

## The Only War Worth Fighting For Is the War of the Workers Against the Bosses!

### MAY DAY MANIFESTO of the S.W.P.

Workers of America, join with us in celebrating May Day, the day dedicated to the international solidarity of the working class and to the struggle of the labor movement for a better world.

Join with us in pledging on this day that the workers in every country are our brothers, that whether they speak French or German or Italian or Russian or English the workers in all lands belong together in one united band against their oppressors. *Long live the international solidarity of labor against all the bosses, "democratic" or fascist!*

Join with us in the firm resolve that, come what may, the American working class will not surrender to the war-mongers; that in the "peace-time" which is still left and in the war-time which the government and the bosses have already planned down to the last detail, we shall continue on every front the struggle of the working class against the bosses and their government. *No surrender of labor's rights and labor's just demands in the name of patriotism!*

Tens of millions of our brothers have been stuffed into uniforms and guns thrust into their hands—to shoot each other down. Let us dedicate ourselves this day to put an end to this slaughter of workers by workers. If many of us are doomed to die, *then let us die in the one war worth fighting for—the war of the international working class against the international capitalist class!*

There is no need to repeat this year the warnings which we have uttered on previous May Days—that the capitalist class, in its death agony, will pile upon the workers in addition to the prevailing hunger and unemployment the final horror of war. For the war is now here. Not only in Europe, Asia, Africa, Australia, but also in America.

Roosevelt no longer even makes a pretense of neutrality. The airplane factories of Los Angeles and Connecticut are as closely linked with the Allied war machine as those of Manchester and Montreal. The great daily press, Democratic and Republican alike, is openly taking sides in the war.

#### War-Like Acts of the Government

The government takes steps hitherto unthinkable before a declaration of war. Hull declares a virtual protectorate over the Dutch East Indies against Japan. Roosevelt "freezes" Danish-Norwegian holdings here, an act undreamed of by Wilson in the similar situation when Germany occupied Belgium in 1914. A "moral" embargo against the Soviet Union is already in full force. The Neutrality Act of 1939, whereby Roosevelt secured from Congress legalization of arms sales to the Allies in return for a provision barring all American ships from war zones, is cynically violated by government-approved "sales" of numerous ships to dummy foreign corporations. New Dealers and Old Dealers, Republicans and Democrats, the dominant section of the ruling class is moving deliberately toward entry into the war.

What for? To help England and France preserve democracy?

#### A War Between Slavemasters

For every "free" white Englishman, there are eleven black, brown or yellow slaves toiling within the British Empire; for every "free" Frenchman, two or three are openly held in bondage in the colonies. Some 560 millions—one quarter of the earth's population—live in the "democracies" colonies under conditions no less terrible than those in Germany. The Anglo-French alliance is fighting Hitler solely over the question who is to be the slavemaster—that's what the war is about. In waging this war the "democratic" imperialists progressively rob the workers at home of their few remaining liberties.

America's Sixty Families are driving toward war with no real thought of solidarity with the British and French ruling families. On the contrary, they are using the war to push their "allies" out of South American markets and to

complete the process of linking Canada to Wall Street in place of London. Washington and London's embassies in Tokyo are at swords' points as they cross and double-cross each other in maneuvers with Japan.

The United States profited by the first world war to emerge as the chief world power. Ruefully remembering that bear hug of Uncle Sam as ally, the Anglo-French imperialists despairingly calculate what the degree of subservience will be which American "aid" will leave them in this time.

America's Sixty Families go toward war solely for their own interests, to add still further to the gigantic share of the world's markets, sources of raw materials and manpower which they already control.

For this is the epoch of the death agony of world capitalism. The richest ruling class in the world is in no way exempt from the agony and decay. The capitalist system cannot even feed its wage-slaves in the richest country in the world. In its own vast markets it cannot sell its products or invest its capital. It is driven by its inner contradictions to find new fields of investment and markets. But the world is already divided, and re-division can only come by force of arms. That is what this war is about.

#### Hands Off the Soviet Union!

As the imperialists hungrily cast about for new infusions of blood for their drying veins, their eyes fall upon the Soviet Union. There one-sixth of the earth's surface was removed from imperialist exploitation by the Revolution of November, 1917. For 22 years the capitalist world has pressed from all sides upon the Soviet Union; their pressure has succeeded in producing a Stalin, the antithesis of all that the revolutionary government of Lenin and Trotsky stood for. Imperialist pressure has found in Stalin an ally and tool who serves now one imperialist group, now another, according to the pressure exerted upon him. But imperialist pressure has not yet succeeded in breaking down the nationalized property created by the Revolution; consequently it has not succeeded in bringing back into the orbit of imperialism the territories of the Soviet Union.

Despite the degeneration wrought by Stalin, the Soviet Union remains a workers' state, part of the international working class, to be defended not only against Stalin but also against all the imperialists. This duty devolves especially upon the American working class, for more than any other power, America's Sixty Families will determine the turn of the war against the Soviet Union. In the name of "democracy" America's rulers will seek to re-introduce capitalism—it can only be done under the most bestial form of fascism—into the Soviet Union.

#### Roosevelt Persecutes Trade Unions

A war for democracy? America's Sixty Families are preparing the way by the most vicious and systematic hounding of the trade unions that has ever taken place in this country. Already over 500 union officers are under criminal indictment by the Department of Justice, thousands of others are slated for indictment, the first trials are taking place. In a tricky move to divide and conquer, the government at first proceeded with indictments against AFL workers, but now the first CIO union, the Fur Workers International, has fallen victim to this "trust busting" campaign, its officers speedily convicted. Other CIO unions will soon follow.

And all this is only the beginning. It is an open secret that the government's M-Day plans provide for an outright dictatorship over the unions, imprisonment for strike leaders, etc. The Dies Committee is merely an advance scout for the heavy artillery which is being brought up by the government.

The outlawing and smashing of last summer's WPA strike, the imprisonment of the WPA strike leaders in Minneapolis—that is the harbinger of the future which Roosevelt plans for

all organized labor. That is how he prepares his war for "democracy."

PWA has been wiped out, WPA is cut to the bone. Why? To find additional funds for the army and navy, and to put the unemployed in such misery that occupation as soldiers may appear preferable. M-Day plans provide that the unemployed, the worst victims of capitalism, shall be the first to be used for cannon fodder. All in the name of "democracy."

Despite all the lying propaganda of government and press, radio and pulpit and movies, much of the real truth is clear to the American masses. That is why every poll of sentiment shows majorities opposed to American participation in the war.

But it is not enough to be against the war. The American workers must also know how to fight effectively against the war. That is why illusory notions about preventing war under capitalism, such as pacifism and isolationism, are so dangerous. Those who tell the workers that the present, capitalist United States can stay out of a warring world are deluding the workers. Those who preach pacifism are saying that the workers should not join in the just war of the working class against their oppressors at home. Isolationists and pacifists are thus in reality enemies of the real struggle against imperialist war.

We are not pacifists or isolationists. We believe in really putting up a fight against the war. The only reliable fighters against the war are those who are grimly prepared to fight against war not only in peace-time—when it's easy and safe enough—but AFTER the United States enters the war. We believe in fighting against war not only when the bosses still concede us that legal right, but also when they try to take away that right.

#### It Is the Fight Against Capitalism

Join with us this May Day in resolving to fight against the war in peace-time and in war-time.

Once you clearly understand this much, the rest follows. The struggle against war is not, as the pacifists and isolationists describe it, a separate task. No, the struggle against war is the struggle against capitalism in all its concrete forms. It is the fight for labor's rights and demands. It is the fight for A JOB AND A DECENT LIVING FOR EVERY WORKER!

**Open the idle factories and operate them under workers' control!**

**A TWENTY BILLION DOLLAR Federal public works and housing program.**

**For the 30-hour week as a maximum and \$30 pay as a minimum for all workers on all jobs!**

**Thirty dollar weekly old-age and disability pensions!**

**All war funds to the unemployed!**

**A people's referendum on any and all wars! The right to vote to all 18 or over. Old enough to fight—old enough to vote!**

**No secret diplomacy! Open up the State Department's archives. Let the truth be known!**

**Build Workers Defense Guards, the only weapon which can defend the workers and their unions and parties from the vigilante and fascist gangs!**

**For an Independent Labor Party! An end to all deals with boss parties—for a party of the workers, based on the trade unions!**

**Is there enough money to give everybody a job and a decent living? Sure there is! Wall Street is full of money:**

**EXPROPRIATE THE 60 FAMILIES!**



The fight against war, we have said, is the fight for all the demands, all the needs, of the workers, in war-time as in peace-time. But that fight requires that all the various demands be unified around a central thought: THE WORLD SOCIALIST REVOLUTION.

The war has demonstrated, if we needed it proved again, that this world is an indivisible whole which must be dealt with as a whole. No country can solve its problem alone, and no working class can do it alone. The workers require a PARTY OF THE WORLD SOCIALIST REVOLUTION.

The party that the workers need is NOT the American sections of the Labor and Socialist (Second) International. There is no basic difference between the Judas Goats of the Second International in Europe, such as Leon Blum and Major Atlee, and their American brothers, such as Green and Lewis, and the patriotic poodle dogs of the Social Democratic Federation.

Nor can the American workers for a moment imagine that the real fight against war can be led by the American section of the "Communist" International of Stalin. The revolutionary struggle against war cannot be waged, it can only be compromised and betrayed, by those who are under the blood-stained banner of the Kremlin.

The American workers need a genuinely revolutionary program and a stainless banner. That is the program and the banner of

the PARTY OF THE WORLD SOCIALIST REVOLUTION, THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL, whose American section is the SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY OF THE UNITED STATES.

Given, by the accident of history, a little longer time to work in, we owe in return a special responsibility to our comrades in the rest of the world—to the anti-war fighters in Reynaud's dungeons, to those Bolshevik-Leninists who have miraculously escaped with their lives in the concentration camp of Stalin, to our comrades struck down by suppression in the British and French colonies, to the heroic German internationalists hounded by the Gestapo. Whatever time is still left here must be utilized to the utmost.

That means, above all, to appeal directly to you, the workers of America, to steel and harden yourselves for the struggles that lie ahead. We know that if you remain true to your own class interests, if you defend the rights of the working class and fight for its needs, you will conclude by joining with us and our comrades throughout the world—to put an end to this world of war and hunger and insecurity and build a new world of peace, security and freedom—the new world of Socialism!



