

# Socialist Appeal

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

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

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

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## ANTI-WAR MOVEMENT GATHERS IN EUROPE

### Progressives Gird For Convention of Needle Workers

#### Stalinists Badly Defeated In Local, Delegate Elections

Elections are now taking place in all locals of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union for local union officers and for delegates to the coming national convention of the Union to be held in May, 1940 in New York City.

The current elections are witnessing a split for the first time in four years, between the official administration forces of David Dubinsky and the forces of the Communist Party. During the entire "People's Front" period, since 1935, the Stalinists were in a bloc with the Dubinsky administration, praising and supporting all of the bureaucratic acts. With the signing of the Stalin-Hitler Pact, the Dubinsky administration forces launched a bitter attack against the Stalinists, dubbed them "Communazis" and demonstratively broke off all relations with them.

#### Stalinists Losing Out

The election returns thus far indicate a stinging defeat for all the "Rank and File" slates of the Stalinists in the different local unions. The Stalinists lost completely in locals 9, 35, 38, 60, and in local 22, the second largest local in the union.

The treachery of the Stalinists, however, does not excuse the bureaucratic and do-nothing policies of Dubinsky and his supporters. Utilizing the three month period, which allows all union groups to freely function, prior to each election, the membership has expressed its dissatisfaction with the conduct of the union and has been organizing progressive groups in many of the key locals, notably the Independent Progressive Group of Local 22, the Independent group of local 38, the Independent Cutters League of Dubinsky's own local union, local 10, etc.

#### Militant Cutters Publish Union-Building Program

A militant program for adoption by the forthcoming national convention of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union was issued recently by the Independent Cutters League of Local 10 of the International.

The seven-point program is contained in a "Convention Bulletin" printed by the League, dated March, and now being widely circulated among ILGWU workers.

"1. We propose the launching of a bold, energetic organization campaign to unionize every garment shop in the country. We propose the zoning of the country, with proper wage differentials in each zone, with a view of gradually bringing up the wages and working conditions of the out-of-town shops to the union conditions prevailing in the New York shops."

The theory that the way to solve the out-of-town competitive problem is to lower the wages and the working conditions of the New York workers down to the conditions prevailing in the out-of-town shops is not only false, but if put into practice, would destroy the very foundations of the union organization in New York and out-of-town. What is necessary is to organize the outside shops and then gradually bring them up to the rates and standards of the New York shops. Nothing less will do the job.

"2. We propose the standardization of all agreements to provide for a standard expiration date."

The purpose of this second point is to do away with the present situation where, when a strike is called in any locality, buyers have the opportunity of having garments manufactured (Continued on Page 4)

AN OPEN LETTER TO JOHN L. LEWIS FROM A FLINT AUTO WORKER:

### 'We Want to Battle for 30-Hour Week, Lewis! Have You the Guts for a Fight?'

John L. Lewis  
Chairman, CIO

Dear Brother Lewis:

I'm glad to hear you're coming to Flint to speak on April 7th. It's about time you got a squint at the fightingest bunch of CIO men in captivity.

I have been doing some heavy thinking the last few weeks and I think I've got some good suggestions to make.

You know, these elections in General Motors are going to be a cinch. Can't even get a bet at 10 to 1 on the CIO against the AFL! But winning the NLRB elections is only the beginning. Then our real fight begins.

The boys are in a mood for action. No question about it. They've got the foremen and superintendents jumping through hoops, but they're out for bigger game now.

We're sick and tired of the insecurity we've been up against these last few years! Sometimes we work, sometimes we don't. If we make six or seven hundred dollars a year we're lucky.

And outside the plant gates there's always a big army of unemployed pressing for jobs, jobs jobs. Let me tell you Brother Lewis, these unemployed are a danger, they're a huge potential scab army, and the CIO has got to do something about it!

Now it's a downright tea party to fix up that part about insecurity of the boys in the plants. We're going to make GM abide by seniority, and how. And we're going to make 'em kick in some of those hundreds of millions of profits they've been hauling away, and raise our year-round incomes.

But the best way to do something about both our situation in the plants, and help the unemployed at the same time, is to fight for the 30 hour week at 40 hours pay.

That slogan's been one of the union's "demands" for some time now. But nothing is being done about it. The union officers are afraid of it.

Let's not put that demand on the shelf!! Let's make it an IMMEDIATE demand!

General Motors can afford the 30 hour week at 40 hour pay! Sure, it would cut into their profits some, but they've been robbing us of our rights long enough.

GM cleared \$183,000,000 in profits in '39. That means that old man Dupont clipped \$40,000,000 worth of coupons and others like him got the rest; all that wealth represents the labor and sweat of CIO men! Let's get some of it back!

In 1937 we did the impossible when we sat down and held the plants, and finally marched out a victorious army; nobody could lick us then, and nobody can lick us now.

It's time to get out that old spirit of '37, dust it off, and start it going again!

Our slogan should be: after the NLRB victory, a 30 hour week at 40 hours pay!

How about it, John L.? Have you got the guts? I hope you have, because if you haven't, we'll have to find someone else who has.

Fraternally yours,

Flint, Mich.

Fred, from Final Assembly

### British Unions Vote Against Imperialist War for Colonies

#### Dissatisfaction of French Workers Powerful Factor in Cabinet Shake-up; 'Socialist' Leaders Betray Workers Interests

Events of the last few days indicate that we have reached a new stage in the struggle against the war. Among these events are:

Replacement of the Daladier government by a bourgeois "socialist" coalition government.

A secret trial for the 44 Stalinist deputies in Paris—the first time in French history that a political case has been heard in secret.

Resolution of the British national convention of the National Union of Shop Assistants, Warehousemen and Clerks, a union of 175,000 members, that Britain's war "is an imperialist war fought for the defense of British and French colonial possessions. The working class has no interest in supporting it." Adopted by a vote of 82 to 57.

Resolution of the Essex District Council of the National Union of Railwaymen demanding immediate end of the war with Germany, because "the war is imperialist and contrary to the interests of all workers," an end to all assistance to Finland, and that the union leaders "get on with the struggle for socialism."

Delegates representing 1,323,000 members at the British national conference of the Cooperative movement supported an amendment condemning the war as imperialist, demanding an immediate armistice and calling for an international workers conference to insure a just peace.

A vote against Australian participation in any war overseas or extension of the present war into a conflict against the Soviet Union, by 195 to 88, adopted by the New South Wales Labor Conference in spite of all pleas by the federal and state leadership.

Apparently authoritative reports that Chamberlain has asked the British Labor Party to enter the government. The actual step probably could not take place, however, until the annual conference of the Labor Party, scheduled for May 13.

These and facts of a similar import signify that whatever honeymoon there was in the first period of the war between the masses and their rulers, is over, and that the rulers must now embark on new ways and means of stemming the growing opposition of the masses.

#### Significant Testimony of War Mongers

The rabidly pro-Ally Arthur Krock of the New York Times is sufficiently disturbed by the developments to quote as "interesting and impressive" the private observations of a French observer whose authority he vouches for, who says:

"The French may require revolutionary slogans themselves to energize war aims and dispel any idea they may be fighting to retain certain privileged systems. To some degree Hitler's propaganda, I fear, has had an unsettling effect. . . . Something like a more liberal government in London; some slogan like 'No more dukes,' and some dispersal of the economic and financial dominations of the small controlling group in France—these are among the changes in the Allied political atmosphere" which are needed. (Times, March 21.)

Reporting that "stop the war advocates showed remarkable strength during the week-end at Laborite and other political conferences," the London correspondent of the N. Y. Times, March 26, says that "to what extent Dr. Joseph Goebbels has influenced the 'peace now' vote . . . cannot, of course, be estimated."

In an editorial of March 25, the London Daily Mail draws the attention of the government to the "extent to which German broadcasts are influencing not only the civilian population of Britain but also our armed forces." The Mail says the broadcasts have been "making that once inarticulate section particularly articulate"—those dissatisfied with the "present mode of life" and "the capitalist system in general."

#### Hitler Doesn't Influence These Workers!

We can immediately dismiss with the contempt it deserves the insinuation of the French observer, the N. Y. Times and the Daily Mail, that the phenomena they describe are caused by the Nazi broadcasts. This cheap insult to the French and British workers scarcely requires refutation. The most dissatisfied and most outspoken workers in France and England are precisely those who understand that Nazism is the mortal enemy of the working class. Hitler's propaganda has no effect on them whatsoever. To say it does is a slander concocted to discredit their opposition to the war.

Their opposition to the war arises not from what they hear over the radio but from what they see and experience every day. The slogans of war for democracy and against fascism cannot but echo mockingly in the ears of British and French workmen. As Margaret Johns said in moving the resolution at the National Clerks convention:

"We are told this is a war to end aggression. This comes from the British capitalist class, which has held down India by force and violence, shot down strike pickets in the West Indies, oppressed, starved and exploited Negro workers in Africa and is still carrying on aggression against Ireland."

And the French worker had it all summed up for him in the March 19 report to the Chamber of Deputies of Minister of the Interior Sarraut: 620 "Communist" trade unions dissolved, 3,400 agitators arrested up to March 7 and more than 8,000 penalties ordered, 2,778 members of municipal councils suspended, and 675 "Communist" organizations shut down.

Repression and censorship is more desperately applied in France than in England and, as a consequence, at the moment one can find more direct evidence of anti-war activity in England. But witness this very significant evidence, though negative in form: the French government dares not permit a public trial of the Stalinist deputies. After the first few exchanges between the deputies and the judges, the court refused to permit the trial to go on in public.

(Continued on Page 4)

### Behind the Lines

By GEORGE STERN

Playing once more the classic role of social patriots, six French Socialists have entered the new government of Paul Reynaud to help make the war more palatable to the workers. This is the main purpose behind the change of cabinet.

