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
- 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.

Socialist Appea

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Vol. IV, No. 10

NEW YORK, N.Y., MARCH 9, 1940

FIVE (5) CEN

14-STATE TEAMSTERS FIGHT BOSS FRAMEUF

Transit Men Denounce La Guardia Union-Busting INTERSTATE GROUP. TOE

WARN THEY'LL FIGHT BAN ON STRIKE RIGHT

"Friend of Labor" Announces His Fink Plan

After weeks of stalling the unintention of destroying the Transport Workers Union of New York.

In a letter addressed jointly to Michael J. Quill, International President of the Transport Workers Union and John J. Donnelly, General Chairman of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers, the Mayor stated that he would not honor the union contracts held by the union with the BMT and IRT transit systems, that the closed shop is to be done away with, that he will not recognize the union as spokesman and bargaining agent for its 27,000 membes working on the two systems and, finally, that "the right to ne a party to the war. It opposes movement Gandhi would be pre-

not and cannot be recognized." the demolition scheme of the La Guardia administration to raze the Second and Ninth Avenue elevated lines, which would throw some 3.000 members of the union out into the streets, was nothing left-wing members of the Execubut a step in a carefully planned tive body, who demanded an im-

(Continued on Page 2)

Bombay Workers Strike; Fight OMAHA JOBLESS Unemployed Increase 10 p.c. MAP DEFENSE Against War Gains In India

Textile Operatives Again Take Lead In Struggle; Masses Pressing Congress Leaders to Take Early Action

By SHERMAN STANLEY

Again displaying their position as the vanguard of the Indian ion with promises, Mayor La people, 135,000 textile workers of Bombay have declared a general Guardia has finally exposed his strike, demanding a 25 per cent wage increase to make up for hand and openly announced his rising living costs since the beginning of the war.

These workers represent about 90 per cent of Bombay's textile mills and come from 45 different mills.

Meeting at Patna on March 1, the Executive Committee of the has resulted from six months of All-India Nationalist Congress has decided to prepare for the futile talks with the Viceroy. launching of a civil disobedience campaign against British imperialism. In a strongly worded resolution, nationalist India has openly disassociated itself from British rale and its war aims: 17. Gandhi has thus deliberately

"Indian freedom cannot exist within the orbit of British imperialism, and dominion status or any other status within the imperial structure is wholly inapplicable to India. . ."

The preamble of the resolution states that Great Britain is carrying on the war for imperialist who stated that, "even one minpurposes and that India cannot strike against the government is the sending of Indian troops to pared to explore all avenues of parts of the British Empire for In the December 30 issue of the war purposes. The fresolution Socialist Appeal, we warned that concludes, "Nothing short of complete independence will be accepted by the Indians."

Final Action Postponed

Overriding the opposition of campaign to destroy the union. mediate launching of the strug-

collusion with the state officials Congress which is scheduled to volvement in the war and for na convene at Ramgarh on March tional independence. For six IN 31. PAUL months they have been told to while Gandhi was fruitlessly negotiating with the British Vice-000 masses are concerned the answer is ves!

A driving force behind their revolutionary spirit is the rising prices of all foods: that is, hunger and increased starvation. That is what the war has meant for them so far.

Left-Wingers Boo Gandhi As their anger against the rule of the British has increased, so has their impatience with the dilatory and treacherous tactics center of left-wing nationalism and stronghold of Subhas Chandra Bose, the leading left-wing nationalist of the Congressmeetings, perhaps for the first time in his long career. At one demonstrators carrying black sharpest character in India. It is to this anger that Gandhi has

How far is he prepared to go?

hold in check the social forces of mass unemployment, hunger and

Gandhi well knows this. If he sees that a struggle is unavoidable at present, he will do all in his power to limit it, isolate it and take advantage of the dis-trust and demoralization that Tuesday fired E. F. Magaret, and take advantage of the dis-

vor to prevent a mass, revolutionary struggle in which the peasants will begin to take revolutionary measures by seizing and dividing up the land and the World-Herald records, "protested left the door wide open for a last workers will begin to set up their democratic workers' Abdul Kalan Azad, newly-elected

But one thing is certain. The first open, mass revolt against pressure of the organized unemthe World War and for peace is about to begin!

be achieved on the battlefield of common action and struggle. The rallying cry of the Indian people is, "Forward to National Freedom", and "Long live the democratically-elected Constituent Assembly!"

tion in support of the anti-lynching bill now before the Senate:

continualy faced with the threat to move industries into the South where coolie

wages prevail, and WHEREAS systematic terrorism has kept the workers of

the South largely unorganized, and WHEREAS lynching, an im-

THEREFORE BEITRE-

Paul Trades and Labor Assembly, go on record as urging the passage of the Anti-Lynching Bill in the U.S. Senate, not only on the basis some confidence and encouragement to the Negro workbarriers that now stand in the way of a widespread union movement in the South."

Picket Six Weeks **Against Vicious Policies**

ADMINISTRATOR

OMAHA, Neb., Feb. 28—After six solid weeks of day-and-night picketing of the courthouse, organized by the Federal Workers county relief administrator notorious for his vicious starvation policies.

The county board voted 3-2 to oust the hated Magaret; even the two dissenters, the Omaha only mildly against the dismis-

Seeking a face-saving formula to cover up the fact that the ployed forced Magaret's dismissal, the board said the county relief administrator was removed ance in office would prevent the surplus commodity stamp plan from being introduced in Omaha. The truth, of course, is that the Federal Workers Section, backed by the General Drivers Union and the Central Labor Union, put so much heat on the board that it had to act as it did.

That labor pressure was indeed the reason for Magaret's removal is indicated by the fact sored works projects, elimithat the commissioners immedi- nate free lunches for under- ployed quiet costs more than the closed shop and substantial wage ately asked Jim Powell of the nourished children, abolish job b FWS: "Now will you get that picket line off?"

Is Only First Battle

The ouster of Magaret is just office is a great victory for the FWS and for all organized labor picketing in the face of Nebraska's infamous anti-picketing law, which has been under relentless attack by the General Drivers Union and by labor generally.

belt. One third of the FWS membership is Negro.

"The Better Citizens"

Magaret's reaction to his ouster was typical: "It's the board's privilege. The better citizens of to discover how much relief the the Alliance. Omaha know what I have been unemployed need—but how little trying to do."

aret has drawn this distinction of relief — but how many more between the "better citizens" and can be cut off, without arousing the rest of the city. He has pub- overwhelming protest. They have licly admitted that he administer- not recessed to measure the numed relief in such a way as to ber of unemployed in their displease the "better people."

In the 1938 strike of the General Drivers Union Local 554, Magaret played up to the "better people" like Al Gordon, despised owner of the fink Gordon Van & Storage Company, by telling relief applicants that if they wanted any relief they liad bet- and his supporters have asked for ter go scabbing on Local 554 by working at the Gordon Company. Gordon is Magaret's brother-in-

The fight for decent relief standards will be intensified in Omaha, FWS leaders stated today.

? Have You Seen? the Special Introductory Subscription Offer on Page 2

WIN OUSTER OF

National unemployement rose 10.6 per cent in January. That terrible fact comes, not from radical or labor sources. but from the bosses' own statistics—those released last week by the National Industrial Conference Board. The Board estimates the unemployed in January at over

ten million. But this accounts only for the plummet-like drop in production during January. The business index kept falling all the way through February also. Eight weeks of uninterrupted

decline. Eight weeks of more workers tired and none hired. That means that, even by boss figures, the unemployed army stands at about ELEVEN MILLION. And the business index is still going down

That's what has happened to those jobs that Roosevelt promised us, in his Jan. 4 budget speech, as justification for his slashing WPA and wiping out the PWA!

California Legislators Slash Relief Funds

Cut Weekly Allowance to \$2.60 For Next Twelve Weeks; 350,000 Affected

LOS ANGELES—After appropriating \$13,800,000 to because the maximum penalty for feed the unemployed till June 1, the California Legislature the offense was death by hanging. recessed for ten weeks. \$13,800,000 divided among the present because it was feared his continu- average of 350,000 relief clients, gives each person an average of \$2.60 a week for the next tweive weeks!

\$2.60 a week for those lucky enough to remain on the relief rolls! And absolutely nothing for those many thousands and thereby break a link in the who are denied all assistance. THIS IS SACRAMENTO'S powerful chain of recently-organ-ANSWER TO CALIFORNIA'S HUNGRY!

The real meaning of this legislation has been quickly shown. Executive orders cut all relief checks 40%. Further

orders curtain county - spon-@ placement services. These and Washington, Democrat Roosevelt road drivers, the Sioux City drivother measures merely transWPA to pay for the war machine. late the lawmakers' aims into In Sacramento, Democrats join concrete terms of human mis-Republicans in an "economy bloc"

State Senators claim that a sults is identical. inasmuch as it was achieved by recess is needed "to investi- when workers are asked to deployed." As though the last demands for them, they are surten years of starvation have not rendering their fight to an enemy. provided ample evidence of the Even demonstrations are worse needs of the unemployed! As than futile when used only to The prestige of the FWS has though the report of the fact- support Olson and his Party. risen even higher since it has finding Richards Commission, ap-Magaret's scalp dangling in its pointed by the Governor, is not Such was the recent demonavailable to every Legislator! A stration held in Sacramento by report that condemns even the the Workers' Alliance. Praising did not, and the strike is still previous relief standards as giv- Governor Olson for his "great on against them—and effectively.

they will accept. They do not wish All during his public life Mag- to find out how many are in need tricts, but to gauge the strength and ability of the unemployed to fight against starvation.

For only the fighting strength of the unemployed themselves will determine how much will be appropriated for relief.

It is true that Governor Olson a larger appropriation—\$18,000, 000 instead of \$13,800,000: about \$3.50 a week instead of \$2.60. But he is merely more sensitive to the pressure of the workers since he leaned so heavily on Labor's vote at the last election.

ployed, the governor calls on party—a Labor Party. any further taxes on the wealthy. against the bosses.

Both Parties Guilty But even keeping the unem-creating uniform conditions, a sses are willing to pay. In

When workers are asked to de-

ing "the family a mere subsist- fight," it served only to protect The struck companies are being ence diet and wretched shelter." the State Relief Administration variously subsidized not only by The lawmakers are not trying jobs of certain Stalinist leaders of the local chambers of commerce

Mass demonstrations, picket lines, and hunger marches are correct answers to starvation relief budgets. But they must be directed against the California capitalists and ALL their servants in the Legislature-Governor Olson included.

Mass demonstrations of the unemployed, together with the organized Labor movement, must demand that the Legislature restore the 40% cuts: that it be called back into session and kept there till it has rescinded the \$58 per month limit on family budgets, removed the three year residence requirements, and appropriated enough money to supply adequate relief to every person in need.

