

# John L. Lewis: An Independent Labor Party Is What the Workers Want

Dear Brothers John L. Lewis, Hillman, etc.:

You boys are the big shots in the CIO, but don't let it go to your head.

We put you where you are, us workers in the plants. As leaders of the CIO, you are supposed to carry out the wishes of the men who put you there for that purpose. We expect you to listen—and then act.

Labor today is at the crossroads. The boss politicians, Republicans and Democrats, the Hoovers and Roosevelts, have given us a swift kick out the back door.

Roosevelt threw us a few crumbs to keep us quiet, and now he has gone visiting where the grass is greener, where Big Business holds sway. He is taking orders from the

Morgans and DuPonts and Rockefellers and their like.

The Democrats and the Republicans have not solved our problems. There is still unemployment, still misery, still starvation in the midst of plenty.

WE'RE TIRED OF LICKING THE BOOTS OF CAPITALIST POLITICIANS.

WE WANT A LABOR PARTY! WE WANT A PARTY MADE UP OF THE ORGANIZED WORKERS, WITH A PROGRAM FOR THE WORKERS.

Roosevelt has launched a program of bullets instead of bread, guns instead of jobs, war instead of security.

We want an INDEPENDENT Labor Party to launch a program of jobs instead of guns, bread instead of bullets!

It's high time you boys stopped hanging around the kitchen door of the White House, looking for scraps like homeless mongrels, and went out among the mass production workers and organized a Labor Party!

We've had our fill of Democrats and Republicans. Nationally they have both flopped. In Michigan they have both been wallowing in one of the most shameful cesspools of corruption and graft this country has ever seen.

In the city of Detroit there is nothing but filth, robbery, cheating, stealing, on the part of the boss politicians. The deeper the grand jury digs the worse it stinks.

The Detroit auto workers ought to launch an aggressive political campaign to clean out the crooked boss politicians

and put in an INDEPENDENT PARTY OF LABOR.

We need an administration that will not steal from the people, but an administration that will get hold of the exorbitant profits of the auto magnates, and provide with that wealth, a job and a decent living for every worker.

We must do the same thing from coast to coast!

That is what the auto workers want . . . a Labor Party. How about it, boys? Will you go along with this program, or do we have to get a new set of leaders?

Fraternalty yours,

Flint, Mich.

Fred, from Final Assembly

## Socialist Appeal

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# CIO LANDSLIDE EXPECTED IN AUTO VOTE

## Union Shop Maintained On Subways

### Transport Workers Force La Guardia to Honor Union's Pact

Mayor La Guardia announced Tuesday, after a conference with John L. Lewis and the negotiating committee of the Transport Workers Union, that New York City would honor the contracts held by the union with the rapid transit lines shortly to be taken over by the city.

The mayor's agreement was incorporated in a letter to Lee Pressman, General Council of the CIO.

This substantial victory of the union was achieved only as a result of the solidarity and determination displayed by the Transport Workers of this city and their threat to tie up the whole transportation system if the city would not recognize their union and continue the contracts which they previously won from the transit companies.

### Attempted to Crawlfish

For the past week, since John L. Lewis had his first conference with the mayor, city officials have been engaged in a deliberate attempt to crawlfish on the original agreement with the union.

As late as Tuesday morning John H. Delaney, Chairman of the Board of Transportation, announced that he would introduce a resolution into the Board of Transportation on Wednesday morning which would provide that the Board, when it takes over the transport lines, will assume only the terms and conditions of the present union contract which the Board would deem "not inconsistent with constitutional and statutory provisions."

The union negotiating committee showed how this resolution was a repudiation of the agreement reached with the mayor last week and left enough loopholes for a whole army to march through. The union delegation pointed out that by this resolution the Board would not actually assume the contracts that are at present held by the union but only certain "terms and conditions" of the contract, thus being left free to delete any provisions and terms of the contract which it considered to be "inconsistent with statutory conditions."

### Mayor Passed the Buck

It was obvious to all that the mayor had merely passed the buck to John H. Delaney, chairman of the Board of Transportation, in an attempt to get the heat off himself. It was obvious that the mayor was just stalling the union and getting ready once again to doublecross the transport workers of this city.

The union answered in the only language that union-busters ever (Continued on Page 2)

## The 30-Hr. Week Is Way Out For Auto!

### AUTO WORKERS!

On April 17th, 150,000 General Motors workers go to the polls.

In every plant they are going to chalk up an overwhelming victory for the United Automobile Workers, CIO!

**But don't let a victory in the NLRB ballot lull you into a false feeling of security!**

**You will still have to fight for every single bit of progress you hope to make.**

The workers of the Briggs plants in Detroit chalked up huge majority for the CIO in their NLRB vote. But first they had to go out on strike to secure recognition and a half-way decent contract. And in spite of the magnificent struggle the Briggs workers put up, they STILL HAVE NOT SOLVED THE PROBLEM OF SECURITY, nor have they found a place for the thousands of unemployed Briggs workers.

Just as big a majority was cast in favor of the CIO in the Chrysler plants. But Old Man Keller locked them out, and conducted one of the most vicious anti-union campaigns in the history of unionism in the auto industry. And when the CIO finally got out from under that lockout, practically nothing was gained!

An NLRB victory will assure the auto workers of General Motors many advantages, that is true.

It will show the general public that the CIO DOES represent the workers in GM; it will show the middle-of-the-road elements in the plants that they will have to join the CIO if they don't want to be out in the cold; it will go a long way toward wiping out the AFL fakery.

**BUT AN NLRB VICTORY WILL NOT GET YOU SECURITY.**

The leadership of the Auto Workers union has been on the defensive during the last year since the convention in Cleveland. These leaders have been satisfied to try to hold their own. They have ignored the problem of unemployment, they have ignored the demands of the rank and file for a year-round guarantee of security, they have been fiddling and stalling.

Who secured and held bargaining rights in the plants during the last few months? The militants in every plant who fought battle after battle on thousands of local issues, and forced the management to deal with their committees!

The GM contract, nominally in force, didn't mean a thing. The corporation refused to deal with the CIO, except in those plants where militant workers MADE THEM RECOGNIZE THEIR COMMITTEES.

After the NLRB victory, it is time to march ahead.

The 30 hour week and 40 hours pay will take up the slack of unemployment. Thousands of your brothers are out on the street begging for relief or WPA, men who should be in the plants.

Unless you fight for the 30 hour week at 40 hour pay, these thousands of men will be herded into a huge army of scabs, to take your jobs at scab wages at the first sign of trouble.

If you want to protect your jobs; if you want to save the CIO; if you want to establish security in GM plants:

**Fight for the 30 hour week at 40 hours pay!**

Your leaders have put this demand on the shelf. Tomorrow, they say, they will ask for it. Is the 30 hour week not needed today? Are they afraid to ask GM for what the workers must have?

But you are not afraid! You fought GM to a standstill in the glorious sitdowns of 1937.

You know that GM made a profit of \$183,000,000 in '39, while thousands walked the streets, locked out by the profiteering Sloanes and DuPonts.

Auto workers—you have been on the defensive long enough. Give the command to FORWARD MARCH—FOR THE 30 HOUR WEEK AT 40 HOURS PAY!

### SPIRIT OF '37



U.A.W. pickets holding their ground against the cops at the Cadillac plant of General Motors in Detroit, January 27, 1937. The picket sign in the picture reads: "This line is rough on rats."

## SWP Convention Opens In N. Y.

### To Settle Dispute on Russian Question And Map Campaign of Trade Union Work

Over a hundred delegates and alternates are making their way to the special national convention of the Socialist Workers Party this week.

Coming by automobile, by rail, by ship, by thumb, comrades from the Golden Gate all the way to New England and from Oregon down to Texas are converging on New York for the opening of the convention on April 5.

Among those representing the various branches of the party are automobile workers from Michigan, sailors and longshoremen from the West Coast and the Gulf, teamsters from the Mid-West area, steel workers from Ohio, Indiana and Illinois, cannery workers from California and W.P.A. militants from everywhere.

One of the most important tasks of the convention will be the organization of a well-defined program of trade union work under the direction of the aggressive and dynamic new Labor Secretary of the party, comrade Farrell Dobbs.

### Settle Russian Question

The convention will take a definitive stand on the question of the attitude to take towards the Soviet Union in the unfolding world war. This question has been up for discussion for the past six months with long deliberations in the branches, in which various points of view have been presented in the most democratic fashion. The convention will draw the balance sheet of this discussion and place the party on record for the duration of the war with regard to this all-important stand, which has been a testing-stone for the international working class since the outbreak of the Russian Revolution in November 1917.

### International Report

Another highlight of the convention will be the report on the progress of the Fourth International under the conditions of war persecution and censorship. Fraternal delegates are expected from war-ridden countries to bring messages of solidarity from those who are already in the front line trenches of the workers' fight against war.