To keep justifying the regime of repression and extreme economic rigor which he introduced, Daladier would have had to have victories in order to counter-act popular mistrust and passive resistance to the war. There must have been a real quickening of the pulse of protest that explains the act of the Socialists in abstaining on the confidence vote in Daladier. And there must have been a real sense of danger in the minds of the war-makers, for they decided Daladier had to go.

Paul Reynaud, instrument of French high finance, took over the government. He gave three portfolios to Socialists, one of them the classic post of social-patriotic hostages—the Ministry of Justice. The Ministry of Information was taken over by Ludovic Oscar Frossard, a former Socialist.

Thus under the new dispensation, the repression of all anti-war activity and the dissemination of all the lying propaganda needed by the bosses to bolster up their case for the world slaughter will be handled by men of the "Left."

The new government came in amid a great show of "opposition" from the extreme Right. The rightist group of Louis Marin and the extreme rightist newspapers

like Echo de Paris and Petit Journal denounced it as a "left" government. One Rightist newspaper l'Ordre, even went so far in eye-washing as to state that the Rightist opposition was based on the fact that "M. Francois de Wendel (the J.P. Morgan of France—G.S.) fears that the Socialists may have too great an influence in the cabinet."

As though any government of capitalist France at war could go against the wishes of Wendel and his Committee des Forges—the powerful combine of financiers which really rules the country! No, all this Rightist opposition is designed to create the illusion among the workers that the workers have some stake in this new government, that it is "better" than the previous government because it has Socialists in it and is opposed by the Right, whereas Daladier spurned the Socialists and was supported by the Right.

Reynaud's fundamental policy cannot differ in any important way from that of Daladier. This goes even for the matter of strategy in the war. If Reynaud and Chamberlain decide on any course of action, Daladier will be there as French war minister to help carry it out. These changes are not due to matters of external war policy but are made with an eye to the internal situation, which is characterized by wholesale dissatisfaction, mistrust, cynicism, and germinating protests against the futility of the coming slaughter.

### JAIL ANTI-WAR 'TROTSKYISTS' IN FRANCE

#### Worker-Militants Arrested by the Banker Gov't

Arrests of French Trotskyists for anti-war activity were reported in the following item, published in Le Temps of Paris, Feb. 20:

"Following an inquiry into the activity of former communists who, under the name of the Fourth International, carried on anti-militarist and revolutionary propaganda, the Prefecture de Police has arrested and sent to the military tribunals the following people:

"Charles Margne, post office employee, member of the Central Committee of the former PCI (Internationalist Communist Party); his wife, Rose Maurel; the Italian Bruno Nardino, student; Marie Coste, post office employee; Mireille Poirier, nee Collorec, teacher of physical culture (whose husband was the secretary of the Youth organization of the PSOP (Workers and Peasants Socialist Party); Pierre Roussel, post office employee; Suzanne Simkowitz, stenographer; Fany Cysiz, clerk; Claire Benaufre, nee Feygenbaum, whose husband, former militant of the POI (Internationalist Workers Party) is at present maintained in the prison of Fresnes for inciting soldiers to disobedience; Rachel Orbach, dressmaker; Leon Gejgyier, fitter; Minachem Rosenfeld, fitter; David Mlynarz, tailor; his son George; Andre Corset, a student; and Maurice Guignat, turner."

The extreme persecution to which our French movement is subjected and the rigid censorship makes it impossible for us to add any details to the Temps article.

### LaGuardia Retreats On TWU Contracts

#### Agrees To Recommend City Honor Union's Contracts Pending Court Decisions

Mayor LaGuardia backed away for the time being from a showdown battle with the Transport Workers Union when, at a meeting Wednesday with John L. Lewis and T.W.U. officers, the mayor agreed to recommend that the city honor the union's contracts pending court decisions.

The mayor's new stand apparently means that all provisions in the union's present contracts with the BMT and the IRT will continue in force when the city takes over these transit lines soon. These contracts include closed-shop provisions.

The new position taken by LaGuardia represented a decided retreat from the position he had previously taken, that the city could not bargain collectively in the same sense as a private employer and that the subways when under city ownership must be operated on an open shop, no

strike basis.

It was understood in union circles that the city itself would take no steps to question in court the legality of the city's observance of the contracts, but that some "taxpayer" acting for the city's bankers would undoubtedly take the issue into the courts.

Since the State Court of Appeals has previously upheld the legality of the closed shop in the B.M.T., ruling against a contention that the city's interest in the line makes such a contract invalid, the union has a slight edge in the next stage of the fight.

But it can keep that edge only by the same means that forced LaGuardia to retreat—by preparing to fight militantly for its rights, keeping its strike machinery geared for action and depending on its organized strength and not on smart lawyers.

### LYNCH DRIVE AGAINST TROTSKY RENEWED BY C.P. IN MEXICO

The Communist party of Mexico, purged of its entire leadership by the G.F.U., was geared at the closing session of its "convention" last week to a renewed campaign against Leon Trotsky's right of asylum.

Andreas Salgado, "president of the Special Control Commission" which purged the party, attacked Mexico's president Cardenas for "permitting the continued presence of Trotsky in Mexico," the Daily Worker, March 24, reports.

The purged leadership were labelled "Trotskyists"—a fantastic invention, since the whole group, led by Hernan Laborde, the now-purged general secretary, went to every conceivable length to secure the expulsion of Trotsky from the country and, it is known, were in direct contact with George Mink and other G.F.U. assassins sent into the country to make an attempt on Trotsky.

If the efforts of this previous group are now considered to have been pro-Trotsky, one can imagine the desperate moves to which the new leadership will resort in attempting to put Trotsky out of the way!

### OMAHA JOBLESS UNITE BLACK-AND WHITE

#### Wipe Out Distrust Between Two Races

OMAHA, Nebraska—Concrete gains won for the unemployed by the Federal Workers Section, backed by organized labor, are beginning to appear in the last few weeks since a six-weeks' picket-line of the FWS secured the ousting of the relief czar, Magareit.

For the first time single men, members of the FWS, have been granted relief. Many tons of coal were distributed to the needy during the recent cold spell (something that was NOT done before the Federal Workers Section embarked on its relentless fight for direct relief standards). In some cases, the FWS has won rent for those on relief. Several evictions have been stopped. The utilities have been prevented from shutting off gas and lights in numerous cases.

The Federal Workers Section continues to grow and now has about 400 members, of whom 125 are Negro. Two of the seven members of the executive board are Negroes.

#### Unites Black and White

The friendly and effective co-operation established here between black and white is particularly encouraging because of the background of race relations in Omaha.

During the great packing-house strike in Omaha back in 1921, about 4,000 Negro workers were brought in by leading businessmen to break the strike. Because the bosses had played the despicable trick of artificially introducing the race question into industry, race relations in Omaha were poisoned for years. The steady growth of unionism in Omaha and the common fight made by the unemployed are rapidly banishing race prejudice and race distrust from the minds of both black and white workers.



# WORKERS' FORUM

Write to us—tell us what's going on in your part of the labor movement—what are the workers thinking about?—tell us what the bosses are up to—and the G-men and the local cops—and the Stalinists—send us that story the capitalist press didn't print and that story they buried or distorted—our pages are open to you. Letters must carry name and address, but indicate if you do not want your name printed.

## How J. P. Morgan Fixed Things Up

Editor:

Here's an interesting story about J. P. Morgan that didn't get in the papers. It was referred to in the papers, but in such an obscure way that nobody could understand what happened.

J. P. Morgan found it advisable to change the form of his banking house from a partnership to a corporation—it meant avoiding payment of a lot of taxes. But when it came to incorporation, it turned out that a relatively small corporation is in existence which is named J. P. Morgan & Co., Inc. And New York State law very specifically provides that nobody can incorporate under a name already used by another corporation. So the Secretary of State of New York rejected the incorporation application filed by J. P. Morgan.

The logical thing to do then was to buy out the corporation already holding the name. Excuse me, that would be the logical thing for ordinary mortals to do. But not Morgan! He found it cheaper to have a law passed by the New York State legislature permitting him to do what nobody else had ever been permitted to do! Obligingly the legislature passed an amendment to the State Banking Act, providing that any banking partnership was thereby permitted to use its partnership name when incorporating and that any contradictory laws were thereby set aside for the bankers!

New York

A. F.

## Asks Our Opinion of Quaker Pacifists

Editor:

What is the extent and influence of the Quaker peace movement (especially in the student field)?

The Quaker plan is to send a list of prospective conscientious war objectors to the proper authorities. When war is declared a trial is to be arranged (by the Quaker officials) at which the objector can defend his stand against registering for the draft. The objector may choose alternative service (some non-combatant or Quaker war relief work) or refuse all war service and face court martial. What do you think of this plan as a possible tactic? These Quakers seem to be sincere pacifists, some with democratic socialist leanings. I am contacting them (especially the young Quakers). Do you think it is worthwhile?

Yonkers, N. Y.

Robert Rae

In theory the Quaker peace movement includes all Quakers, pacifism being a tenet of the Quaker belief; in actuality, most Quakers supported the last war and will undoubtedly repeat that performance in the coming war. As early as the pre-Civil War period, the gap between Quaker beliefs and Quaker practices was already established; many Quakers were slave-holders. The development of capitalism transformed the Quakers from a sect

expressing the more radical aspirations of the lower middle class into one of the most wealthy groups, proportionally, in the country and predominantly Big Business in outlook. They frown upon the activities of the small group of Quakers who devote themselves to pacifist work.