Against this united front of Democrats and Republicans To avert the danger of inde- against the unemployed, the pendent action by the unem workers must present their own

them to leave the fight for ade- All trade unions, old age organ quate relief in his hands, to demizations, unemployed groups, Ralph Johnson, Local 383 officers, onstrate only in his support, and workers, and farmers must unite were arrested on a charge of against those whom he points in forming such a party, elect la- damaging a truck during the out as the "real enemy." Then, bor men to office, and oppose both over-the-road strike, extradited with the unemployed safely cor- the Democrats and Republicans and tried in a Sioux Falls, South ralled under his leadership, he and the capitalists behind them. Dakota court. A hand-picked dickers with the bankers for an They must unite on the basis of anti-labor jury, composed of appropriation that will keep the their own program; a labor pro-small businessmen and wealthy unemployed quiet, and yet avoid gram for labor's own interests farmers, convicted them and they

Union Leaders Are Arrested In Sioux City

The 14-state North Central Are Committee of the Internations Brotherhood of Teamsters wa convened in a special meeting with International President Da niel J. Tobin in Indianapolis, thi Friday, to fight back against the latest employers' attempt # break a vital link in the teamters' movement

The meeting was called after the arrest, last week, of Howard Fouts, Ralph Johnson and Charles Cunningham, officers of Teamsters Local 383 of Sioux City, Iowa, on the fantastic charge of "kidnapping and holding for ran-

Screaming extras, on the streets a few hours after the arrests, tried to scare Sioux City unionists with a statement by the authorities that the union leaders would not be released on bond

Aimed At 350,000 Drivers These arrests were only

latest of a long series of atten... ed frameups, designed to smark ized teamsters in the 13-state

In the successful teamsters struggle which culminated, in November, 1939, in the signing of a 13-state area agreement

22-Week Strike

Resisting the over-the-road to slash relief. Whether a relief area agreement, trucking comcut is made by a Democrat or a panies in Sioux City and Omaha The Assemblymen and Republican, the hunger that re-locked out their men on Sept. 9, 1938. This strike, lasting over 22 weeks, became famous in the annals of the teamsters as the gate the needs of the unem- slashing Democrats to gain their "Omaha strike." The unions won a general settlement on Feb. 8, 1939. But a minority of the employers in both Omaha and Sioux City refused to sign, and the strike was continued against them.

> Since then most of them have signed up. But a few companies and boss associations, but also by other groups in the North entral Area.

The important point is that the Omaha and Sioux City locals have had to fight many struggles, both directly against the bosses and against the authorities who are hand-in-glove with the bosses, to maintain the area agreement and thus protect conditions throughout the North Central Area.

Some of the hardest blows of he employers' attack has been borne by the Sioux City local. Here, in this comparatively small city, located in a particularly eactionary farmers' area, the cosses hoped to find a weak link n the armor of the teamsters' novement.

Series of Police Frameups

The bosses' attacks have in the last year taken principally the form of police frameups against the officers of the union. Last winter Howard Foute and

(Continued on Page 2)

Behind the Lines

By George Stern One of the factors making for American intervention in the war which has received least public notice is the effect on American foreign trade of the Anglo-French economic un-

creasingly complete in the first Hull is carrying on his widesix months of war through suc- spread parleys with neutral councessive meetings and decisions of tries for the purpose of asserting the Allied Supreme Council and American interests in world trade trade and industrial representa- under wartime conditions as well tives of both countries. Through as under those of the distantlya series of agreements on cur- envisaged peace. rency, tariffs, trade quotas, the French and British Empires have been joined into what is almost a single economic unit, with Britain, of course, the dominant par-

By the latest accord, signalized by decrees in London and Paris on Feb. 28, all wartime restrictions on trade between France and Britain and the French and British colonies were removed. Goods will move between the two empires without formalities, licenses, delays, or any of the red tape that now attends so much of strangled international trade. According to the Paris correspondent of the Wall Street Journal on Feb. 29, this system "ultimately may embrace certain British Dominions." The purpose, as course, Anglo-French imports of described by this source, will be other lines from the U.S. will "that the two empires will be mount-aircraft, copper, steel, welded still further into one eco- etc.—but the shift is certain to nomic unit and that trade be- cause a serious convulsion in tween the two will grow at the American industry unless the expense of business outside."

This is the real nub of the matter, this "business outside" -for this means mainly American business.

In another dispatch from Washington on the same day, the Wall Street Journal bluntly declared that "INCREAS-ING EVIDENCES OF THE DEVELOPMENT OF A CLOSED ECONOMY EM-BRACING THE BRITISH AND | the world goes on.

FRENCH EMPIRES IS A SOURCE OF CONSIDERABLE WORRY IN CERTAIN QUAR-TERS IN OFFICIAL WASH-INGTON."

It is primarily to counteract this threat, the paper goes on to This union has been made in- intimate, that Secretary of State

> The way in which wartime trade conditions are affecting American interests have already become evident in one publicized example — British abandonment of its tobacco purchases in this country and its juggling of its take of American cotton in order to better its position against American rivals in South America. Decrees signed on Feb. 28 in Paris establishing new controls over French imports mean that in the future American exports of automobiles, radio equipment, movie films, business equipment, typewriters, etc., to France are going to be virtually stopped.

While this is going on, of executive committee of Big Business — the Washington government—soon puts a brake on Ang-

lo-French presumptions. And this is going to lead straight to U.S. intervention in the war . . . together with Britain and France against Germany and Russia, but ALSO against Britain and France on the economic warfronts where the real fight for domination of

peaceable settlement with the British Viceroy.' But the door seems to have been shut by the firm refusal of

the British rulers to make the slightest concession that would satisfy the meagre demands of the Gandhi group. Masses Push Gandhi For six long months the Indian We stated at that time: "It is gle for freedom, Gandhi succeed-plain as a pikestaff that the great ed in postponing final action unclamoring for leadership and ac-'friend of Labor,' La Guardia, in til the plenary session of the tion in the struggle against in-

minute acceptance of any offer

president of the Congress and a

conservative follower of Gandhi

ute before the launching of any

This was revealed by Maulana

that the British might make.

be patient, to bide their time roy. Has the time for struggle come now? So far as the 400,000,-

of Gandhi and Nehru. In a recent tour of Bengal Province— Gandhi was booed at various railroad station he was met by flags-a symbolic rebuke of the

finally yielded—in part. What Will Gandhi Do? That is difficult to judge at present. Although he is still the dominant leader of the nationalist movement, he cannot endlessly

unbelievable poverty. His latest move is undoubtedly aimed at stealing the thunder of his leftwing opponents, but such tactics have the dangerous habit of backfiring—that is, getting out of hand.

Above all, Gandhi will endea-

councils in the cities.

Hindu-Moslem unity can now

ST. PAUL, Minn.—The St. Paul Trades and Labor Assembly, cen- the first step in the fight for detral labor body, approved at its cent relief standards in this city. last meeting the following resolu- Getting Magaret thrown out of

WHEREAS organized labor is

portant part of this terrorism, has served to drive a wedge between the colored and white workers and to prevent either from bettering their conditions, now

SOLVED that we, the St. of protecting Constitutional human rights, but also with the hope that it will give ers and help break down the

Help Our Polish Comrades

Several weeks ago the Socialist Appeal published a letter detailing the desperate plight of our Polish comrades persecuted by both Nazis and Stalinists. Their escape to Y--- has been little short of a miracle.

The response to the printed letter was most heartening. However, several weeks have passed and it is now necessary to make a further appeal. Enough money for only immediate needs was cabled to these heroic survivors. In order that life may be sustained, it is necessary to send another substantial sum. Copies of the original letter have been printed with stamps of various denominations attached to them. We feel sure that our friends will have no difficulty in the distribution and sale of these

SHOW YOUR SOLIDARITY with the cause of labor by immediately sending in your request for the letters. THERE MUST BE NO DELAY! Life hangs upon your

prompt action. Send your requests to American Labor Aid, 125 West 33rd Street, New York, N. Y.

stalinists In The C.I.O.-A History Of Transport Workers Jnion-Wrecking And Corruption

By E. R. FRANK

Prior to the signing of the Stalin-Hitler pact, the Stalin-employers, belly-crawling before tants of 1934 and 1935 had under-program designed to eventually s constituted a major force in the American trade union any two by four politician or publican a profound transformation. ovement. Posing as the best union fighters, the true cham- lic official, and a disloyal, ruthless The new officials of the new unons of honesty, militancy and democracy in the labor moveStalinists left in their wake a and more conservative both unexpected. ent, supported by a well-organized national apparatus, a trail of wrecked unions, honest der the pressure of capitalist pubrong press, with huge funds at their disposal, the Stalinists union militants corrupted into lie opinion and because of their rught the rising ClO movement of young unsuspecting workrs completely unawares and easily wormed their way into file workers. ontrol of numerous unions.

Once in the saddle, they showed the American labor buize an autocratic, reactionry and corrupt machine. They signed agreements that dered and persecuted all gensives who dared to revolt of the Stalinist movement. practices.

making fascists.'

WERE ROOSEVELT'S MOST To push through this infamous jution. scheme, the Stalinists converted belly - crawling supporters of ME COULD BREAK THEM

March Issue of "New International" The March issue of the New

International will be off the press It will feature a symposium

on the "Russian Question." and by the Minority of the Poli- he so desired.

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its fighting power.

this period, was on passively Pact, as great rank and file move- "Line" of the Stalinist Party. The friendly terms with the Soviet ments sprang up in union after union officials knew one thing for isgraced the labor movement. Union. And since the American union, challenging their autocrat- sure: that their importance and York took title to the Sixth Aveeteers, gangsters and any re- might and main to line up the wrecking activities of the Stalin- depended upon a strong, virile tan Railway Company. The road trade unions behind his war ma- ist gang. n order to gain control. They chine, Roosevelt displayed an at-titude of toleration towards the control t systematically hounded, slan- Communist Party and its activity and its activity hounded, slan- Communist Party and its activit officials actually became outright ers, the Maritime unions on both calities, veterans of the strike six hundred workers were never uine militants and progres-supporters or fellow-travellers the coasts and the Gulf, the struggles of the CIO, hardened returned to work.

against these high-handed al support of John L. Lewis and important unions from the Los way the meaning of Stalinism were in an official bloc with the Angeles CIO Council, the New and the fact that it was the most It was the "Peoples Front" pe- latter throughout this "People's York Painters and Food Work- reactionary force in the American riod of Stalinism. In this scheme, Front" period. Why did Lewis ers. This imposing rank and file labor movement. They were dethe unions constituted the most make a bloc with the very people revolt against the Stalinist ma- termined to destroy the Stalinist speed the "unification" along, important battle grounds. The la- against whom he had waged a chine was climaxed by the titan- cancer, in order that the labor bor movement, suspecting noth- bitter struggle in the miners un- ic struggle in the Auto Workers movement might advance and molition of the Second and Ninth ing, was to find itself, according ion? It was not Lewis who had Union. to the Stalinist plan, one fine day, changed his basic philosophy! The By 1939 the American trade lined up to a man behind the Communist Party, during the unions presented a far different Roosevelt war machine and hell- "People's Front" period cynical- picture than at the beginning of bent on shoving through a "col- ly dumped overboard all talk lective security" war alliance of and pretense of working for so-America, England, France and cialism or militant union policies. Russia, against the "bad, war- It began to drape the Stars and Stripes around itself and bellowed more patriotically than even the SERVILE AGENTS IN UNIONS Daughters of the American Revo-

LEWIS WAS SURE

maritime unions, the whole west official party view on the split. in the pre-election deals. coast CIO movement, the radio He was positive that he could al-

the war crisis will be eager to ship, the Stalinists pursued a as granted. purchase and read a copy of the liberate policy of "rule or ruin." THE NEW INTERNATIONAL that threatened the very life of the unions. Where they seized control, their rule was marked by

WAVE OF REVOLT

AGAINST THE STALINISTS caucrats how to really orga-por movement and helped destroy be more cautious and diplomatic and antagonistic to the Stalinists completely destroy the union of and the people's money," Quill The Roosevelt government, in the signing of the Stalin-Hitler a pawn and tool to realize the York.