# Push the Campaign for the New Twice-Weekly Socialist Appeal!

## All Major Units of G. M. Go For C. I. O.

**AFL Loses Out Three to One as Auto Men Clear the Decks for New Drive; Ford Is Stronghold Now to be Stormed**

FLINT, Mich., April 21—Homer Martin, ex-labor leader and ex-skypilot, was washed up in the auto industry when General Motors workers joined Chrysler and Briggs in piling up a three-to-one majority for the UAW-CIO in the NLRB elections held last week.

All that's left now unorganized in the automotive industry is FORD!

All major plants in the GM system went CIO. Only about five small plants went to Homer. Two of these, in Norwood, Ohio, had voted previously to affiliate with the CIO if it won a majority of the General Motors vote. That will leave Homer with his home town, Kansas City, for a stamping ground.

Every plant in Flint, key auto center, rolled up decisive majorities for the CIO. The most crushing majority in Flint was rolled in at Buick, where the CIO received over 9,000 votes to the AFL's 2,000.

At Buick the AFL early during the voting gave up hope, and their observers left the balloting room in disgust.

In Detroit, the AFL, demonstrating its impotence, held up voting for hours trying to find enough AFL men to serve as observers as required by NLRB regulations.

Very few men voted "neither" on the ballots. Almost everyone wanted a union.

Friday, when the results became known, Flint, the city in which the faction fight between Homer Martin and the CIO was hottest, began a celebration that is still going strong.

**Celebrants Leave Plants**  
Workers in the plants couldn't wait until Friday for the quitting whistle to get out and celebrate. Hundreds still threw down their tools and hit for the beer halls to drink to the CIO victory.

In one Buick plant a committeeman reports that the men in his division demanded that he call a one-day celebration strike, and all along the lines men were shouting to him to shut her down.

**Losers Pay Off**  
While this spirit of victory prevailed in the plants, on the outside AFL suckers were paying off debts. One poor devil who bet on Homer was forced to wheel a CIO man down the street in a wheel barrow. A couple of hundred Buick men paraded behind this pair, having left the plant to watch the sight.

Saturday was Witch day in Flint. The most hated Martin Goons suddenly turned up with all sorts of facial decorations. Paul Treadway, blackjacking Martin strong arm man, had a new face fixed up for him by several CIO enthusiasts.

The AFL closed up its headquarters at Chevrolet, fearful

## PHILA. ILGWU PROGRESSIVES CLEAN HOUSE

**Vote Out Stalinist Administration which Nearly Ruined Union**

PHILADELPHIA — A smashing defeat of the Stalinists was administered by the Philadelphia members of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union, in one of the most exciting and spectacular union elections that ever took place in the city.

The progressive ticket in Local 15, where the Stalinists had controlled the administration for the last four years, won the election by a huge majority.

A few days after the election, Mary Beckman, the Stalinist business agent who ran for re-election and was defeated, issued a statement to the capitalist press, declaring that "communism" was not the issue in the campaign. She was right, the real issue was the Stalinist rule-and-ruin policy in the union, ever since she and her party clique took office four years ago.

### Why Stalinists Were Hated

Four years of bureaucratic rule and corruption! Democracy was something to talk about, but not to practice.

Workers were constantly hauled before the executive board for daring to criticize and their rights taken away from them. Job discrimination was a favorite method used.

### Most Militant Elements

This local, the largest of the joint board, was from its very inception composed of the most militant elements in the industry. Unlike the skilled mechanics in the silk dress local, they are in the main young Americans who work in the large cotton shops, where there is a constant struggle to maintain union conditions and standards. The Stalinists did nothing to help these workers except to alienate them from the union.

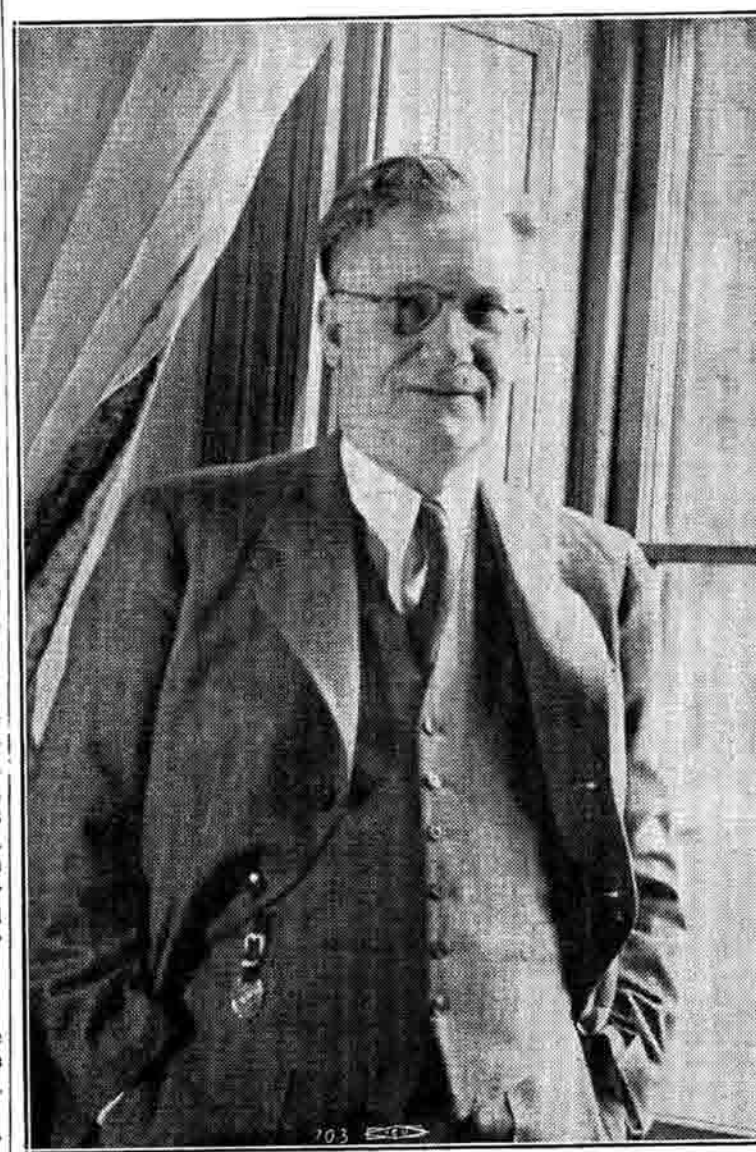
Complaints were not taken up; shops were not visited for months; shop meetings rarely took place. Yet in their leaflets the Stalinists had the brass to deny this well-known condition. But the workers are not stooges, and turned away from them in disgust. They then attempted to appeal to the Jewish workers on the basis of anti-semitism; but they failed, since most of the candidates of the progressive ticket were Jewish, with the exception of the business agent, who is Italian. Theirs was Jewish.

### Enthusiasm Runs High

Tuesday, April 9, the day of the election, the masses of workers packed the halls of the union. Many of the youngsters took off in order to help. They took complete charge, singing and shouting slogans. They filled everyone with courage and enthusiasm. But they got on the Stalinist nerves so much that one of the big shots attempted to call the police.

The progressives won and now a big job is ahead of them, not only to put the organization back on its feet but in going forward to a stronger and more militant union. Great tasks face the union in the near future and the workers hope that the newly elected officers will not disappoint them.

## S.W.P. Calls on Phila. Workers To Fight Tax on Wages



James P. Cannon, National Secretary of the Socialist Workers Party, who begins a tour of the country next week.

**May Day Meeting To Launch Campaign Against Wage Tax**

PHILADELPHIA — On May Day the Philadelphia local of the Socialist Workers Party is launching a campaign to enlist the support of the labor movement and the working people of this city in a movement to abolish the infamous 1½% Wage Tax.

The wage tax has produced untold suffering and hardship for the workers of this city. Inaugurated in December 1939 it has already produced a mountain of havoc, only a partial picture of which is told in the following figures issued by the Federal Reserve Board:

The wage tax killed 18,000 jobs. The wage tax killed \$18,000,000 in wages.

The wage tax has killed \$80,000,000 in retail business which means it has lessened workers' purchasing power by approximately that amount.

But these figures don't even begin to tell the story. They don't speak of the workers earning \$13.00 per week and less, who have to shell out \$10.80 of their wages every year to grafting politicians and their industrialist and banker bosses.

These figures don't speak of the unemployed workers who are forced to work for their miserable \$3-\$6 weekly allotment under the vicious Pearson Act—"the work of starve 'bill." The unemployed must pay 1½% of this dog's diet into the politician's pork barrel.

The soak-the-poor tax was inaugurated against the known and express desires of organized labor in this city. Two weeks before the adoption of the tax law in the City Council, December 14, 1939, G.O.P. chairman Jay Cooke ordered that body to put through the 1½% tax. One week later a city poll of the workers of Philadelphia, conducted by the Hotel and Restaurant Workers Union (CIO), registered almost unanimous opposition against a wage tax of any kind.

**Workers vs. Bosses**  
The issue was plainly joined: the workers versus the Republican boss and the bond holders, coupon clippers, industrialists and department store owners whom he represents. The City Council made its choice. It stooged for the vested interests, slapped the workers in the face and slipped the hand of the City Fathers into the pockets of Philadelphia's proletarians.

There was no surprise in the City Council's action—it was acting true to form according to the pattern established over the past twenty years. During this double decade the finances of this city have been regularly plundered by a crew of political gangsters and crooks for the benefit of themselves and the financial bigshots whom they represent. The poor have always paid the freight.

**Graft Runs Riot**  
Millions of dollars have been thrown into subways and holes in the ground that have never been used, benefiting nobody but contractors connected with the Republican machine. This machine has kept the city in a constant annual financial crisis for the past ten years. Each year they paid for the deficit by eliminating or practically eliminating some public service.

First it was the public library, whose budget has been reduced over 40%, making it almost impossible to keep books on the shelves.

Then it was the school system. Then it was public recreation. Then it was relief for the unemployed—they can't cut this item much more because it is almost non-existent by now.

Finally, when there was nothing left to cut and something still had to be done to plug up the hole made in the city's finances by the political grafters and their racketeer financial friends, the G.O.P. decided to try a new angle. This was the 2% sales tax. The measure sailed through the City Council without stirring a ripple among the bigshots.

