickly sold out."

And the "authorities"?

Huey Long did not think it worth while to bother himself about an investigation. It wouldn't "do the dead nigger no good." When a Negro association sent a telegram to Governor Bilbo protesting against a lynching, Bilbo replied, "Go to hell." Cole Blaise, Governor of South Carolina, said to a leader of a mob, "I will turn you loose when charged with lynching a Negro who is accused of assault on a white woman." On another occasion, when campaigning for election to the Senate, Blaise found himself at Union, S.C., where not long before a lynching had taken place. He marked the occasion feelingly: "Whenever the Constitution comes between men and the virtue of the white women of South Carolina, I say to hell with the Constitution."

### "Only A Stage"

These gentlemen make "moderate" speeches about states' rights in Congress. But that is not the language and the arguments they use to their own constituents. Let the last word be with Franklin Roosevelt, President of the United States, the great crusader for human rights against Hitler and other enemies of "democracy." What has he to say about lynching? Zero. Exactly that. Not a word of rebuke to the filibusters who year after year have killed the bill. And why? Because Roosevelt knows that lynching is no accidental phenomenon. It is rooted not only in the history but in the whole economic and social system of the South. These Southern politicians are not defending white "womanhood." They are defending Southern property, power and privilege.

And Franklin Roosevelt is defending Southern property, power and privilege too. So that if Southern property, power and privilege need to keep this two-edged sword between black and white poor in the South, Franklin D. keeps his mouth shut. If he and his New Dealers could put an end to lynching without disrupting the social and economic bases of capitalism, they would. But first things come first. They leave lynching where it is as a means of preserving the system. We, however, will not leave lynching where it is. We support the attack on it in Congress. But that is only a stage in the fight. It has to be torn up by the roots, and the roots are in the capitalist system.

### A GLEAM THROUGH THE CENSORSHIP

## What Is Happening in Stalin's Poland?

Almost nothing appears in the Russian and Stalinist press describing any of the details of the new economic set-up in the territories of former Poland occupied by the Red Army. The following article, which appeared in the Times of London, December 12 (part of it was published in the N. Y. Times with a misleading introduction), appears to be a sober and realistic account. It provides some details of the complex inter-action of the three major factors in the situation:

1. The nationalized economy of the Soviet Union, which dictated to the Stalinist bureaucracy the economic transformation of the occupied territories.

2. The role of the Stalinist bureaucracy. The article verifies Trotsky's prediction of Sept. 25, shortly after the Red Army began to march into Poland: "The appeal to the independent activity on the part of the masses in the new territories—and without

## LEWIS MOVE ON F.D.R. REFLECTS MASS FEELINGS

(Continued from Page 1)

auto, rubber, oil—the very nerve centers of American economy. Lewis has seen the militant workers of these industries in battle. He knows their indomitable courage and their determination to win economic security for themselves and their families.

**Knows What Is Coming**

Lewis has learned, in the recent years, to understand what independent strength the American trade unions possess. Disturbed by the deep, subterranean rumblings of dissatisfaction throughout the country, Lewis is beginning to roar out against the New Deal and its agents. He is demanding a higher price for the support of Labor. He understands the impending revolt and is determined to lead it. To lead it, of course, in a "safe" direction, not toward the necessary Labor Party but back into a deal with capitalist politicians.

Obviously, Lewis made no effort to reach an agreement on his new anti-Roosevelt policy with the other top officials of the CIO, prior to its presentation to the Miners convention. The next day, Hillman, President of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America and Emil Rieve, President of the United Textile Workers of America, rejected the Lewis policy and urged continued support for a Roosevelt "third term." David Dubinsky, President of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union, independent of both the AFL and CIO, is expected to take a similar stand this week in the magazine *Newsweek*.

**Sure of His Ground**

Lewis is keenly aware of this opposition inside the CIO, but is convinced that economic conditions and the dissatisfaction on the part of millions make it obligatory to break with Roosevelt and take the leadership of this new movement. This, Lewis believes, will fully compensate for the non-support of Hillman. It is, of course, a foregone conclusion that all mid-western unions will follow the Lewis policy and that it will carry in the CIO Executive Board.

Lewis and his lieutenants are convinced that the coming period will be marked by great expansion of all war industries and that the CIO, with its industrial structure and its modern and aggressive methods of organization, will be enabled to win definite hegemony of the trade union movement. That is why he is determined that the CIO unions and policies, under no conditions, be subordinated to the moribund AFL Executive Council. This constitutes Lewis's answer, in effect, to the "peace campaign" of Dan Tobin of the Teamsters Union.

### Fight For Labor Party!

Progressives in every local union must now convince all rank and file unionists of the utter bankruptcy, not only of the old-fashioned Gompers' "reward your friends and punish your enemies" politics, but also the streamlined Lewis version of playing around with capitalist politicians. The bankruptcy of the old policies in this field must be utilized to force the unions to break completely with all "company unionism" in the sphere of politics and to utilize the energy, finances, and strength of the unions to build an independent political party of labor, based on a fighting program for jobs, security and the struggle against fascism and war.

such an appeal, even if worded with extreme caution, it is impossible to constitute a new regime—will on the morrow undoubtedly be suppressed by ruthless police measures in order to assure the preponderance of the bureaucracy over the awakened revolutionary masses."