Anyone sincerely opposed to war is worth trying to win to a revolutionary anti-war program. That can be done, however, only by sharp struggle against the "Quaker" program. The Quaker pacifists might arrange the trial; but it would be the war-time government that would pass judgment on the objector. In a word, the Quaker proposal would mean, if we all agreed to it, to hand over to the government a complete list of all opposed to the war, and make it child's-play for the government to rid itself of all anti-war elements. We follow Lenin: we oppose war, not as a measure of self-expression, but as an integral part of our struggle for the overthrow of capitalism. Entering the army upon being drafted is necessary for our work.

We are against the imperialist war, but we are not pacifists. For we have a war which we believe in and in which we fight; the war of the working class against the imperialists.

—Editor.

## New Orleans Dockers Still "Shape Up"

Editor:

I came into port here and found the longshoremen still have one of the most vicious systems of old—the shape-up in a barroom and on the corner. And when I tried to join the longshoremen's local I was told that it was twenty bucks on the barrel head and that I would first have to get one of the foremen to get me a job. The foremen of course play favorites, take kick-backs, etc.

I am going to do all in my power to see if that racket can't be broken up, and get the union hiring hall, like the seamen have on the West Coast, so that everybody in the union can get a crack at the jobs.

If I stay in New Orleans, I think I will ship on S.I.U. (Seafarers International Union, AFL) ships, and I'm sure it is a very good field to sow some seeds. There are a lot of rotten tomatoes, but they can be thrown over the side.

New Orleans, La.

G.F.

## Want "Socialist Unity" With Thomas & Co.

Editor:

At the beginning of the last several general election years I have written your party national headquarters urging a union of the several socialist groups in the coming election. Each succeeding year the capitalist system has given additional proof of its inability to provide for the general welfare of the people, falling deeper and deeper in permanent depression. And I feel that the continued division of the socialist

movement into groups at constant strife with each other can but add to the general confusion.

The social, political and economic conditions have become deplorable, neither of the major parties being able to put men in office who are capable and willing to conduct an honest and efficient administration. And it seems to me that the threatened split in both these parties, and the general lack of confidence in them by our people, offers an excellent opportunity for a united socialist party to place men in some important offices which with a good and honest administration should greatly advance the movement in the entire nation, and I suggest, recommend and urge that you appoint a committee of your members to meet with equal size committees of the other groups with the express purpose of launching state wide united socialist tickets in some of the key states in the coming election.

Chas. Makinson  
Youngstown, Ohio

Editor:

I would say that the position you people take, the tone you use, toward the Socialist party, the Lovestonites, and Socialist Unity in general, is unforgivable.

Why is it not possible for anti-Stalinist radical groups to get together and sit down with each other at Institutes to discuss problems, like the capitalists do? Are we too dumb, too dishonest? New York City

A Reader

Our party advocates uniting the labor movement on the political field in an independent Labor Party BASED ON THE TRADE UNIONS. We advocate a definite program for that Labor Party—it appears at the head of our editorial columns. But we would support that independent Labor Party, running its own candidates responsible to it, even if it did not adopt our program. Why? Because, constituted by the unions, it would represent the great historic step of breaking the workers as a class away from the capitalist parties. Naturally, within it, we would continue to fight for our program.

An entirely different criterion than that applied to the Labor Party must be applied to the various so-called "socialist" groups—Norman Thomas, the Lovestonites, the Social Democratic Federation. Unlike the Labor Party, they stand or fall by their program, for their sole possible justification would be that, as small propaganda groups, they are preparing a vanguard of worker to fight for a revolutionary program within the Labor Party. But what is their program? We have just witnessed a concrete test of their program—the war in Finland. All these groups came out for support of Finland against the Soviet Union, i.e., for the imperialist camp against a workers' state. Stalin's crimes cannot be used by these people to obscure the bald fact that they lined up with the imperialists against the Soviet Union.

Unity with these people? As well unite the capitalist class with the working class! For these "socialists" simply reflect within the labor movement the ideology of the capitalist class. The Social Democratic Federation is already a recruiting sergeant for the Anglo-French-American imperialist bloc. The others will go the same road. If they succumbed to the test of Finland, we can predict with certainty that they will succumb when the capitalist class of America officially enters the war.

Naturally we welcome every opportunity to contrast our revolutionary program with their reformist program, whether in our press, in debates or in any other forum.—Editor.

## Russian Bulletin Thanks St. Paul Unit

St. Paul Branch, S.W.P.  
St. Paul, Minnesota

Dear Comrades:

With warmest thanks we acknowledge receipt of your Fifty Dollar contribution "In Memory of Leon Sedoff." The memory of our dear comrade could not have been honored better, for the Bulletin of the Russian Opposition was held ever near his heart.

In exile, harassed by capitalist police and tracked by murderers of the GPU, Leon Sedoff helped mightily in the formation of the Russian section of the Fourth International. He was its guide, its spokesman. And through his efforts the scattered, isolated Russian revolutionists acquired an invincible weapon, a theoretic organ. An organ which carried on the best traditions of revolution-

## A Letter to Housewives

# What Socialism Will Mean to The Women Who Toil at Home

In our March 16 issue we published a letter from a worker whose sister-in-law, a housewife, wanted to know: "What will socialism do for us housewives?" Part of the answer to that important question is contained in the following letter written by comrade Antoinette Konikow, physician, mother and—above all—a revolutionist for over fifty years. We are glad to note that comrade Konikow promises other letters on this question. And let's have letters from our reader-housewives—we want to know what you think about comrade Konikow's letter.—Editor.

Editor:

Are housewives paid for their work? I heard an amusing story on that problem. A woman collecting statistics visited a worker's family. No one was at home but a little boy. The woman inquired about father's wages, brother's and sister's. At last she asked about his mother's earnings. "Oh," said the little fellow very proudly, "My mother does not work."

"She does not work?" asked the woman. "But doesn't she cook and wash and iron and mend and clean? Is she not on her feet the whole day long always doing something? Don't you call that work?"

The little boy was a bit perplexed; then he said, "Yes, that is true, but you see that kind of work does not pay." "The little boy was right. Work done by the housewife does not pay. In fact her work is not recognized as work at all, nor even respected. It is the old story; the less you are paid for your work, the more it is held in contempt and if you are not paid at all—well, all the drudgery you do is hardly recognized even by your own family."

This raises the question: why does a housewife get only board, room and clothing for her long hours of work? "She works for her children," is often the answer. Holy motherhood means continued sacrifice. But it seems strange that the glory of motherhood's sacrifice is only known to wives of workers or wives of the lower middle class. Mothers in well-to-do families don't mind losing the halo of holiness—by hiring help to do all the hard work of motherhood. And hard work it is! The readers of the "Ladies Home Journal" voted overwhelmingly that women having small children work harder than their husbands in the factory.

## THE WIFE WORKS FOR HER HUSBAND'S BOSS!

Is the wife of a worker really exploited by her children and her husband? My answer is "no." When the worker sells his "hands" to the boss, he sells at the same time the "hands" of his wife to the same boss, because only the

ary Marxism, of the October revolution.

For nearly a decade, up to the day of his untimely death, Leon Sedoff was editor and business manager of the Bulletin. This publication found its way wherever Russian workers lived and suffered. By devious routes it penetrated into the Soviet Union, it is read in the semi-fascist border states of Latvia, Lithuania, Estonia; it reaches Palestine, South Africa, it finds its way to Manchukuo, Alaska.

Dear comrades, the aid extended by you to the Bulletin is but a fitting recognition of the important task carried on by Leon Sedoff and a mighty encouragement to the continuation of this work.

Management,  
BULLETIN OF THE  
RUSSIAN OPPOSITION

unpaid labor of his wife makes it possible for him to live with his family on the wages paid to him. The wife thinks she slaves day and night for her husband and children—in reality she works for the same boss who exploits her husband. The housewife has a right, then, to ask the question: what of my work under socialism? What will I get out of it?

To give a correct answer, one must first give an adequate explanation of what socialism really means. I hope to cover this problem another time more in detail. Socialism means the management of business and factories by the workers themselves, because the factories then will not belong to the bosses. Part of the income will go to the Workers' State to cover expenses of education, health and management, but each worker will get a larger income and at the same time will work shorter hours. A larger income for the worker will give him a chance to relieve the work of his wife. Laundry can be paid for, part of the meals can be eaten in cooperative lunch rooms; sewing can be done away with; and even some of the house cleaning can be paid for. A better income will naturally relieve women of many of the tasks which she undertakes now because she has no money to pay for them.

## THE OCTOBER REVOLUTION SHOWED THE WAY

Let us see what was done for mothers in Soviet Russia before the Stalin bureaucracy stepped in. I was there in 1926 and was deeply impressed by the advances which workers and their wives had secured. To lessen mother's work in Soviet Russia, nurseries were created for babies and smaller children. Almost every large factory had such nurseries under the management of reliable nurses.

The husband in the factory could buy a good dinner for a small sum in dining rooms connected with the factories or with his trade. His wife and children were allowed to have their dinners in the same dining room. Women workers expecting motherhood received two months vacation before and after delivery with full pay; also a layette for the baby and free milk for the baby or nursing mother. Working women nursing the baby could stop work every four hours to nurse the baby in the nursery. The workers had free medical care, free hospital and a month's vacation with pay. In case of illness the worker received his full wages for a certain time and then half of the wages indefinitely.

All these rights which the workers achieved in Soviet Russia through the revolution were afterwards whittled away or reserved only for the Stalinist bureaucracy and its yes-men. The factory meals became so bad and expensive that workers stopped

patronizing factory dining rooms. The free medical care turned into poor service by overworked physicians who were afraid to testify to the illness of workers because they were blamed and persecuted by authorities for granting sick benefit rights too easily.

The paid time for expectant mothers before and after delivery was reduced to one month. Women who had free time, instead of enjoying it, had to work in factories because their husbands' wages were inadequate, or had to spend their time standing in line to buy food or clothing.