Organizational changes in the structure of the party are expected to take place in order to place the party on a war footing. Tightening up on the central task of rooting the party in the unions, the convention is expected to make provisions for a strong directing force at the center and for a substantial increase in field organizers. The problem of increasing the effectiveness of the press of the party will also be dealt with in special sessions.

### A Proletarian Party

In every respect, the convention of the Socialist Workers Party this year is expected to mark a milestone in the development of the Trotskyist movement in this country. The proletarian composition of the delegates, giving vivid testimony to the increase of party strength in the trade unions, will undoubtedly give direction to the deliberations of the convention.

The rank and file of the party has, in the pre-convention discussion, showed that while its concern with theoretic problems is deeply rooted, it is anxious to continue the already successfully begun work of penetrating wide layers of the American working class with its program of transitional demands. Hand in hand with determining its position with regard to the Soviet Union, on which two main tendencies have

(Continued on Page 2)

## Bridges Gives Bosses Notorious 'Peace' Plan

### Everything To Be Arbitrated; Bosses Are All For It

SAN FRANCISCO, Mar. 29—Harry Bridges' much-ballyhooed "five years peace plan" was presented to the Pacific Coast Waterfront Employers Association here Tuesday.

The Bridges proposal is to incorporate present terms of the longshoremen's contract into an agreement which provides that there shall be no strikes or stoppages for the next five years. All disputes as to interpretation of the contract shall be submitted to arbitration.

### Bosses Like It

If the barrage of Stalinist propaganda for this kind of "peace" fooled any maritime workers, they were quickly disillusioned. The waterfront employers accepted the principle of the plan without a moment's hesitation. In fact, Frank P. Foisie, president of the employers association, let the cat out of the bag by revealing where this "peace plan" really originated. He boasted:

"Last June we (the employers) proposed extension of the contract including the seven points upon which Mr. Bridges bases his new peace formula. We have, therefore, been advocating a similar plan for nine months."

### Everything Arbitrated!

But even these points, part of the present contract, are to be subject to arbitration in actuality. For, as Bridges stated in his letter:

"The seven fundamental points (are) to be subject to interpretation by the arbitrator insofar as alleged violation of these points are concerned during the life of the agreement." That leaves nothing out of arbitration.

### What Arbitration Did

But the longshoremen have had four years of arbitration. Since 1934 they have operated under voluntary arbitration, never agreeing in advance to accept arbitration of any and all issues that arise. Yet during that period 86 issues have been submitted to arbitration by Bridges. Of these 86 issues the boss has won 62 decisions, the longshoremen only 24.

(Continued on Page 2)

### ILWU Convention Opens; Militants For Marine Unity

PORTLAND, Ore., April 1—The convention of the International Longshoremen and Warehousemen's Union (CIO), opened in North Bend today, with this West Coast union faced by two major problems:

1. The drive of Pacific Coast waterfront employers to shackle the unions with compulsory arbitration for the next five years.

2. The need to reconstitute the once-powerful Maritime Federation along its original lines, in preparation for a show-down fight with the bosses.

When the Maritime Federation was founded in 1935, with Harry Lande as its first president, it was based on the seven maritime unions directly involved in marine transportation—longshoremen, marine firemen, sailors, marine cooks, radio operators, marine engineers, and masters, mates and pilots.

### Stalinists Broke Unity

But then, during the "Popular Front" days, the Stalinists flooded the federation with old-line craft unions and newly-organized agricultural set-ups so that they could get a safe voting majority for their class-collaboration policy. Thereby the Stalinists dealt a heavy blow to the fighting unity of the marine unions, driving out of the federation the powerful Sailors Union of the Pacific, all branches of the Marine Firemen, and the Masters, Mates & Pilots.

In the present "maritime" federation remain longshoremen, cooks, engineers and radio operators. Other affiliates brought in by the Stalinists include boiler-makers, machinists, shipyard workers, inland boatmen, fishermen, cannery workers. Of the four unions in the federation directly involved in marine transport, all now have contracts expiring at different dates. That is the sorry mess the Bridges gang has made of union solidarity.

### Want Original Federation

Hoping to free themselves from the cumbersome net of this "maritime" federation and avoid the trap of compulsory arbitration, militant rank and filers among the longshoremen are starting a move to reconstitute the original maritime federation of the seven marine unions. They remember the strength of the maritime federation as it was originally constituted.

Fearing this sentiment, the Stalinists launched a campaign against it before the ILWU convention opened. Mat Meehan, C.P. hatchet man, led off with a slanderous attack in the March 28 "Voice of the Federation," in which he had the gall to characterize this general rank and file sentiment as an "attempt to disrupt the ILWU."

The Stalinists expect a safe majority at the convention. But it will take more than the formal authority of their office to keep the stevedores up and down the coast isolated from their brothers in the other maritime unions.

## Main Fight Still Ahead At G. M.

### Main Problems To Be Faced After Election

DETROIT—The campaign to roll up a landslide vote for the United Automobile Workers, CIO, in the coming NLRB elections in the General Motors plants will reach its high point in huge rallies to be held here and in Flint, April 6 and 7. John L. Lewis, Sidney Hillman and Phillip Murray, are scheduled as the main speakers.

Auto workers are confident in this area that the organization identified with the great sit-downs which defeated General Motors in 1937 will become their sole representative in bargaining with the corporation after April 17. That organization is the CIO.

There is no question in the mind of any informed person here that the strike-breaking, dual-union outfit affiliated with the AFL will be completely washed out by the vote of the auto workers. Such a verdict at the elections will be in complete conformity with the prevailing situation in the plants where the AFL represents an insignificant minority of the workers.

### The Final Touch

Those few workers who still had faith in the AFL after its years of disruption and treachery

(See Editorial on the UAW and General Motors on page four.)

to the auto workers were quickly disillusioned by the publicity issued by the swivel-chair labor skates for the forthcoming elections.

In a series of articles purporting to discuss the "issues involved in the General Motors Elections" (AFL Weekly News Service), Green and Co. show their true colors.

There is little these articles say positively about the merits and achievements of the AFL in the auto industry, because there is precious little to say. But if nothing good can be said in favor of the AFL, a whole bucket-full of mud can be slung against the CIO—so reason Green and Co. The CIO, they howl, is a communist plot, is merely a stepping stone for John L. Lewis' political ambitions, it denounces President Roosevelt (which no doubt is like sinning against the Holy Ghost!) and besides it doesn't have any money in its treasury. That's Green's tale.

But all this is like the red cape to infuriate the bull—behind it is a treacherous piece of steel. Says the AFL Weekly News Service: "The CIO Communist leadership has involved the auto workers in a sea of troubles. It has alienated public respect and public confidence. It has taken millions of dollars out of your pockets by way of costly and needless strikes. It has not tried to organize a union for you. It has tried to mobilize you for a revolution."

### Repeats Boss Lies

No auto worker would have to (Continued on Page 2)



# 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.

## New Recruiting Trick Tried Out In Detroit

Editor: While driving down the main thoroughfare here in Detroit, my eyes came upon—a cannon, large, interesting and intriguing, to say the least. So clean, so many nice wheels. Turn this one for aim, watch the shell feed, etc. Young men who still get a kick out of shaving, dressed in full regalia, were there to explain this fascinating mechanism. Upon asking what the purpose of the demonstration was—I got a blunt "recruiting campaign" speech. But that was already clear from the billboard signs all over the city. "Join the Army," which broke the ground for this method of recruiting. And this is only preparation for more determined methods that will soon follow.

But watch, it may not pass off so slick. They may have their cards thrown in their faces and they themselves cast into the ashcan, these war dealers. It's high time we played another kind of game anyway!

Detroit, Mich. F. Bertone

## A Heartening Note About Spain

Editor: In a letter I have just received from a Spanish comrade now in Mexico there is the following passage which gives us a good insight into the situation of the Spanish revolutionists, etc.

"The morale of the Spanish comrades is astonishingly high considering what they have gone through. We get favorable reports from Spain—via France. There seems to be an unusual amount of solidarity among the workers and peasants. We have been told of one instance where one of our comrades had walked a hundred kilometers to the border while under suspicion by the authorities; and the peasants, in the most backward section of the country, shielded him and directed his course so that he would avoid the authorities. In Madrid, too, reports have it that there is a high degree of solidarity among the workers. The oppression is vicious and thorough, but Franco hasn't yet broken their spirit."

Los Angeles C. C.

## Ohio Has Okies Like the Joads

Editor: The showing of the movie, "Grapes of Wrath" caused something of a stir in certain Toledo circles. One pastor devoted a Sunday sermon to the question, "What shall be done with the Joads?" Businessmen's discussion groups and literary tea societies also talked over the problem. There was considerable shaking of heads, and many sighs that such things should exist in democratic America.