3. The awakened revolutionary masses, having been encouraged into activity to expropriate the land and establish control of the factories, do not relapse into passivity at the subsequent command of the G.P.U., but seek to carry on in the revolutionary spirit appropriate to the new economy. These "hotheads" are ruthlessly curbed by the Stalinist bureaucracy.

We publish below the original text of the Times of London article:

The Russians, in the part of Poland they have seized, have not reproduced the methods of the first years of the Bolshevik Revolution. Contrary to general belief there are as yet no "worker's and peasant's soviets" in the occupied territory, and the Russian press has rather tended to emphasize the difficulty that the political commissions have had in restraining "hotheads" from forming them. The administration is being carried on by provisional local commissars and G. P. U. agents. Representatives of the local population have only an advisory voice.

These committees organized the election campaign for the formation of the National Assemblies of Lwow and Bialystok. In this campaign there were no class restrictions, at least in theory, but only one list of candidates was submitted, and the National Assemblies were 'monolithic,' in accordance with the best totalitarian models.

The assemblies are not meant to be permanent legislative bodies. They have been convened for

one occasion only—to pass four fundamental resolutions. They are to proclaim the introduction of the Soviet system into their territories; to incorporate the territories in the Soviet Union; to expropriate the large landowners and distribute the land among the peasants; and to nationalize the banks and large-scale industries.

### RUSSIAN OFFICIALS FACE DIFFICULTIES

There will be difficulties in all this. In the occupied territories the peasantry and a small section of the intelligentsia regard themselves as of Ukrainian or White Russian nationality, while the industrial workers in the towns are Poles and, to some extent, Jews. The Soviet authorities clearly show distrust of the Polish proletariat. They have discarded the use of Marxist terminology and discouraged the traditional proletarian outlook.

Proclamations, resolutions, and articles in the press, carefully refrain from reference to the "dictatorship of the proletariat," which in this case would have to mean the hegemony of the Polish section of the population. The new authorities seek support from the peasantry and from the nonpolitically minded Ukrainian intelligentsia who alone are disposed to submit passively to the directions of Moscow.

The Communist party has so far been entirely inactive in the occupied territory. The "Communist party of Western Ukraine and Western Belorussia" was, along with the Polish Communist party, disowned by the Comintern two years ago, being accused of Ukrainian nationalism and of acting in the interest of the Polish police and of Hitlerism. The distrust and hostility manifested by Moscow toward all political sections of the Ukrainians and White Russians, including the Communist party, shed an interesting sidelight on this cur-

ous liberation of the oppressed "blood-brethren."

The agrarian revolution in Soviet Poland has had the force of a spontaneous movement. As soon as the report spread that the Red Army had crossed the River Zbrucz the peasants began to share out among themselves the landlords' acres. Land was given first to smallholders, and in this way about 30 per cent of agricultural land was expropriated. But any attempt to introduce collectivization by force would immediately break the friendly relations between the peasants and the authorities.

In industry, drastic acts of expropriation have not yet been carried out on a large scale. The main centers of the banking system, the railway system and a number of large industrial undertakings were State-owned for years before the Russian occupation. In small and medium-sized industries workmen now exercise "control over production."

The industrialists nominally retain a full right of ownership in their own establishments, but they are compelled to submit statements of costs of production, and so on, for the consideration of the workmen's delegates. The latter, jointly, with the employers, fix wages, conditions of work, and a "just rate of profit" for the industrialist.

The Russian authorities attach great importance to the organization of cultural life on Soviet models. The schools are being re-organized and subordinated to the demands of official propaganda. The leading educational posts are filled by trusted Soviet officials. A young reader in history in Kiev has been appointed Rector of the old Lwow University. The use of the Polish language is discouraged, the Ukrainian and White Russian languages are those in which lectures are delivered, and Russian has become a compulsory subject. Textbooks

### Two Views: Front and Back

## Stalinists and the New Deal

By CHRIS ANDREWS

"The New Deal lamb has laid down with the 'reactionary lion.' So cried Earl Browder to the Communist Party members gathered in Madison Square Garden on January 22.

It was only yesterday that Browder and the whole Stalinist press were lavishing their praise on the "progressive" New Deal and advising all good Communists to support Roosevelt. Now today they wail of "betrayal," and "ingratitude." Is it true? Do the Stalinists really have a right to speak of "betrayal"? Were the Honest Stalinists really deceived by the Bad New Dealers with False Promises?

The Socialist Workers Party in its press long ago analyzed the venal and degenerate corruption of the Stalinist leadership. One thing, however, we never charged against Browder and his lackeys—we never said they were so stupid as to honestly "believe" in the New Deal they supported. It was precisely the fact that they always knew from the beginning the falseness of Roosevelt's promises to the masses, that they understood completely the sham character of his "reforms"—it was precisely this fact that made the Stalinist betrayal so much more heinous and criminal.

### THEY KNEW BETTER IN 1933-1935

To prove this, it is only necessary to turn back to the Stalinists' analysis of the first years of Roosevelt. Leaving aside for the moment the editorial pages of the *Daily Worker* where, day after day, the Stalinists in Third Period delirium described Roosevelt as a "Fascist"—let us cite exclusively from the more sober, more carefully prepared "Labor Fact Book" of the Stalinists, published by International Publishers, using the volumes of 1934 and 1936, where the New Deal measures were carefully reviewed.