**Labor Stopped That**  
But before they knew it, the political pirates had struck a first-class squall. The workers wouldn't take it any more, they had paid enough out of their own little, Trade unions, workers' organizations and even liberals be-

(Continued on Page 8)

## Get Started On the Two-a-Week 'Appeal' Drive

By GEORGE CLARKE  
General Press Manager

The drive to restore the Two-A-Week Socialist Appeal, begun spontaneously at the convention amid great enthusiasm, has been formally launched by the National Committee of the Socialist Workers Party.

The drive is scheduled to begin on May 1st and continue for 60 days ending on July 1st at which time the Two-A-Week Socialist Appeal will commence publication.

Branches of the party and comrades throughout the country have been primed for the campaign and have been awaiting only the opening gun to get under way. As previously reported in the Socialist Appeal pledges were made, at the very first suggestion at the convention banquet, totalling more than \$4,000. Since then other pledges have been coming through. A complete list of these pledges will be given in an early issue of the Appeal.

Already \$500 of these pledges have been redeemed and word is reaching us every day that more is on the way. Quotas are being assigned to all branches of the party and, as in the first twice-weekly Appeal campaign, there is every indication that we will go over the top in record time. Prizes will be awarded those branches which top the list in speed and amounts.

Preparations are being made to contact all sympathizers of the party to enable them to cooperate with us in this campaign. From reports of those who have visited party friends, it appears that results from this work will be highly gratifying. The revolutionary and class conscious workers have been hard-pressed in this permanent depression, but there is still money among them to back the work that is speeding the Socialist Revolution in the United States.

All that need be done is to go and get it! Do you need arguments for those who are not already convinced of the necessity of the Two-A-Week Socialist Appeal? Then tell them this:

The flames of the European war are already licking at the front door of the United States. Roosevelt is breaking his neck to get us into the slaughter in double-quick time. There is little time left for openly spreading the message of Revolutionary Socialism to the American workers. But there is time enough to reach the workers in the auto plants, the steel mills, on the ships and the docks, the truckdrivers, and the rest of the proletarians who keep the wheels of industry going. Only these men can smash the plans of Wall Street and bring peace and security to this country. They must be contacted now. They must be contacted frequently.

They must be contacted with a Two-A-Week Socialist Appeal. What class conscious worker will say no to this argument? How can he? Every word of it is truth, demonstrated and demonstrable.

How about it? Let's hit the ball and keep going until the Two-A-Week Socialist Appeal begins to roll off the press!

## PROGRESSIVES DEFEAT STALINISTS IN FOOD WORKERS LOCAL 16

Climaxing three years of organized struggle, the Progressive New York food workers on April 16 dealt the Stalinist machine in control of the AFL Hotel and Restaurant Workers Union, Local 16, a final blow. The progressives elected 25 out of 34 candidates in the local's elections.

Dave Siegel, progressive candidate for president, got 482 votes more than William Albertson, Stalinist henchman, out of a total of 3200 votes cast. Joe Rodriguez, succeeded as secretary treasurer over Harry Lee, a Stalinist stooge, by a majority of 557. Leo Stenzler succeeded as organizer with 200 votes more than Dennis Gits, a Stalinist tool.

Three progressive business agents succeeded over three Stalinist stooges. The progressives also elected a decisive majority on the executive and all other committees.

The defeat of the Stalinist

wrecking crew in this local is of major importance to the culinary workers of this city, where the Stalinist rule or ruin policy reigned supreme for many years. Defeating this crew means the defeat of the bosses' guild and the arbitration machinery that the Stalinists stand for in the culinary unions. The victory of the progressives in Local 16 means that the conditions which the Stalinists tried to import into the local will no longer be tolerated.

The Stalinist scoundrels in their desperate effort to win this election carried on the most vicious anti-Semitic campaign, catering to the most backward prejudices hoping thereby to divide and rule. But the workers of Local 16 showed the way to deal with this wrecking crew, a way which will soon be followed by all the workers of this city.

## KU KLUXERS MARCHED, BUT THEY WON'T NEXT TIME, NEGROES SAY

LOS ANGELES—The Ku Klux Klan marched here the first week in April, but the next time they try it they'll need more than their night-shirts to get by.

Hooded and robed, a score of Klansmen started a parade from the steps of the City Hall, marched through the heart of the downtown area, distributed vicious leaflets, and returned to the City Hall, where they disbanded. Along the line of the parade they were joined and supported by other Klansmen.

The leaflets called for outlawry of the Communist party. But they were obviously directed against all labor groups, aiming to further split the working class opposition to war.

The question of stopping the Klan provocations was brought up in the Negro class conducted by the Socialist Workers Party. The class decided to organize a protest. The Negroes—non-party members—helped to write, print and distribute a leaflet defying the Klan, and calling upon Negroes to prepare for action against the Klan.

A mass meeting in the Negro area and other steps to organize against the next Klan parade are being prepared.

Next time the Klan dares to show its ugly face here it will get an appropriate reception from the Negro and white workers.

## 'FOURTH INTERNATIONAL' IS OUT; REPLACES 'NEW INTERNATIONAL'

The first issue of "Fourth International," the monthly magazine of the Socialist Workers Party, is off the press! The title of the magazine is brand new, but "Fourth International" continues the best traditions of the "New International." The name "New International" was stolen from its rightful owners, the Socialist Workers Party, by a group of renegades, but its tradition continues in "Fourth International."

Readers of "Fourth International" will find that the first number already equals the high standards established in the best days of the old magazine. "Fourth International" includes in its first issue articles on the

theoretical doctrines of Marxism and current political analysis. It includes studies of the American trade union scene and the latest international developments and the war. It contains a report and analysis of the recent convention of the Socialist Workers Party.

"Fourth International" features the following table of contents in its first bow to the public:

1. An Open Letter to James Burnham—an attack on the revisionism and anti-Marxism of the New York University professor, by Leon Trotsky. This document was previously printed in the S.W.P. discussion for party members only.
2. The Convention of the Socialist Workers Party—a report and analysis of the background and proceedings of the party convention by James P. Cannon.
3. Industrial Unionism and Labor Unity—recent developments of fundamental importance in the American labor movement are reviewed and analyzed by Farrell Dobbs, Labor Secretary of the Socialist Workers Party.
4. Autopsy of the New Deal—a study of the transformation of the Roosevelt administration by George Novack.
5. Progressive Paralysis—Leon Trotsky writes on the Second International and the war.
6. A New Stage in the War—an editorial reviewing developments in the Second World War since the conclusion of the Soviet-Finnish conflict and the beginning of war in the Scandinavian peninsula. (See Nat. Com. Statement—P. 8)



## The Negro Question

by R. L. BIRCHMAN

War correspondents for the Negro press have referred to the valor and courage of France's native troops and glowed with pride because of the fact that there are a great number of Negroes serving in the French army. They claim that this is an indication of no discrimination. One will hear more of this, when America's Sixty Families call on the Negroes to sacrifice their lives once more to "save the world for democracy."

Let us tear off the mask of French imperialism, cast aside the fraudulent claims of tolerance and see the realities behind the slogan "Liberty, Equality, Fraternity."

The natives of French tropical colonies are classed either as citizens or subjects. The natives in the towns of St. Louis, Dakar and the Island of Gore in West Africa are citizens. These natives acquired this status by a historical accident. As a result of the revolt of the Haitian slaves during the French Revolution, the Paris Assembly, in its Declaration of the Brotherhood of Man in 1794, abolished slavery in the colonies. With the hardening of reaction in France against the revolution, slavery was reestablished in 1803. The natives again found themselves the chattels of their white masters. However since freedom once achieved is not readily given up, the West Indian Negroes took up the revolutionary struggle which had receded in France. In 1848 the French bourgeoisie granted full political rights to all persons living in their colonies as a measure to prevent revolts against their rule.

Natives in French West Africa born outside St. Louis, Dakar and Gore are not citizens but subjects, since these territories were incorporated into the French Empire after 1848, when the French bourgeoisie having consolidated their power, saw no reason to extend the rights of citizenship to the natives. Thus while a million and a half natives living in the central area of Senegal are citizens, the sixty millions living outside these areas are subjects. What is the meaning of this distinction?

The black citizens of Senegal elect their own deputy to the Chamber of Deputies in Paris and share with the whites a certain amount of autonomy in the administration of Dakar and St. Louis.

### Sixty Million Without Rights

The subjects have no constitutional rights. But by fulfilling certain civil and military qualifications they may apply for citizenship. An example is the recent decree issued by the French Colonial Ministry. It grants the right to vote to natives who voluntarily enlist for military service—a privileged not extended to those who are conscripted. The French thus hope to stimulate recruiting in their colonies. Natives thus granted citizenship will be exempt, along with other citizens, from such obligations as forced labor, payment of head tax, and other irksome duties—the penalty for being a subject.

France's small number of black citizens only have to serve two years in the army and that service is in Africa. But the millions of black subjects must serve three years in the army and are sent far from home, to Indo-China, Syria, and Europe to die as shock troops for French "democracy."

The French, in order to secure the services of their black colonials in protecting their ill-gotten gains, throw out sops to the small number of black elite in order to more effectively corral the masses for war and labor services. The elite as citizens have the right to be tried under French law and to retain the services of a lawyer. But subjects are dealt with by political officers and chiefs, in accordance with local decrees and statutes. On occasion, to prove the "liberality" of the mother country, natives are given positions of minor importance.

### One Deputy for Sixty Million!

France with a population of 40 million has 500 deputies in parliament, but the more than sixty million natives of French Africa have only one. The chiefs and "kings" are not hereditary or elected leaders as before their conquest by France, but are hand-picked stooges, trained by the French and dependent upon their exploiters for their jobs. They depend for their pay on the taxes they can squeeze out of the starving black peasants. They are even more reactionary than their white masters.

Blaise Diagne, the first Senegalese to be elected a deputy and the only African native to reach a post of importance in the French administration, is an example of the role of the citizens as lackies of French imperialism. Diagne served in the last World War as a recruiting sergeant for cannon fodder. His services were rewarded with the post of Under-Secretary for Colonies under Laval. He was sent to defend the policy of forced labor, which the French rubber companies were using in the Congo, at the International Convention on Forced Labor in Geneva in 1928. In the face of strong sentiment for abolition of the system Diagne maintained that it was the "sovereign right of France to impose conscription in whatever forms it pleased." He supported it on the grounds "of the educational value of conscription to native peoples."