Unfortunately, their sighs would have a truer sound if the objects of their good intentions were not two thousand miles away. These people seem perfectly blind to the fact that right here in Toledo, people are living in conditions that would make those of the Joads seem relatively luxurious by comparison.

On Toledo's dumps you will find shacks constructed of driftwood and cardboard cartons in which whole families are living. They eke out a miserable pittance by going through the rubbish that is thrown onto the dump. Paper and scrap iron has a certain cash value, you know—but not much. Children of 8 and 10, old men and women, all fight like a pack of wolves over every piece of metal, every strip of wire that is found. Their whole days are spent rummaging through the filth of the city's rubbish. Fires are kept burning constantly so that the rubber surrounding copper wire may be burned away.

But these are only a few of the most oppressed of Toledo's suffering thousands. What of the hundreds of families who have not yet been returned to the relief rolls? You hear no exclamations from the gentry for them. Only amazement—"I wonder how they do it?"

Still, I suppose it would be wrong to expect anything else from the liberal pastors, the busi-

nessmen discussers and the literary tea societies. I haven't the slightest doubt but what their California counterparts are shedding the same sort of crocodile tears for the terrible conditions in Ohio.

Nor does it seem to me that their sympathy would be of any great value anyway. What could they do about it? It is to the unions that we must look for help. They must be made to realize what a threat to union standards the existence of such conditions are. This is a job which the Appeal and the SWP must and can do.

Toledo, Ohio Ed Davis

Editor: I would like to know if you could give me the names of organizations that work against religion. That expose these misleaders and tell the truth. I would like to have the names of such organizations and their addresses.

I still believe your party is the right party. You ought to have more force. I will send you some money soon to help you carry on the fight.

Franklin Wolfinger

There is an "American Association for the Advancement of Atheism," located at 38 Park Row, New York City. It does not, however, publish any material showing the pro-capitalist role of the churches. It carries on a very abstract and therefore ineffectual campaign.

It is worth noting that this kind of old-fashioned atheism, which once played a big role in the pre-war American socialist movement, has today completely disappeared from the labor movement.

On the one hand the reformist "socialists"—the Socialist party of Norman Thomas and the Social Democratic Federation—include pious religionists in their leadership and have made their peace with the churches. The Stalinists also go in for a good deal of opportunistic catering to the churches.

On the other hand we revolutionary socialists, as Marxists, recognize that "religion is the opium of the people." We recognize the reactionary role of the churches, which are tied by innumerable threads into the service of the capitalist class. But we also were taught by Marx and Lenin that religion will not die away so long as man is not master of his environment and therefore do away with religion. But the socialist revolution will be made by tens of millions of workers who will still be religious. To arouse these great masses to struggle is the task of our party.

Given these considerations, the struggle against religion in general is necessarily subordinated to the economic and political struggle against capitalism. In the course of that struggle, we know, the most advanced workers, as they find the churches lined up with the capitalists, tend to leave the churches—Editor.

**S.W.P. OPENS CONVENTION**

(Continued from Page 1) been elaborated, as readers of the last two issues of the New International have already been able to judge, the party convention will have the task of overhauling drastically the work of forging deeper into the ranks of the industrial working class.

All Invited to Dinner

Our sympathizers and friends will have an opportunity for direct contact with the delegates coming from all fields of the American class struggle at the Dinner being given to greet the delegates on Sunday, April 7, 1940 at the Beethoven Hall, 210 East 5th Street, New York City. Dinner will be served at 7 p.m. Reservations can be made at 116 University Place, or by telephoning ALgonquin 4-8547. An unforgettable experience is in store for all on that historic occasion. We urge every reader to take advantage of this unique opportunity.

# N.Y. Transport Union Retains Union Shop

## The Flint WPA Union-History Of Growth Through Struggle

FLINT, Mich.—The story of Local 12, WPA and Unemployed Auxiliary of the United Auto Workers (CIO), is well worth careful reading by militants everywhere.

It is the story of the struggle against terrific odds to organize the unemployed, to interest the employed workers in the plight of the jobless. It is the story of a successful fight against the union-wrecking sabotage of the Stalinists and their Workers Alliance.

Today Local 12 is a great success. Everyone in Flint pays it respect. But not until three or four months ago.

When the last UAW convention made provision for organization of the WPA workers and unemployed into auxiliaries, Flint militants immediately set about to do the job. A half dozen self-sacrificing workers began the arduous task.

The UAW top officials were not interested. Local union leaders gave little or no assistance. Strongly CP-dominated UAW local officers sabotaged efforts by referring unemployed to the Workers Alliance and aiding that bankrupt outfit in every possible way.

The "Death Watch"

After carrying through a few militant actions such as the famed "Death Watch," the WPA union began to grow.

At that time the Stalinist and union-wrecking elements figured it was ripe for them to step in. They sent in a couple of agents to whisper, malign and work against the leaders of the union, who were such well-known militants as Genora Johnson and Roy Lawrence.

A meeting called for the election of permanent officers was flooded with Workers Alliance stooges. Union by-laws were violated by the distribution of slates in the hall by members of the stooge election committee. A hurry-up count was held and the militant elements who had built the union were defeated for the main offices.

They did not quit, however. They carried on the fight. In a few weeks the stooge Workers Alliance hangers-on drifted off. They did nothing to build the union. The union membership fell. But the militants kept plugging.

**TEAMSTERS' PACT GUARDS UNION GAINS UNDER WAR CONDITIONS**

## BRIDGES GIVES BOSSES HIS 'PEACE PLAN'

(Continued from Page 1) What is more, all decisions favoring the longshoremen were on minor issues, covering such questions as the right to dispense with preferred gangs, the size of sling loads, the right to safety codes—already part of a state law—and the right to a full day's work when work is available.

But on all fundamental questions the arbitration award has gone against the union and has served to undermine the union and union solidarity. These questions included the right to respect picket lines, union control of hiring and the right of the union to discipline its own members. These are questions affecting the life of the union and should never have been submitted to arbitration.

Union-Wreckers At Work Because of the general opposition of the rank and file to the method of arbitration, the Stalinist machine had to undertake extraordinary measures to sell the "peace plan." Under cover of one of the most intensive agitation campaigns they have ever conducted, the Stalinists maneuvered the separate maritime unions into a position of relative isolation and mutual distrust.

Whereas formerly all unions had agreements expiring at the same time, their contracts now have different expiration dates. The main purpose behind this Stalinist maneuver was to destroy the solidarity of the unions so that each would be forced to accept the principle of arbitration.

But as against arbitration, militants, inside the ILWU are demanding a program to reconstitute the original maritime federation of the real marine unions for a show-down fight against the bosses.

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men would lay down their tools, turn off the machines, grab their wrenches and pour out to protect their unemployed brothers.

A world of significance lies in that incident.

By this time union officials, both locally and nationally, in the UAW-CIO had been forced by rank and file pressure to take some action in support of the WPA local which had won the hearts of the auto workers.

Union Backs Lawrence

When Roy Lawrence, sit-down veteran and WPA union president, was attacked in the reactionary Flint Journal for allegedly threatening to use violence against relief heads, OFFICERS OF THE INTERNATIONAL AND OF ALL LOCAL UNIONS IN FLINT went to his support immediately, issued a joint statement to the press, and backed up the WPA union official unanimously.

Today a full page in every issue of the Flint Auto Worker, weekly organ of the local UAW-CIO, is devoted to the problems of the unemployed and WPA workers. Speakers from all local unions of the UAW-CIO now feel honored to attend and speak at the auxiliary's meetings, which are building up to such a point that they overflow the hall.

Workers Alliance Finished

The Workers Alliance membership has transferred en masse to the UAW-CIO local, leaving behind only the hard-bitten and worthless elements.

The WPA and Welfare officials tremble every time the WPA Auxiliary speaks.

Negroes in Flint, 90% of whom are unemployed, are gradually joining up, one of the members of the colored race having been elected recently to the Executive Board of the local.

Throughout the city of Flint, as a result of militant action and consistent work, union men are proud of Local 12. Its uphill struggle should be a lesson to militants in every area.

Its program is: a job for every worker; at least a \$10,000,000,000 emergency WPA appropriation; all war funds to the unemployed; an adequate youth program to employ all unemployed youth at union wages, etc.

It will not give up the struggle until these demands are met.

In Chevrolet Gear and Axle, seven men were recently penalized for refusal to meet company standards. They were allowed to return to the job a week later on the condition that they accepted company standards. The company made a concession in agreeing to a lower quality of work. But it is certain the men will be forced to raise the quality of their work before long. In this way the company is driving more production out of the men.