Here is what they said THEN:

"In their attempt to find a way out of the crisis, the capitalist class and its government in Washington have used various tactics. Especially since the inauguration of Roosevelt on March 4, 1933, one program after another has been announced as a way to 'recovery.' (Please note—not the People's Government then—but 'the capitalist class and its government.' C. A.)

About NRA: "NIRA is the key-stone of the Roosevelt 'New Deal' structure. This act greatly accelerates the development of mon-

opoly capitalism in the United States." For example: "The iron and steel code, according to a recent Federal Trade Commission report, placed domination of the policies of the steel industry in the hands of the major units; resulted in sharp price increases and price fixing; and legalized monopolistic practices and aims previously by the Commission."

How about the workers under Roosevelt? The Stalinists told us then—

"The so-called 'right to organize and bargain collectively' through representatives of their own choosing," has proved to be a delusion for workers and a weapon for employers to prevent organization and/or force through their company union schemes."

"The open shop has been legalized by the inclusion in the automobile code of the notorious 'merit' clause as well as by Roosevelt's statement in a letter to General Johnson, 'clarifying' Section 7 (a) and stating that 'there is nothing in the provision of Section 7 (a) to interfere with the bona fide exercise of the right of an employer to select, retain, or advance employees on the basis of individual merit.'"

"That strike-breaking is one of the chief aims of NRA has been proven by Recovery Administrator's statements, code provisions, agreements prohibiting strikes, and published advice from NRA encouraging establishment of strike-breaking machinery."

**On the National Labor Board:** Delay, exhausting the physical endurance and financial resources of the strikers, while at the same time giving the employers ample time to fortify their already strong positions, has been the principal tactic employed by the labor boards in weakening workers' militancy."

"The NRA has widened the gap between the purchasing power of the consuming masses and the cost of living." It first established a fixed and very low level of wages."

**On the Roosevelt Budget:** The Roosevelt budget is designed to support the tottering financial structure, to reduce the taxes of the capitalist class to a minimum, and carry through the inflation scheme, all at the expense of the working masses."

### YES, THEY SAID THIS IN THESE EARLY DAYS!

**On PWA:** "The entire plan of the Public Works Administration has been revealed as largely a program for war preparations,

and as a scheme to create illusions among the working masses and to turn them away from the struggle for unemployment and social insurance."

**On Negro workers:** "Conditions of Negroes have grown worse under the NRA. With the adoption of NRA codes thousands have been fired and replaced by white workers on jobs where Negroes were being paid less than the established minimum wage scales. Low NRA wage minimums were considered 'too much money for Negroes.' The Federal government itself has given legal sanction to this discrimination policy, long the practice of southern employers, by providing lower wage scales in southern states aimed especially at the Negroes. Black workers in some instances are exempt even from the low minimums of the code."

The Stalinists today could congratulate themselves upon their expert analysis of the New Deal. They could tell the workers that they predicted all along the present drive against organized labor by Roosevelt, the continuance of the crisis, the prosperity at the top for the big corporations, the banks and the whole parasitic Sixties families, the grinding poverty at the bottom back in 1934, they understood correctly the real character of the New Deal.

But they will not so remind the workers. Because every reminder would evoke the bitter response: "If you knew then, why did you lie to us afterwards?"

### THEN AND NOW, THEY SERVE STALIN'S GAME

Yes, the Stalinists knew just who Roosevelt was, and what he represented. But then came the order from Moscow. Stalin's foreign policy, from 1935 until 1939, required playing ball with Roosevelt. It did not matter to Browder and his gang that Roosevelt, before and after 1935, was the same Roosevelt, that in the years 1935-1939 his measures against the workers increased. Stalin's voice was louder in their ears than the anguished voices of the hungry and jobless. With their skillful propaganda, they set about making Roosevelt into a lamb.

And now, after five years of service of this kind to Roosevelt, Stalin has ordered a new change. Now they cry out against Roosevelt. For how long? For what purpose? NOT on behalf of the masses whom they so long tied to Roosevelt! Now, as before, they are doing Stalin's dirty work.

are sent from Kharkov, Kiev, and Minsk.

So far the authorities have refrained from much anti-religious propaganda. Clerics who engage in political activities are persecuted, but for political reasons and not as expressions of an anti-religious drive. The separation of church and State, one of the cardinal points in the old Bolshevik program, was not included in the agenda of the National Assemblies.

All spheres of communal life in the occupied territories, whether economic, political or cultural, are in a state of flux. Nothing is definite, save one thing, the determination of the Moscow government to maintain absolute control. The new masters show an unconcealed disapproval of all, even Soviet, forms of local self-government.

Will the Soviet regime be able to establish itself firmly in the former Polish provinces? Internal difficulties will be certainly great. The Russians will have to overcome considerable resistance, both Polish and Ukrainian. But the chances of establishing the new regime will not depend so much on internal factors as on the development of the international situation and the course of relations between Moscow and Berlin.