> Teachers Union, the West Coast and toughened by their experi-The Stalinists had the addition- Office Workers, the secesssion of ences. They had learned the hard

the signing of wretched contracts, the CIO movement. The unsus-

The union movement representtheir life's career. They became

(A second article on the Stalinists in the CIO will ap-

WORKERS' FORUM

WHY DID LEWIS SPLIT WITH ROOSEVELT?

However, neither Frank nor workers, the agricultural work- anyone else has presented any volved. These CIO bureaucrats ers, the white collar unions, etc. concrete evidence in support of are also interested in the ques- support him, he is undoubtedly tical Committee of the Socialist The period from 1936 to 1939 soon expresses itself in outward greatest fear is the possible de- workers as steel, auto, coal. S.W.P. history of the unions which the ions, and even state organizations, outspoken enemies, rather than million unemployed, the AFI

In those unions that would not fellow workers seem to confirm Of course, this is not the only in a jobless world, etc. Order your extra copies in ad- bend to their will, as in the Sail- my criticism of the Appeal. The cause, but it is the dominant one. ors Union of the Pacific, the Auto workers in this area are still for In this sense, Lewis's political Union, etc., they engaged in bit-Roosevelt. To them he is still the approach is very much like Stal-Roosevelt among these workers? ter, irresponsible factional wars one president "who has done in's foreign policy. more for labor than any other velt run for a third term, and be consulted on the question of they are confident that if he runs the Lewis-Roosevelt split. Whehe will win. Among the more mil- ther or not the Appeal's analysis

> Speaks of Steel Workers Of course, it may be that we now. are situated in an area which economically has fared better than other sections of the coun- East Chicago, Ind. try. However, for the past five

WORLD REVOLUTION,

CASE OF LEON TROTSKY,

LIVING THOUGHTS OF MARX,

TROTSKY'S SPEECH in English

most unanimous.

acterization of the C.I.O. bureau- the shameless run-around which cracy. We have always pictured

But there is something else inby instinct; it is a thing which betting on losing horses, for their from such groups of organized

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LABOR AND THE SECOND WORLD WAR,

I spent a good deal of time re-| Lewis as a bureaucrat who goes Guardia. Lewis and his lieutenants, viewing the Appeal's discussion to the politicians and auctions off Roosevelt's New Deal, picturing Lewis and his lieutenants, viewing the Appeal's discussion to the politicians and auctions off it as an almost suitable substitute drunk with victory as a result of of the Lewis-Roosevelt split, and the labor vote. By that I mean for socialism itself. They hounded the first brilliant successes in rub-after careful consideration, I that he offered the support of lafor socialism itself. They bounded the list of many success in the list of many states and standard any worker who ber, auto, steel, maritime and other have come to the conclusion that bor to the one who promised the we have repeatedly besought you tion with unification will be exand slandered any worker who bet, auto, seed, hard they could there is something faulty in the greatest number of favors in re- to confer with us." Quill wrote, posed," Austin Hogan announced. dishonest, reactionary policy, work with everybody, use every- Appeal's analysis of this event. turn. At other times, we have "with a view to the formulation Thus, this crew of union wreck-body and outsmart everybody. E. R. Frank's article in the pictured Lewis as one who uses of a plan which would, after uniers, posing as the left wing of the The Stalinists had a machine, a February 3 issue refers to the the labor vote as political black- fication, recognize the right of anions, sidetracked the whole la- national press, experienced jour- Lewis-Roosevelt split as a reflect mail; that is, he threatens to op- transit employees to organize nalists, speakers and organizers. tion of mass feeling. Other ar- pose some politician who refuses and bargain collectively in re-In return for the services of this ticles in the Append are written to come across. In any case, we spect to their wages, hours and machine, Lewis made the alliance, in the same tone, and from all have always presented Lewis as handing over to the Stalinists the indications, this appears to be the the active and aggressive element bona fide union of their own

May I suggest that the various itant workers, this feeling is all is correct we must determine soon, "The truth at all costs!" Let's start digging for the truth

> Fraternally, Manny Mills

Denounce LaGuardia "We began to suspect what

(Continued from Page 1) and the Wall Street bankers, is destroy the Transport Workers Union." The prophecy has been

Long-Planned Scheme

The whole history of the "unification" deal reveals, clear as day, that Hizzoner, the great ed to these officials, however, "friend of Labor" is a party to a deliberate conspiracy of the bank- You did not seem to be able to for bundles of \$588.44. You will The Stalinists were driven to therefore extremely suspicious of ers and tycoons of Wall Street to give them enough of your time in the last period just preceding who viewed the unions merely as the transport workers of New

A year ago, the City of New Stalinists were laboring with ic rule and exposing the union- prestige, as well as their salaries, nue elevated line of the Manhatunion and they were interested in was closed on December 5, 1938 ties. Many of the lesser New Deal ions—in the Pocket Book mak- who were arising in different lo- promised them all jobs, but these

> Several months ago, the La Guardia administration concluded ts infamous unification deal with the bankers. Immediately, in order to raise all available cash to Avenue elevated lines, in order to: raise eleven million dollars in cash from the increased assessments on the adjoining properties. This demolition program will put out into the streets an additional three thousand unionists for shom the city is not making any

On March 4, union president Quill answered the letter of La from our rather incomplete char- Guardia and called attention to meetings throughout the city of

The Run-Around

working conditions through a

the "Russian Question."

He was positive that he could allow the "Russian Question."

Vital articles by Leon Trotsky

He was positive that he could allow his conclusion. Mass feeling is tion, "Who is going to win the speaking of the support that not something which we discover election?" They do not believe in Roosevelt would presumably get

Workers Party, forming the most was the hey-day of Stalinist rule signs. If there were opposition to feat of their candidate. In many But to win, Roosevelt would bold, courageous fighting policy important section of the pre-con- and marks a fever chart in the Roosevelt from below, local un- cases they have supported their have to get the votes of the ten that realizes that the Mayor and wention discussion in the S.W.P. ensury of the unions which the long, and even state organization, which the long, and even state organization, the whole city administration, were sentenced to four years in released, South Dakota penal of-like any capitalist politicians, are the whole city administration, were sentenced to four years in released, South Dakota penal of-like any capitalist politicians, are the whole city administration, were sentenced to four years in released, South Dakota penal of-like any capitalist politicians, are the whole city administration, which the whole city administration, were sentenced to four years in released, South Dakota penal of-like any capitalist politicians, are the whole city administration, which the whole city administration which the city administration which the whole city administration which the whole city administration which the whole city administration which the city administration whic Stalinists controlled. Determined would have passed resolutions to to take a change on a sure local by the Department of lined up, to a man, with the bank
The conviction was appealed to Every revolutionary worker, 'collective security" program re- would have spoken out this op- them is always a sure loser). Justice), the workers (including ers and the industrialists of this every sympathizer of the revolu- gradless of cost, feeling no rest position long before Lewis would Such was the case when they the big strata of white-collar city, and are determined to smash tionary movement, every radical pracibility for the unions, cynic take such a bold step. But the supported Kelly in Chicago, and workers), who didn't get organone of the most strategic unions tionary movement, every radical printing for the different to the real needs Appeal refers to no such inciinterested in the latest developally indifferent to the real needs Appeal refers to no such inciinterested in the latest developally indifferent to the real needs Appeal refers to no such inciinterested in the latest developally indifferent to the real needs Appeal refers to no such inciinterested in the latest developally indifferent to the real needs Appeal refers to no such inciinterested in the latest developally indifferent to the real needs Appeal refers to no such inciinterested in the latest developally indifferent to the real needs Appeal refers to no such inciinterested in the latest developally indifferent to the real needs Appeal refers to no such inciinterested in the latest developally indifferent to the real needs Appeal refers to no such inciinterested in the latest developally indifferent to the real needs Appeal refers to no such inciinterested in the latest developally indifferent to the real needs Appeal refers to no such inciinterested in the latest developally indifferent to the real needs Appeal refers to no such inciinterested in the latest developally indifferent to the real needs Appeal refers to no such inciinterested in the latest developally indifferent to the real needs Appeal refers to no such inciinterested in the latest developally indifferent to the real needs Appeal refers to no such inciinterested in the latest developally indifferent to the real needs Appeal refers to no such inciinterested in the latest developally indifferent to the real needs Appeal refers to no such inciinterested in the latest developally indifferent to the real needs Appeal refers to no such inciinterested in the latest developally indifferent to the real needs Appeal refers to no such inciinterested in the latest developally indifferent to the real needs Appeal refers to no such inciinterested in the latest developally indifferent to the real needs Appeal re ments in the Soviet Union and and desires of the union member- dents; it merely takes them for it is Lewis's fear that Roosevelt illusions about Roosevelt's labor Workers Union. might lose in another election legislation, the millions in their My own observations among which brought about the break, early twenties who came of age

> What is the sentiment toward If they are hostile to Roosevelt, he cannot win. What, then, is the difference between saying that man". They want to see Roose- proletarian sections of our party Lewis, in breaking with Roosevelt, responds to mass feelingof this major section of the workers-or that Lewis breaks with Roosevelt for fear that Roosevelt will not get re-elected? We invite Comrade Mills to write further to clarify the importance of the distinction that he makes.

> years, I have found the sentiment | Comrade Mills is referring to knowing just what is the attiamong workers in this area to be the sentiment of the organized tude of the various sections of no different from that of the ma- steel workers of the mid-West the working class toward Roosejority of the American workers, steel area. When he speaks of velt. We urge our comrades and It seems to me that the faulty Lewis's fear that Roosevelt might readers to write letters to the analysis of the Appeal flows lose even though the workers Workers' Forum on this question.—Editor.