France has good reason to be thankful to her black elite. As George Padmore, writing in *Piebs*, states:

"This division between citizens and subjects is a deliberate and calculated policy of French imperialism, aimed at aligning the elite with the white ruling class, of which they consider themselves a part. . . . Within the French Empire the defined division marked out by its rulers between citizens and subjects has served to hold back the growth of the national liberation movement far behind the militant level it has achieved in the British African colonies. Not one of the Negroes purporting to represent their people in the Chamber of Deputies has ever done a single thing to advance the cause of the great masses of workers and peasants in the colonial territories from which they come. Not one trade union organization have they formed, not one cooperative—nothing. Soldiers or politicians, they have all distinguished themselves in promoting and defending the interests of their white masters."

The once progressive slogan of the French Revolution—"Liberty, Equality, Fraternity"—is now but a mask for French colonial despotism.

# The Fight for a National Union of Seamen, United Around a Program of Class Struggle

(From the report of the Maritime Fraction to the April 5-9 Convention of the Socialist Workers Party)

One of the most important single tasks in the American labor movement today—especially as the war draws nearer to this country daily—is the building of a national organization of seamen based upon a class struggle program. It is a great, historic task. Every step toward it involves struggles—struggles against the employers and the government, against the class-collaborationists in both the AFL and CIO, and particularly against the greatest internal enemy of the maritime workers, the Stalinists who, at this time, provide the greatest obstacle to the development of a national organization of seamen based upon a fighting program.

Most workers who try to keep in touch with trade union developments know something about the militant role of the Sailors Union of the Pacific and its struggles for a national organization of seamen, and know also something about the reactionary role of the Stalinist waterfront machine headed by Harry Bridges.

But the situation existing in maritime today is so complex that, even for a general understanding of it, it is necessary to briefly outline the various forces in the unions involved. Such an outline will necessarily deal mainly with the West Coast, because today that is the main base of the contending forces.

### BRIDGES' MACHINE FACES A NEW OPPOSITION

The International Longshoremen and Warehousemen's Union (CIO) embraces all Pacific Coast longshoremen, except a small section, mainly around Tacoma, who still remain in the AFL International Longshoremen's Association which dominates the East Coast and Gulf. The ILWU also has inland and waterfront warehousemen on the West Coast. From Alaska to San Diego it numbers some 13,000 longshoremen. Headed by Bridges, it is the base of the Stalinist machine in the CIO on the West Coast.

Ever since the end of the '34 waterfront strike, which coincided with the end of the Stalinist "Third Period," the Stalinist policy has been consistently one of class-collaboration, covered up by militant phrases. This policy has led now to Bridges' "Five Year Peace Plan," a policy of long-term agreements and compulsory arbitration. The ILWU is now negotiating with the shipowners, with Bridges "asking no concessions," for a long-term agreement, Bridges agreeing to arbitrate everything in the agreement.

Six years of false Stalinist policy have not gone by without strong opposition from the ranks. Just prior to Bridges' switch from the AFL to the CIO a powerful opposition developed within the union against the Bridges machine. Then came the switch—and John L. Lewis' appointment of Bridges as CIO director of the West Coast. That, plus the stupidity of the opposition, saved Bridges' skin.

The opposition, blinded by their hatred of the Stalinists, made the fatal error of not going along into the CIO. That made it comparatively easy for Bridges to discredit them; and thereafter any voice raised within the ILWU in opposition to Bridges was stigmatized as a stooge for the discredited opposition. Stalinist manipulation of the CIO vs. AFL issue forced unions which had been in opposition to Bridges—notably the Shipyard Workers Union—to line up with the CIO in loyalty to their parent body. Bridges has been thus trading on CIO capital ever since he received the progressive mantle of the CIO to cover his reactionary policies.

However, the cloak is wearing thin. A new opposition is arising within the ILWU, centered in the Northwest. A few weeks ago the Seattle local ousted every known Communist party stooge and elected a complete opposition slate. The opposition in the Portland local is strong and getting stronger.

### PROGRESSIVES DEMAND ORIGINAL MARITIME FEDERATION OF '34

The Seattle opposition expresses the demand for re-constituting the once-powerful Maritime Federation of the Pacific as a central body for unions in the maritime transport industry—Longshoremen, Sailors, Marine Firemen, Cooks and Stewards, Masters, Mates and Pilots, Marine Engineers, and Teamsters—and keeping out the paper and irrelevant unions through which the Stalinists seized control of the Federation and drove out the seamen, reducing the Federation to a caricature.

The Stalinist leadership of the ILWU viciously opposes this de-

mand, knowing that in a reconstituted Federation they would lose control. San Francisco remains the stronghold of the Stalinist machine in the ILWU, for here the top-flight C.P. leaders are concentrated and here they have systematically colonized the union with supporters from outside.

The Marine Cooks and Stewards (CIO) is a West Coast organization of about 4,500 members which, under Stalinist control, affiliated to the CIO after the longshoremen. The Cooks have no independent policy and can have none, by virtue of their position in the industry. Their natural place is alongside the real power on the ships, the Sailors and Firemen. But under Stalinist leadership they have tailed behind the longshoremen, who have led them into a blind alley.

### STALINIST GENERALS LEAD COOKS UP A TREE

The Stalinist leadership of the Cooks followed Bridges in signing indefinite extensions of their current agreements last September, to be followed by negotiations with the shipowners, with a clause requiring sixty days notice of termination of the agreement, if they were unable to come to further terms in the negotiations with the shipowners. Bridges did this with the Longshoremen without prior consultation with any of the other maritime unions, putting each on its own.

The Sailors and Firemen refused to go for this extension policy, won concessions and signed regular agreements.

When the Cooks, after signing the indefinite extension, entered into "negotiations," naturally the shipowners responded with a resounding NO to every proposal for improvements in the agreement. What is more, Bridges has notified the Cooks that the Longshoremen would not support any union striking for increased wages or improved working conditions.

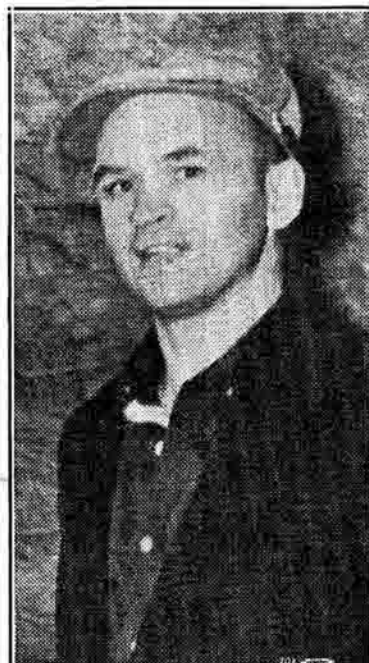
This brought the Cooks' membership smack up against the net result of the whole previous policy of their Stalinist leadership in tailing Bridges' Longshoremen machine. The Cooks have the worst agreement of any of the unlicensed groups and the membership knows it.

### COOKS ORGANIZE AGAINST STALINIST MISLEADERS

The militant members want to do something about it. Logically their interest lies in allying themselves with the other unlicensed groups, the Sailors and Firemen, for their problems are similar, problems which are peculiar to seamen and which do not confront shore-based workers. A progressive group is developing, whose program is based on bringing the Cooks toward closer collaboration with the Sailors and Firemen. The progressives were successful in having the Cooks go on record against Bridges' "Peace Plan." While the Stalinist leadership is still strongly entrenched, a large section of the union is being welded together against this leadership which has betrayed them.

Of the other, and minor, organizations that follow the Stalinist line, not much need be said. The American Communications Association (CIO), covering the ship wireless operators, is Stalinist-controlled. It plays no significant role. Its membership considers itself part of the officers corps aboard ship and with few exceptions is as much company-conscious as the other officers groups.

The Marine Engineers Beneficial Association, comprising the engineers aboard ship, is also CIO. Extremely unreliable and company-conscious. It does not have closed shop agreements except with a few lines. The San Francisco headquarters follows the Bridges line. The branches are opposed to Bridges and there is strong sentiment for withdrawal



HARRY LUNDEBERG

al from the CIO to set up an independent union.

While we are mentioning minor organizations, let us include the Masters, Mates and Pilots, which is the same type as the engineers and radio men, but affiliated to the AFL.

### FIREMEN STILL FIGHTING STALINIST WRECKERS

The Marine Firemen, Oilers, Waterfenders and Wipers Association (Independent), with a membership of 4,000, has always been closely allied with the Sailors. Controlling steam, the firemen are one of the most strategic units aboard ship. One of the main points in Stalinist strategy has been to drive a wedge between the Firemen and Sailors, to gain control of the Firemen and use them as a weapon to destroy the S.U.P. Several years ago the Stalinists captured the San Francisco headquarters of the Firemen and rode roughshod over the branches in their desperate attempts to smash the Sailors.

But Stalinist control did not last long. Firemen, progressives launched the weekly "West Coast Firemen," and one of the main planks of its program was amalgamation of the unlicensed groups, primarily the firemen and sailors. The paper had the support of all the branches and soon rallied a majority of the membership behind it. In the next election the progressives won, and mopped up completely in the election after that.

The overwhelming majority of the membership who had supported the fight against the Stalinist machine thought the fight was over. But it was not, at San Francisco headquarters, thanks to Bridges' machine in the longshoremen. He maintains a permit system in the ILWU, with about 700 men usually on the permit list. By a judicious distribution of these permits, the Stalinist machine is able to maintain a sizeable number of seamen on the beach who, holding ILWU permits, get enough longshore work to maintain themselves. Which means that to keep their permits they have to vote "right" in the Sailors or the Firemen where they are members.

Unfortunately, also, the person upon whom the Firemen membership counted to eliminate the Stalinists proved incapable of fulfilling the task—Malone, the secretary. Essentially a conservative trade union official, he finds himself in agreement on many issues with the Stalinist class collaboration line. As proven by the experience of the Sailors, the only effective way to eliminate Stalinist influence is by pushing ahead with an aggressive class struggle program. The Firemen's branches, however, remain free from

Stalinist influence and, equally important, work closely with the Sailors.

### TEAMSTERS ARE A POWERFUL FACTOR

The Teamsters (AFL) are one of the most powerful groups on the waterfront. They have been throughout under conservative leadership. Nevertheless, it was the support of the Teamsters in the '34 strike, when they refused to go through the picket lines, that swung the tide for the waterfront unions.

The Teamsters have been in conflict with Bridges since he began moving into the inland warehouses, over which the Teamsters have AFL jurisdiction. When Bridges tried the same trick with the Teamsters that he had used on the Sailors and Firemen, of passing out permits in return for support, the Teamsters retaliated by issuing a retiring card to every teamster working on a longshore permit. As the conflict with Bridges became more acute, the Teamsters became more amenable to close collaboration with the Sailors.