## UMW SCORES CUTS IN AID TO JOBLESS

(Continued from Page 1)

discussion and denounced the U.S. Bureau of Mines as "anti-union." He attacked Secretary Ickes for previously ignoring the recommendation of the United Mine Workers and demanded a voice in the selection of the Bureau's next director.

"We know what the coal operators of this country want," Lewis exclaimed. "They want to continue what they consider to be their inalienable right to butcher men in the mining industry, rather than spend the money to make the mines safe."

"... No member of the Federal Congress has been required to gather up the charred remains of men burned to death in the mines and to carry these burnt bodies to the undertaker. If the members of the Congress had done this," he continued sarcastically, "they would find time to take five minutes to pass at least the Neely Bill."

### Demand Law As Right

Lewis added that the miners "do not ask the passage of the Neely Bill as a favor, they demand it as a right."

The 82 page Officers' report pointed out that the Bureau of Mines was guilty of a "series of bureaucratic regulations, and pussyfooting the real issues." The report further pointed out that even if the Neely Bill becomes law, its effects will be nullified unless the Bureau of Mines is organized to "exclude the present evils of incompetence, inexperience and the transfer of funds to relatively unimportant functions."

The convention went on record for vigorous action to force passage of the Neely Mine Safety Bill in the House, where it now rests in the Rules Committee.

### For Anti-Lynch Law

The convention also passed resolutions endorsing federal anti-lynching legislation and instructed the International officers to work for passage of "an anti-lynching bill in this session of Congress."

The convention lashed out fiercely against the Dies Committee which it described as "the greatest achievement" of anti-labor forces that specialize in "skillful propaganda to demoralize and turn the community against organized labor."

### District Autonomy Loses

As in every recent Miners convention, the fight for the restoration of district autonomy took most time and occupied greatest attention under the discussion of the Officers Report. In spite of the determined fight of numerous delegates from West Virginia and Illinois for the restoration of district autonomy, the combined pressure of Lewis and his lieutenants was sufficient to defeat the measure and to force continuance of the old policy, with power lodged in the hands of the International Executive Board to grant each district autonomy as it sees fit.

The Miners Union, one of the most militant and progressive in the country, continues to be run in a highly autocratic manner by the top machine headed by Lewis.

## Auto Workers Want Action

### They Want Security On The Job And A Decent Living — And Nothing Less Will Serve

By JULES GELLER

FLINT, Michigan—A mass rally of 5,000 General Motors workers here on January 21 served to underline with startling clarity both the growing militancy of the auto workers and the incapacity of the official union leaders to make progressive use of the fighting spirit of the union men.

Much the greatest stress was placed, by George Addes, International Secretary Treasurer of the United Auto Workers (CIO), upon the need for "responsibility" and condemnation of outlaw strikes.

The present leaders are unable to understand the current wave of unrest and outcry for action which is shaking every plant to its foundations. Their only answer to the pressure of the ranks is a decree against "irresponsible" slow-downs and strikes.

### Fundamental Needs Cry Out

The wave of sporadic slow-downs and repeated struggles which break out daily in plant after plant, in a sort of disorganized guerrilla warfare against the corporations, expresses the fact that the auto workers are being pressed to the wall by their bosses.

The auto workers are looking desperately for a solution to their need for security, a steady job. Men on the production line are restless, jittery, ill-tempered... looking for a way out of their insecurity, trying to find an answer to their need for a job—not six months out of the year, not subject to the whim of Du Pont or Sloan—but a guaranteed income twelve months out of the year, every year, day in and day out. Now production goes up, several thousands more go to work—next month out they go. From this fundamental situation arise the daily protests.

Those with the courage to see the truth recognize that to secure the justifiable demands of the workers means a most determined battle against the corporations—and against the power of the state which would undoubtedly be mustered to back the corporations.

### Ranks Unafraid of Struggle

The rank and file is not afraid of this prospect. They showed it at the rally, as they stamped, cheered and shouted lustily every time the 30 hour week at 40 hours pay was so much as mentioned. It is this spirit of struggle which the "leaders" fear to unleash. They have not forgotten the sit-downs.

Since this meeting, the General Motors Department of the UAW has published in the union paper the demands it intends to submit to the corporation.

There is a peculiar separation of these demands into two categories—"immediate" and "basic." According to this arbitrary separation, the UAW negotiating committee will ask only routine improvements in grievance procedure and in seniority regulations in the parleys with General Motors.

The "basic" demands: (1) Guaranteed annual wage, 30-hour week of five six-hour days for 40-hours pay; (2) Complete recognition of shop steward system; (3) Vacations with pay for all employees covered by the contract; etc.—none of these will be presented in the present parleys with the corporation. They will be left to gather dust until after the NLRB elections.

In other words, the UAW is offering in reality only a routine program which cannot by any measure be said to meet the real demands of the workers. If the corporation refuses to grant even the routine demands, the auto workers will be faced with the prospect of a long and debilitating strike at the end of which a victory will bring them no nearer their real goal.

On the other hand, if the corporation grants the routine demands, the real issue will only be postponed. The NLRB elections will probably be held after the peak of the production season. No effective struggle can be waged in slack season for the "basic" demands.

But the ranks are getting tired of waiting. The glaring injustices of the system of private profit is becoming increasingly unbearable.