> > SAVE SATURDAY Night, March 16th. A party with a new twist entertainment, hamburgers, beer, dancing, folk dancing, games . . . all for 25c. 916 9th Avenue, Harlem Branch.

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is now made clear by your letter—that it was your intention all along to reduce the transit workers of this city to individual helplessness by destroying the Transport Workers Union, the labor organization that they had finally built after thirty years of pitiless persecution and unceasing effort."

"How differently you treated the Morgans and Rockefellers! owed the Appeal in unpaid bills

The union letter implies that a strike will be called in all of the subway lines, unless the Mayor confers immediately with the union officials and recognizes the contracts which the union holds transport companies.

elected President of Local 100 of each week. It seems breaking our the Transport Workers Union, back attempting to pay loans we stated that the union did not in- cannot possibly find the money tend to remain passive while to pay with. It means that our their union rights were "taken reduced staff is placed on meager, away by some bankers' puppet."

How different this sounds from the-speeches of TWU officials two years and even one year ago. So ends the honeymoon with the Little White Flower, New York edition of the "great friend of labor." Once again it is proven right down to the bottom that labor will always be double crossed and betrayed by all of its "friends." Labor can only rely on its own strength, its own organizations, its own political

The TWU is holding mass its membership to present the the union had received from La situation to the membership concerning the serious crisis of the "The scandalous conduct of Mayor La Guardia and other "Ever since the summer of 1938 administration officials in connec-

Many Unions To Meet

In addition, a meeting of representatives of all New York unions, AFL, CIO and independent, has been called for Thursday evening at the Hotel Capitol, to consider action of the whole labor movement to answer the brazen union-busting challenge of the

All of these steps are excellent as preparatory steps to organizing the fight ahead. It is however, absolutely necessary to have a

This challenge of the bosses and their agents can be met in one way and one way only: a firm demand that the union contract be recognized at a certain date OR THE CALLING OF A STRIKE ON ALL LINES THE CITY - OWNED TRANSPORTATION SYS-TEM. The membership of the TWU must put across this demand in the meetings of the

bor movement of this city, com- text for intervention of the F.B.I. teamsters has meant here, as in Comrade Mills is right in em- lion union men and women, to court, where a jury could be spiration of unionism in every phasizing the importance of our back the TWII its great fight hand-picked from outside the inback the TWU in its great fight hand-picked from outside the in- field. against New York City's New dustrial towns. The eight union Fortunately, the teamsters' lo-Strike Breaker No. 1, Mayor La officers were sentenced to two cals throughout the 13-state area

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abor and political books are now available in our Rental Library.

Modern Bookshop 27 UNIVERSITY PL., N. Y. C

The financial difficulties—to, matter is your first revolutionary use a mild word—of the Socialist | duty! Appeal are due directly to the failure of branches to meet bundle order payments. The figures published below are only a pale eflection of the Appeal's troubles. In simple terms, these figures show the following:

1. On March 1st, the branches receive bills in your next mail.

2. Most of the branches are two, three and more months behind in payments. Some of them are so far behind that even the word disgraceful fails to apply. A reputable business house would ave cut them off long ago.

3. We are behind in printing at the present time with the bills more than \$300. This may not seem like a large amount to vou but to us here it means a Austin Hogan, recently re-threat of cessation of publication reduced rations. It means above all, constant danger of suspension of the Appeal. If the branches aid up in full we might completely liquidate our printing bill and have enough to carry us through the difficult month of his pre-convention period

> 4. If! ! - There can be no question of it. The branches must nake immediate payments. There is no other way out. The paper annot be printed on sentiment.

How? If the bill is small. vour branch must take up an immediate collection to liquidate it in its entirety. If the bill is large, we have the following suggestion to make which Newark has carried out this week: take out a loan for the entire amount and then pay it off from month to month either through a pledge fund or a monthly collection in the branch and among sympathizers. We know there are extenuating circumstances. But the printer won't take these instead of cash. Besides the navments are small enough each month to make this plan entirely feasible.

The fate of the Appeal is directly up to you. Action on this

City	Debt	
Los Angeles	.\$2.03	
San Pedro	2.70	
San Diego	3.87	
Berkeley	6.35	
Pasadena		
Fresno	1.50	
Oakland	.17.65	
San Francisco	. 29.00	
Denver	1.75	
Hartford	.40	
New Haven	5.85	
Washington, D. C.	5.99	
Chicago Streator, Ill	31.04	
Streator, Ill	2.85	
E. Chicago, Ind Evansville, Ind	.70	
Evansville, Ind	10.26	
South Bend Hutchinson, Kan Whitewater, Kan Raltimore (a)	4.00	
Hutchinson, Kan	1.15	
Whitewater, Kan	1.32	
Daiminote (c)	(.00	
Roston	16 25	
Fitchburg, Mass	2.60	
Gardner, Mass	6.64	
Lynn	7.05	
Worcester	1.17	
Worcester	1.90	
Cambridge Flint	3.75	
Flint		
Crystal, Mich	12.45	
Detroit	18.45	
Ann Arbor, Mich	13.40	
O1 W 1	10.10	
St. Paul	67.50	
St. Paul	67.50 r Mar.	12
St. Paul	67.50 r Mar. 28.00	12
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St. Paul (incl. 3000 sp. ed. fo Minneapolis St. Louis Univ'rs'y City, Mo Kansas City, Mo Laconia, N.H	67.50 r Mar. 28.00 3.51 5.75 3.75 1.20	12
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Teamsters Map Fight Against Boss Attack

(Continued from Page 1) that if the union officials were the state Supreme Court. G-Men Help Bosses

months, plenty of money and a many incidental ways and means core of federal agents on the by which the union has been hamjob, they rigged up a case in the pered in its fight against these cederal courts against eight union frameups. officials of the teamsters' locals in Sioux City, Des Moines and Maloney.

years each in a federal peniten- understand the great role of the The Latest Frameup

to the penitentiary.

Pressure to prevent bondsmen from dealing with these union

Many Bosses Involved

Trucking companies are not Omaha, including Fouts and the only group behind this union-Johnson and another Sioux City busting campaign. The Union teamsters' union leader, Jack Pacific and Northwestern railroads are vitally interested in The unionists were arrested in preventing the spread of union-September, 1939—charged with ization in the area. The Sioux damaging a truck in a bakery City Businessmen's Association strike eighteen months before! is financing an "independent The truck was supposed to have union" drive. The big packing-It is then up to the TWU lead- been just over the Iowa-Minne- house companies are also interership to call upon the whole la- sota state line, providing the pre- ested. For unionization of the posed as it is of more than a mil- and taking the case into a federal Minneapolis after 1934, the in-

Sioux City drivers in bearing the brunt of this attack. They under-Now comes this latest arrest stand that what is involved is of Fouts, Johnson and Cunning- the safeguarding of the union ham, the talk of death by hang- conditions of the Area Agreeing, refusal of bond, etc. Imme-ment. That is why the North diately upon their arrest, the Central Area Committee has bonds for Johnson and Fouts in peedily met with President Tobin the South Dakota case was can- this week to organize the defense celled, giving the newspapers of Johnson, Fouts and Cunninganother angle-they announced ham.

DOWNTOWN LABOR CENTER
51 East 7th Street, New York, N. Y.

AN ANALYSIS OF THE

"SOVIET-FINNISH WAR"

Sunday Evenings at Eight

March 10-FINLAND-An Independent Nation? Speaker-Felix Morrow March 17—IS THE SOVIET UNION A WORKERS' STATE?

Speaker-E. R. Frank March 24-THE NATURE OF THE "SOVIET-FINNISH WAR." Speaker-John G. Wright

QUESTIONS AND DISCUSSION AFTER EACH LECTURE

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MARCH 9, 1940

The Republican Party has issued a statement on its policy for the election in 1940. It is not too early for the Negroes to begin a careful consideration of the programs and candidates at the

The Republican party for years masqueraded as the friend of the Negro. To quote Frederick Douglas' famous words, "The Republican Party is the deck and all else is the sea." People have claimed that the adherence of the Negro to this particular position for so many years is proof of the Negro's backwardness, stupidity, and ineptitude for politics. It was nothing of the kind. Here again the Negro has been vilely slandered.

Why Negroes Backed Republicans

After the Civil War, the Negroes, contrary to the general belief, flocked to the polls and lived an intense political life. Naturally they supported the Republican Party. The Republican party was the party of Lincoln; in it were revolutionary radicals like Thaddeus Stevens and Sumner who agitated for expropriation of the Southern landlords and "forty acres and a mule" for the Negroes.

Within their limits, the Republicans, anxious to crush their rivals, played a progressive rolesmall wonder that the Negroes voted for them. This they did in unusually large numbers.

Not that they were not tempted. In Virginia, for instance, the Southern landowners embraced the doctrine of Negro suffrage, and made an attempt to win the Negro vote. They posed as friends of the Negroes and in addition to promises they made threats: If the Negroes would not vote as their Southern employers wished, they swore to drive them from employment. This was a very real threat, carried out without mercy. But in those early days the Negroes would not be coerced. Some few Negroes were bribed ,and even won elections against Republicans with the support of the Southerners. But the majority of the Negroes voted solidly for the Republican Party. In fact, far from being apathetic about politics, it was the political energy of the Negroes that drove the old Southern landowning class into suppressing the Negro vote at all costs.

In Virginia the whites outnumbered the Negroes. Soon after the Civil War they gained a political majority and controlled the government. They would not vote funds for public education and insisted on the full payment of the interest on a huge public debt. William Malone led a split from the government party and rallied the poor farmers and the middle-classes against the reactionaries. The Negroes voted in great numbers

His party, the Readjusters, was returned with a majority and, backed by the middle classes, and the poor, white and black, Malone reduced the public debt and raised the appropriations for public education. The Southern landowners saw that this combination of the poorer classes, both black and white, meant death for them. They sought for the weakest link in the chain of their enemies and found it in the slogan against "Black Domination." With this slogan, and by intimidation and terror, they split the ranks of their enemies and regained power.

Active in Populist Movement

Near the end of the century, the Populist movement asserted itself. Once again the Negro farmers rallied to it. The reactionaries used the old tactics of "Black Domination" allied with violence. In vain the white farmers in the South protested that this new struggle had nothing to do with the conflicts of the Civil War. Once more their ranks were disrupted. It was then that in despair the poor and middle-class whites decided that to have the Negroes with them meant the ruin of their course and finally acquiesced in the exclusion of the Negroes from politics. Under the powerful pressure of legalized lynching, the Negroes gradually sank into political apathy.