### S.U.P. IS MOST PROGRESSIVE FACTOR IN INDUSTRY

Against this background of the other factors in the maritime industry, the role of the Sailors Union of the Pacific can now be seen more clearly.

The SUP is unquestionably the most progressive force in the maritime industry. Its fight against the union-taming program of the U.S. Maritime Commission is a historic landmark of American labor. Thanks to the SUP the government's fink hiring halls, established on the East Coast with the consent of the Stalinist-led National Maritime Union, never got a foothold on the West Coast. The SUP also has led the fight against the government's "training ships," designed to turn out scabs for a future showdown between the unions and the government, which considers the merchant marine an auxiliary to the navy. Likewise the Sailors lead the fight against the Bridges-Employers' "Peace Plan."

When one considers all that the Sailors have done in the last six years, it is extraordinary to recall that the SUP embraces only approximately 5,000 members—the total personnel of its craft in West Coast shipping. But its class-struggle program, the homogeneity of its membership, its uncompromising stand at every point against class collaboration either with government or employers, makes it a factor in maritime out of all proportion to its numerical strength. Toward it all progressives in the industry look for leadership.

For progressives in every craft remember the time when Harry Lundeborg, secretary-treasurer of the SUP, also headed the Maritime Federation of the Pacific and all the maritime crafts operated under the slogan: "An injury to one is an injury to all." Those were the days when the bosses were on the run.

But then began the Stalinist business of getting control by pushing into the federation shore-side unions not directly engaged in maritime transportation. The growing resentment among the maritime crafts finally exploded at the 1938 convention of the Maritime Federation, when the Bridges machine refused to seat the Tacoma Longshoremen delegates although having accepted per capita payments from them. And this came on top of the Shepard Line dispute, when the Stalinist National Maritime Union tried to break the Sailors and Firemen's contracts with that line, and the Tacoma Longshoremen had, supporting the Sailors and Firemen, successfully tied up several Shepard ships.

The Sailors, Firemen, and Masters, Mates & Pilots, walked out with the Tacoma group. Bridges replaced them with shore-side unions; the federation ceased to be "maritime" in reality.

### S.U.P. LEADS STEPS TO MARITIME UNITY

In every maritime craft today the men remember what the federation once was. It is this attachment that makes the slogan of reconstituting the Maritime Federation on its original basis, such a powerful slogan.

Meanwhile, to fill the gap, the Sailors have taken the lead in forming Joint Councils of Marine Crafts in every port. The Stalinists have maneuvered the Headquarters of the Firemen back into the "maritime" Federation, but the Fireman branches all refused to follow, so that in three of the major ports, Portland, Seattle and San Pedro, the Firemen are with their natural allies, the Sailors, in the Joint Councils of Marine Crafts, together with the Teamsters, the Masters, Mates & Pilots and the Puget Sound I.L.A. longshoremen. The real economic strength on the waterfront is obviously on the side of these councils, whose existence clearly exposes the fact that Bridges' "maritime" federation is nothing but a caricature of the original.

But strength on the Pacific Coast is not enough to assure the survival of the Sailors and Firemen. The East Coast and Gulf must be organized, and on a militant basis, or the shipowners and the government can utilize the other coats to destroy the West Coast unions. The U.S. Maritime Commission succeeded in establishing its fink hiring halls on the East Coast with the cooperation of the Stalinist leadership of the "National" Maritime Union, likewise the fink training ship program. When the Shepard Line, two years ago, as advance scout for the rest of the shipowners, tried to break its contracts with the Sailors and Firemen, it got crews and a "contract" from the N.M.U. on the East Coast.

### SUP LAUNCHES SEAFARERS INTERNATIONAL UNION

The Shepard Line dispute was the final alarm signal to the SUP that it was necessary to find allies and extend the organization nationally. At the time the SUP was an independent union, although it retained its affiliation to the AFL Labor Councils in the ports and to the State Federation of Labor. The AFL International Seamen's Union, of which the SUP had originally been part, had meanwhile gone to pieces. At the 1938 convention of the AFL the SUP applied and secured an international charter as the Seafarers International Union of North America. The AFL had chartered several federal locals on the East Coast and the Gulf, which were now taken into the SIU.

In the last two years a whole series of revolts have taken place within the Stalinist National Maritime Union, notably in the Gulf. The Gulf had always been the most militant section of the N.M.U. and the section most sympathetic with the policies of the West Coast Sailors and Firemen. Many of the rebels are now in the SIU but, unfortunately, the remaining old-line AFL officials from the former federal locals have not known how to profit from the revolts against the Stalinist leadership in the N.M.U.

On the fundamental questions of the government fink hall and fink training the SIU has a similar policy to that of the SUP. With that as a foundation and with the support of the West Coast section, a militant development of the SIU is in the cards. The recent contracts signed by the N.M.U. giving way to the employers on all key questions in a desperate attempt to keep the dues coming in, are literally forcing the development of new opposition movements within the N.M.U. Real union organization of the East and Gulf coasts is a burning necessity.

The conditions won by the Firemen and Sailors on the West Coast show the way to their brothers in the East. A national organization of Seamen based on a fighting, class-struggle program, can and must be built.

### LOCAL NEW YORK

All members of Local New York and the YFSL are instructed to attend an important membership meeting, Thursday, April 25, 8 p.m. sharp, Beethoven Hall, 210 E. 5th St., N.Y.C.

## Way Is Now Open For Renewing Drive in Steel

YOUNGSTOWN, Ohio, April 21—More than 2,500 steel workers with their wives and children crowded into the Central Auditorium on Sunday afternoon and many more hundreds stood outside listening to the report of Philip Murray, chairman of the Steel Workers Organizing Committee on the Supreme Court decision in the famous Republic Steel case. Murray reached the high point of his speech in a declaration that the SWOC will now put on a new organization drive which will not cease "until every last steel worker in every last steel mill in this country is a member of the SWOC."

The Supreme Court decision means that the Republic Steel Corporation must reinstate 5,000 men whom it had discharged for union activity, pay them \$5,000,000 in back wages, disband the company unions, and cease interfering with the workers' right to join a union of their own choosing. Thus ended the famous Republic Steel case, three years after the bloody Little Steel strike.

In order to advance from this point on, it is, however, necessary to recall the events of the Little Steel strike and learn its lessons.

### Why Little Steel Was Lost

Seventy thousand men in seven states were on strike in 1937, 35,000 on strike in the Mahoning Valley alone. The truck drivers of Youngstown went on a three day sympathy strike when the troops came in. The rubber workers of Akron came down in hundreds of cars to aid in the struggle, mine workers joined too. The tremendous might of labor united and fighting was shown in that strike. Why was it lost?

The steel workers will forget only at the cost of further defeats how the SWOC leadership foolishly placed so much faith in Governor Davey during the 1937 Little Steel strike, and asked for the National Guard to be sent in to "preserve order". The troops came in—and in two days opened the mill gates and escorted scabs in armed trucks through the picket lines. Can any steel worker forget that? There are those who would like to pass over this misleadership of a great strike, but the steel workers cannot afford to let these gentlemen do it. The martyrs of the Memorial Day Massacre, of the Poland Avenue riots, of the Massillon and Canton terror, will not be really avenged unless the steel union risks itself of any ideas that government institutions deal out even-handed justice.

The 1937 strike was lost because the leaders of the SWOC failed to prepare it. They rejected the policy of militant strike struggle which alone can win conditions for the workers, and instead lobbied in Washington and in Columbus, spending most of their time "around the conference table". They failed to give union publicity to the strike and didn't even issue a strike bulletin or paper. They held no mass meetings, except on the picket lines, and no parades. They tried to run the strike from the top and didn't even elect a strike committee from the ranks of the workers. To top it all off, they relied on Governor Davey and called in the troops.

Will it be different in the future? The meeting on Sunday showed that the leadership of the SWOC learned little. The meeting was occupied with lengthy preliminaries in which the leaders praised each other in the most extravagant manner. The most disgusting point was reached when John Owens, President of the United Mine Workers of Ohio, in haranguing the audience about his own self sacrifice and about the fine qualities of Philip Murray who "was placed on earth to serve humanity", finally burst out with the statement that he and the workers in the audience "are happy to be sitting at the feet of this great character, this Christian gentleman, Philip Murray". No place on the speakers' list was provided for the leaders in the plants, who kept every last SWOC lodge in existence during these three years after the defeat.

### Questions That Must Be Answered

Philip Murray in his speech took up the question of unemployment which has become a chronic condition in steel more than anywhere else, and shouted "what is Congress going to do about it?" But he himself said nothing in regard to what labor should do about it, and was silent on the question of the 30 hour week, which could be a real step in decreasing unemployment.

In his call for an organization drive in the mills Murray warned against wild cat strikes and strikes in general, saying "go back to the mills, sign up the workers in the union and then come and put it up to me and see what I'm going to do about it." He assured the workers that he, Murray, will take care of their problems for them, will negotiate contracts for them, and will not leave them in the lurch.

In order to take advantage of the Supreme Court decision to gain real conditions for the steel workers, the steel workers must make the SWOC their own union, a democratic union. It must be based on a militant program which relies only on labor's strength.

It must place no reliance on government agencies and on government officials. The union must prepare not only for the conference table but for the serious battles that must come on the picket line in the strikes. Only along these lines will the organization drive succeed.

## MAY DAY CELEBRATION IN YOUNGSTOWN, OHIO

"WORLD SOCIALISM or WORLD WAR" will be the subject of an address by David Stevens, Youngstown District Organizer of the S.W.P., at the May Day Celebration to be held on Wednesday, May 1st, 8:00 p.m., at 123½ E. Federal St., Youngstown, Ohio.

The celebration will include other brief talks, a dance, refreshments, entertainment and revolutionary workers songs.

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# Colonial Workers Are Refusing to Bear the Burdens of War

## British Soldiers Shoot Down Blacks

Negroes of Africa, in Plight as Tragic As that of Jews under Hitler, Fight Back in Militant Strikes

A special cable in the New York TIMES (April 4) reported that in Northern Rhodesia troops killed ten natives and wounded twenty others when they fired on copper mine strikers. The shooting started when 3,000 strikers, who have been out since March 17 to enforce demands for a 25 per cent increase in wages with a further 5 per cent to cover the rise in the cost of living, tried to prevent 150 strikebreakers from drawing their pay.