In Ternstedt's, women workers were cut ten cents per hour until they met company standards. Many of the workers quit paying dues to the union in view of its failure to help them.

In Fleetwood, where the situation is better than in most GM plants, the factory operates five days a week, but workers with several years seniority are walking the streets. New methods of production are throwing men out of the shop almost daily, but wherever possible the management is favoring new men as against the old union employees.

The Basic Cause

The lack of militancy on the part of the union leadership in its daily relations with the corporations arises almost directly out of its failure to wage a militant fight for the most basic demand of the auto workers: THE 30 HOUR WEEK AT 40 HOUR PAY.

Without this solution—which would in itself solve the ticklish questions of seniority, working conditions, etc.—there can be no real solution to the problems of the auto workers. The tremendous unemployment of workers in the auto industry is the most pressing problem for the auto union.

Everywhere in Detroit and in Flint workers are seeking a more fundamental treatment of their problems than mere change in bargaining relations with the corporation. And everywhere the feeling is arising, and it will not be downed by soft speeches, that there must be action for the 30 hour week at 40 hour pay if the auto workers union is to go forward.

The spirit of 1937 is present in these big auto centers. The auto workers will fight—they need only leadership and a program.

look twice at this garbage to know that it was borrowed directly from the propaganda files of the National Manufacturers Association or the Chamber of Commerce.

That the auto workers union and its great strikes was a "sea of troubles" for the AFL big shots is true to the last word. When the auto workers threw Green's Mr. Dillon into the ashcan after he had kept the auto workers disorganized in pre-CIO days by feeding the newly organized workers to the craft union sharks; when Green sold out the auto workers to Roosevelt in the infamous NRA settlement; when Dillon turned over the Toledo Chevrolet strikers in 1935 to the tender mercies of General Motors; when Green, acting in union with every anti-labor boss and banker and vigilante in the country, stabbed the Flint sit-downers in the back by urging Murphy and General Motors not to deal with the CIO; when Martin committed a hundred other crimes against the auto workers—when all these things were happening the CIO auto workers were a "sea of troubles" for Mr. Green, and there isn't a doubt in any auto workers' mind that both the face and bellies of Green and his lieutenants will be the color of sea-green!—when they see the results of the NLRB elections.

The real problems for General Motors workers, however, don't end but only begin the day Bill Green and his crowd are cleaned out of the industry. The Reuther-Thomas leadership of the UAW has accumulated a host of problems for General Motors workers not by acting like the "wild-eyed radicals" the AFL accuses them of being but, on the contrary, by their timidity toward the corporation. GM is taking full advantage of this attitude.

Many of the plants here the line is being constantly speeded up. When workers refuse to accept the speed-up they are either penalized with a layoff or their wages are cut to the percent of the standard the management claims they are meeting.

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## S.P. Delegate Supports Pro-War "Silence" at Session of 2nd Int'l

**Dan and Abramovich In Involved Dispute Over the Degree to Which They Want To See the Soviet Union Defeated**

By JOSEPH HANSEN

On the front page of the March 30 issue of the *Call*, official organ of the Socialist party (the Norman Thomas group), there is a "report" of the first meeting of the Executive Committee of the Labor and Socialist International since the outbreak of the war.

Inasmuch as Devere Allen, a member of the Norman Thomas group, attended this meeting as an official representative, the *Call* is well acquainted with what happened there. The article reports, however, nothing beyond the following sketch: that the meeting was "exceptionally well attended," that it was held from "Feb. 23 to Feb. 25" at "Brussels," that there were "representatives" from various countries in addition to Devere Allen, among them being Leon Blum, that there was a discussion on Poland and on Finland, and that the meeting made some changes in the personnel of the Executive Committee.

The *Call* does not offer even the slightest comment on:

(1) The failure of the Executive Committee to meet for five months after the war broke out.

(2) The failure of the Executive Committee to condemn as traitors and renegades those of its members who accept posts in bourgeois governments.

(3) The Executive Committee's support of the Allied camp of imperialists in the second World War, now raging in Europe.

(4) The failure of the Executive Committee to pass a single resolution. Not one!

### SOME THINGS THE "CALL" DIDN'T MENTION

In order to understand better why the *Call* chose the eloquence of silence rather than speech, let us outline briefly the main events at the conference. We use as our first source of information the "International Information" bulletin of the Second International, noting that under date of "end of December 1939" the LSI in its previous bulletin made the following announcement to its readers:

"We were forced at the beginning of the war to interrupt the publication of our 'International Information' and its supplements. As we do not yet know when we will be able to resume our publications, we cannot accept any subscriptions for the year 1940."

The next bulletin is dated February 26, 1940, and reports the conference. Apparently the officials of the Second International consider that the sole action they have taken since the beginning of the second World War was such an outstanding service to the Allied imperialists that it deserved their breaking silence with a special report, even though they no longer have any subscribers.

"Camille Huysmans was unanimously elected President in place of J.W. Albarda who had entered the Dutch government on August 9." The unanimous vote indicates Devere Allen's approval of Huysmans and hence—in view of the eloquent silence of the *Call*—the approval of the Norman Thomas group. Huysmans was the secretary of the Second International up to 1914 and "during the war." He was one of those who helped lead the workers into the last World War as cannon fodder and hence is eminently qualified to act as a leading official of the Second International in the present imperialist slaughter.

J.W. Albarda, the former president, was not present at the conference. As an official member of the Dutch government, he was busy aiding the imperial cabinet in repressing the workers and colonial slaves of Holland. Henri de Man, who also resigned from the Executive Committee to take a similar job with the Belgian government, was also absent. The silence of the *Call* on the actions of these two renegades is one of the hoary customs of the Second International: never attack any member who betrays the working class and takes a post in a bourgeois government—who knows, you may be the next to get an offer.

The agenda drawn up by the secretary, Friedrich Adler, was "abandoned" without any discussion whatsoever "in view of the complete modification of the circumstances brought about by the war" and the conference listened to a report by W. Keto on the situation in Finland and a report of the delegate of the Bund on the

situation in the occupied territories of Poland.

"This report," continues the bulletin, was followed by a very profound discussion on the international situation which took up most of the meeting. In the *Call* this "profound discussion" is not even mentioned!

### THEY ALL ROOTED FOR BOURGEOIS FINLAND

Both the *Call* and the bulletin do mention, however, that Keto's report was a success, "every speech" expressing complete unanimity on aid and support for Finland. We are unable to check on this point, as there was no roll call vote on the Finnish question since there was no resolution on it, but no one would think of accusing the *Call* or any other organ of the Second International of inaccuracy on such a matter. Support of one bourgeois government or another has long been a condition of membership in the Second International.

While no resolutions whatsoever were passed by the conference, the comments of the Russian Mensheviks who had a delegate at the conference, like the silence of the *Call*, can be said to make up for this lack.

In a leading editorial of its March 5 issue, under the title "Socialist International Stands United," *Sotsialisticheski Vestnik*, edited by Abramovich, eulogizes the conference and then proceeds to analyze it. The conference met, exclaims the editorial, and exchanged "views on those grandiose events which have taken place in Europe for almost a half year and which may in the near future encompass the whole world and determine its destiny."

### THEY ASK A VERY, VERY GOOD QUESTION!

But "shouldn't the Second International be indicted," queries the Abramovich editorial, inasmuch as this session could be held only five months after the outbreak of the war and then adjourned without adopting or passing a single resolution? (The Mensheviks are at least capable, in distinction from the *Call*, of seeing that this question is bound to be asked by the class-conscious worker.) Isn't such a lapse, he asks, absolute proof of "the impotence and internal decomposition and the complete loss of any international solidarity," a demonstration of "its inability to play an active role in the actual events or the future development of mankind?"

We answer this question with a simple affirmative.

But the Mensheviks—and we presume the silence of the *Call* signifies solidarity with these bootlickers of the imperialist warmongers—maintain the contrary. Leon Blum in *Populaire* even hails the Brussels sessions as a major achievement on the road of consolidation of international socialism!

The fact that the outbreak of the second World War stunned the Second International into complete paralysis for five months is argued away by Leon Blum with an analogy. In 1914-18 the life of the International was completely disrupted for a whole number of years. Today it is disrupted only five months! "One can even say," declares Blum, "that the outbreak of the war and then the Bolshevik revolution in Russia so disintegrated all the living elements of world socialism that the re-establishment of the International became possible only in 1923." The smashing of the capitalist class in Russia by the oppressed peasants and workers meant nothing to Blum except an adverse influence on the power, prestige, and finances of the bureaucracy of the Second International.

Abramovich agrees with Blum. In comparison to "five years of complete paralysis and four years of barren efforts, internal dissension and split" a lapse of five months was not a real interruption at all.