Thus the Stalinist bureaucrats took away from the workers the benefits which had begun to lighten the lot of the housewife. When the Russian workers overthrew the Stalinist bureaucracy, they will revive and expand these benefits. Along the same line we will go in this country.

## HOW WE WOULD BEGIN IN THE UNITED STATES

After attaining workers' power the first task to relieve women's life would be the creation of nurseries, kindergartens and playgrounds in a sufficient number—here in the United States their number is deplorably small. The next would be the organization of cooperative lunch rooms to relieve mothers of their kitchen drudgery. Even then mothers would still have plenty of work left: taking care of smaller meals, keeping the house in order, taking care of clothing, entertaining or supervising the children out of school and nurseries, nursing children with minor illnesses. Yes, even under socialism the mother will have her 6-8 hour day of work.

But then the husband, getting a better income, would be able to give her an "allowance," as men of the middle class call the money they give their wives. I think housewives would prefer to call it "pay for their work." In fact, I should like to discuss in another letter the possibility that under socialism motherhood should be considered a profession and be paid for by the state just like nurses and teachers today.

Antoinette Konikow  
Boston, Mass.

## GEORGE RICHARDSON

The New York Foodworkers Branch of the Socialist Workers Party is deeply grieved to announce the death, on Tuesday, March 19, of Comrade George Richardson, a leading militant of Local 302, the Cafeteria Employees' Union. Comrade Richardson died, after a month's illness, of tubercular meningitis. The funeral took place on Saturday. The Progressive Group of Local 302 and the Socialist Workers Party sent floral wreaths.

George Richardson was a Trotskyist only a short time—he was only 24 years old—he was filled with militant struggle, first as a seaman and for the last four years as a cafeteria worker. From the first he took his place in the leading ranks of the Progressives, fighting first against the racketeers and then against the Stalinists, who had seized the Union machinery and dealt the rank-and-file militant one blow after another. He spent many months "on the bench," in the ranks of the unemployed, and it is believed that this played a contributing role in his fatal illness.

George Richardson didn't have much time for study in his short life full of work and struggle. He learned about the class struggle the hard way, by feeling it in his bones and muscles. He came to the Socialist Workers Party after having seen and felt the blows of capitalism and the betrayal of Stalinism. The Foodworkers Branch and the Party as a whole will not easily make up for the loss of his sharp, critical mind.

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## Trade Union Notes

The Stalinists have just been decisively defeated in three UAW-CIO local union elections and they barely scraped through in a fourth local.

At Flint, Michigan, the C. P. leaders were blasted out of the important Buick local, their main stronghold. Among the also-rans were Berity, Halliday, and McGill, long time Stalinists big-wigs in Flint.

In the Flint Fisher Body local the Stalinists lost out completely, failing to win even one Executive Board post. The same thing occurred in the General Motors local at Los Angeles.

Anti-Stalinist militants swept these elections.

In Los Angeles, as an example, the militants won on a campaign for democratic rank and file control, the 30-hour week at 40-hours pay, an aggressive organization drive in Ford, and for the return of genuine job protection which was given away by Homer Martin, then CIO president, in the old supplementary agreement to the General Motors' contract. This supplement permitted the company to violate seniority and to fire union militants off the job for "insubordination."

In the Flint Chevrolet local the Stalinists nosed out the progressives by a very narrow margin.

The spark ignited by this decisive action on the part of the progressives in Flint and Los Angeles can lead, through an aggressive follow-up campaign, to the successful ferreting out of the last traces of Stalinist influences in these auto centers.

The long threatened AFL-CIO fight in the building trades industry is rapidly breaking into the open in New York City.

The CIO reports recruitment to date of 9,000 building trades workers in New York City's small building and alterations industries. The AFL disputes this figure.

The CIO scales are \$9.00 per day for skilled labor; \$5.00 per day for helpers; and \$6.00 per day for laborers; with a 5 day, 40 hour week.

AFL scales in the building trades range from 75 5/8 cents per hour among unskilled workers, up to \$3.12½ an hour among the most skilled workers. Hours range from 6 to 8 per day.

The CIO is organizing these building trades workers into one vertical union. The AFL has 25 trades with 125 subdivisions in this field.

The kick-back of a part of the wages to the boss—a known practice among a sizeable strata of building trades workers which has not been successfully combated in the past by the AFL unions—is now becoming a real problem to the AFL in this fight.

To combat this CIO threat the New York AFL building trades department and AFL international officials have tentatively adopted a plan to establish uniform wage rates and a uniform work

week for all crafts in the construction of one and two family homes.

These rates, approximating CIO schedules, would in general be below the standards of the present official AFL craft scales. This policy would not extend to the field of construction of large apartment houses, office buildings, etc., where present craft contracts would continue in force.

The AFL-CIO fight is thus fast becoming a grim reality to the uncompromising craft unionists of the AFL building trades department. Confronted with only a threat from the CIO, which has no real strength as yet in this field, they have already felt themselves compelled for the first time to partially abandon their traditional disdain towards the unorganized workers in the small construction industry.

Even the reactionary methods employed by John L. Lewis in this fight have, by giving just a glimmering of hope to these exploited workers, resulted in a vigorous rank and file response which has already succeeded in blasting the Hutchinson crew a few inches in a progressive direction. No clearer proof is needed of the bankruptcy of their organizational policies.

As usual, the AFL has already indicated that it will depend heavily on the support of the Teamsters in this fight with Lewis. The Teamsters, with Tobin advocating a united labor movement, may not take kindly to the idea of being used as choreboys by people who do anything but try to promote unity.

Latest victim of the phoney anti-war campaign of the Stalinists is a section of the New York Teamsters. A group of members and officers of Milk Drivers local 584, and others from General Truck Drivers local 807 and Bakery Drivers local 802 have hooked up with the fake "The Yanks are Not Coming Committee" to participate in the April 6 "Peace Day."

Progressives throughout the American labor movement are beginning to consider ways and means of exposing these Stalinist fake anti-war committees and to direct the efforts and energy of the labor movement in the direction of genuine anti-war activity.

## NEGRO LABOR BODY FORMED IN MPLS.

Negro trade unionists in Minneapolis have just initiated the formation of a Negro Joint Labor Council.

The Council will seek to enlist all Negro unionists in its ranks and aim to educate the Negro community in the value of trade unionism. A similar Council has been functioning in St. Paul for some months.

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## The Negro Question

By J. R. JOHNSON

(This week's column is written by Robert L. Birchman.)  
On March 8 the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People issued the following press release:

"NEW YORK—Mayor La Guardia was asked this week by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People to open the way for the employment of qualified Negroes on the B.M.T. and I.R.T. subway lines, after the city takes over these lines under the proposed plan for a unified city-owned rapid transit system.

"The letter was sent to the Mayor on Tuesday, March 5, at the height of the controversy between La Guardia and officials of the Transport Workers Union over the Mayor's labor policy, after unification is completed.

"The Mayor has already stated that neither the right to strike nor the closed shop will be allowed after the city takes over the lines. To this policy the Transport Workers Union has strenuously objected.

"The N.A.A.C.P. letter, which expressed agreement with the Mayor's position in the union controversy, asked the Mayor to give special attention to the employment of 'qualified Negroes who do not have such status, because they have been denied opportunity to work at all, may be given opportunity for employment, as they are on the Independent Subway."

"Negroes are at present employed on the Independent Subway, which is city-owned, in the capacity of guards, conductors, motormen and station agents."

### Shall Negroes Be Strikebreakers?

What is the NAACP saying? It is saying, in so many words, that the Negro people should support Mayor La Guardia against the Transport Workers Union. But, as everybody knows who is following this fight, it may result in a great transport strike in which the Transport Workers Union will have the backing of the New York trade union movement. Having said A, the NAACP must say B. It must, by the logic of its support of the mayor, propose that the Negroes should support the mayor against the strike. If the mayor calls for Negroes to work on the line during the strike, the NAACP should, logically, tell Negroes to go to work. That means STRIKE-BREAKING.

Where will such a policy get the Negro workers? Will the Negro workers thereby find jobs? But having served as strikebreakers in a great New York strike, the Negro workers will find that the same unionized workers who today—and there are many of them—have no race prejudice, consider the black man their brothers, and support him in his demands for a better life—these same workers will look upon the Negro worker as a willing strikebreaker. Such a policy would put the Negro workers back fifty years!

The NAACP is not doing a service to the Negro with such advice. This is one of the worst crimes ever perpetrated by the NAACP.

### A Negro Answer to the NAACP

Fortunately, within the Negro community, the policy proposed by the NAACP has not gone unchallenged. Here is the comment made by the *Boston Chronicle* column, "Left Face," written by Martin Richardson:

"It is very true that the transport workers' unions have strayed a long way from playing ball with their darker-hued brethren-in-overalls. Like the printing trades unions, the railroad trainmen, the building-trades unions and a number of others—largely craft unions, invariably—the transport workers certainly have not leaned over backward welcoming colored members into their ranks. . . . But, he goes on, 'is the same thing true of the coal miners, the sheet metal and iron trades workers, the hotel and restaurant workers, or with the garment industry? Hasn't the general trend toward industrial unionization in the past five years brought Negroes into a closer harmony with white labor than it has ever enjoyed in this country or any other part of the world where numbers of us live? . . .

"While white labor—and very frankly, colored labor, too—is just beginning to learn the hard lesson of unity, the lesson that has been so driven out of their minds for generations by employers who have most to gain by inter-labor strife, why now throw the whole process back to the levels of a few years ago when we were seldom regarded as anything other than tools with which the bosses could keep their preferred workers in line?

"This is exactly what the NAACP will be letting itself do to the race if it persists in the unfortunate backing of Mayor La Guardia in his no-strike-no-closed-shop plan. La Guardia does not want a policeman's control of the workers on the subways for the purpose of creating any miraculous new benefits for the workers who do not belong to the transport workers union. He wants the Gestapo powers the easier to hamstring one of the strongest and most solid unions in New York. That way he can win most laurels in the least time for his operation of the subways."