Back of this strike is a story of miserable conditions, exploitation and oppression hardly equalled elsewhere. Politically these natives are completely disfranchised, and economically are reduced to the status of slaves. Robbed by the British of their lands, deprived of all means of economic existence, taxed in order to compel them to go to work for the Europeans at starvation wages, herded into reserves and compounds, the lot of the natives of South Africa, and the Rhodesias is no less tragic than that of the Jews under the swastika.

### Racial Laws Enforced

The liberties of the natives in employment are restricted. The main laws are the Pass Laws and the Masters and Servants Ordinances. The Pass Laws are a series of ordinances detailing a dozen or more passes that the natives must in various circumstances secure and carry with them.

They include the labor contract, giving details of tribe and pay, which has to be stamped by the employer each month—providing him with a useful weapon; the "special pass" required by a native moving from one district to another; the night pass which a native needs if he is abroad after the hour of 9 p.m.; and the receipt for the current poll tax.

### Forced Labor

All of these passes cost the native cash and especially the poll tax, which must be paid under penalty of additional fines or imprisonment at hard labor. In order to pay the poll tax and other taxes and at the same time support themselves and their families, the natives must produce crops for the market or work in the mines.

But the natives have been robbed of all their best lands and herded into reserves where the land is hardly sufficient to produce enough to feed themselves. The natives are thus forced to

work on the plantations of the whites or in the mines in order to pay the taxes.

The effect of these laws can be judged by the number of convictions under them. In Rhodesia they rose from 8,940 in 1927 to 19,773 in 1935 and have been on the increase since.

### Slaves Are Profitable

The Masters and Servants Ordinance classifies as punishable offenses the breaking of a labor contract, absence from work without leave, refusal to carry out instructions, neglect of duty, etc. The punishment is one month imprisonment or more, and fines. Enormous profits are extracted from the mines of Northern Rhodesia. The value of copper produced by the mines in 1938 was \$2,210,000. Out of this aggregate, \$3,100,000 was paid in dividends, while \$1,750,000 went in wages, the bulk to 1,800 European employees, who received \$1,250,000. The 15,000 Africans employed in the most arduous labor earned among them \$500,000. This latter figure includes the cost of food, housing, etc., supplied by the mining companies.

### Coolie Wages

The natives are thus paid a coolie wage of from 7 and a half shillings to 23 and a half shillings (\$1.30 to \$5.00) a month. Although the native workers are in an overwhelming majority in the mines, there is a rigid Color Bar Act, which prevents them from holding any skilled or unskilled job.

The natives are denied all benefits of labor legislation, such as Workmen's Compensation, Unemployment and Old Age Insurance, the Shop Hours Act, etc.

### General Strike in 1935

This is not the first time that the native copper miners have gone out on strike. All the native miners went out on a general strike in May, 1935. The soldiers opened fire and killed ten natives and wounded others. The miners were supported by the native domestic servants employed by the Europeans. The strike at that time, like the one now, had a definite political character. It protested the policy of the government of Northern Rhodesia, which increased the poll tax from 10 to 15 shillings, while the mining companies refused to increase wages.

## West Indian Negro Dock and Plantation Workers Striking

Three trade unionists in Port-of-Spain, British Trinidad, were convicted in March on a charge of violating the war regulations; the Emergency Defense Act. The men were arrested for demonstrating in sympathy with striking employees of the Trinidad Electric Board at Belmont in defiance of the ban against the assembling of more than ten persons.

Shouts of "This is an example of British justice!" greeted the judge as he fined the workers \$15 each or 21 days in prison, at the same time imposing a \$50 bond upon each to guarantee their "good" conduct henceforth.

Alloy Donawa, one of the defendants, had raised a large red flag during the demonstration and O'Connor, another of the defendants, denounced the judge and British justice.

The Amsterdam News reported:

"With attempts by the local government, hiding behind its so-called war powers, to crush the strikers and deny their demands for higher wages and humane working conditions, the people of the city and country as a whole are aroused to the point of violence, a dispatch stated. But British oppression continues to keep the working masses at a starvation level of existence while it takes everything it can get to fight a war in distant lands, it concluded."

Uriah Butler, the crippled labor leader is still held in "preventive arrest" at a concentration camp on Nelson Island. Butler is held "as a native whose

acts in any manner may be prejudicial to public safety and defense." Persons detained under this emergency law in British colonies are denied right of habeas corpus but may make representations to an Advisory Committee appointed by the Governor. In Trinidad this committee is comprised of one Negro judge and two local whites.

### Unions Growing

Trade unionism, as a result of Butler's efforts, has made remarkable progress in Trinidad. Today there are 18 trade unions. Collective bargaining is developing on a permanent basis in the major industries and promises to extend to the less well-organized ones.

Oil field workers have just won a further wage increase of two cents per hour plus a war bonus of one-half cent per hour for every five points rise in the cost of living. Workers now receive 90 cents to \$1.12 per day according to the job and skill. Out of about 9,000 oil workers in Trinidad, 8,000 are organized.

### Kingston Dockers Strike

In Kingston, Jamaica, British West Indies, workers on three docks went on strike, demanding 48 cents an hour and an eight hour day, charging that since 1933, they have been paid 20 cents an hour and forced to work eleven hours.

A speaker at a meeting the last week in February of the Industrial Trade Union led by Bustamente "called upon the working classes not to allow hypocrit-

## Together with Workers at Home They Will Smash the Rule of Slaveholders

One after another the leading spokesmen of the British and French Empires repeat reassuring speeches about the "unity" of their empires with the motherlands in the European death struggle for domination of the world's wealth.

Anthony Eden the other day contrasted the barbarism of Hitler's domain with the "equality of development" under British rule. But behind these empty phrases lies the harsh hunger of 500,000,000 black, brown, and yellow peoples, held in the iron vise of a rule no less barbaric than that of Hitler.

It is this rule that Hitler seeks in this war to grasp for himself. It is this rule that the British Empire is fighting to maintain. That is the sum and substance of the war.

But if the peoples of Asia and Africa had only the choice between Hitler and the British there could be no hope left at all for a freer world to come.

Fortunately they are not confined to these choices. They have the alternative choice of fighting and winning their own freedom, or uniting in a socialist commonwealth with the workers of the Western world and setting out with them to build a new kind of world from which war and oppression shall be forever banished.

Although the war is only a few months old and the struggle is only in its first stages, there is already ample evidence that this fight for freedom is on its way. It is not the fight for Britain against Germany, or for Germany against Britain, but the fight of all the oppressed peoples against all the rulers who hold them in subjection.

The British Empire, greatest imperial conglomerate of them all, the product of five centuries of wars, massacres, rap-

ine, and successive seizures of the resources of vast areas of the five continents, is already displaying great rents in its fabric.

India, greatest of all colonies, a nation of 375,000,000, is once more pregnant with revolt. The workers of India have already shown in great mass strikes that they do not intend to take on their knees the war lash of the British raj. Under the pressure of these great masses, the Indian nationalist movement is advancing into an era of fresh open struggle against Britain. In the House of Commons last week, a government spokesman warned that this movement will be met with force. He said Britain would not and could not give India its independence. He was right. The Indian people will have to take it.

Not even wartime censorship has been able to conceal completely the growth of unrest among the colonial peoples. Strikes in all parts of the empire from Africa to the West Indies are beginning to reveal what really lies behind the "unity" of the great domain. In these unfolding struggles the determination of the black, brown, and yellow peoples of the world to cease being the packhorses of Western capitalist civilization grows and in the end will prevail.

They, and not Hitler, Chamberlain, Reynaud, Daladier & Co. shall say the final word in this war. As the workers of Britain, France, Germany, and the warring countries of the near future, the United States, Italy, and the rest of Europe, raise their heads in struggle against the war makers, they will find their most powerful support in the struggles of the subject peoples in the colonies. In the combination of these two currents lies the future hope of society.

## Indian Masses Answer British Masters With Waves of Militant Strikes

By ROBERT L. BIRCHMAN

Since the war began, India has been swept by a wave of militant strikes that constitute the real pressure force behind the Indian nationalist movement.

When you read about Gandhi coming around to talking about a "civil disobedience campaign" you know he is feeling the scorching heat of the Indian mass movement.

Despite the wartime censorship, it is now possible to give a considerable list of these Indian struggles of recent months. The "Times of India" of Bombay, in January and February, published almost daily reports of these strikes. Here are a few of them: Over 1,000 workers at the General Motors, Ltd., Bombay, organized in the General Motors Workers Union, were on strike for 13 days in February. The workers won 10 to 15 percent wage increases. The workers picketed the roads leading to the plant in order to prevent scabs from entering the factory.

The strike of over 3,000 workers at the brick kilns at Cawnpore ended following the granting of wage increases.

At Dacca, the management of the textile mills declared a lock-out after 6,000 workers went out on strike. Forty of the strikers were arrested for picketing.

A general strike was called for March 1, by the Nagpur Textile Workers Union. This step was taken after the mill owners refused to grant the demands of the union for full restoration of wage cuts and for a 35 percent increase in wages to meet the increased cost of living. A meeting of the Provincial Trade Union Congress was called to consider steps to help the general strike of the textile workers.

On February 14, the workers in the weaving department of the

local Imperialism to fool them in the colonies."

### Jamaica "Okies" Strike

In Jamaica the workers on the various farms of the United Fruit Company went out on strike on April 2 and latest reports are that the strike is rapidly spreading. The workers are striking for higher wages and against the repressive actions of the officials of the company.

Jamaica is faced with a constitutional crisis because the governor used his veto to retain the tax commissioner for another two years. The elected members of the Legislative Council are protesting the governors use of the "paramount importance" clause of the Jamaica Constitution.

### British "Democracy"

By invoking the "paramount importance" clause, the governor orders the members of the Legislative Council to vote with the government on any question which is considered essential to the maintenance of British authority and prestige. The combined vote of the government members, a sort of House of Lords group in the Legislature, is used to vote down the elected members.

Victoria Mills No. 2 in Bombay staged a sit-down strike, demanding wage increases. Workers in Mill No. 1 struck a few days previously.

A general strike was called on February 26 by the Joint Board of Representatives of the Ahmedabad Textile Labor Association, after a ballot of the membership had been taken in which not one member was reported as voting against the strike. The strike is the largest in Ahmedabad since 1923 and involves over 100,000 workers. The workers are demanding a 25 percent increase in wages. "The view is held in militant circles that the strike declared by the Textile Labor Association will be a tough and prolonged struggle." Two of the strike leaders have been arrested.