Both Abramovich and Blum then join in chorus that after all, looked at in a certain light, there wasn't any interruption whatsoever. Contact between all the sections of the L.S.I. was "never for a moment broken" and the sessions of the Executive Committee at Brussels really constituted a genuine session of the International "if not in a formal sense then in substance." And if there was a little delay, such delay is accounted for by "war time difficulties."

As for the "unity" displayed at

# MOLOTOV SPEECH SHOWS KREMLIN SEEKS TO REGAIN MIDDLE GROUND

**SOFTER TONE ADOPTED TOWARD ALLIES AND A COOLER ONE TOWARD HITLER**

By FELIX MORROW

A comparison of Molotov's March 29 speech on foreign policy to the Supreme Soviet with his speech on the same subject to the same body five months ago provides some significant contrasts.

The most significant changes are those in the tone employed toward Germany on the one hand and toward the Allies and the United States on the other.

In his Oct. 31, 1939 speech Molotov devoted a good third of his time to indicting the Allies as responsible for the war and whitewashing Germany; he cited the persecutions of the French Communists, "the curtailing of political liberties in England, the unremitting national oppression in India," the Allies' "profoundly material interests as mighty colonial powers . . . which make possible the exploitation of hundreds of millions of people," their "fear of losing world supremacy that dictates to the ruling circles of Great Britain and France the policy of fomenting war with Germany," etc. Roosevelt's intercession with Kalinin on behalf of Finland was answered with a sharp reference to the United States' oppression of the Philippines and Cuba. Turkey's treaties with the Allies were termed "entering the orbit of the developing European war," and there was more than a hint of threat in Molotov's query "whether Turkey will not come to regret it . . ."

Very different is the tone in the latest speech. It is true that it says the Allies "declared war on Germany under the pretext of fulfilling their obligations toward Poland" and calls it a war to dismember Germany; but this is done in a sentence or two and there are no more references to the dictatorial methods of the democratic-imperialists at home or in the colonies. Despite the rich proof at his disposal, Molotov's indictment of the anti-Soviet role of the Allies in Finland is couched in extremely calm, even defensive terms. There are no further tart remarks about American imperialism; instead, an offer to increase imports from the U.S. if American authorities do not put obstacles in the way. The tone toward Turkey does not repeat any note of reproach but instead points to the existing non-aggression pact. Rumania, unmentioned five months ago, is assured "there are no grounds for any deterioration in Soviet-Rumanian relations."

Even the gathering Anglo-French colonial armies under Weygand in the Near East, plainly a move unfriendly to the Soviet Union, and which if the Kremlin so desired could be the peg on which to hang an all-embracing indictment of the Allies, is merely the subject of a single paragraph in which, naturally enough, the Soviet Union is stated to be exercising vigilance and prepared for counter-measures. This is further softened by a declaration that "the fantastic plans attributed to the Soviet Union of a Red Army 'March on India,' 'March on the East' and the like . . . are such obvious absurdities that one must completely lose his senses to believe such absurd lies."

### No More Boasts of German Alliance

What makes even clearer the contrast in the tone of the two speeches is to add to the differences enumerated above those concerning Germany. In the speech five months ago the Hitler-Stalin pact was declared "bound to have its effect on the entire international situation . . . Here development has proceeded along the line of strengthening our friendly relations, extending our practical cooperation and rendering Germany political support in her efforts for peace." Collaboration between the German and Red armies in Poland was boastfully described: "one swift blow to Poland, first by the German Army and then by the Red Army, and nothing was left of this ugly offspring of the Versailles treaty . . ."

Molotov even went so far then as to declare "that a strong Germany is an indispensable condition for a durable peace in Europe." Those who wish otherwise fail to see that their attempt "may end in disaster for them."

Nothing comparable to these statements is contained in Molotov's latest speech. There is a perfunctory reference to the "new, good relations" with Germany, which "have been tested in practice in connection with events in former Poland, and their strength has been sufficiently proved." But this is skillfully belittled by this significant passage:

"Attempts have been made to justify these hostile acts (of the Allies) toward our foreign trade on the grounds that by trading with Germany we are helping her in the war against England and France.

"It does not take much to see that these arguments are not

the Brussels meeting, the unanimous vote for the new president, unanimity of support for the Allied camp of imperialists, etc., Abramovich sighs with a slightly sour note. Don't let's fool ourselves, he says in effect, this unity "does not flow from the fact that the sections of the L.S.I. are permeated to a greater degree with international proletarian solidarity and class loyalty than the parties of the Second International in 1914-18." Why does the organization enjoy such unity, then? Abramovich confesses that this is due to the fact that there are no "socialist parties today standing 'on the other side' of the military barricades which divide Europe into two hostile camps."

No wonder the *Call* was completely silent about "the profound discussion" on the international situation. Reporting the views of this meeting, at which representative Devere Allen sat unani-

ously side by side with political prostitutes Leon Blum, Paul Faure, Abramovich, the Social Revolutionary Chernov, Zyromski, Grimm, etc., etc., would have drained the Norman Thomas group of its last vestige of parlor pink. With an eloquent silence they maintain their pretense to radicalism, a pretense that is only a measure of their distance from Europe. They can afford to be radical in their silent negative way this far from the battlefields and with American capitalism still only on the edge of the conflict.

As for socialist parties of the colonial and semi-colonial countries, such as China, India, the African and South American countries, etc., they were not mentioned by the speakers since no one represents such countries in the Second International. Only labor aristocracies breed Second International parties.

It is a far cry, this belittling of Soviet-German trade, from the boastful declarations in the speech five months ago.

Unmentioned in the earlier speech, Italy comes in for some sharp blows now. In addition to a denunciation of Italy's support of Finland, the speech goes to considerable length, apropos of a contrast between Anglo-French policy in Finland and Albania, in denouncing "Italy's predatory action in forcibly subjugating Albania without the least regard for its population of over a million people." This, coming at the moment when the Nazi rulers of Germany are attempting to secure an agreement between Italy and the USSR, on policy in the Balkans to shut out the Allies, is a plain indication that the Nazis are not having success in getting Stalin harnessed in a tandem team with Mussolini.

### Result of Finnish Events

It appears obvious that the change in tone is the result of the five months' test in Finland. The earlier speech had said, "We do not think that Finland will seek a pretext to frustrate the proposed agreement." Instead came war, with serious reverses for the Red Army, powerful support for Finland from the Anglo-French bloc; instead of occupying Finland as the Kremlin decided when the war began—the Kuusinen "Peoples Government" could have no other meaning—the Kremlin was more than glad to call a halt beyond Lake Ladoga and forget Kuusinen. Molotov had smiled skeptically when, the morning the Second World War began, the Polish ambassador had said he expected the Anglo-French declaration of war shortly; not until it felt the Anglo-French blows in the Finnish events did it finally become clear to the bureaucrats in the Kremlin that the pact with Hitler was not going to save them from Allied blows!

Molotov's speech does not represent a definite shift in basic policy. Throughout, the Kremlin's policy has been based on the fixed desire to keep out of the major war; not because the Kremlin's inhabitants are pacifists—these fellows are no more pacifist than Ivan the Terrible!—but because they fear the consequences at home in the course of war: the rising tide of revolt. And unlike the imperialist powers, the Kremlin, however corrupt and bureaucratic, is not driven toward war by the contradictions of an imperialist economy.

### A New Attempt to Veer and Tack

Molotov's speech indicates, however, this much of a change. Up to the Finnish events the Kremlin was extremely confident that its pact with Hitler had assured the USSR a position in between the warring camps; in grateful return for the pact, the Kremlin was emphasizing its political support of Hitler's policy, extension of economic collaboration, etc., and was doing so with cocksure conviction that the Allies were impotent to interfere with the Kremlin's plans for strengthening its defenses against any future moves of Hitler. The events in Finland rudely destroyed this illusion.

For the coming period, therefore, the Kremlin, having burnt its fingers in Finland, will attempt to move more cautiously between the two camps. It will seek to edge away a little from Hitler in order not to sustain further blows from the Allies. But, having placed its fate entirely on maneuvers between the imperialist camps, which is simply another way of saying that it pursues a course of supporting one imperialist camp against another, the Kremlin's attempt to steer clear of the war will bring upon it more and more pressure from both camps, and first and most pressing will be Hitler's pressure.

(A second article on Molotov's speech will appear next week.)

## Behind the Lines

By GEORGE STERN

Signs of a new British deal with Japan are beginning to appear. If it is actually signed, sealed, and delivered, the results will be of the utmost importance in the further development of the war.

It is a notable fact that although Washington came out with a declaration of non-recognition within a few hours after the launching of the new puppet government of Wang Ching-wei in Nanking, neither London nor Paris have as yet followed suit. In Tokyo there is already quiet rejoicing on what is taken as a virtual split among Japan's three principal imperialist rivals for the exclusive rights to plunder China.