Party. The Negroes, when they voted at all, were driven into the Republican camp. In the days when the Democrats were systematically excluding them from participation in politics, the Negro's only hope for salvation seemed the Republican Party. In many respects the Republican Party was indeed the deck, a very small and slippery deck it is true, but a drowning man catches at much less than the Republican Party, and the Negroes were drowning.

Broke with Republicans in 1932

With the coming of the New Deal, however, the Negroes sat up and took notice. A New Deal. If any group of people in this country need a New Deal the Negroes did! They rallied to Roosevelt in 1936 and carried consternation into the ranks of the Republicans. The Republican High Command appointed Dr. Bunche of Howard University to make a special investigation into the reasons for the desertion of the Negroes, though why they should have needed a special investigation to find out what everybody knew, passes ordinary comprehension. But the New Deal has failed. It is now a corpse. The Negroes have begun to realize that there is nothing in it for them. The result is the beginning of a swing back to the Republicans, as seen in a Philadelphia election some months

Swing back to what, however? What have the Republicans to offer? In their new draft program, the Republicans make a strong plea for the Negro vote. What they offer we must examine closely. But this much is already clear. 1940 is a great turning point for the large masses of Negro voters. They know that the Republican Party has nothing to offer, and after eight years of the New Deal they are in as much misery as ever they were. They form one-third of the ten million unemployed in the country. Roosevelt slashes at WPA and relief. He says not a word about the Anti-Lynch Bill. It seems to be a case of either the Devil or the Deep Blue Sea.

But in 1940 there is a way out. There is no need to limit oneself to the reactionary Republicans or the hypocritical New Dealers. Why must the workers continually trail behind the bosses? What we want is a Labor Party, a party of the workers and the farmers, white and black. If we are to form it, however, we must start laying the basis for it now.

ON THE WAR IN FINLAND

Why We Should Defend the Soviet Union

By ALBERT GOLDMAN

The war being waged between rance and England on the one hand and Germany on the other the class of imperialist countries and to prove this they point to the invasion of Poland and Finland. The net result of applying the term "imperialist" to the Soviet Union is to give the workers the idea that it is folly to defend the Soviet Union against iman imperialist country.

England and France are fighting acterize the latest stage in the people who happen to be at the to the expansionist policy of head of the government of those finance capitalism. countries have bad motives. It is stroy the British Empire and ob- ist" to designate any kind of agtain the colonies that Britain gression, but they are not Marxant to understand that German to be such. industry needs these colonies in order to obtain raw materials, early days of the Soviet Union, markets for its products, and for invaded Georgia, the reactionary the investment of German cap-

desire to exploit the hundreds of Stalinist imperialism". millions of colonial peoples. The ng class.

ism) have replaced industrial capitalism as the real power; ev-

character.

LENIN'S DEFINITION OF IMPERIALISM

perialist countries because it too lialism, in which he severely condemned everyone who did not use When we say that Germany, the term "imperialism" to char-

There are of course many peo-

"socialists" set up a howl about THE MAIN ENEMY! "Bolshevik imperialism". At

ing their struggle against real ive forces. imperialism.

surplus capital and sell their ognize the difference between the blow to imperialism. By means | Far-sighted leaders of the capeconomy existing in the Soviet of the foreign trade monopoly italist class understand just as If and when the United States Union and that of the capitalist the Russian workers erected a well as Marxists that, in the last enters into the war it will be an countries and still use the term wall to prevent the economic pen- analysis, the Soviet Union with imperialist war on its part no "imperialist" to describe Stalin's etration of the Soviet Union by its nationalized property and its is an imperialist war. A great matter how many times Roose- policies. They even attempt to the forces of imperialism. One- planned economy must be demany people make that assertion velt will assert that it is a war justify the use of the term by sixth of the earth's surface was stroyed or else the whole capitalwithout, however, understanding to save the world from fascism. stating that the aim of Stalin is thereby closed to the imperialist ist world is in danger. Although the real meaning of the term The United States, being an im- to increase the "revenue, prestige world which was unable freely to Stalin's policies have been of tre-'imperialist". There are many perialist nation, cannot wage a and power" of the bureaucracy. sell its products or invest its cap- mendous help to the imperialists. who dump the Soviet Union into war that is not imperialist in This is undoubtedly true; but it ital in the Soviet Union — the nevertheless, it is hardly possible can be pointed out to these peo- greatest blow imperialism has for the imperialists to permit ple that the aim of every bureau- ever received. cracy, including that of the trade Marxists have insisted on a unions is to gain "revenue, pres-diutionary Marxists to defend tige and power". That, however, colonial and semi-colonial coun-

use the term in such a broad sense as to make it meaningless. tacked Ethiopia we defended either the destruction of the So-In effect, they who shout about the imperialism of Stalin, whe-Haile Selassie, was a slave driv-the capitalist world. an imperialist war we mean development of capitalist nations. Something more than that the It should b used only to apply any distinction between the economy in the Soviet Union and the Chiang-Kai-shek has butchered imperialist countries cease to execonomy in capitalist countries, tens of thousands of Chinese are all against defending the Soworkers. In defending the coloent conflict with Finland but, it is safe to say, they will refuse true that Hitler's aim is to de- ple who use the term "imperial- viet Union not only in the presis safe to say, they will refuse now possesses. But it is import- ists, although they might claim to defend it in case England and France send their troops into So-When the Red Army, in the viet territory.

IMPERIALISM IS

Great Britain on the other present every writer in the cap- imperialist country conceals the enemy, imperialism. hand wants to retain these colitalist press, every liberal and fact that the imperialism of hand wants to retain these colitalist press, every interest and fact that the important and little defend Ethiopia against scores with the Soviet Union. But onies for the same reasons that every pseudo-socialist insists that France, Germany, England and Italy and China against Japan, they make a serious blunder who Germany wants to get them. The the invasion of Finland by the the United States is the most reruling classes of both countries Red Army is a sign of "red or actionary phenomenon of modern society and the greatest en-Marxists, however, will con- cmy of the working class and of millions of colonial peoples. The marxists, nowever, will consume the same is true of the French rul- tinue to ask: Is the Soviet Union mankind in general. It is the im- Union is completely closed to the Stalinist regime. Sooner or later a capitalist country? If not, perialism of the capitalist coung class.

| a capitalist country? If not, perialism of the capitalist country imperialist world whereas the contradiction must lead to are imperialist countries: their characterize Stalin's invasions hundreds of millions of colonial colonies, whether they are inde- an attempt by the imperialist competitive capitalism has de- and policies is absolutely incor- slaves and its "own" workers, pendent or not, are subjected to world to destroy the Soviet Unveloped into monopoly capital- rect and can only result in con- causes unemployment and retards imperialist exploitation. As yet ion and open up its territory to ism; the banks (finance capital- fusing the masses and weaken- the development of the product- no imperialist country has the why staling their struggle against real ive forces.

very strict use of the term "im- is hardly sufficient to transform tries, regardless of the reaction- large the alternative has been perialism"; especially since Len- the trade union bureaucrats into ary character of their govern- and, so long as nationalized propin wrote his pamphlet on imper- imperialists, unless one wants to ment, against attack by imper- erty continues to exist in the So ialist countries. When Italy at- viet Union, will continue to be Ethiopia even though its ruler, viet Union or the destruction of against imperialism, the independence of the backward countries the inter-imperialist conflicts is progressive. The defeat of any background the contradiction beimperialist country trying to subject a colonial people, is a blow tween the social system in the to all of imperialism, and revolutionary Marxists consider it their Soviet Union. From all appéar-

> how much more is it obligatory close their eyes to the fundamenion against the imperialist world, tween the capitalist world and in spite of Stalin? The Soviet the Soviet Union, even under the

The Russian workers, by ex- right freely to sell its goods in NATIONALIZED PROPERTY ery one of these countries needs Some radicals of various kinds propriating the capitalists and the Soviet Union or to invest its. The undisputed fact remains colonies in which to invest their and types insist that we can rec-

one-sixth of the world's surface It has been the policy of rev- to be excluded from their clutch-

Calling the Soviet Union an duty to help defeat their main mperialist country conceals the enemy imperialism Germany have decided to fight If we defend Ethiopia against scores with the Soviet Union. But upon us to defend the Soviet Un- tal contradiction that exists be-

that, within the territory occupied by the Red Army, territory which formerly belonged to Poland, the land and the banks and larger industries were nationalized and thus another section of the world was taken away from capitalism. Stalin could not afford to permit a different ruling class to remain in the territory annexed to the Soviet Union. If is not because Stalin is anxious

When Stalin invaded Finland immediately issued a program for the expropriation of the big landlords and for state control of large industry. His aims in Finland were not realized so quickly but the fact remains that Stalin's course in the territory that he invades and occupies is fundamentally different from that pur-"It is unworthy of a true so- sued by Hitler-or Chamberlain. base of imperialism.

IN WHAT SENSE

cialists of Germany and Austria. the politics of Stalin is epitom- most reactionary thing in exist-

Stalinist bureaucracy but the defeat of the Red Army strength-Lenin denounced any German ens the main enemy of the workstruggle as against the capitalist army is a duty of every worker, in the Soviet Union, in Finland

Nazi Comment On Moscow's New Attitude

By OSCAR FISCHER

The Frankfurter Zeitung, mouthpiece of the chemical and export industries, published on December 24, 1939, an extensive report from its Moscow correspondent in the form of an annual balance sheet. The report bears the significant heading: "The Year of the Great Turn". It mirrors faithfully the raised hopes which a Fascist journalist today experiences in Moscow:

"German observers have been undergoing an incomparable year in Moscow, reporting and describing things from intimate proximity. The narrow circle of Moscow Germans suddenly discovered itself in the very midst of historic events. A breath-taking political development took place under the very eyes of the spectators. . . . Their aides and friends unexpectedly assumed the roles of fighters for new conceptions. They arose from their desks and engaged in conversation with the leading men of the Soviet state. They initiated an unterrupted, highly significant exchange of

"Retrospectively, it seems almost impossible to say just where the point of departure was for this new policy, for this reshaping of relations between Germany and the Soviet Union. Undoubtedly a more pacafic attitude among the two former antipodes developed as far back as December last year (1938), under the impress of the Munich settlement. There was also an element of readiness to be noted in Stalin's speech at the party conference in March, an undertone which later on grew perceptibly louder and which finally swung with it all of Soviet Russian public opinion. Unforgettable in one's memory remains the day on which was issued the report of Litvinov's downfall. . . ."

Regarding the sentiments of the population the Nazi reporter has, to be sure, nothing at all to say. He only speaks once on this point and precisely with regard to his discovery of Litvinov's downfall:

"I sat in a Russian railroad train . . . the provotnik, hoping for a good tip, handed the foreign passenger the latest Pravda. "Anything new?" the other passengers asked, crowding around. The German hesitated as he looked at the dispatch and then turned the paper over to his neighbor, pointing with his finger to the dispatch in question. "Maxim Maximovitch-liquidated!" the latter summed up philosophically."