### The Money Is There!

General Motors will declare a net profit for 1939 of at least \$150,000,000. One-fourth of this tremendous loot sweated out of the workers will go to the DuPont dynasty, all the rest to a small group of coupon-clippers. That net profit would put 100,000 unemployed to work in the plant at a yearly average wage of about \$1500.

Think of it! 100,000 men could be given a year-round guaranteed wage, the work week could be cut down to 20 hours and the same productive capacity preserved, if... if the auto workers would take back what rightfully belongs to them.

The growing realization of these facts is what is causing turmoil and unrest in the auto plants. A desire to rectify the situation, to break the bonds and chains which hold down production, which lock out hundreds of thousands of workers, is what is bringing about the so-called "out-law" actions in waves in the plants.

It is clear the UAW leadership does not take seriously a struggle for the real interests of the auto workers. They are frightened by the prospect of the struggle. Insofar as the demands of the workers are advanced at all, it is under pressure from the ranks, as mere lip-service. Only the organization of this pressure against the Reuther-Thomas leadership will put the struggle for the real demands of the auto workers on the order of the day.

A woman with a high bred air, carrying a Pekinese under her arm, entered a Minneapolis store recently, and when the dog showed signs of thirst she took it over to the water fountain and gave the beast a drink. Seeing this, a floor-walker timidly suggested that "Our customers might not like to drink after a dog." Hearing this, the lady is frightfully taken aback. "Oh, pardon me," she exclaimed: "I thought that fountain was for your clerks!"



## SOCIALIST APPEAL

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### FIGHT WITH THE SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY FOR:

1. A job and a decent living 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.
12. Full social, political and economic equality for the Negro people.

## Defend Joe Ryan

Thurman Arnold, head of the "anti-trust"—union-busting—division of the Department of Justice, whose inventive brain has cooked up enough pretexts to apply the Sherman Anti-Trust Law to over 400 trade union leaders now under indictment, with any number more indictments to come, has found a new justification for this policy.

"And finally," he said in a speech last Saturday (quoted in the New York Times, Jan. 28), "the Sherman act can protect the labor movement from enemies within its ranks. . . . Without the intervention of the Sherman act, it is possible for selfish men within a labor union to work themselves into positions of autocratic power and terrorize the members of that union into helpless submission to activities the purpose of which is only personal power."

This was a clever thrust at Joe Ryan, head of the International Longshoremen's Association, the latest to be indicted by Arnold. Clever, for it is unquestionable that Ryan is an autocrat, that he terrorizes militants in his union, and that his personal power is a prime consideration with him. Clever—but false.

Ryan's role is, like that of all trade union bureaucrats (including Stalin), a dual one. On the one hand, he operates for his own personal power, beating down opposition within the union; to keep his power he will make concessions to the bosses which are inimical to the interests of the union membership. On the other hand, however, the union must exist and flourish, and that means its members must benefit from it, if Ryan is to have any power at all. Hence the purpose of Ryan's activities is NOT "only personal power." His personal fate is tied up with the destiny of the union. And a blow by the bosses or their government against Ryan is a blow against the union.

Ryan's crimes against the trade union movement, arising from his autocratic rule, are not at all the reasons why the government is prosecuting him. On the contrary, he is indicted for activities on the OTHER side of his dual role—activities which are building his union. He is indicted, not for lack of democracy in the union, but because for the sake of the union he is making trouble for some lumber companies. That in this particular case the lumber companies are trying to hide behind a CIO local, which has invaded the jurisdiction of the longshoremen and teamsters, does not obscure the fundamental fact: the government is after Ryan because the government is the agent of the bosses whom Ryan is fighting.

The United States government is not the umpire that Arnold pretends it is—pretends, because he knows better. One of the persons who heard Arnold's speech asked him why he didn't go after the California banker—"farmers" to rectify the conditions depicted by "The Grapes of Wrath." Arnold answered, "those matters are largely a matter of personnel in the office of the Department of Justice." That's a bald-faced lie. They have just the personnel intended for the department—a personnel to fight against unions and to protect bosses.

We've got our grievances against Ryan. But they are grievances WITHIN the labor movement. Against the bosses, and against their agents like Arnold, we'll defend Ryan unconditionally.

## For A Free Poland

Like all the other creatures of the Versailles system, the regime established in Poland after the last war was a monstrous abortion which placed millions of Ukrainians, Germans, Byelo Russians, and Jews at the mercy of a ruling clique of Polish colonels and landlords who governed with rifle and knout for nearly 20 years. The mass of Polish workers and peasants suffered along with their brothers of other nationalities under the lash of Pilsudski and his successors, Smigly-Rydz and Jozef Beck.

This explained the easy pricking of the Polish bubble by Hitler's war machine. This was why the much-vaunted Polish state fell to pieces under the first impact of a military blow. Today the Poles have passed under the Nazi yoke. The Ukrainians and Byelo Russians have fallen to the tender mercies of the Stalinist bureaucracy and the Jews have simply exchanged the Polish yoke for that of the Nazis and of Stalin.

Meanwhile on French soil the Polish colonels have set up a government-in-exile to retain the possibility of re-establishing their power after the Allied victory they hope will result from the present war. They have brought the aged and quavering Paderewski out of retirement to become "president" and through him offer the Polish people once more their lush promises: "Respect for democratic ideas will be the guiding principle of future Polish regimes . . . democratic equality . . . individual liberty . . ."