Other signs of a British diplomatic shift are not lacking. On March 28 in Tokyo the British ambassador, Sir Robert Craigie, declared in a speech to delighted Japanese dignitaries that Japan and Britain are "ultimately striving for the same objective—namely, lasting peace and the preservation of our institutions from extraneous and subversive influences." He saw no insuperable obstacle to the establishment of "full harmony" in the national policies of the two countries.

On March 31, the financial pages of the New York Times carried a report unpublished elsewhere of a remarkable deal between the British and Japanese governments involving the sale of about 1,000,000 barrels of crude oil produced by British companies in Iran to Japan. One cargo of 100,000 barrels is already enroute, the Times said. Since up until now Japan has done most of its oil buying in California, news of the transaction has produced angry mutterings in Washington.

It seems very definitely to suggest that the British and the Japanese are striking a new bargain,

partly at the expense of China, and partly at that of American imperialism. Oil is one of the most important elements in the American threat of an embargo against Japan, and Britain is already displaying an indecent readiness to fill in the threatened gap in Japan's sources of supply.

What the British want is clear enough. They are ready to forego, TEMPORARILY, their resistance to Japan's continental policy in return for aligning Japan with Britain's more immediate war concerns. This would involve, mainly, Japanese compliance in the extension of the blockade to the Pacific, aimed primarily against Soviet ports which have become the trans-shipment point for goods bought in the United States and destined, the British believe, for Germany.

The Japanese, for their part, have much to gain and little to lose. They will be able to continue unseated Britain from strategic positions in China and at the same time play off the British against the Americans, and the Russians against both the others. For the Japanese it is a break in the almost total diplomatic isolation in which they have been languishing since the Stalin-Hitler pact was signed.

For the American war-planners, it is another dose of the British double-cross which they had to swallow in 1932, when the British supported the Japanese invasion of China for the same reason that they helped nourish Hitler—as a weapon against the Soviet Union.

In these circumstances, the spring maneuvers of the U.S. Pacific fleet may constitute a warning to Britain no less than to Japan, a warning that American imperialism this time intends to play its own hand in its own way.

## Russian Mensheviks In Split Over Attitude Toward Soviet Union

**Allen Attends First Session of Executive Since Outbreak of War; Socialist Call Maintains Eloquent Silence Too**

By JOHN G. WRIGHT

The "Foreign Delegation" of the Russian Mensheviks, that is, their leading center, has split on the question of the attitude toward Stalin's regime. Theodore Dan has resigned as chairman and left his post as one of the two editors of *Sotsialisticheski Vestnik* (Socialist Courier), the Menshevik organ published in Paris. Yugov has resigned as secretary. Abramovich is now provisional chairman and sole editor, B. Dvinov the new secretary.

Abramovich and his friends are "principled defeatists" in relation to Stalin and the Soviet Union. They refuse to draw any distinction whatever between their "defeatist" policy toward Hitler and their policy toward Stalin. Dan, on the other hand, seeks to establish "subtle" distinctions between his attitude toward Hitler as "against Stalin and the Soviet Union."

Dan and Abramovich, who remained defeatists under the Czar and under Kerensky, have finally become "defeatists." Abramovich wants to go the whole hog. Dan apparently has reservations. As we shall presently see, Dan's reservations do not at all flow from any deep desire on his part to defend the remaining conquests of the October revolution, but rather from his hopes that a possibility still remains of bringing the Soviet Union back into the orbit of the democratic imperialists. Abramovich thinks the only way to attain this is by "unconditional defeatism." Dan believes the more realistic policy to be that of "conditional defeatism."

Formally speaking, in recent years, the Mensheviks have recognized in Russia "elements of socialism." Insofar as Stalin marched shoulder to shoulder with "democracy," they were "defeatists." In other words, they were "defensists" yesterday for the self-same reason that they are "defeatists" today.

### THEY CHANGED THEIR STAND AFTER HITLER-STALIN PACT

When Stalin signed his pact with Hitler on August 30, 1939, Dan and Abramovich concluded it was necessary to reevaluate their attitude toward Stalin whom they have always identified with the Soviet Union. There were no disputes among them as to what was involved in this reevaluation. As Abramovich writes: There was complete harmony in appraising Stalin's rule as the "rule of a nationalist-imperialist clique, which has completely broken with the proletariat and with socialism and has degraded itself to the level of Hitlerite Nazism."

"All of us," complains Abramovich, "have unanimously recognized that his (Stalin's) regime has completely broken with revolution and socialism; that his regime is the greatest enemy of the working class and has become transformed into the rule of a national-imperialist Bonapartist clique, on the same plane as Hitlerism, with its fate tied irrevocably to Hitlerism." (Sots. Vestnik, March 5.)

Unanimity was preserved when the second world war actually broke out. Dan and Abramovich lined up solidly on the side of the "democracies," where they still remain despite their differences. And the invasion of Finland found both of them unconditional supporters of Mannerheim's "democracy" and "independence." Abramovich reminds Dan that Dan himself "wants with all his heart a debacle and a defeat for Stalin in his brutal assault on Finland."

Why, then, have these good friends split? And after all these years! They have a principled difference. At least Dan claims it is. Abramovich, on the contrary, brands as artificial Dan's "attempt to construct some sort of difference between 'principled defeatism' which he (Dan) advocates towards Hitler, and some other kind of defeatism, apparently 'tactical' defeatism . . . in relation not only to the Soviet Union as a country but even to the Stalinist regime (!) which oppresses the country." (The ironic exclamation is Abramovich's.)

Abramovich, it appears, holds that there is only one kind of defeatism. Dan argues there are various kinds. Abramovich is ready to concede to Dan that there is a "difference" between Germany and the Soviet

Union as such, i.e., as countries, but that this difference has no bearing on the question of defeatism.

Abramovich's argument in summary form is as follows:

(1) If war is the continuation of politics by other means, then "totalitarian war is the continuation of totalitarian politics";

(2) A preliminary condition for the violent overthrow of a totalitarian regime is military defeat; therefore,

(3) "We must strive for the most complete and ruthless military defeat of the Stalinist regime."

"From this it does not, of course, follow at all," continues Abramovich, "that we want the atomization, dismemberment, bankruptcy or enslavement of our country or any of its various sectors. On the contrary, we will fight might and main against this."

Lest some innocent reader faint with surprise at Abramovich's conversion to violence and lest he conclude that therein lies the crux of the differences between Abramovich and Dan, we hasten to add that Dan, too, supports the thesis of "violent overthrow" (totalitarian regimes cannot be overthrown in peace-time or peacefully, they both agree).

### THEY BOTH WANT A "PALACE REVOLUTION"

Furthermore, this "revolution" so ardently supported now by the Mensheviks is a "palace revolution." Or, as Abramovich so aptly puts it: ". . . Of all the forms of violent overthrow of totalitarian dictatorship the most probable appears to be that which bears in our literature the highly-qualified label of 'palace revolution.'"

And Abramovich swears that Dan himself acknowledges that "history, sad to say, has apparently left no other way out save for a 'palace revolution.' A Menshevik sheds tears even when confronted by 'history' with such a revolution!"

Dan, however, is a pessimist. He warns against any illusions. It would only mean that "another Bolshevik clique will come to power." That is why a different "defeatist" approach is necessary. He does not want to wait for a military defeat but seeks rather to liquidate Stalin's regime "by means of inner forces" and make the "revolution" a lever for the defeat of Stalin's "criminal war policies."

Despite his tears, Abramovich is very optimistic. He lists various "palace candidates" to replace Stalin, and concludes that all of them (including Voroshilov) would be compelled to be very, very progressive. Why? Because a palace revolution, even with Voroshilov at the head, he argues, must unavoidably catapult Russia from the present coalition with Hitler into an alliance with the Allies. And what could be more "progressive" than this to a Menshevik?

Dan does not contest the "progressive" character of such a change. He simply refuses to cherish any illusions that a Voroshilov will behave better than a Stalin. After all, they are both "Bolsheviks"—in Dan's eyes.

### A SAMPLE OF THEIR POLEMIC

P. Garvey, a "principled defeatist" argues as follows against Dan's position:

"What we need is clarity! The instrument of the Marxist method must serve us but so as not vainly to obscure controversial issues; so as not to cover up semi-assertions, immediately accompanied by qualifications; so as not to linger and temporize, which only paralyzes action . . . Our times demand forthright answers to the accursed questions. It is impermissible under the cloak of 'dialectics' to cover up lapses and irreconcilable contradictions in one's own position . . . It is impermissible to see in Soviet Russia a totalitarian state . . . and at the same time to seek in this social order of state slavery 'elements of Socialism' which must be 'sustained' until the world social revolution. It is impermissible to want the defeat of the Soviet Union in the war against Finland—and at the same time, with glaring inconsistency, to insist on a subtle distinction between the two aggressors . . . advocating towards one of them, the Third Reich, principled defeatism, and towards the other, the Soviet Union, a restricted, temporary and conditional defeatism."