Bureaucrats Welcome Nazi Gains

Nothing more was said by his Russian neighbor and the Nazi can report no more. But this philosophical silence is no less instructive than the warm sentiments which the Fascist press representative discovers inside the Stalinist bureaucracy and upon which he dwells at the close of his article again, as the most important result of the "great turn".

"German successes are observed with unconcealed satisfaction, which resounds even more strongly in private conversations than in the press and on the radio. The fate of the armored cruiser 'Admiral Graf Spee' has had a tremendous effect on the Russian power of imagina-

"The number of German press representatives in Moscow as well as that of Soviet journalists in Berlin is increasing in proportion to the greater desire for information.

"An incomparable year. The strictly enclosed circle of persons within which the German observer used to carry on his work has very rapidly been extended far beyond its former confines. Once again, after so many years of an alien atmosphere, a social bond is being forged between Germans and Russians. Among the foreign guests in the Moscow hotels, the Germans are at present the predominant element. There are quartered the various delegations, the German business representatives and industrialists Even German travel book authors are beginning to make their appearance. . . .'

The Stalinists Are Losing Out In Harlem

James Ford, leading Negro Stalinist and twice vice-presidential candidate on the Communist party ticket, has been removed from power in the party, as a result of the alarming decrease in the party membership among the Negroes, according to The Pittsburgh Courier (March 2, 1940). Ford, the former executive secretary of the Harlem division of the C.P., was "kicked upstairs" at the recent meeting of the National Committee of the C.P. and appointed as special representative for the Stalinists in Mexico.

Ford was given the Mexican "assignment" after a special report was read to the meeting that of an estimated 5,000 Negroes who joined the party in 1939, only 250 now remain as members. The report stated that there are only fifty paid-up Negro members in Harlem.

Ford's Harlem work, says The Pittsburgh Courier, is being taken over by a bureau which is reported to be planning a campaign on the exploitation of Negroes in the West Indies. Africa and the U.S. The Stalinists dropped these issues in recent years during the People's Front and Democratic Front periods.

"Bitterness over the failure of the Communists and the Soviet Union to aid Ethiopia . . . is blamed for the big drop in Negro membership, as well as the published charges of 'expelled' Negro leaders that the Communist officers practiced discrimination against Negro reds in unions, WPA and functionary jobs controlled by the party."

Now that the Stalinists are following a pseudorevolutionary line it was necessary for them to find a scapegoat for past crimes and Ford is the victim. They have a tough job ahead, however. The attendance at a Harlem meeting at which Browder spoke in January, the opening gun in their attempt to win back their Negro membership, was not more than one hundred, whereas in previous years they had packed the Renaissance Casino and the Rockland Palace with party and united front meetings.

HOW STALIN SERVES HITLER

How Lenin Negotiated A Treaty

Another Letter to a Communist Worker

II Dear Will: ing that the pact "protected the scious workers everywhere. vital interests of the German people", your party was helping say that Hitler. For if it is possible for not help itself and had to sign TREATY-MAKING A Hitler to conduct a foreign pol- the pact. Your party doesn't say REVOLUTIONARY WEAPON icy beneficial to the German peo-ple, to that extent his overthrow viet Union into war and thus en-

the German people. at length. To sum up your arguents enslave the Poles. If your party ment, it is this: the Hitler-Stalin said that, one could then argue The Southerners rallied round the Democratic pact is of enormous benefit to the whether or not it was possible German people, but no thanks to for the Comintern to call upon Hitler. For, in the words of that

Sunday Worker article: "The Communists (in Germany) patiently explain to their fellow-workers that it was the victory of the proletarian October Revolution and the successful construction of socialism which gave the U.S.

The Polish state was every- DIFFERENCE BETWEEN has called it: a dictatorship of STALINISM AND LENINISM thing which the Comintern press the colonels, a monstrosity, im-

until the Hitler-Stalin past was weak!

monstrosity, thanks to the pact? negotiations. He insisted, success-The Comintern press boasts fully, that the negotiations be about the "liberation" of the completely public. Every speech western provinces. Let us assume by the Soviet delegation constiit is liberation. But this liberation is one result of the pact; and imperialist aims of the German millions liberated, 22 millions en-slaved. At this rate, socialism to overthrow their rulers. By evthe enslavement of two-thirds of egraph, speech and print, Soviet the world's population!

HITLER'S GAINS

ENSLAVE GERMAN PEOPLE

selves Communists, that the en- 2, 1918, declared: slavement of a foreign people Last week I sent you an anal- meant tightening by that much sian Revolution remains faithful reaching and moving the work- icus to do is to save and strength-Last week I sent you an analysis of the Feb. 25 Sunday Work-the hold of a ruling class on its to the policy of internationalism. "own" people. Hitler's enslaveled fight on Nazi hunger." I ment of 22 million Poles is there—Lithuania and Courland to display to the tried to show you that the title fore a disaster not only to the pose of their own destiny, really, of that article was a fraud, for Poles but also to the German freely. Never will we recognize the article showed that the main masses. That this is a result of the justice of imposing the will when the treaty was signed ev- capitalism in such territories as activity of the Comintern in Ger- the Soviet-German pact is a fact of a foreign nation on any other ery class-conscious worker in the it makes part of the Soviet Unmany, by its own claim, consists which terribly compromises the nation whatsoever." of propaganda on behalf of the Soviet Union in the eyes of the Stalin-Hitler pact. And, in claim- German workers and class-con-

viet Union into war and thus enis not a desperate necessity for danger its existence, it was better to save the Soviet Union ev-You reply to me, heatedly and en at the cost of letting Hitler the Polish people—not the Polish against Hitler and for the Red Army to join the Polish masses in preventing Hitler's occupation.

S.R. the strength with which words of the Sunday Worker ar- Germans complained to the Soto foil Chamberlain's plans and ticle already quoted above, that viet delegation. Hitler and to compel him to the heart of Hitler and to com- Soviet demands: that passports ered or sanctioned. not Hitler, for all the conse- result of which the Nazi and man Independent Socialists for nucnces of the Stalin-Hitler pact. Red armies collaborated in divid- a visit to the Soviets; that any Very well, then. Let us, for ex- ing Poland and turned over to publications the Soviets desired in pact! imple, thank Stalin for one of Hitler the lion's share and 22 should be sent to prisoners of hese consequences—the partition million Poles (not to mention the doomed Jews!).

Compare Stalin's negotiations perialist oppressor of the Ukrain- and collaboration with Hitler ian and Byelo-Russian peoples, when the Soviet Union is assertetc. Yet—one more of his crimes edly "strong", with Lenin and Stalin announced himself ready Trotsky's negotiations with Gerto defend this monstrosity in allman imperialism when the newiance with Britain and France, ly-born Soviets were pitifully

On December 12, 1917 Trotsky But what has replaced this arrived in Brest-Litovsk to open agitators communicated the proceedings to the entire world.

It used to be understood, tions the Central Executive Comamong people who called them-|mittee of the Soviets on January delivered as "treaty negotia-

"We now declare that the Rus-

government, that same day de- an imperialists. nounced the German negotiators Note that your party does not as "wolves in sheep's clothing." WHAT SOVIETS SAID THEN

distributed leaflets in the Ger-laration which said: man lines, denouncing the Ger-

you were dictating the peace to ery means at our disposal." But your party doesn't say the us, when the fact is that we are Soviet Union couldn't help itself. victorious and are negotiating on tional independence of the

The Germans presented a proposed treaty which began with

Strikes in Germany were greeted by official Soviet messages: as the Soviet Congress met on Jan. 25, great strikes broke out in Austria; the Congress hailed their "own" rapacious imperial-"the rising of the Austrian work-

now important in mobilizing the and the revolutionary interna-In the midst of the negotia- proletariat for those revolutions tionalism of Leninism. were the speeches which Trotsky

tions." Their revolutionary mes- to advance the interests of the sage took time, however, in social revolution. All he is anxers to action. The Soviets made en the Stalinist bureaucracy, but one more demonstration of the by virtue of the fact that this situation to the world's workers; bureaucracy rules over a state they refused to sign the treaty, where nationalized property exthe Germans advanced, and then ists, it is compelled to destroy world understood that the iniqui- ion. tous terms of the treaty were Izvestia, organ of the Soviet solely due to the German-Austri- he set up a government which

INDICTS STALIN NOW

The All-Russian Congress of the Soviets, meeting March 14, The same day Soviet agitators 1915, ratified the treaty in a dec-

cialist if badly defeated . . . to Stalin's actions in nationalizing The German generals constideny that fact. . . . It is not true property in the territory he octuting the negotiating delegation that we have betrayed our ideals cupied is a confirmation of our constantly protested against the cr our friends, when we signed theory that the character of the revolutionary propaganda con-the peace. . . We have not sanc- Soviet Union is fundamentally ducted during the negotiations, tiened or covered any lie. We different from the character of state of the colonels—to rise up and called Trotsky's speeches have not refused to aid any capitalist states. It is absolute "provocative" and "addressed to friend or comrade in misfortune folly to call imperialism that the gallery." You behave as if in any way we could, or by ev- which in actuality narrows the

The treaty sacrificed the na- INVASION REACTIONARY On the contrary, it boasts, in the occupied Russian territory, the Ukraine. But every Ukrainian worker understood that the Soto foil Chamberlain's plans and the strike fear into the heart of the Soviet Union had the The German generals listened any friend . . . by every means land is reactionary, we say: yes, "strength" to "strike fear into in bewilderment at some of the at our disposal." No lie was cov-

> Compare all this with what Stalin has done in the Hitler-Stal-

ized in this:

The German social-democrats, the usual diplomatic formula: "a lackeys of German imperialism, over, the main enemy is impertreaty of peace and friendship be- voted in the Reichstag for rat- ialism, the breeder of wars and tween Germany and Soviet Rus-lification of the Brest-Litovsk fascism, the master of hundreds sia." Trotsky demonstratively treaty, justifying their vote on of millions of colonial peoples. struck out the phrase "of friend- the ground that the Soviets had Stalin's policies hurt the strugship." A revolutionary govern- ratified it. Lenin denounced them gle against imperialism and are ment could not permit itself such as traitors to the working class. contrary to the interests of the been honor-bound to fight against

Thus, in every possible way in who supported the peace treaty ing class, the imperialist world. another is the enslavement of the negotiators and a ringing call to the midst of the negotiations the of his imperialist rulers. But your Under no circumstances, thererest of Poland by Hitler. Eleven the international working class newly-born Soviets called out to party calls upon the German fore, can a revolutionary worker the German and Austrian work- workers to support the peace be indifferent in a struggle besiaved. At this rate, socialism ery possible device of radio, telers over the heads of the negotitreaty of their imperialist rulers. tween the Red Army and any In that single difference is ex- army connected with the imper-After the German and Austrian pressed the unbridgeable gap be- ialist world. To work for the vicrevolutions of 1918 we learned tween the Stalinist bureaucracy tory of the Red Army in such a

FELIX MORROW or anywhere else.