But who are the people for whom Paderewski speaks? Permit us to take as authority the organ of the ultra-conservative and ultra-ultra-subservient Jews of this country, the American Jewish Committee's *Contemporary Jewish Record*, which finds in the regime of exiles at Angiers, France, the same gang that subjected Jews to vile oppression long, long before Hitler rose to power. It discovers "confirmed anti-Semites in the cabinet . . . sporadic and very minor (!) instances of anti-Semitism in the Polish legion . . ."

No, these are not the people who will build a free Poland. They and their mentors in the Allied chancelleries seek only the opportunity to re-establish their power over the mangled and thrice oppressed minorities of that country. No, a free and independent Poland will be created by the Polish workers and peasants in common struggle with the masses of Byelo Russia and the Ukraine and the workers of Germany and the U.S.-S.R. It will be created when the 25,000,000 Poles establish their own state in which no other race or national minority is oppressed, a state which will take its place with the other free nations and people of the continent in a United Socialist States of Europe.

## Sailor Beware

The Sailors Union of the Pacific is unquestionably in the vanguard, not only of maritime unionism, but of the labor movement as a whole. It survived and flourishes mainly because it learned how to struggle correctly against two evils: Stalinism and the U. S. government's various union-busting moves.

Not everybody in the union, however, learned the lessons of those struggles. Some vocal people wrote and presented a resolution supporting "poor little Finland" and condemning all attempts to "keep us unprepared"; and got it adopted at Seattle and Frisco membership meetings.

We know that the mere passage of such a resolution at a membership meeting may not mean much: many militants may not be present, nobody expects such a resolution, etc., and the resolution gets by. Nevertheless, it is an alarming sign that this can happen in such an outstandingly progressive movement as the S.U.P.

Any sailor who wants to know concretely what is being defended in Finland should go aboard some of the Finn ships that are now docked in American ports. You will not find worse conditions anywhere. S.U.P. members got so many raw deals from the Stalinists—BUT we'd like to remind them that they never joined up with the cops, Dies or any other boss-governmental crowd in fighting the Stalinists. But that's just what anybody does who thinks he's fighting Stalinism by lining up with Hoover, Roosevelt, Chamberlain & Co. in Finland.

As for keeping "us" prepared, that's what the U.S. Maritime Commission's job is in the merchant marine. And if you really believe in preparedness under a capitalist government, then the Maritime Commission is absolutely right: the merchant marine must serve as an auxiliary to the navy, and that means that the needs and desires of the sailors must give way before the needs and desires of the shipowners and their government. But anybody who defends the Maritime Commission is correctly called a fink. Take your choice, brother sailors: if you're for preparedness, you're for the Maritime Commission and all its crimes against the sailors.

We don't think that resolution speaks the mind of the sailors!

## In the World of Labor

By Paul G. Stevens

### Jewish "Bund" Leaders

#### Arrested by Stalin in Poland

From a New York anarchist paper in the Yiddish language—the "Freie Arbeiter Stimme"—we learn of the arrest in Grodno, Soviet Poland, of two leaders of the Jewish "Bund". The "Bund" is the Jewish Socialist Federation which operated for some four decades in what once was the Republic of Poland.

Involved in this case are not old line leaders of the "Bund" who made their peace with the government of the colonels, but two younger militants. Hurvitch and Shifris, the two arrested "Bundists", are in their early thirties. Both were active propagandists engaged in the day to day struggles of the workers. Hurvitch had been the leader of the joint fraction of Jewish, Polish and Byelo-Russian socialists in the City Council of Grodno. In the course of his activities, he was arrested time and again by the government of the colonels and spent a good part of the last few years under the republic in Colonel Beck's jails. Now he has been sentenced to fifteen and Shifris to six years' imprisonment by Stalin's "liberators".

Stalin cannot cover up this crime and the hundreds of others like it by pointing to the nationalization of the land in the occupied territories. Were Hurvitch and Shifris enemies of the expropriation of the landowners and of workers' control in the factories? Their years in jail are testimony to the contrary. To Stalin their crime lay in their opposition to his bureaucracy. We solidarize ourselves with these victims of the G.P.U. and with the many others who languish in Stalin's jails for their working class convictions. Their liberation as well as the best defense of the Soviet Union demands a relentless struggle for the overthrow of the despots in the Kremlin.

### A New Paper Issued By Our Belgian Comrades

Once again the "neutral" Belgian government has come down on the heads of our valiant comrades of the Revolutionary Socialist Party. Jittery over the rumors of an impending German invasion the government has struck . . . on the home front. *La Lutte Ouvriere*, official organ of the R.S.P. is no longer permitted to appear.

Not at all nonplussed by the action, our comrades of the Brussels Federation of the party have issued a new paper, *L'Action Socialiste*. To rub it in, the first issue of *L'Action Socialiste*

carries an article written by Paul Spaak, "socialist" Foreign Minister of Belgium, in 1933—when he was still a hot "leftist". The article is entitled "Against National Defense" and winds up with the following ringing words:

"In any case, always, everywhere, without weakening, we must refuse to abdicate before the so-called general interest and continue with our propaganda along the lines of this clear and correct slogan: 'No national defense under a capitalist regime'."