The NAACP and all other organizations of the Negroes must cease immediately bargaining with La Guardia and bargain with the Transport Workers Union. Let them tell the Transport Workers Union that capable Negroes eligible for union membership be given both jobs and union cards. But at the same time let the organizations of the Negroes tell the Transport Workers and Labor as a whole that, as one of the most integral parts of the American labor movement, the Negro is solidly behind the workers, not the mayors and the bosses.

## India's Left Wing Is on the March

By SHERMAN STANLEY

At the end of last week's session of the 5,000,000-strong Indian Nationalist Congress one clear fact had emerged from the deliberately confused reports appearing in the American press.

If not formally, then in reality, the Indian Nationalist movement is split. It is split sharply between its conservative, Gandhi-led right wing and its left-wing headed by ex-President of the Congress, Subhas Bose.

Hundreds of thousands of Indian workers, peasants and Congress organizers had travelled to Ramgarh from all parts of the Indian sub-continent to attend these historic sessions. They found that the sessions constituted one of the briefest Congress meetings ever held, lasting apparently less than three days. All of the work of the Congress was done prior to the full sessions by the Gandhi dominated Subjects Committee and Executive Committee.

The resolution of the Subjects Committee, adopted by the Congress delegates in great haste, called attention to Gandhi's unwillingness to begin an anti-war or independence campaign at this time. It therefore follows that the Congress can do nothing—until Gandhi chooses to be "willing."

### Action Voted Down

All amendments—demanding a complete break with England, urging a revolutionary, mass action program and the launching of the independence campaign now—were voted down by the Gandhi followers. It was politely

hinted that no action by Gandhi and the Congress could be expected for at least three months.

The meaning of this is that no action can ever be expected from Gandhi because if another three months drowns by without anything occurring, the Congress will fall into an even more demoralized state than today and will lose all its support among the masses.

### Emergence of Bose

Obviously, the most significant fact about the Ramgarh sessions was the dramatic emergence of the left wing nationalist, Subhas Bose.

### Rump Session Acts

Speaking at the rump Congress session he organized in an adjoining field, Bose declared the aim of his Anti-Compromise Congress. "Before parting we must establish permanent machinery for waging an uncompromising war. The hope of this conference is that it will prelude a nationwide struggle along an all-India front."

As a first step in his program of action Bose organized a dramatic demonstration of 5,000 men and women which marched through the Gandhi Congress shouting, "Down with Compromise." The impotent supporters of Gandhi could only retort with "Long live Gandhi!"

The split in the Congress ranks at Ramgarh and the emergence of an anti-compromise wing is a decisive event, to be welcomed and supported as a major step forward in the struggle against British imperialism.

## Stalinists In the C. I. O.—the Growing Break Between Them and John L. Lewis

By E. R. FRANK

The Stalinists poisoned the whole labor movement, in the "People's Front" period, with their fantastic, lying propaganda that the population of the country was divided between "progressives" and "reactionaries" and that it was the sole duty of the labor movement to support the "progressives" and oppose the "reactionaries." The Stalinist propaganda, however, did not change the reality.

The capitalists still run the United States. The bankers and industrialists still own the country's economic resources and wealth, gobble up the hog's share of its national income and constitute what Woodrow Wilson once called the "invisible government"—the real government—of the United States.

The Roosevelt administration is identical with all previous administrations in this fundamental quality: that it is the political agent of America's ruling class—the capitalists who own and run the country. It is only on this cold practical class basis that it is possible to understand why Roosevelt tolerated the Stalinists during the "People's Front" period and why he bitterly opposes them today. Roosevelt understood the Stalinist party. He knew that it was not a genuine socialist movement, but merely the venaal tool of the rotten Stalinist bureaucracy.

Unofficially allied with England and France, the United States was lined up against Germany. That is why, the minute the Hitler-Stalin Pact was announced, Roosevelt and the capitalists launched a campaign to mobilize the full force of "public opinion" for a furious assault upon the Stalinist party. The end of the "People's Front" thus saw the end of the popularity of the Stalinist party with official public opinion. From a "handgun" movement, the Stalinists were converted into pariahs and social outcasts.

That meant a change in relations between the Stalinists and Lewis. The official leadership of the CIO, like the leadership of the AFL, is tied to the capitalist class by a thousands different threads and connections. The whole top leadership of the CIO, to a man, believes in the eternal existence of the capitalist system in the same way as a small town banker in Iowa. These labor leaders have been correctly described as the "labor lieutenants of the capitalist class."

### LEWIS-STALINIST ALLIANCE FROM 1936-1939

At the time of the Stalin-Hitler pact, Lewis had been in an alliance with the Stalinists for more than three years. He had thereby secured the aid of their well-oiled national machine in his early organizing activities. He thought he could use them and outsmart

them. Throughout this period, Lewis constantly received indignant protests of the union membership against the union-wrecking activities of the Stalinist crew. The West Coast sailors and firemen protested against the wrecking of the Maritime Federation of the Pacific. A petition signed by four powerful unions of Los Angeles, the ILGWU, the Auto Workers, the Rubber Workers and the SWOC, submitted a detailed account of the autocratic rule and union-wrecking activities of Bridges and his crew, and demanded the removal of Bridges as CIO West Coast director. Beginning with 1938, the factional maneuvers of the Stalinists in the Auto Workers Union became a national scandal, etc., etc. Lewis heard all of these protests, received all of these requests and petitions, but did not budge an inch.

In addition Lewis was well aware of the rotten union agreements that the Stalinists signed in the NMU, the Longshoreman's Union, etc., etc.—agreements which were a disgrace to the labor movement. Lewis knew of the hounding and expulsion of union militants, in the West Coast of force workers, in the east coast NMU, in the Gulf NMU, where Curran practically wrecked the local unions in order to rid himself of a rank and file opposition. Lewis was cognizant of these facts, but he forgave and forgot. He was so liberal, as to even condone outright scabbing, as occurred last year, when Bridges led a crew of workers through the picket lines of the Sailors Union of the Pacific. Why not? Judging by Lewis's own labor record and methods, he probably considered all these practices as wholly legitimate and certainly permissible.

### LEWIS' BREAK WITH THE STALINISTS BEGINS

But when the Stalin-Hitler pact was signed and the American Communist Party found itself un-

der ferocious attack of all official "public opinion"—that neither Lewis nor Hillman nor Murray could ignore or tolerate. That called for action! Lewis decided then and there that the bloc with the Stalinists must be broken.

Of course, great democrats that they are, these labor leaders did not bother to inform anybody of their decision. The San Francisco CIO convention, meeting two months after the signing of the pact, proceeded about its business, without Lewis giving the delegates so much as a hint that a drastic revision in policy was forthcoming. The only inkling that something was brewing came at the end of the convention, when neither Bridges or Curran were elected as Vice-Presidents, positions they deserved, from the point of view of the prominence and importance of their unions.

In typical fashion, Lewis, without warning, exploded the bomb at the Executive Board meeting immediately following the convention. In scathing terms, for the first time since the formation of the CIO, he denounced the Communist Party, and warned that he would not tolerate a double allegiance on the part of any CIO officials. He assured the board members that a great career awaited every one of them on condition that they have no outside allegiances. As a further warning, to indicate that this was no idle threat, Brophy, who had been a fellow traveler of the CP, was kicked out as Organization Director and replaced by an old Miner's Union wheelhorse, Allan Haywood; and Harry Bridges, the most prominent Stalinist in the CIO, was removed as West Coast Director and instructed to confine his activities to California.

### WHY THE PURGE PROCEEDS SLOWLY

Since the Executive Board meeting, the purge of the Stalin-

ists has proceeded very slowly and hesitatingly. Lewis has discovered that it is not easy to drive the Stalinists out of the CIO. The Stalinists have been working in the new CIO unions from the ground up and have entrenched themselves in numerous strategic positions of influence and power. In many of these unions, as in the National Maritime Union, the West Coast Longshoremen, the Agricultural Workers, the United Electrical & Radio Workers, the white collar unions, the Furriers, etc., they control the entire union apparatus from top to bottom—the key locals as well as the International offices.

It is obviously impossible for Lewis to just walk in and purge the Stalinists in these unions without, at the same time, wrecking the unions. Lewis cannot afford to adopt such an adventurous policy at this time, in view of the fight with the AFL as well as the employers' anti-union offensive.

While Lewis has definitely broken with the Stalinists, the Stalinists are still trying to patch up their alliance with Lewis. They have not as yet changed their People's Front policy of sycophancy and groveling before Lewis. To this day, every local Stalinist official prefaces every speech by a tribute to Lewis—the great leader who can do no wrong. This belly-crawling policy aims to hide behind Lewis' skirts, while pushing through in the unions the new Stalinist line.

The Stalinists are temporarily aided in these attempts, because of the episodic disagreement between Lewis and Hillman on the CIO attitude towards Roosevelt and the war crisis. The differences between Lewis and Hillman, however, are temporary and unimportant. They resolve themselves merely into a question of tactics.

BUT THE PURGE WILL GO ON

But the differences between Lewis and the Stalinists are profound and fundamental. Lewis is a labor lieutenant of the American capitalist class. His labor bureaucracy rests upon American capitalism. The Stalinist party is the American agency of the Kremlin bureaucracy. Between the two lies an unbridgeable gulf.

Lewis, and this is true of his whole machine, has so little class-consciousness that he is, right now, cooperating with the FBI, the detested anti-labor G-men, in order to gain a temporary factional advantage over the rival AFL unions. Lewis will hesitate infinitely less, as the war crisis sharpens and the army moves to jam the unions into the strait-jacket of the war machine, to cooperate with these same G-men to purge every Stalinist, big and small, out of the CIO.