When the contention is adviets had "not refused to aid vanced that the invasion of Finyes, that is true. But reactionary in what sense? Reactionary in the sense that it has discredited the Soviet Union in the eyes of its only real defenders, the working masses. But look on the other The difference between the side of the battlefield and you war in Germany and to the So-politics of Lenin and Trotsky and behold the imperialist world, the

For every worker, the world

For the Soviets, the treaty was world revolution but the Stalina bitter necessity to secure a ist bureaucracy rules over a state breathing-spell. But the social- which has taken one-sixth of the democratic deputies should have earth away from imperialism. The victory of the Red Army may temporarily strengthen the

Fraternally,

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FIGHT WITH THE SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY FOR:

- 1. A job and a decent living for every worker.
- Open the idle factories—operate them under workers' control.
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- A people's referendum on any and all wars.
- No secret diplomacy.
- An independent Labor Party.
- Workers' Defense Guards against vigilante and Fascist attacks.
- 12. Full social, political and economic equality for the Negro people.

Czarist Stocks Rise

The war correspondent undoubtedly told the story to be funny. It appeared in Tuesday's New York Times. When a Finnish patrol came upon a Russian soldier, he cried out: "Don't shoot-I am a Russian capitalist.'

Funny? The incident may not have happened, but if he invented it, the correspondent didn't help his friend Mannerheim. What would it mean for a Red Army soldier to say that? That he looked upon the Finnish army as part of the imperialist-world, which would spare only those Russians who would adhere to capitalism.

In his own naive way the Soviet soldier understands infinitely more than the fat-headed liberals and labor skates who are raising money for Hoover's Finnish Commission, and the Norman Thomases and Lovestones who are rooting for a Finnish victory.

We should like to ask all those people who call themselves part of the working class and who, nevertheless, call for the defeat of the Red Army in this war, to give us their explanation of the rise in price of Czarist securities on the Paris Bourse.

A February 29 dispatch to the New York Times reports a phenomenal rise in Czarist oil shares:

"For instance, Baku industrials rose from 16 francs in August to 80 in December and are quoted at over 200 francs now, though in fact it is impossible to buy them at any price. Grozny, North Caucasian and other oils have risen too."

From 16 francs to 200-a 1250% increase. That's stock market language for indicating the vulnerability of the Soviet Union and the extent of the concentration of Anglo-French troops on the Soviet's Near-East border.

Defeat for the Soviet Union at the hands of its capitalist enemies means that the capitalists will proceed to restore capitalism in the territories formerly ruled by the Czar. That means that anybody that's for the defeat of the Soviet Union is, willy nilly, for capitalism. That simple Russian soldier understood that. In his own way he was saying that anybody who calls himself part of the labor movement and isn't for the defense of the Soviet Union is a traitor to his

The Paris Bourse makes that clear, if nothing else does.

Vote CIO In Auto

The National Labor Relations Board has ordered elections in the 59 plants of General Motors. More than 225,000 workers in twelve states will choose between the UAW-CIO, the AFL or "no union" in an election to take place "sometime in April."

The Union News Service, official clip-sheet of the CIO, announces extensive plans for a CIO campaign prior to the election. John L. Lewis, Phil Murray, and Sydney Hillman are scheduled for big meetings in Michigan and other auto

The plans are pretty good as far as they go. But they don't go far enough. The auto workers want more than speeches. The best orator in the

world cannot solve their pressing problems by rhetoric alone. Spell-binder Martin dazzled many audiences but results were obtained by different methods.

Results were obtained by action in the great sit-down in Flint, in the famous Battle of Bull's Run which frightened the wits out of Knudsen, Militants Break with Australian Sloane and Co. General Motors understands no C.P.; Hail Fourth International other language. Why try speaking to them as if they were human beings?

the UAW-CIO. That is the only union for the ty of Australia are drawing closer to the Comautomobile workers of this country. Martin's munist League, the Australian section of the phoney AFL group is a disgrace to the name of Fourth International, and some have already unionism: it has participated in strikebreaking itant, officially. The latest number of the Militant, official organ of the League, reports that actions, it has made united fronts with Fascist J. N. Rawlings, editor of World Peace, has brokdemagogues like Coughlin and Gerald L. K. en with Stalinism and endorsed the Fourth In-Smith. Any worker who does not vote for the ternational. CIO, is voting in reality for a return to the open C.P. for fifteen years. From reserved criticism

with enthusiasm, lay down their lives on the Kremlin, one J. B. Miles, who went so far as to picket lines, only on one condition: that the un- urge "fit and available members" of his party to ion goes to bat for the men in the plants.

The auto workers want the 30-hour week at 40-hour pay put on the first order of business in the party leadership, Rawlings was summarily negotiations with G.M. The auto workers want expelled, on December 17. to take the 30-hour week at 40-hour pay out of the far-away realm of "basic demands" and presented as an immediate demand.

The auto workers want their union. But they want their union to fight for them. Let Lewis, threat of force and even refused to allow him to Hillman and Murray tell the auto workers what take his personal belongings with him. Guido they intend to do today—not in the distant future—about the 30-hour week at 40-hour pay. That's what the auto workers want to hear.

That's what the auto workers want to do: fight for the 30-hour week at 40-hour pay.

Defend AFL Unions

As several hundred delegates from building ings after his expulsion: trades unions throughout the country were meeting in Washington to organize the defense of membering the last war, were ready to oppose the unions against the Department of Justice's union-busting campaign, the CIO committed a that they should fight for the independence of shocking act against labor solidarity.

The CIO News, official weekly organ of the CIO, published an article in its March 4th issue, Capitalists and capitalist politicians were dientitled "AFL moguls in panic jump from fry- vided into two classes, good and bad, according ing pan into hotter fires." It said in part:

"Other signs of panic in AFL craft ranks were the calling of an emergency session of craft moguls in Washington to resist exposure and prosecution of racketeers who have exploited the workers and been a detriment to the with duchesses, deans and scions of noble houses. industry. . . .

"On the spot in the court of public opinion distracted by prosecution of racketeers in their midst, plagued by jurisdictional disputes they can't control, and alarmed by growth of the United Construction Workers Organizing Committee (CIO), the craft moguls are facing the worst crisis of their history." (Our emphasis) | The "Break-Even Point"

statements as an act of disloyalty to the labor of one aspect of the problem: the steadily inmovement. It is an elementary duty of every creasing ability of American industry to make unionist to defend all bona-fide labor unions, profits at ever-lower levels of production. A key whether in the CIO, AFL or independent, against the class enemy. The Department of Institute in the anomy of the more related to the characteristic in any industry is the "break-even point", i.e., the percentage of a plant's productive capacity which must be used in order to oper-Justice is the enemy of the working class. Its ate at a profit. In the steel industry, for exam-"anti-trust" campaign is a scarcely-veiled cam- ple, this is now between 40 per cent and 45 per paign to smash unionism in the building trades. cent—that is to say, once the average steel plant begins to run at a rate which produces 45 per For every boss that has been indicted in the cur- cent as much steel as it can produce at full rent campaign, a hundred trade union leaders capacity, it begins to make money. have been indicted. The real moguls of the building trades industry, the banks which control point is even lower - can make profits even building sites, construction financing, construc- though it is producing less than half the amount tion supplies and most of the construction com- of goods its plants can produce. Thus the nationpanies, are whitewashed and not touched by to half that of boom times, employment can be Thurman Arnold. These facts alone brand the far below the boom level, and the industry in "anti-trust" campaign for what it is: a union- question can still make money. smashing conspiracy.

building trades which is now under the fire of production. If a steel company makes, say \$5 a the Department of Justice is practiced by CIO at 60 per cent of capacity, its rate of profit the Department of Justice is practiced by CIO at 60 per cent of capacity may well be not \$5 a unions. Refusal of union men to work on non- ton but \$7 or \$8. Thus it is often possible to union materials; refusal of unions to supply men double and triple profits with only a slight rise to contractors not certified by the employers' mechanized mass production plant costs a cerbargaining agency with which the unions have tain minimum to run at all: it takes about as contracts; control by the unions of the introduc- many employees, as much coal and water and tion of new manufacturing operations and de- electricity, as much wear-and-teal of cavices which involve cutting down the number of pacity as at 40 per cent. But once production is workers; union insistence that certain work be high enough to absorb these minimum fixed done on the premises and not brought in semifinished form to be completed by union work- materials. ers—these and a dozen other working rules of the AFL building trades now being attemptedly outlawed by Thurman Arnold, are practiced— dustry gave a dramatic illustration of the above one or more of them—by the International La- point. In that period, the net profits of the six dies Garment Workers, the Amalgamated Cloth- leading automobile manufacturers were \$65,ing Workers, the Auto Workers Union and, 500,000, as against only \$6,500,000 for the same indeed, in one form or another, by most of the ever, was very much less: sales of trucks and CIO unions.

this score can be directed against the AFL with- per cent in profits. out leading to blows against the CIO would be a fatal error. If the CIO top-leaders are so nearsighted as not to see this, they should be forcibly reminded of their responsibilities by the rank and file of the CIO.

Defend the AFL building trades unions in the number of the unemployed. against the union-busting drive!

In the World of Labor The A. L. P. Fight --Stalinists Won

= By Paul G. Stevens =

Our Australian comrades' vigorous anti-war activity, reported in these columns on previous oc-The workers of General Motors will vote for casions, is bearing fruit. A considerable number

Rawlings was a member of the Australian of the People's Front line he developed to the But the auto workers will vote for the CIO point where, at the outbreak of the war, he openly took issue with the local satrap of the join up with the army and "to participate in the struggle to defeat the aggressor armies." After several months of increasing conflict with

Rawlings had been editor of World Peace, the weekly paper of the League for Peace and Democracy, from its inception. He was immediately removed from that post upon his expulsion from the C.P. A squad of Stalinist worthies raided his editorial office, ordered him to leave with a Baracchi, another old time C.P. leader, has solidarized himself with Rawlings in his conflict with the party leadership.

Aside from his journalistic work, which made his name familiar to radical circles throughout the British Empire, Rawlings is the author of the authoritative "History of the Australian People" and of numerous pamphlets on economic and historical questions.

Excerpts from the Statement Issued by J. N. Rawlings

Here are some interesting excerpts from a statement issued to the press by comrade Rawl-

"What of the thousands of workers who, rethis, but who, seeing the Communist Party support it, were either bewildered or led to believe nations now enslaved by Nazism?'

"But the decision to support the war was no 'mistake'. It was a perfectly logical step. . as they were 'non-appeasers' and 'appeasers'. Capitalism was no longer the breeder of wars; wars now resulted from 'Fascist aggression'. . . .