Latest reports are that the sit-down strike at the Saharanpur Cigarette Factory at Cawnpore, United Province, which began on February 15 still continues. Over 1,200 workers including clerks are participating. The main demand of the workers is for wage increases.

The strike at the Lallamal Hardeoas Cotton Textile Mills in Cawnpore started on February 11 continues according to latest re-

ports. The Government Labor officer advised the workers to accept a small wage increase but they demanded more. All the workers at the Job Press, biggest press in Cawnpore are on strike demanding wage increases.

The textile workers in Shalapur are preparing for a strike and latest reports are that the strike of textile workers at Ujjain in its seventh week is still going strong. Receiving no favorable reply to their notice demanding wage increases the municipal sweepers and menial servants at Shalapur formed a union and called a strike on February 21.

A resolution demanding the payment of a 30 per cent wage increase as of December, 1939, was passed at a general meeting of the Bombay Port Trust Employees Union on February 19. The resolution states that there has been a 40 per cent rise in the cost of living since August, 1939. The union is preparing for strike action to secure its demand.

A demand for a 40 percent wage increase was made in a resolution passed at the annual meeting of the B.B. and C.I. Railwaymen's Union of Bombay. Both unions are preparing for strike action.

## Behind the Lines

The Struggle Between Japan and U. S. Over Which Is to Plunder the Indies

By GEORGE STERN

Stories and the screen have made familiar to us the manner in which vultures begin to swoop and circle over a man lost in a wilderness waste, waiting to pounce down upon him for the feast as soon as life leaves him.

We're witnessing now a similar sort of scene, with the Great Powers hovering hungrily over the Dutch East Indies, waiting their opportunity to sink their claws into it as soon as Holland is laid prostrate by war in Europe.

Chief of the waiting vultures are, of course, the U. S. and Japan, both of which have now served notice upon each other and upon the world that they intend to have the final say about the fate of the Indies.

That the great archipelago stretching 3,000 miles across the South Seas is lost to Holland seems a foregone conclusion. The Dutch have extracted its wealth for nearly three centuries and now, with the world being re-divided by the greater, more powerful plunderers, the time has come for them to be displaced. The Dutch capitalists realize this well enough.

After both Japan and the U. S. had issued statements about the "status quo" of the islands—(neither one, of course, means a Dutch status quo)—the Netherlands government announced that it has "neither demanded nor would accept protection for the islands whatever its source" and asserted their ability to defend

themselves against any attack, likewise whatever its source.

Both Foreign Minister Arita and Secretary of State Cordell Hull issued statements declaring in almost identical terms that neither country wanted to see the status quo of the rich East Indies changed as a result of the developments in Europe.

In the press of both countries this immediately unleashed a flood of accusations and counter-accusations that both governments contemplated seizing the islands at the first favorable opportunity. Both, of course, were right. The word "protection" has taken on a new meaning, especially since the Allies and Germany both set out at about the same time to "protect" Norway.

Just how far U. S. imperialism will go to prevent the wealth of the Indies from falling into Japan's hands will be determined, of course, by how the war in general develops. That they do not mean to do so out of any altruistic motives was stated quite bluntly in a Washington dispatch to the Journal of Commerce on April 17 which stated:

"There is some doubt that the United States would attempt to protect [there's that word protect again!] the Dutch possessions unless Holland ceded them under a protectorate. This would give the United States an exclusive right which no government could contest except at risk of war."

The latest report available on the strike of over 150,000 textile workers in Bombay that started early in March indicate that a majority of the workers are still out.

The Times of London (March 29) reports that when the mills reopened after the Easter Holidays, disturbances occurred between the strikers and the "loyal workers." A government law now forbids picketing except by two persons at each mill. Only 24 out of 64 mills were able to start work. The workers went out on strike demanding a 25 percent wage increase to meet the rising cost of living.

The New York Times (April 1) reports that 15,000 municipal street cleaners in Calcutta are still out after a week's time. They went out on strike demanding a 25 percent rise in pay.

### BRITISH HAVING TROUBLE IN CEYLON, TOO

All the Ministers in the State Council of Ceylon resigned on February 27.

The resignations are a protest against the support given by the Governor to the Inspector-General of Police, who declined to accede to the request of the Minister of Home Affairs that he should instruct police officials to consent to postponement of the trial of the leaders of a strike on the Mooloya Estate. The Ministers wanted a postponement until a Commission, appointed by the Governor at the request of the State Council, had made public its inquiry into the shooting by the police of one of the strikers.

It is expected that there will be a demand for dissolution of the Ceylon parliament.

The plantation owners and big business interests in Ceylon are now urging the British Government to recast the constitution of Ceylon and make it less liberal than the present one.

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And yet before two days had passed, it was reported that "the

## Workers of Shanghai In Militant Strikes

Face Guns and Bayonets of Invaders and Other Powers in Broad Revival of Union Struggles for Living Wage

Shanghai, scene of a minor industrial boom because of the increased demand for domestically-produced goods, has also been the scene in recent weeks of a sharp revival of working class activity. This period has been marked by a series of important strikes, fought with the dogged militancy so characteristic of the Chinese workers.

Strikers in Shanghai not merely have ordinary police to contend with but come into almost immediate direct conflict with soldiers and marines of the powers who have divided the city into "defense" zones. The Japanese, Italian, British, French, American marines and troops are used regularly to eject sit-down strikers and to patrol struck plants.

Despite these odds, the strikes have been growing in numbers and effectiveness. The most recent report to reach here is of a strike on Feb. 29 of 2,000 employees of a British-owned omnibus company which won a 30 percent wage increase and a fixed price on rice bought through the company. The strikers in this case were tear-gassed out of the bus depot by Italian marines called in by the British-dominated Municipal Police. The depot was in the Italian "zone." A few days earlier the same Italian marines used their tear gas bombs to drive sit-downers out of the plant of the American-owned China General Edison Company.

### Other Notable Strikes

Some 2,500 laborers employed by the Shanghai Municipal Council struck for and won additional rice allowances. Other strikes were occurring at the Chinese Wing On textile mill, the British-American tobacco company plants, and along the waterfront where dock workers of the Shanghai Tug and Lighter Co. struck for increases from their \$17 (Mex.) per month wages. This, together with rice allowances, represents a wage in U.S. equivalent of less than \$2 a month.

On March 2 the China Weekly Review said editorially:

"Industrial plants and enterprises, in nearly all their main branches, made record profits last year, while on the clear cut showing of the competent authorities the producers of such profit have never been worse off. While company chairmen have sat in comfortable board

rooms congratulating shareholders on exceptionally successful working years, hungry crowds have been raiding rice shops in the often vain hope of purchasing a little of the food whose price has soared way beyond the reach of their slender pockets. Investigators have ascertained that workers in the Western District, largest industrial area of the city, are now reduced to living on rice alone—and not very much of that. Vegetables, meat and fish—not to speak of such luxuries as fruit—are utterly beyond their reach. Malnutrition is beginning to sap the strength of those now living and threatens the generations unborn."

Rice is now more than four times the price at which it could be bought prior to the hostilities in 1937. There have been huge increases in nearly all commodities, both locally produced and imported.

### Strikers Quadruple in Year

In 1939, according to the annual report of the Shanghai Municipal Police published the last week in February, there were 96 strikes involving 24,628 workers in the International Settlement as compared with 21 involving 6,149 workers in 1938. Forty-six of the 96 strikes were directly connected with the wages and cost of living problem; the others were linked to the same problem in one way or another.

It is from such beginnings, rooted in the starkest necessity known by any workers in the world, that the re-grouping of the Chinese workers in the imperialist-occupied centers will take place—indeed, is already taking place.

The situation in Shanghai is duplicated in one degree or another in all the principal industrial centers seized by the Japanese.

Three years of war and the heavy heel of the would-be conquerors have not obliterated the will to live and in this will deep within the Chinese working class the Japanese and all other exploiters, Chinese, British, American, French, confront the force destined to overcome them all. The Chinese worker has risen again and again, re-formed his shattered ranks and organizations, and plunged forward into struggle. He is doing it again today in Shanghai.

## Burma Protests Forced Role As Supporting Britain's War

The House of Representatives of Burma passed a resolution on February 24 protesting that the British had included Burma in the war between Great Britain and Germany "without the consent of the people of Burma and have further, in complete disregard of Burmese opinion, passed laws and adopted measures curtailing the powers and activities of the Burma Government." The resolution demanded "that Burma should be recognized as an independent nation entitled to frame her own constitution and further that suitable action should be taken in the immediate present to give effect to that principle in regard to the government of Burma."

In Singapore, main naval base of British imperialism in the Far East there have been important strikes recently. From the meager press reports it appears that what was described as only a strike among dock workers employed by the Harbor Board was, in fact, a movement of much larger proportions.

The Jan. 18 London Times mentioned casually that three to four hundred workers engaged in the hospitals also struck. Workers in a cane factory besieged four English officials of the factory and fought the police who had been summoned to release the officials, using bottles as missiles. The Times correspondent declared emphatically that the strikes would "not hamper naval work and shipping will not be affected."

And yet before two days had passed, it was reported that "the

strike was hampering military work" and that "it was impossible for the government to tolerate acts of this kind." Many of the strike leaders, all Chinese, were behind prison bars charged with the offense of "prejudicing the war efforts."

The last reports available form us that in spite of the strong action taken by the authorities the strike was continuing. One can gather, from the speech of Sir Shenton Thomas, Governor of the Straits Settlements and High Commissioner of the Federated Malay States, at the Legislative Council in Singapore on February 12, that there is a growing trade union movement against the increased cost of living. The Governor stated:

"We have evidence that trash which is circulated among the labor classes is often violently seditious. Many recent strikes were planned not by the workers but by subversive organizations. Every power we possess shall be brought against the enemies of the state. They are disciples of those against whom the Empire is now fighting. I warn them that sedition is one of the most serious offenses it is possible to commit in war time. Singapore is not a hot bed of sedition—a small minority wants to lead the people to violence and unrest and, because of what may happen if this insidious and malignant disease is not cut off now, I have spoken thus."



# 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 to Win Workers Away from Stalinism

Editor:

When the Communist Party changed its line from Popular Frontism, many of us expected to see a substantial break in its ranks. But in the New York trade unions, this has not been the case. True, in many unions, especially in the culinary unions, it has become more isolated from the broad masses of workers because of its break with the elements who formerly cooperated with it. But among the advanced and radicalized workers, especially the young and inexperienced ones, the new line has made the Communist Party more attractive.