Incidentally, *L'Action Socialiste* was also the name of Spaak's paper in his radical days.

### Soldiers Attack Meetings Of Militants in Australia

From the Sydney, Australia *Herald* of January 1 we learn of some exciting activity on the part of our Australian comrades.

On New Year's Day, the Communist League of Australia (Trotskyists) as well as the Stalinist party held mass meetings on the famous Sydney Domain, the center of radical activity in that city. Suddenly an organized group of soldiers and sailors appeared, with a following of about two hundred. The leaders declared their intention openly: they were out to break up the two meetings.

Soon some 15,000 workers gathered on the Domain and a battle ensued. Only the immediate appearance of special details of police prevented the soldiers and sailors from a gruesome fate at the hands of the enraged workers. As it is, several were sent to the hospital.

"Contrary to their usual practice," says the *Herald*, "the Communists flew no flags, but from another platform close by banners were displayed by the Communist League of Australia. One sign read: 'Defend Free Speech' and another 'Build Workers' Defense Guards'."

Many rank and file Stalinists made common cause with our comrades around their banners. Discussions around the slogan "Build Workers' Defense Guards" took place for hours after the demonstration had ended. The slogan had apparently gained considerable popularity.

The demonstration itself is testimony to the fact that the workers of the Australian metropolises are continuing to retain their anti-war militancy, which is in itself a highly encouraging sign. That our comrades, mostly young workers in their twenties, knew how to mobilize this militancy is evidenced by the newspaper account and augurs well for the further development of that section of the Fourth International.

## SPARKS IN THE NEWS

by Dwight Macdonald

### Good News—for Stockholders

The Department of Commerce has just released figures on last year's national income which we may expect Roosevelt to turn to political advantage in his next fireside chat. According to the Department's calculations, in 1939 total individual incomes came to \$69,700,000,000, which is \$3,400,000,000 higher than the 1938 total. Onward and upward with the New Deal!

But there is one detail the President won't dwell on: the fact that dividend payments last year were 15 per cent higher than in 1938, while the amount paid out for wages and salaries increased only 5 per cent.

This means that the capitalist system is more unbalanced than ever, since wage-earners spend practically all their income, while investors save up to as much as half their income. There is too much surplus capital (the result of these savings) already piled up seeking a profitable outlet for investment. What is necessary for the system's health is more markets, that is, more spending. The dynamics of capitalism, however, make it inevitable that, as the *Structure of American Economy* pointed out (p. 91): "As income expands, both expenditure on consumption and current savings can be expected to increase, but the increase in the latter will be likely to be very much more rapid." The prediction has been borne out by the figures on 1939 income.

### Behind the War Drive

This matter of "over-saving" is the theme of a letter sent me recently from Akron:

"Your two columns on the report of the National Resources Committee were quite favorably received here. I question one statement you make in the January 6 issue. You write of the polarizing tendencies of poverty and wealth, and say:

### DOWNTOWN LABOR FORUM

Friday Feb. 2, 1940 at 8 p. m.

FELIX MORROW

Editor Socialist Appeal  
Will speak on

"JOBS NOT BATTLESHIPS"

at

Downtown Labor Center

51 E. 7th St. New York City  
Joint Auspices Downtown & Lower East Side Branches. SWP.

### RUSSIAN BULLETIN OUT

The Bulletin of the Russian Opposition is out. The current issue contains several articles by Leon Trotsky, including "Hitler and Stalin—Twin Stars" and "Again and Once Again on the Nature of the Soviet State."

The Bulletin is available in New York at the following book stores and newsstands: Modern Book Store, 27 University Pl.; Foreign News Depot, Times Sq. Bldg.; Biederman's Book Store, 2nd Ave. at 12th St.; Meisel's Book Store, Grand St.; Rand School Book Store, 15th St. and 5th Ave.; 3rd Ave. and 14th St. (NW); 6th Ave. and 42nd St. (SE).

"Economically, this is ultimately fatal for a number of reasons, one of them being that the masses spend almost all of their income on consumers' goods (thus keeping the market humming) while the wealthy spend comparatively little and pile up bigger savings (which can only be used to build more factories, whose products must then still further crowd the market)."

On this my correspondent comments: "After the initial spurge of plant expansion following the war, the percentage of savings which went into new plant dwindled and that portion which went into non-productive speculation (and capital export) increased. This trend, of course, has been exaggerated in the past ten years and especially since 1937. The second war may offer the possibility of profitable plant expansion, but this is doubtful. Certainly it will not be in proportion to that of 25 years ago, and it will be confined to semi-heavy and heavy industries."

"A growing, lusty capitalism goes through the process you describe, but not a declining one. I think it would be more correct to say that the enormous capital accumulation, rather than having the domestic effect of increasing technological unemployment primarily, instead is a main-spring in the war machine—seeking new outlets in international spheres."

I accept the emendation: American capital now presses for investment outside rather than inside the boundaries of the U.S. But I would add an emendation of my own: that there is a third field into which capital has poured with great volume in the last few years: investment in government debt. I have repeatedly noted in this column the huge percentage of banking resources now invested in government notes and bonds. This has implications both as to the war drive and as to the advance of fascism in this country.