"First it was 'democratic' France and Britain -and Communists in these countries voted war credits, supported conscription, sang the Marseilleise and God Save the King, and hobnobbed

Then it was Nazi Germany, which Pravda led us to infer was invariably based on striving to defend and preserve peace! . .

Today, Finland is being invaded, just as Austria. Czechoslovakia and Poland were invaded But this time the invasion is made in the name of Leninism! To such a level has the Communist Party of Australia, together with the rest of them, descended, that it can idealize that invasion and present it as the extension of Com-

"With the Comintern attitude, switching now left, now right, towards the war, and with policies, spread over years, that led to that attitude, no true Marxian can have anything to do

"Events have shown that the Third International has followed the path of the Second. Bu the path of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Trotsky i the only path that the workers can follow to their emancipation, and a new, Fourth, Interna tional must be built to lead them along it."

Labour Party Students Join Against Social Patriotism

From time to time we have reported here the growing anti-war movement in the lower ranks of the British Trades Unions as well as in the Labour Party. Only recently, as this column pointed out, this movement showed such strength in the local Trades Councils that the top bureaucracy became obliged to enforce its rule by means of extraordinary measures intended to squeeze the local bodies into line by financial

Now we get word that the bureaucracy is also in conflict on this score with the University Labour Federation, the students' organization affiliated with the Labour Party. Arthur Greenwood deputy leader of the party in parliament, found the conflict so sharp that he had to resign as president of the Federation. On January 4 the Labour students held their national conference at Liverpool. The first step taken by the con ference was the adoption of a resolution "condemning the war as an imperialist war for profit and for world domination", and point out that the same anti-war policy has been "expressed by sections of the Labour Party and by trades unions in Edinburgh, Glasgow and Sheffield."

The resolution carried by a vote of 49 agains 9 and 2 abstentions. Mentioning this fact, statement of the Federation chides Greenwood for attributing their attitude to "Communist instigation." It continues: "The Conference of the U.L.F. regards the struggle against war on the part of the labor movement as a foremost task and as a step necessary for the realization of socialism. Only by such means can the L.P. and the U.L.F. fulfill their role as "light-house of socialism". The conference regards your (Greenwood's) action and that of the other leaders of the Labour Party who support the war and the political truce as treachery to socialism and to the interests of the working class. The conference has decided to continue the struggle against war and for socialism in agreement with the numerous groups in the labor and progressive movement who are opposed today and who will continue to oppose this war."

A Hollow Victory

The bitterest things said about Alex Rose were not said by the Stalinists, last Thursday night at the New York County convention of the American Labor Party. The Stalinists were, indeed, feeling rather amiable. Looking over the auditorium they saw predominate the familiar faces of their comrades.

The bitter souls in the place were the small band of members of the Social Democratic Federation. They had warned Alex Rose and the other big shots of the ALP, two years ago or more. He would not listen. He would not even consult with them. Because the Stalinists provided the necessary Jimmy Higgins crews for all the dreary detail work, he had welcomed them and let them take over club after club. He had told Louis Waldman it was all right, the Stalinists could be cleaned out any time it was necessary. Now his chickens were coming home to roost.

The final indignity that drove the Social Democrats into highly articulate fury-my seat at the press table was not too close to them but, stalking back and forth, they threw discretion to the winds was Alex Rose's choice of a standard-bearer for the evening. The test vote was to be that for chairman. Like principled politicians the Social Democrats wanted someone put up who would symbolize the rabid redbaiting and pro-Ally program of the anti-Communist bloc. But Alex Rose hadn't even troubled to consult the Social Democrats. Instead he chose a man who, from the rigorous standards of the Social Democrats, was himself tainted with Stalinism—Sylvio Bottini, a minor building trades union official, the taint consisting of his friendship with Marcantonio, the friend of the Stalinists.

I confess that I got a good deal of pleasure, that evening, observing the infuriated but impotent discomfiture of the anti-Communist bloc.

The Stalinists, in capturing the New York County ALP, took over an empty shell. Their victory consisted in this: when they were still in a bloc with Alex Rose last August-before the Hitler-Stalin pact-the candidates for committeemen, who constitute the legally-recognized county organization of a party, were designated by the ALP district clubs, where the Stalinists had a majority, and ALP enrollees voted for these candidates at the September city primary. In other words, the Stalinists last Thursday captured nothing but the country machinery which the law requires every party on the ballot to establish through

The Real ALP Beyond Their Reach

The real American Labor Party—the trade unions which constitute it—did not and of course could not pass into the hands of the Stalinists by counting noses of county committeemen. In the April 2 state primaries, at which state committeemen of the ALP are elected, if the Stalinists win, they again win an empty shell. The trade unions, other than the minority controlled by the Stalinists, will scarcely remain in the ALP if the Stalinists capture the legal machinery. The backbone of the ALP would be removed forthwith-the Amalagamated Clothing Workers, the Ladies Garment Workers, the millinery union, etc.

A Labor Party without unions is an absurdity. Why, then, have not Alex Rose and his cohorts not emphasized in their public statements the absurdity of the Stalinist campaign to capture the legal machinery of the ALP? The trade union bureaucrats have a crushing argument against the Stalinists: why don't the Stalinists demonstrate what their strength is, not in the primaries dictated by the bourgeois parliamentary system in which a dentist's vote weighs as much as a trade unionist's, but in the trade unions which constitute the ALP?

The fact is that the ALP bureaucrats have never referred to this fundamental difference between a Labor Party and the capitalist parties. They have been too desirous of winning to the ALP the professional and middle-class flotsam and jetsam, taking the workers' votes for granted. Instead of sharply emphasizing that the unions have the right and duty of running their own party, the Alex Roses have wooed the elements outside the unions. The result: clubs full of lawyers, doctors and dentists, small businessmen—and Stalinists working in them by party assignment. In other words, easy picking for the Stalinists.

The workers in the unions affiliated to the ALP have never been made to feel that they are active members of th ALP through their unions. Around election-time a few speeches in the unions, and payment of ALP dues-this is all that the ALP has been to the union members.

If a union member wanted to be active in the ALP, he could not do so through his union, but only by joining a club in his neighborhood dominated by lawyers and dentists. The result: the unionists didn't trouble to go to the primaries and left the field to the Stalinists.

That the unions have not constituted the basic active units of the ALP is not an oversight. If the trade union bureaucrats paid by a Stalinist victory in the primaries for their failure to activize the trade union members, they prefer that to the alternative: steeping the unions in the basic political problems facing the working class.

The trade union as the workers' organization dealing with private employers in a specific industry is a difficult enough organism to keep under the control of bureaucrats committed down to their bones to the capitalist order. In the union as an economic organism, consideration of the basic problems of unemployment and insecurity are limited to what can be done to alleviate hunger and want and poverty within the specific industry—and this at a time when every thoughtful worker understands that these problems cannot be solved on a trade union level. To limit the union to this trade union level serves the capitalist order and the labor bureaucrats faithful to it.

Remove that narrow limitation from the workers' discussions of their life-and-death problems, turn the union floor over to the political level—to the question of the relation of the working class as a whole to the capitalist class as a whole—and, my God, think the bureaucrats, there is no limit to what the workers may try to do.

Alex Rose can make a militant in his millinery union look like an impractical fool for proposing to wipe out unemployment in the industry. But Rose would be in a fundamentally different situation if he tried to make fun of a militant on the union floor who demanded that the union's delegates to a national Labor Party insist on a program guaranteeing a decent living to every worker. That's why Rose prefers to keep the unions out of direct participation in the ALP even if that means that the Stalinists capture the legal machinery. The Stalinist victory is an empty one, Rose thinks, and that is true. Whereas a militant program that would sweep the unions would sweep Rose right out of the unions.

SPARKS IN THE NEWS ■ by Dwight Macdonald =

Every class-conscious worker will brand these Much has been written about technological

This means that an industry with a break-even point of 45 per cent—and in many industries the al consumption of these goods can be reduced

There is another interesting thing about this break-even point: once production reaches that Practically every union procedure of the AFL level, profits begin to increase much faster than in production. The reason for this is that a highly electricity, as much wear-and-tear on the mareduced to little more than extra wages and raw

Sales Up 58 p.c.; Profits 910 p.c.

In the first quarter of 1939 the automobile incars for that quarter of 1939 totalled 1,056,000, For the CIO to delude itself that blows on as against 669,000 in 1938. Thus an increase of 58 per cent in sales caused an increase of 910

Earnings and Employment

The mysterious workings of the "break-even point" are one reason for the phenomenon we see today of enormous increases in profits unaccompanied by any significant rise in the national standard of living or any significant decrease

As the readers of the Appeal are well aware,

one out of every five families in the nation is starving and stagnating in the ranks of the unemployed. And, as I noted here a few weeks ago, of every hundred of thos from WPA last summer have been able to find jobs in private industry.

Yet last year's earnings of most big companies were spectacular. Goodyear Tire & Rubber reported 63 per cent higher profits in 1939 than in 1938. . . . U. S. Steel lost \$7,700,000 in 1938 made \$41,200,000 in 1939. . . DuPont made \$50, 200,000 in 1938, \$93,200,000 in 1939. . . . Inland Steel's net rose from \$4,900,000 to \$10,900,000. The National City Bank predicts that 370 lead ing manufacturers will report 1939 earnings totalling \$329,000,000, which is double the 1938

If figures mean anything, these statistics mean that American capitalism can function with the utmost efficiency as a profit system, simultaneously with the utmost inefficiency as a social system. And since the bourgeoisie judge the desirability of capitalism by its ability to make profits, while the workers judge it by its ability to produce and distribute material goods-this being the case, there is inevitably a basic clash of class interests.

Mass Production and Mass Misery This class conflict the bourgeoisie, both lib-

eral and conservative, try to explain away with the well-worn thesis that American capitalism is "different" from that of Europe in that it is based on mass production and hence on the idea of a mass market. The assumption is that our capitalism must progress to ever higher levels of production and consumption because only thus can our great corporations find a market big enough to absorb their huge productive capacity. Hence the common interest of the employer and of the employee lies in increasing production and consumption (or sales). The conservatives repeat, with the U.S. Chamber of Commerce, What is Good for Business is Good for You. The liberals talk of an "economy of plenty" (as against the typical European "economy of scarcity"). The New Deal spending philosophy is based on this conception of the mass market being the logical corollary of mass production.

It is true that when industrial production falls below a certain minimum level (the national "break-even point", so to speak), the bourgeoisie lose money and, of course, society as a whole is in a bad way. But, as we have seen, once the break-even point is reached, profits become rapidly less and less dependent on increased production. It seems probable that the future development of American capitalism will be in the direction of extracting bigger and bigger profits out of ever-smaller production. (The great aim of modern technology is to lower the break-even point.) There is only one political formula for imposing on the masses the lower living standards this economic development would make inevitable. Its name is fascism.