(The fourth article of this series will appear next week.)

## NEWS OF SOVIET POLAND

FACTS FOUND BY READING BETWEEN THE LINES

The task of piecing together what is going on in the territory of former Poland occupied by the Red Army is extraordinarily difficult. One can read tens of thousands of words of "information" in the Stalinist press without finding an important fact about the new social structure there. On the other hand, most of the non-Stalinist reports are suspect, coming from bourgeois British, French and Polish sources. In general, one is reduced to taking from each source those items which are involuntary testimony for an estimate which that source is not friendly to.

Negative as this approach may seem, it nevertheless provides important material. For example, the numerous items in such British papers as the *Manchester Guardian* reporting executions of Polish and Ukrainian inhabitants on a large scale may be partially discounted as coming from a biased source, but when the same papers report many acts of kindness by Red Army soldiers, notably permitting Jews from Nazi Poland to escape into Soviet-held territory, it testifies to a significant spirit existing among the Red Army soldiers.

### DISSECTING AN ITEM IN THE STALINIST PRESS

An example of gleaming information from the Stalinist press is provided by an article in the March 25 Daily Worker. It reports:

"The main achievement is the development of increasing numbers of new leaders. This can be seen in the composition

of the 55 deputies which these districts will send to the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. Among them are 18 members of the Communist Party and 37 non-party people. They are men and women of labor and science—two industrial workers, 16 peasants and 17 government employees. Women play an important part in the public life of the liberated peoples. Twelve women were nominated for election to the highest governing body of the Soviet Union."

Since the same article begins, "Today the people . . . go to the polls to elect their representatives to the Supreme Soviet," we immediately gather what the "election" amounts to when, before the votes are cast, our informant can tell us who is elected! Out of 55, two are industrial workers—that speaks of the Stalinist bureaucracy, which thus piously carries out the Leninist conception that the industrial proletariat must lead the countryside. Stalin fears the proletariat above all. The 18 governmental employees as representatives of the toiling masses—hat also tells us much.

One of the very few reports we have been able to find which bears evidence of objective description of the actual situation is that by Eugene Schreider, published in *Lumiere*, French radical weekly and reprinted here in the *Living Age*. Some salient paragraphs are worth quoting:

"SOCIALISM"—WITH THE HELP OF MARTIAL LAW! "Most places are under martial

law. However, Sovietization is proceeding steadily, with everything that it implies, liquidation of capitalistic elements, that is to say, the merchants, landowners, and the 'Kulaks'; the systematic removal of former officials and municipal councils, the substitution of a workers' and peasants' militia for the Polish police.

"Komsomolskaya Pravda has stated that changes in administration have been made easy by the Polish authorities themselves. Blacklists were found containing the names of individuals suspected of harboring sympathies toward the Soviet regime. Thanks to these files, it was possible to organize quickly new cadres of 'activists' who are charged with maintaining the new regime. These new authorities, who had been saved from prison and persecution by the Red Army are at present conscientiously hunting down the remnants of the Polish aristocrats and proprietors of the large estates, most of whom had been surprised by the invasion. However the Soviet authorities are keeping a firm rein on these activities."

The last sentence has especial importance. Even these faithful activists may become dangerous to the Kremlin bureaucracy. We can also believe *Komsomolskaya Pravda* about the lucky find of these lists. Such lists as the Kremlin had of Polish Communists are of little value to it—several years ago when Stalin was courting Poland he dissolved the Polish Communist Party as "Polish-Fascist agents" and if he seeks these old Bolsheviks now, it will only be for the purpose of executing them as "Trotskyists." Meanwhile, from new elements, the bureaucracy hopes to create a subordinate staff in its own image.

"Existing peasant organizations are being used for establishing a sort of collective responsibility. They are being held responsible for agricultural work and have been given a hand in distributing Polish property. City administration is being run by a provisional organization composed of a chairman appointed by the Army and three members appointed by him. Usually one of the four is a member of the NKVD (usually known as the OGPU) and it is he who apparently is charged with the actual task of Sovietization, while his colleagues are occupied with everyday routine problems."

### STALIN FEARS RED ARMY CONTACTS WITH MASSES

"Before casting the life of the occupied regions into the Soviet mold, authorities are studying reactions, attempting to gain the confidence of the 'suspect' working elements and intellectuals. It is interesting to note that measures have been taken to prevent contact between the Red Army and the masses of workers and Jews affiliated with the Socialist International."

In sending the Red Army beyond the frontiers of the Soviet Union, Stalin has set in motion forces that the bureaucracy will not be able to stifle. Not the least of these will be the questions that occur to many Red Army soldiers as they are called to repress the very workers and peasants whom they came to "liberate." The Red Army soldiers, not a collection of robots as the bourgeoisie would have us believe, cannot escape being stirred and shaken by their experience and their contact with workers and peasants from the world outside.

### THEY'LL NEVER RETURN TO CAPITALISM!

The lot of the workers and peasants of Soviet Poland is a clear-cut one. They now resume the struggle for liberty and bread upon a higher plane. With capitalist property relations destroyed by the Red Army, the Ukrainians, Poles, and White Russians will fight now for Socialist autonomy and freedom from the Kremlin—but never to go back to the old Poland of feudal landlords, militarists, and bankers.

The exiled and defeated Polish capitalists well understand this. That is why on December 1, 1939, even after two months of Nazi atrocities in Nazi Poland, well-publicized throughout the world, the *Manchester Guardian* correspondent reported, "Leading Poles fear Russian rule even more than German." These "leading Poles" realize that the workers and peasants who now know the benefits of collectivized property, even under the Stalinist stranglehold, will never go back to capitalist exploitation.

### "SPARKS IN THE NEWS"

## In Italy Only Fascists May Commit Crimes

By DWIGHT MACDONALD

This column has often dealt with that significant problem of our times: the increasing intervention of the state power into social and economic life. Recently I received a letter from a reader, Egidio Mattina, which interestingly documents this process as it has been going on in Italy under Il Duce. It takes as its text this sentence from a news report: "The Director General of Police in Rome recently presented to Mussolini statistics tending to prove the progressive diminishment year by year of crime in Italy."

### Il Duce Socializes Crime

"The cause of this diminishment of crime under Fascism," writes Mr. Mattina, "is to be found in the peculiarities of that system of state management, whereby the Government tends to absorb all criminal tendencies to itself, making anti-social crime not only hazardous but unprofitable—as compared to the rich rewards in 'socialized' crime. Fascism dares not tolerate independent criminal activity any more than it can tolerate a 'free' press. Hence all criminal activity must conform strictly to the party line or suffer outlawry."

"This development is especially interesting because of the fact that in Italy (except for the most advanced sections of the North) criminal activity has always traditionally been carried on not by criminals but rather by outlaws. In enumerating the achievements of Mussolini, his admirers triumphantly list 'the wiping out of the horrible Mafia'—to which we might add the Camorra, brigandage, and all the other ragged tatters of feudalism surviving in the South. Mussolini, the bitter enemy of feudalism, like the great Napoleon, has stamped them all out.

"It was not so heroic an achievement. The Mafia and the Camorra were no match for the capitalistic police forces of Rome and Lombardy and Piedmont. To do the banditti justice, they were shrewd enough to realize this, and so, where they could, they donned the black shirt and became ardent Fascists, rightly surmising it the next best thing to being a Maffista or Camorrista. Thus the Mafia 'disappeared' by the process of assimilation. The same is true of crime in general. For them both, it was merely a case of reinstatement in a more modern form: the police force of Sicily is now a regular Society of Old Maffistas. This is what they call Progress."

### Italianization with a Small "i"

Socialized crime, my correspondent continues, "is only one sample of the process of Italianization to which all activity, great or small, must submit itself under Mussolini. The complete list is staggering. Fascism has made everything in Italy Italian (with a small i). The countersignature of Mussolini must be on everything, including crime."

"He has Italianized Art and artists. . . . While the professors and the critics quietly wait for the New Italian Renaissance, which like Prosperity in America is always just around the corner in Italy, to make its appearance, they gratefully acknowledge the one mighty contribution to 'art' in modern Italy—Mussolini's National Academy."

"He has Italianized the banditti of the South, and it would surprise romantic tourist ladies to know how easily these desperate orphans suffered themselves to be regimented."

"He has Italianized Catholicism which, especially in the South, has always been the bitter enemy of the State."

"He has Italianized the Catholics. He did not have to Italianize the Jews, who are still the best (most chauvinist) Italians in Italy and who owe whatever unpopularity they have enjoyed in modern Italy to precisely that reason. (Now, of course, even the anti-Italianism of the people has become 'Italian,' i.e., anti-semitic.)

"He has Italianized the clericals. He has Italianized the anti-clericals. He has Italianized paganism (the patriotic paganism of the disciples of D'Annunzio), cynicism (the patriotic Peglers of Italy) and papism—if not the Pope himself. He has Italianized the unhappy shades of Machiavelli, Dante and Caesar and all the other ghosts unwary enough to roam the Italian earth. He has Italianized Italy's share of Heaven and Italy's share of Hell."

### WHY LOVESTONEITES WON'T DEBATE

Our readers will recall that we issued a challenge to the Social Democratic Federation, the Socialist party, the Lovestoneites and other supporters of Finland against the Soviet Union. The only one to respond was the Lovestone group; and it quickly developed that they responded merely to make the record, and not to actually go through with a debate.

We proposed that a debate be held between authoritative representatives of the two organizations. In accordance with that proposal we proposed as our speaker James P. Cannon, our National Secretary. We informed the Lovestoneites that we were ready to accept as their speaker either Jay Lovestone or Bertram D. Wolfe, their two most representative spokesmen. But instead they offered only Will Herberg, one of the lesser lights in their organization and a person unknown to the wide strata of the advanced New York workers. For the purpose of attracting a representative crowd of radical workers, their proposal was absurd. We insisted on Lovestone or Wolfe. They refused.