### DIFFER ON FORMULA FOR DEFEATISM

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## Roosevelt's War Plans

The whole policy of the Roosevelt government since the outbreak of war in Europe has made this country a virtual "non-combatant belligerent" on the side of the Allies. Roosevelt has publicly declared a policy of backing the Allies to the hilt and although his favorite phrase is "measures short of war" there is no doubt whatever that he would and will plunge this country into war when the time is ripe.

That is why Nazi publication of Polish official documents, quoting William C. Bullitt, U.S. ambassador to Paris as saying that this country would get into the war later on, created only a minor sensation.

In Washington the documents were promptly denounced as "forgeries." This would be a natural accusation, since all the big boss governments have in their time used proved forgeries to serve political ends. Correspondents in Berlin who viewed the documents, however, were, in the words of the New York Times dispatch, "inclined to accept them as genuine."

The documents consisted mainly of reports by Polish envoys abroad on conversations with American diplomats. Count Potocki, Polish ambassador in Washington, reporting a talk he had with Bullitt in 1938, quoted him as saying: "If war were to break out, we certainly would not participate in the beginning but we will in the finish." Joseph Kennedy, ambassador at London, was credited with taking part in securing the British guarantee to Poland. Roosevelt himself was quoted indirectly as urging the Western powers to abandon the Munich policy of compromise with Hitler.

Obviously it needed no documents issued at Berlin, forged or otherwise, to establish these well-known facts. As the *Herald-Tribune* remarked on March 31: "The remarks in the German White Paper could be forgeries from beginning to end and still reflect his (Roosevelt's) true sentiments accurately." The *Tribune* hastened to say that it agreed with Roosevelt's "objectives" in foreign policy but deplored his "methods."

The Republican and isolationist opposition to Roosevelt has kept hands off the Nazi "White Paper" because it sees no political capital to be gained from quoting Nazi-sponsored documents against Roosevelt. And the Republicans, on their part, are no less pro-Ally in the war than Roosevelt, and the War Deal would like nothing better than a chance to tar its domestic opponents with the Nazi brush.

But the essential fact needs no Nazi documents, authentic or false, to serve as proof. The Washington administration is trying to commit the country to a virtual belligerent position in the war. Under the screen of promises to keep us out Roosevelt is planning to drag us in.

## The GM Elections

The Socialist Workers Party is wholeheartedly in favor of the CIO in the NLRB elections in the General Motors plants on April 17. The CIO is the only progressive force in the industry, the genuine representative of the workers in G.M. and in the auto industry generally. The "union" of William Green and Homer Martin in auto has no real existence outside the swank hotel rooms of the AFL organizers. It is a power only for disruption and for dirty deals with the motor barons. A vote for the CIO is a vote for an auto workers union and against the anti-labor corporation.

The union must win in order to exist, and in winning the election as sole bargaining representative it will be in a much stronger position to make the corporation live up to its agreements.

Yet the biggest problem will not be solved by the election—it will only be brought into the foreground. Immediately after the voting negotiations will begin for a new agreement. In these negotiations the union must come face to face with the most vital issues, just as it confronted them in Briggs, Chrysler and other auto corporations in the past period.

In both Briggs and Chrysler, the UAW-CIO carried the NLRB vote by sweeping majorities. Still these powerful locals were compelled by the obstinate attitude of the corporations to strike—in Briggs even before the NLRB election—in order to obtain an agreement which in any way satisfied the needs of the workers. The strikes were militantly conducted by the Briggs and Chrysler workers and ended in agreements that seemed to bring "victories" to the union men. The "victories" were not durable or basic. The union had not struck for demands that would relieve unemployment and insecurity. As a result the Briggs local is today lost in a hopeless maze of seniority problems and the Chrysler workers are questioning the advisability of the long tie-up.

The strikes were necessary and justified. The mistake lay in the failure to cope with the main problems of unemployment, insecurity and the low annual wage. Until an attempt is made to grapple with these problems, the UAW motor will operate only on one cylinder. Yet no one need look into a crystal bowl for the answer. He has merely to read the proceedings of the last UAW convention one year ago in Cleveland.

At that convention, the delegates unanimously went on record favoring the 30 hour week at 40 hours pay. That demand is the only logical and practical answer to the problems of the auto workers, especially the auto workers in General Motors. By cutting down the hours, thousands of auto workers will be re-employed, the most difficult seniority knots untangled, greater security for those employed will be obtained and the danger of degeneration of the unemployed into a scab army will be reduced to a minimum.

By the solemn decision of the convention, the delegates of hundreds of thousands of auto workers instructed their leaders to act in favor of the 30 hour week at 40 hours pay. But the leadership did not act for the 30 hour week, it did not mobilize the union to fight for the 30 hour week, it did not demand the 30 hour week from the corporations. It did not carry out the mandate of the convention.

Now the leadership of the UAW will soon have its opportunity again to meet in a room with the management of General Motors. It will be faced in that room with a choice that may make even strong hearts waver. Yet it must make the decision, there is no escape.

EITHER: Reuther, Thomas and the others will accept any kind of agreement they can get from the corporation, provided of course it makes certain concessions in bargaining rights and working conditions. And then they will attempt to force it on the G.M. workers on the grounds "it was the best they could get" under conditions where "the union is weak." Following which they will come to the UAW convention on July 29 and demand to be re-elected to the Executive Board because of this "great victory."

OR: they will take the bull by the horns—demand from General Motors that it grant the 30 hour week at 40 hours pay and proceed to mobilize the union for the eventuality that the corporation refuses to come across.

The choice Reuther and Thomas make will determine whether they are union leaders or just office holders. But whatever they do, the last word belongs to the rank and file in the G.M. and the other local unions.

## That Phoney Masked Marvel

ANTI-TRUST  
PROSECUTIONS

## In the World of Labor

By Paul G. Stevens

Heavy Sentences for the  
Revolutionary Anti-War Fighters

We have just received the January number of *L'Etincelle*, the illegal organ of our Fourth Internationalist comrades in France. The regularity with which this little sheet is appearing, under the most harrowing conditions of government persecution, is truly amazing.

Thus, *L'Etincelle* reports, the entire press, from the paper of the pacifist Paul Faure to that of the fascist Colonel La Rocque, has been calling for a "clean-up" campaign. The radio blares its threats against our comrades daily. Recently, the renegade socialist L. O. Frossard—now a minister in the Reynaud cabinet—made a speech in parliament, calling for more drastic government action against the Fourth International.

Last week we reported the arrest of a new group of sixteen French Trotskyists. Now we learn from our French paper that two comrades previously arrested, the youth leaders Bourdois and Chuvin of Marseilles, have been sentenced to two years each. Comrade Lucien Weitz, the national secretary of the Workers and Peasants Socialist Youth League (JSOP)—who had been arrested before the outbreak of the war itself—has had an additional sentence of four years hung on him.

Recently the leaders of even the "moderate" Workers and Peasants Socialist Party (PSOP)—which had "purged" itself shortly before of the revolutionary minority (including Lucien Weitz, Daniel Guerin and the Trotskyists)—have been seized by the government.

Revolutionists Break with P.S.O.P.;  
Join Forces with 4th International

The arrest of the PSOP leaders is, in a sense, ironic. For the latter, a combination of free masons and pacifists, refused to prepare for illegal work and insisted on carrying on as if the war had not broken out and as if no dictatorial regime had been installed. In fact, they had voted to expel the revolutionary minority because the minority, demanding that the party carry out in action its resolution for revolutionary struggle against war (revolutionary defeatism), adopted at the last convention of the PSOP, had pointed out that such action was possible only by illegal means and had proceeded in the localities where it was in control to act accordingly. Even the expulsion of the revolutionary defeatists and all the "legalism" of the free mason leaders of the PSOP could not save them from Daladier's axe.

The revolutionary PSOP minority, under the leadership of Daniel Guerin—best known in America for his brilliant work, "Fascism and Big Business"—and Lucien Weitz, as well as the Trotskyist comrades who entered that party a year ago, have now joined in a body with the Committees of the Fourth International for joint work and for the building of a united party on the program of the Fourth International.

Among the items carried by *L'Etincelle* is a brief article on the war in Finland, from which the following are pertinent excerpts:

"The situation is clear: once again the leaders of the USSR have shown their disregard for the people and for their liberation. For years they have practiced the politics suited to the imperialist democracies. Now they are following a policy which aids the Fascist countries. That shows that they are themselves becoming more and more a small minority cut off from the working masses."