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## Seven Years Ago They Let Hitler Take Over Power

By GEORGE STERN

On the night of Jan. 30, 1933 in a great semi-colonial metropolis a former member of the Central Committee of the German Communist Party paced an apartment floor pale and strained, his hands fist-ing and unfisting convulsively.

"It is impossible!" he cried again and again. "Impossible! Without even a fight! It is impossible!" But it was not impossible. It was already a fact. The great Communist Party with millions of followers had melted away before Hitler.

It was the most critical hour in the post-war history of the working class of Europe. And in that hour the workers of Germany were left leaderless. The chiefs of the vast Social Democratic party and trade unions were groveling before the new chancellor of the Reich, offering him support which he contemptuously spurned. The great Communist apparatus crumbled, its leaders panic-stricken seeking refuge in the homes of their liberal "friends." There was no serious resistance. The criminal misleadership of more than a decade had led the workers of Germany into the black pit of Hitlerism.

A few days later our friend, the ex-Central Committee member, had regained his composure. Like all of Stalin's puppets, he had all but lost any capacity he had ever had as an independent revolutionist.

"Never mind," he assured me. "I give Hitler two years and then our turn will come. Two years, not more."

But nearly four times two years have gone by. This week Hitler celebrates his seventh year in power. Each one of those years has been like another turn in the pitiless vise that holds the German workers helpless. And the workers of the entire world are paying with lifeblood drained out in economic misery and war for the fatal errors of the working class leaders who made Hitler's uncontested victory possible.

### Remember the Lessons!

We have to understand clearly why and how Hitler and his Fascist legions were permitted to seize power in Germany. Memories are short and it is safe to say that to the working class youth of this country the years that preceded Hitler's rise to power in Germany are a total blank. Yet those years are rich in revolutionary lessons.

Hitler was the direct consequence of the failure of the workers' revolution in Germany and that failure was the failure not of the German workers but of the parties which led them, the Social Democratic Party and the Communist Party.

The workers rose in revolution at the close of the war. But the great Social Democratic Party which fell heir to the power abandoned by the Kaiser had no thought of establishing a workers' power. Its chief concern was to preserve the power of the capitalists. And when the workers rose in the streets, the Social Democrats, led by Scheidemann and Noske, called in the Kaiser's generals to shoot them down. Liebknecht and Luxemburg, the great leaders of the workers, were shamefully assassinated.

The Social Democratic republic, however preserving capitalist property, could solve none of the problems of the permanent German economic crisis. The imperialist victors in the war, Britain and France, exacted their pound of flesh and helped complete the process of draining the country white.

The German Communist Party began to win the support of millions of workers because it represented the October revolution in Russia, the revolution in which the workers had really seized power for themselves and driven the capitalists out. But that party was in the hands of the apparatus built by Joseph Stalin for the sole and exclusive purpose of consolidating the power of the bureaucratic clique which had usurped the workers' power in Russia. With this dead hand upon it, it could not lead a revolution, for Stalin wanted nothing less. He wanted peace and quiet in which to try hopelessly to build "socialism in one country."

### Ripe for the Storm Troops

So millions of the dispossessed, especially of the large impoverished middle class, of the youth who had never been in industry, never given a chance to become workers, began to listen to the voice of Hitler, who promised revolution to the workers and counter-revolution to the bosses, and national regeneration to all Germany. He took the dregs of the dispossessed and with funds provided by the big financiers and industrialists fashioned them into the Storm Troops, designed to smash the working class organizations, the unions and the parties.

In those years of his steady growth the working class organizations remained divided. Stalin in Moscow preached that the Communists would have to dispose of the Social Democrats first before dealing with Hitler. Fascism and the Social Democracy—in his famous or infamous phrase—were "twins." The result was that the Stalinists and Fascists frequently joined against the Social Democratic authorities, as in the case of the notorious "red" referendum in Prussia in 1931.

The Communist and Social Democratic workers were kept poles apart instead of being united on a common policy of struggle against the Fascist menace. The Communists were told that the Social Democrats were their worst enemies. The latter were told that they would be safe if they abided by the regular, orderly processes of parliamentary government.

The Social Democratic governments gave way to the authoritarian governments of Brüning, Von Schleicher, and Von Papen, which tried to balance themselves on the police apparatus of the state and act like umpires between the great opposing camps. Actually they proved to be nothing but Hitler's stepping stones to power. Each time they "suppressed" the Fascists—like Daleradier did later in France—the Hitlerite hordes were permitted to emerge with new strength. But the workers' leaders stubbornly refused to take action by themselves, leaving the workers instead in the hands of the government.

Hitler took one provincial state after another and finally prepared to assault the citadel of central power at the end of 1932. By that time it was no longer even necessary for him to stage a coup d'état. Otto Braun, the Social Democrat, true to the "legalities" to the end, permitted himself to be kicked out of his office as head of Prussia. Hitler drove a sharp bargain with his Nationalist and Junker allies and on January 30 Hindenburg, elected president by the votes of the Social Democracy, handed the keys of the chancellery over to the Fascist leader.

The blood of the martyred workers of Germany cries out to us: "Do not follow our path! Neither Social Democracy nor Stalinism. Only the socialist revolution can save humanity!"