We do not care to go through with a debate with somebody whom Lovestone can repudiate tomorrow. We want the Finnish patriotism of the Lovestoneites to be defended by an authoritative spokesman. We are ready to have the debate on that basis at any time.

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### FIGHT WITH THE SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY FOR:

1. A job and a decent living for every worker.
2. Open the idle factories—operate them under workers' control.
3. A Twenty-Billion dollar Federal public works and housing program.
4. Thirty-thirty—\$30-weekly minimum wage—80 hour weekly maximum for all workers on all jobs.
5. Thirty dollar weekly old-age and disability pension.
6. Expropriate the Sixty Families.
7. All war funds to the unemployed.
8. A people's referendum on any and all wars.
9. No secret diplomacy.
10. An Independent Labor Party.
11. Workers' Defense Guards against vigilante and Fascist attacks.
12. Full social, political and economic equality for the Negro people.

## Judge-Made Law

The annals of the American courts are full of flagrant examples of judge-made law. Judge Peyton Gordon of the District of Columbia Federal District Court made a particularly flagrant addition to that dishonorable record on Tuesday.

He ruled that trade unions are not exempt from prosecution under the anti-trust laws. But Section 6 of the Clayton Act, passed under labor pressure, says very specifically that trade unions are exempt. That didn't stop the judge. "Section 6 of the Clayton Act protects the defendants," he decided, "only when the means which they employ to carry out or attain their object are lawful."

This hocus-pocus enabled the judge to concede that a jurisdictional strike of the Washington, D. C., teamsters might of itself be a lawful object, but that the means of conducting the strike—pressure on companies involved, "coercing" the drivers involved to join the teamsters, etc., in other words the usual means of conducting any strike—rendered the strike a "criminal conspiracy" under the anti-trust laws.

That all this "law" is mumbo-jumbo is underlined by the fact that the teamsters had previously won the point at issue, a settlement between the teamsters and the engineers having conceded the men involved to the teamsters union. Despite this amicable settlement, the Department of Justice insists on prosecuting the case.

Would the judge dare to go in for this kind of hair-splitting, and the Department of Justice dare to continue with this and scores of similar cases against AFL unions if the labor movement were reunited in a militant campaign against this union-busting drive? We think not.

Judge Gordon's ruling constitutes not only a blow at the AFL but also at the CIO. If his ruling is followed by the Supreme Court, its decision in the Apex hosiery case, now before it, will go against the CIO.

CIO members should keep that in mind when they read those disgraceful articles in the *CIO News* which take the prosecution's side against the AFL unions.

## Southern Filibuster

Twenty-five Southern Senators headed by Senator Connally of Texas have banded together in filibuster against the passage of a bill by Congress which in the case of a lynching would penalize members of the constabulary for failure to protect their prisoner and which would provide for damages against them and the counties they serve.

The Senators do not argue in the usual Senatorial style that such legislation would work a hardship upon the paychecks of their constabu-

lary—if this were the case they could demand that the salaries of those constables in the habit of joining in the murder of members of the community be raised by a Congressional appropriation or at the direct expense of the Negroes to make up the difference.

Nor does it seem that the Senators are particularly concerned about the fact that the Negro section of the voting population in this election will surely support anti-lynch legislation and the party which fights for it. This lack of concern is understandable since the Negroes of the South are generally not permitted to vote anyway.

The arguments of Senator Connally and the rest concerning this bill are a repetition of the ones used in previous filibusters against similar legislation.

They argue, for instance, that such legislation would interfere with States' and Counties' rights. This is true if it also true that a State or County has the right to lynch an individual.

They argue that such legislation would be an affront to the South. This is true if it can be held that the South consists of no one but Bourbons like the twenty-five Senators.

They argue, as a final clincher, that the lynching "evil" does not exist. If it does not exist then how could a law against it interfere with States' and Counties' "rights" to carry on lynchings?

All these arguments are patently specious. What the twenty-five Southern Senators are really arguing for is not States' rights nor County rights, nor Southern honor, but the need of the Southern Bourbon to smell human flesh scorching under the blow torch. They are battling against this legislation because they fear it might encourage a movement which, uniting the Negro and white toilers, would do away with such abominations forever. Lynching, to the Southern Bourbon, expresses more directly, and at the same time more symbolically than anything else, his brutal exploitation of the oppressed Negro race.

If the twenty-five Senators are successful in their filibuster against this legislation, they should arrange a proper celebration—a victim strung up on a chandelier on the Senate floor or on the flagpole atop the dome, or perhaps, if such acts would bring the South unfavorable publicity at this time, just filing each other's teeth down to a needle point.

## For War Referendum

(The following editorial appeared in the March 22nd issue of the "Oregon Labor Press," organ of the Central Labor Council of Portland, Oregon.)

An issue which seems to have been forgotten by Congress, but not by the people, is the war referendum. Regardless of which party is successful in the coming elections, the people need to protect themselves from involvement in any foreign war by demanding that Congress begin legislating this protection by adopting the war referendum resolution before it adjourns.

No opportunity affords itself like the present to do this. This is an election year. Who will be the candidates of the major political parties and who will sit in the White House, no one can predict. No one can be sure whether the next four years will bring peace or war for the United States. Therefore, whatever the outcome of the elections the people of the United States, determined as they are to keep out of foreign wars, should insist that this session of Congress consider the proposed constitutional amendment to give the people the right to vote on foreign wars and at the same time press for inclusion of the war referendum as an important plank in both parties' platforms.

The war referendum is democratic. Today, while other nations are putting their trust in dictators, the United States can, by example, show her trust in democracy by her willingness to give it the final and supreme test—allowing the people the right to decide for themselves whether our young men are to be sent to die in foreign battlefields.

Public opinion polls have indicated, not once, but many times, that a substantial majority of the American people want this right. Too, a very recent poll by the American Institute of Public Opinion gives conclusive evidence of the determination of the American people to stay right here at home. Despite the sentiment in this country for England and France, 77 per cent of those polled recently say they would not go to the aid of the Allies should it even appear that they were being defeated.

The bloodshed and suffering now going on throughout Europe and Asia have opened America's eyes to the futility and senselessness of war.

In view of these facts, is it unreasonable for the people to ask their legislators, Congressmen and Senators alike, to show their sincerity and give credence to their cries that America will not become involved in war, to indicate that they have faith in our democratic form of government, and to let the people protect themselves by giving them the privilege of voting against participation in foreign battles?

# In the World of Labor

By Paul G. Stevens

## New Recruits for Australian Section of Fourth International

Our comrades of the Communist League of Australia (Section of the Fourth International) are steadily evincing signs of rapid growth. Their bold revolutionary work, carried on under wartime pressure, is attracting widespread support from a working class which has a tradition of anti-war struggle. The anti-war resolution which, the newspapers here report, was adopted last week by the New South Wales Federation of the Australian Labor Party, despite the rabid opposition of the party's leadership, may be regarded as another indication of the trend.

The League's official organ, the *Militant*, in its February issue, reports that the Boot Trades Union has endorsed our comrades' call "for steps to be taken to develop organization to provide working class resistance to any future attacks on the workers' already limited rights." The Trades and Labor Council of Sydney is to act on the union's recommendation shortly.

Two organizers of the League have been sent to Melbourne which, the *Militant* reminds us, "was the center of the anti-war movement" in 1914-1918.

Recruitment to our ranks from the disillusioned ranks of the Stalinist party is continuing apace in Australia. Aside from numerous worker-militants, prominent C.P. intellectuals and leaders are rallying to the banner of the Fourth International. Among the latter, aside from J. N. Rawlings and Guido Barachi, whose break with Stalinism was reported here some time ago, Jack Kavanagh and Betty Roland have now publicly declared their stand. Kavanagh is a former leader of the Communist Party of Australia and Betty Roland is that country's leading playwright. In a statement issued by her and published by the Communist League, Betty Roland says:

"Naturally, my disillusion has not been confined to the leadership of the C.P. of Australia, as I realize that events here, as in all sections of the Communist International, have their origin in Moscow. And, while I recognize that the U.S.S.R. is still a workers' state and still retains the principle achievement of the October revolution, i.e., the socialized means of production, nevertheless the present leadership under Joseph Stalin is the enemy of that workers' state, and, unless speedily deposed, will certainly bring about the destruction of the gains of October and betray the Soviet Union into the hands of the capitalist class, as they have betrayed the revolutionary cause in so many other parts of the world since they came to power."

The February *Militant* also publishes a statement of the Communist League on "Stalin's Assault on Finland" identical with the resolution on the Soviet-Finnish war adopted by the Political Committee of the Socialist Workers Party.

## New Publications of the International in Other Countries

In spite of the censorship, publications of our sections in other parts of the world manage occasionally to reach the office of the *Appeal*.

## CUTTERS DRAFT PROGRAM FOR NEEDLEWORKERS

(Continued from Page 1)  
in another locality. Under a standard expiration date the union will be able to force, if it so desires, a complete stoppage until the just demands of the union are met.

"3. We propose that our union take the initiative in calling a great labor conference of all important unions to launch a great campaign for the establishment of the UNIVERSAL THIRTY-HOUR WEEK WITH NO REDUCTION IN PAY."

This point is particularly important to the ILGWU, for the greatest single problem of the union is unemployment. "Thirty-hour week" resolutions have been adopted at past International conventions, but the General Executive Board merely deposited them in the archives of "forgotten resolutions."

The Independent Cutters League proposes that the coming convention instruct the G.E.B. to take the initiative in convening a labor conference of CIO, AFL and independent unions, in order to launch a campaign to achieve, by both legislative action and union pressure, the establishment of the 30-hour week with no reduction in pay.