"The country which they are thus leading towards defeat or towards increased enslavement nevertheless remains the country where the proletariat has chased out its capitalist oppressors; as such it remains the butt of all the hate and greed of the imperialists. The Red Army, supported by an as yet too feeble industry, does not suffice for its defense. Only a powerful and free anti-capitalist movement in the other countries can save it. Once the people of the USSR are freed of the menace of imperialist attack, they will be able to chase out their treacherous leaders and install their own dictatorship and, upon a revitalized technical base, they will be

able to introduce real socialism, the socialism of liberty."

A Resolution of the Belgian  
Revolutionary Socialist Party

We have just received a resolution on the same subject from the Revolutionary Socialist Party (PSR), the Belgian section of the Fourth International. Excerpts follow:

"The aim of the campaign launched by international finance capital around Stalin's aggression in Finland is clear: to realize an imperialist united front against the USSR and to attempt thus to save the capitalist regime undermined by its own contradictions."

"The real crime of Stalin. We are not among those who approve Stalin's action in Finland. From the first day we have said that this aggression is a crime. But wherein does Stalin's crime lie? Is it in the employment of military force, in the violation of frontiers? No. These are the criteria upon which the social democrats, the anarchists and the petty bourgeois base their condemnation of Stalin. . . . What gives the aggression of Stalin its reactionary and criminal character is the fact that it has been launched without the least regard for the sentiments of the Finnish workers and of the world proletariat."

By his high-handed manner, his cynicism, his contempt for the conscience of the workers, Stalin is weakening the USSR and the proletarian cause, throwing the masses of workers into confusion. In doing so, he plays into the hands of the bourgeoisie."

"Precisely by the example of Belgium we see however, with what facility formal neutrality gives way to a system of imperialist pacts and how a war 'for national defense' is turned inevitably into a peace with annexations (the annexation of Eupen and Malmédy as well as of the former German colonies). . . . That does not mean that we approve of the annexation of Finland by Stalin. On the contrary, we are opposed to it. We are for the independence of Finland, but of a Soviet Finland. To be for the independence of bourgeois Finland at the same time as one is for the revolution in Finland—that is a contradictory position. The victory of the bourgeois Finnish army would inevitably signify the strengthening of the capitalist regime in Finland and the dictatorship of Mannerheim."

The ideal thing for the Finnish workers to do would be to get rid of the Finnish bourgeoisie and at the same time to escape Stalinist annexation and the bureaucratic oppression which will result from it. But since this aim is hardly realizable by virtue of the unfavorable relationship of forces, they must choose the lesser of two evils: the victory of the Red Army. It goes without saying that they must utilize this victory profitably by pushing forward the expropriation of the Finnish landlords and capitalists, by getting close contact with the Soviet workers in order to ally themselves with them against the Stalinist bureaucracy."

"The future of humanity lies in the world organization of production on the basis of socialized property and planning. In spite of Stalin, this acquisition of the October revolution still exists in the USSR and it is the absolute duty of the Soviet workers as well as of the workers in the entire world to defend it. . . . The overthrow of Stalin and his clique undoubtedly remains an imperative necessity for the Russian revolutionists, more imperative still because of this war which places the USSR in an extremely dangerous position. But the Soviet revolutionists can carry out that task only by proving themselves the best defenders of the USSR. A defeatist or just an indifferent attitude on their part can only reinforce the political positions of the bureaucracy."

Almost without international contact and working under the tremendous handicap of illegality and censorship, our Belgian and French comrades have reacted to the complicated events of the unfolding war with the same clear revolutionary attitude as our sections overseas. The Marxist program, it is evident, is an indispensable guide in stormy times and a guarantee for coordinated revolutionary action."

Japan's Puppet  
Wang Reflects  
Master's Plight

By GEORGE STERN

After nearly three years of costly and exhausting warfare and a dozen false starts, the Japanese imperialists have finally set up a puppet government to "rule" the territory they have conquered in China. Shaded in on a map, this territory appears to comprise about one-quarter of China—all the main industrial centers, all the railroads, virtually the entire coastline, the principal fertile valleys—with a population estimated at about 185,000,000.

Actually, the reality is much less impressive. The power of the puppet government is measured by the thin line of Japanese guns and bayonets guarding the long lines of communication that thread the conquered territory. Within those lines that power has not yet been able to assert itself unchallenged. Beyond those lines the main Chinese armies, still strong and intact, continue to resist the Japanese conquest.

The puppet government emerges from a situation of military stalemate. The Japanese army command has, indeed, already announced that it intends to advance no further. But even its attempts to broaden the foothold it won with great difficulty around Canton and Nanning in the Southwest have proved fruitless. Again and again sizeable expeditionary forces have been forced to return ignominiously to their bases at Nanning, Swatow, and Amoy, after finding the interior impenetrable.

## A Japanese Admission of Defeat

What the Japanese militarists really hope for out of the new Nanking regime is a bridge to peace with Chiang Kai-shek. They have abandoned all their loudly-proclaimed intentions to wipe out every vestige of the Kuomintang. Instead, the puppet government is launched with all the Kuomintang trappings. It takes the same name as the Kuomintang government, the same general form, the same flag, the same titles and labels. Wang Ching-wei, puppet-in-chief, assumes the title of "acting president," pending the "return" of the official president, Lin Sen, from Chungking.

This amounts to a Japanese admission of defeat. The Japanese now want the cheapest and quickest way out of the quagmire. The European war is already casting its shadow into the Pacific and the Japanese realize that they have to preserve their military strength for the greater tests that lie ahead. They can't throw their weight around in wartime diplomatic and military-political maneuvers so long as they remain bogged down in China.

Through their puppet government they hope, therefore, to re-establish some kind of "peace" in China through a deal with Chiang Kai-shek or some of his Kuomintang associates at Chungking. Secondly, they hope to use it as a diplomatic lever in their relations with France, Britain, and the United States, especially in the intricate bargaining that is going on to determine Japan's precise position in the war, its position toward Germany, and its position toward the Soviet Union.

## Wang Ching-wei's Record

Meanwhile, to head their miserable little puppet government, the Japanese imperialists have accepted the services of the onetime leading "leftist" of the Kuomintang, Wang Ching-wei.

There is a rich subject here for the student of political personality. Wang is a man who in his time has professed to accept the most radical of political programs and who for a period of years was regarded as the chief spokesman of the radical petty bourgeoisie of the country. He was swept along on the crest of the great mass movement of workers and peasants which almost succeeded in bringing about the revolutionary transformation of China fifteen years ago. In 1927 he became the "most reliable ally" of Joseph Stalin.

When Chiang Kai-shek, then another of Stalin's revolutionary luminaries, turned on the mass movement and crushed it, Wang, after a brief period of clinging to lesser generals, finally crawled like the proverbial whipped cur into Chiang's camp. Side by side with Chiang from 1932 to 1937—with a few brief intervals of exile decreed by his master—Wang took part in the brutal regime of terror and repression and bloodsucking which ruled as the Kuomintang government at Nanking.

When Chiang and some of the other generals finally took up arms to resist the Japanese invaders who threatened their own power, Wang deserted again and crawled this time . . . to the Japanese, for his final and crowning act of capitulation.

As a political force, Wang has long since been spent. He lived off the capital of his 1927 radicalism until his entry in Chiang Kai-shek's camp lost him the little genuine prestige he had left, even among his petty bourgeois associates. Even his new masters, the Japanese, hold him in supreme contempt. When and if they make their deal with Chiang Kai-shek, Wang will complete the final cycle of his career by being kicked away again. By that time there will be no causes left for him to betray.

## HORROR ITEM

Senator Vandenberg, (R., Mich.) says that "a Republican victory this fall is inevitable unless Providence has forsaken our country."

## STATE OF THE NATION

Twice convicted of nonfeasance and misfeasance, president Dr. Charles S. Miller of Slippery Rock (Penn.) State Teachers College was sentenced to pay the costs of the case by a judge who praised him for developing the college and turning out an undefeated football team.

Peggy McEvoy, in her column "That's Hollywood," reports the following:

## A DUDE RANCH FOR DOGS

"This institution offers the following allurements to owners of pampered canines. If your dog is a husky fellow, he'll enjoy every minute of the sports—if his vitality is low, see how quickly he'll respond to the invigorating mountain air and our marvelous food."

Dog Lovers are also finding some food for thought in this ominous query in a Tailwagger ad: "Does your doggie have D.O.? (Doggie Odor)." They are warned: "D.O. is a monstrous setback to a dog's personality."

Brother John, picturesque figure on Los Angeles' skidrow, is taken to the police station after he was seen giving money to his companions. "I'm feeding the hungry," he said. "I'm tired of having money. I wanted those hungry men on Main Street to be fed." Naturally all right-minded people thought the man was nuts.