"4. We propose the organization of the patternmakers and assemblers to improve their working conditions and to eliminate the unnecessary competition with the work of the cutters." Present union contracts make no provisions for these workers, who are only partially organized and constitute a sore spot in the industry.

"5. We propose that the coming convention return to the membership its democratic rights by legalizing once again the existence of trade union groups in our union."

The last convention forbade the issuance of any printed matter and made it illegal for the membership to organize into union groups advancing programs. Only on the eve of a convention is this provision lifted.

**Militants Demand A Voice**  
Today, the Independent Cutters League points out, "it be-

Especially gratifying in this respect, is the fact that comrade Leon Trotsky's great work "The U.S.S.R. in War" is enjoying widespread attention. The pamphlet has now been issued in England, in Belgium, in Switzerland, in Denmark and in South America. The French edition, published by our comrades of the Belgian Revolutionary Socialist Party, contains a preface applying its political conclusions to the recent Soviet-Finnish War. In Denmark, it has appeared as a special issue of *Klasse Kamp*, the official publication of our section there. The German edition is published along with Trotsky's later work, "Again and Again on the Character of the U.S.S.R." in *Der Einzige Weg*, theoretical organ of our comrades in Switzerland. In South America, the pamphlet was published by *Clave*, monthly theoretical review of our Latin American comrades.

Among other publications received are the following: *La Nueva Internacional*, official organ of the Revolutionary Workers Group of Argentina (Fourth International), which contains among others a translation of the resolution on the Soviet-Finnish conflict adopted by the American party. *Contra la Corriente*, organ of the International Workers Group of Uruguay (Fourth International), a new publication in that country.

**Workers Fight**, organ of the Revolutionary Workers League of England. The latter writes in its mid-February issue:

"Whilst vicious attacks are being made on the rights of trade unionists, whilst wage cuts are proposed by the City of London, our most responsible trade union official, Sir Walter Citrine, goes to Finland to solidarize himself with the bloody butcher Mannerheim. This mission is obviously one inspired by the National Government. The visit resembles that of J. H. Thomas and Henderson in 1917, when these labor fakers were sent by Churchill to Russia in order to induce the Russian toilers to continue the struggle on the side of the allies. . . . We have chosen our place in this struggle. It is on the side of the Soviet Union and against Chamberlain, Daladier and Roosevelt. . . . We realize that the treacherous policy of the Comintern is now bearing fruit. The Soviet Union is now in danger, and she has very few friends left in the working class movement of the world. But it is the duty of revolutionists to explain patiently that Stalin has not yet succeeded in destroying all the economic and political conquests of the October revolution. . . . Move in your trade union branches resolutions against Citrine's visit to Finland. . . . No Intervention Against Russia! For the Defense of the U.S.S.R.!"

That this sentiment is gaining ground in England is indicated by the report, carried in the press this week, of the strong anti-war resolution adopted by the national convention of the National Union of Shop Assistants, Warehousemen and Clerks. The action of the Scottish Division of the Independent Labor Party, on which we commented last week, is another indication.

The revolutionary anti-war stand of the Fourth International is making itself felt despite the war-mongering of the social patriots and the confusion spread by the centrists of the I.L.P. and its similars.

comes obvious that the only purpose of this law was to stifle all honest and open criticism. The law pretends to abolish 'all groups.' But this is only a miserable subterfuge. Actually there are more groups and cliques today than before the law was passed. Pie-card artists and job holders, always currying for favors from the existing administration, merely changed their titles and affiliated themselves with outside 'political,' 'fraternal' and other 'innocent' organizations.

Meanwhile, honest militant groups are forbidden, and are unable to bring abuses within the union to the attention of the members.

"6. We propose that the ILGWU maintain the status quo as an independent labor organization and continue working for the establishment of a unified labor organization."

Explaining this point, the Bulletin says:

## Anti-War Forces Gather In Europe

(Continued from Page 1)  
We know that the French Stalinist party was being abandoned by a large part of its membership and sympathizers after the Hitler-Stalin pact, and this process undoubtedly continued in France, as elsewhere, after the invasions of Poland and Finland. Yet even the discredited Stalinists, tarred with Hitler's brush, the French rulers dare not permit to speak out in a courtroom!

The bestial persecutions against the Trotskyists and other anti-war elements confute the French government lie that it is only persecuting agents of the Hitler-Stalin bloc. It fears every voice which speaks out against the war!

Persecution has not stopped these voices, however. Hence the new stage of the war—the inclusion of "labor representatives" in the British and French governments. A "labor" Minister of Justice can impose verdicts which a bourgeois minister might not get away with—that has been demonstrated in the first World War, in the Popular Front governments, etc. With labor's "own" people in the government, the slogans of war for democracy, against fascism, etc., might be re-gilded to look like new.

This may work for a time, as it has before. But all previous experience demonstrates that the "labor" fig-leaf soon wears away. In the very process of learning what such a bourgeois "socialist" coalition is like, the workers learn what traitors such "socialists" are, and turn toward revolutionary labor leadership. That, we believe, is what the coming period will be: the period when the great masses learn that their official "leaders" are merely labor lieutenants of their rulers. Then will come the stage of seeking out and testing new leaders.

Then will come the turn toward the real solution—the moment for which the program of the Fourth International has been hammered and moulded and our ranks steeled—the moment when the great masses will follow to the end the only road out from war and capitalism and chaos—the road of the socialist revolution.

# Bridge the Gap: From this Point To Socialism

By JOSEPH HANSEN

Far from being an "unprincipled and demagogic appeal to the backwardness and illusions of the masses" as the Lovestoneites assert, the demands which the Socialist Workers Party suggests labor make of Congress constitute a most revolutionary program which will lead, once launched on a mass scale, inevitably to the sharpest posing of the question of establishing socialism in the United States.

The links in this process can be outlined briefly as follows:

(1) The demands are the absolute minimum that can provide the unemployed the youth, the underpaid workers, the disabled, and the aged with a decent living. The necessity of granting these demands is self-evident. Not only does every member of society have the right to a decent living, but the means for providing such a living are right before our eyes.

(2) But the capitalist system cannot grant these demands without making some drastic changes. These changes are:

(a) Opening the idle factories and operating them at full capacity.

(b) Expropriating the Sixty Families who at present operate and control the nation's industries and wealth for their private benefit.

(3) The vast toiling masses will sooner or later come to realize that these few simple steps would provide the means to grant their demands. When they understand this, a powerful movement can develop, to force the realization of these demands, which will sweep everything before it and bring the nation's industries under the control of the workers.

(4) If the capitalists are forced to grant these demands, a death blow will have been dealt to the capitalist system, and the beginning stages of socialism will be established from coast to coast.

(5) If the capitalists persist in refusing to grant these demands in the face of an organized mass movement insisting upon them, this movement can easily direct its energies to press these demands with such forcefulness that the parasitic stockholders standing in the way would be swept aside. In this case, too, the question of establishing socialism will be on the order of the day for the toiling masses.

## Our Bridge To The Masses

The demands we propose are really our answer to the most acute problem now facing the American revolutionary movement: By what means can the toiling masses be brought to understand that the establishment of socialism offers the only road out of the suffering imposed on them by the capitalist system?

Economically the United States was ready for socialism years ago. Industry has reached a pitch of socialist organization in form that far exceeds that of any other nation. Whole industries have become so intricate, so highly organized that the government itself must intervene to keep them functioning—public utilities, railways, etc. Industry has reached the stage where it can no longer advance under the fetters of private ownership. As a result the toilers suffer from mass unemployment, starvation wages, hunger, all the desperate and hideous ills of an economic system in its death agony.

But politically the masses are not yet ready for socialism. They do not yet understand that the capitalist system is in its death agony. They do not yet understand that it is no longer capable of feeding, clothing, or sheltering them. Because of this political backwardness they are capable of seeing only their immediate ills, and hence are capable of making only immediate and emergency demands.

Because of the political backwardness of the American toilers, the revolutionary vanguard leading the struggle for socialism is small and isolated. The burning problem of the day, therefore, that means life or death not only for the revolutionary party, but for millions of the toiling masses themselves—is to construct the bridge between the present political backwardness of the masses and the socialist revolution in America.

## Taking The Masses As They Are

We must therefore start from what the masses are capable of seeing today. They can see the surrounding plenty. They can see the fertile fields heavy with food. They can see the packed warehouses, the idle machines. And they can see just as clearly the empty plates at their dinner table. They can hear their children crying for food. They can feel the rain beating on them through the holes in the roof of their shack—if they are lucky enough to have a shack. They can feel all the horrible misery of the rotten conditions, the shame and degradation in which they are compelled to live.

There is no time to give them a long series of lectures which through their perfectly logical presentation of the problem would lead to socialism. If the revolutionary movement doesn't show them how they can get the security they want and get it now, show how it is feasible to get it immediately, then the fascists will succeed in heading their revolutionary energy into a different path, the path of suicide for the toiling masses in America.

The program advocated by the Socialist Workers Party is precisely the program which will stamp out capitalist war and the fascist menace and launch the working class on the road to socialism in the United States. The Socialist Workers Party is the only party in the labor movement which has worked out and which advocates such a program. That is the most certain token that the Socialist Workers Party will be at the head of the movement for socialism as it gains momentum in the United States with millions of followers. The program outlined by the Socialist Workers Party will make these millions invincible.

(This is the third and last article in this series.)

## WE'LL TAKE THE CIGAR!

"The great need of America is not a nickel cigar—but a complete edition of all the writings of that great genius of mankind; the teacher and leader of the world revolutionary movement, Comrade Stalin."

—Daily Worker, March 26, 1940, article entitled "Additional Weapons—Make Use of Them."