For one thing, it is now being persecuted by a government which is dragging us into the war. For another, its pseudo-radical and pacifist slogans have a plausible sound. "Peace, jobs, and Security" seems to be good things to fight for.

Nevertheless the Communist Party cannot experience any substantial growth in the unions. This is because its radical words are unaccompanied by any change in their trade-union line. In the culinary unions they still follow the most reactionary class-collaborationist policy, working with the bosses' association, failing to enforce union conditions, giving in to the bosses on such vitally important questions as union-hiring and job-security.

For this reason the ranks of the progressives fighting the misleadership of the Stalinists and their friends are constantly growing. But the rank-and-file of the Communist Party and its supporters who are, by and large, among the most militant and class-conscious workers, remain supporters of the party and of its reactionary line.

This, of course, cannot last forever. The contradiction between words and deeds will undoubtedly bring breaks and splits. But in order to hasten the process, and win the Stalinists' militant supporters to the Fourth International, our party and its press should be directed toward the Stalinists along the following lines:

1. The Socialist Appeal must carry more articles exposing the spurious nature of the Communist Party's new radicalism. It should show the contradiction between word and deed.
2. It must carry articles revealing the pacifist and anti-revolutionary nature of such "anti-war" slogans as "The Yanks are not coming," and "For Peace."

It must show the complete inadequacy of the Stalinist slogans: "For Jobs, for Security." It must counterpose our Transitional Program.

We must expose the Communist Party on the question of methods; how we are to win our demands. In this the Communist Party has changed least of all. It still depends upon combinations with one or another petty-bourgeois or labor-faker. We must counterpose to them the mass action of the workers independent of and against the capitalist class and its government.

These articles should be published in pamphlet form and concentrations be made on sales and distributions to Stalinist workers.

With a serious approach to our task, we can win the best proletarian sections of the Communist Party to our revolutionary banner.

Fraternally,

New York

S. R.

## Frank Watson Freed In Canada

Editor:

We are very pleased to announce that Frank Watson has finally been released from prison after serving six months of his sentence for an alleged violation of Section 39 of the Defence of Canada Regulations which took place early in September of 1939. The committee contributed all its funds toward the payment of his fine of \$300.00. The kind help and encouragement from the labor movement and liberal minded people is sincerely appreciated.

The experiences of the first half of the war indicate the pressing need for a NATIONAL organization to guard our democratic

rights. Flagrant repressions continue unabated and will grow worse unless labour and liberal opinion is ORGANIZED to check this totalitarian trend. An organization based primarily on the labor movement, in particular trade unions and trades councils, in addition to liberal friends of civil liberties, is needed in Canada. The Watson Committee members are unanimously of the opinion that such a movement must grow up WITHOUT DELAY.

To this end, the committee has been negotiating with the Toronto branch of the Civil Liberties Union for affiliation. But the complete silence and inactivity of the Union, and in particular its recent rightward re-organization, give no grounds for confidence. Moreover, its social composition is such that it has no contact with the labor movement.

For this reason, the committee has decided to carry on independently and to contribute its resources and energies towards the promotion of a truly national defense organization. However, this work cannot be successful unless you and others co-operate to the fullest possible extent. For example, the convoking of a conference is out of the question unless a number of organizations get behind it. What is your opinion? Will you kindly raise this in your organization and or write us in any event, expressing your views? We should be grateful to hear from you.

In the meantime, our committee is without funds and some small donations will help us to carry on. We cannot afford to dissolve. The work we have done on the Watson case has justified itself, but it is only one case of many. Will YOU render further help?

Nearly everyone agrees that the war time Regulations need revising—yet nothing is done. Nor will it be done until public opinion is organized for that purpose. A national civil liberties defense movement is the answer. Wherever it is possible we shall be glad to send a representative to discuss the whole question with you or your organization.

Fraternally yours,  
FRANK WATSON DEFENSE COMMITTEE  
Wm. Brown, Sec'y  
135 Inglewood Dr., Toronto, Can.

## Look Out for This "Impartial Body"

Editor:

As a union officer I have received an announcement from a new body, "Collective Bargaining Associates", formed, it says, "with the avowed purpose of reducing industrial warfare, improving relations between labor and the employer and developing improved techniques of collective bargaining."

The program attached to the announcement is made up of the usual class-collaborationist stuff: "The periods of warfare in industry must come to an end. Industrial warfare is as silly as wars between nations", etc. etc.

Like all class-collaboration programs this one turns out to preach that there aren't only two contending groups—the workers and the bosses. No, there is, if you please, a third camp. The third camp consists of "technicians such as engineers, economists and teachers." On the Board of Directors of the new body, therefore, there are to be five representing labor, five representing the employers, and five representing the third camp.

Now let's see who these third-campers are who, the program tells us, are "without a direct stake in the matters at issue." One of the sponsors is John M. Carmody, Federal Works Agency Administrator. He isn't a boss' man, oh no, he is only a technician. Yeah! Ask every union officer who has to deal with him!

Another is Francis Biddle, Federal Solicitor General; i.e., part of the machinery of the Department of Justice which, as you may have heard, is now on a union-busting campaign. Then there are a raft of professors of economics—Schlichter, of Business Economics, Harvard University, Feldman, of Industrial Relations, Dartmouth—who teach daily that capitalism is the ordained system of society but who, by definition

of being technicians, are impartial third-campers.

Two erstwhile "revolutionists" provide a left face for this crew—Max Lerner (he just reconsidered Marxism in the Nation, he was one of the most useful stooges the Stalinists had) and George Soule, editor of the New Republic who, believe it or not, wrote a book entitled "The Coming American Revolution" in the dog-days of 1932. Here's just one example of what these people are going to do. It's point 8 of their program: "Working toward the increase of production through the joint formulation of methods for unleashing creative attitudes and performance at all levels, both in management and among the workers."

I'd appreciate it, as soon as these "impartial" finks move into a concrete situation, workers affected write in about it to the APPEAL, so we can all be forewarned.  
San Francisco, Cal. C. T.

## Hunger Goads Man, Then Comes Social Vision

Editor:

The efforts by liberal thinkers to proclaim that the economic man is a metaphysical abstraction is disproved by the fact that the feeling of desperation is the goad which leads to revolution on the part of millions. Perhaps those living in America do not yet entirely understand how pressing is the effect of unfulfilled need for the elementary things of life, as the masses of Europe have had experience. The conditions of economic distress produce a naive kind of economic determinism in the uncultured and there is the universal saying, "Look out for No. 1." But from that to a revolutionary outlook is not so far as some might think.

To say that ideals come first, as the liberals say, is to deprive humans of the opportunity of ever reaching that stage.  
Chicago, Ill. Selma Stein

## Workers Know What's To Be Done, Need Faith

Editor:

I meet a lot of people, when I take around APPEALS, who say, "No, they will not go to war. But the next minute they shrug their shoulders and say: But what can you do? You have to go any way. And they laugh, maybe, and say: you socialists can't stop it. No-body can stop it."

Then I ask:—what do you suppose starts it?—A wrathful god, perhaps? or fate?

Not many people say yes to that. A few do who have been made so hopeless by poverty that they blame all their troubles on a god instead of on the society in which they are exploited.

But most workmen who talk at all are something like this man:—He says, Sure, I know it's those big shots, all right. They keep on making money, too—while people get killed. —So what? When they make a law I have to obey it, don't I? They don't ask me when they start a war. But I have to go.

Why do you have to go? I ask. Because I'd damn well get shot if I didn't—or jailed and starved anyway. And no one to take care of my family.

But how is it that they can shoot you or put you in jail? It's because they have the power and you are alone, isn't it? If you and I are together, for instance, we have more power together, haven't we?

That's all right, he says, but what about all the rest of the people around here? They don't want to organize. They don't know what it's all about. Lots of them are foolish. They wouldn't stick together, that's all.

But if they did stick, could we stay out of war then?

Maybe. . . . Oh NO!—there'd be the whole bunches of cops, and maybe national guardsmen—to make us go.

They'd still have more power than us?

That's right.

Isn't there anyway we could have more power than they?

Maybe, if you got ALL the poor people in the country together.

And then?

Yes, but you couldn't.

But if you could?

Why, then, maybe you could beat those big shots. But even then, they'd still have the machine guns and the tear gas and all that stuff.

Just a minute,—who makes the machine guns and the tear gas, and the airplanes, even? It's you that makes them, not the big shots. They only own them. How will they make new ones without us to make 'em for them?

Oh, yeah—sure. If everybody could get together like that, everything would turn out swell. We wouldn't have to go chasing half way across the world to die. And maybe things could be a

# Fink's in Law Suit Proves Only That Minneapolis Truck Drivers Union Is Loyal to Labor

By CARL O'SHEA

(Special to the Socialist Appeal, MINNEAPOLIS)—During the present four-day recess in the trial of the finks' suit against General Drivers Local 544, it is possible to make an estimate of the three weeks' of testimony which attorney Arthur Anderson has presented for the finks in Judge Carroll's courtroom.

The case is to be continued April 22 when Miles Dunne and Kelly Postal, officials of Local 544, go on the stand. Anderson informed the newspapers yesterday that he expects to finish his case April 26, after which the union will present its rebuttal.

Aside from Kelly Postal and Carl Skoglund of Local 544, the only witnesses to date have been finks and employers to testify that Local 544 won't let them operate the way they want to.

## Fail to Discredit Union

It is quite evident in court that Anderson, despite the six-week period during which he had an accountant examine all the books and records of Local 544, has not found a single fact which casts discredit upon Local 544, its members or its officers.

Undoubtedly now aware that the employers and the finks who retained him had told him a mess of fantastic lies about the General Drivers Union, Anderson has tried to make the best of a bad situation by using the courtroom as a sounding-board to echo every old and discredited charge against Local 544.

His charges have fallen into three categories: (1) Outright re-baiting and alien-baiting; (2) Condemnation of Local 544 for the very activities that organized labor honors the union for (3) Charges that Local 544 has loaned or donated money to sister unions without the consent of the membership.

## Red-Baiting Falls Flat

Typical of Anderson's re-baiting activities has been his lengthy examination of Carl Skoglund, 544 president, during which the finks' lawyer has brought out that Skoglund was born in Sweden,

that he was expelled from the Communist Party in 1928, and that he is a member of the Socialist Workers Party.

Anderson has also "revealed" the fact—known to readers of the *Northwestern Organizer* and the labor and socialist press of the nation—that V. R. Dunne, while in Mexico on a vacation several years ago, paid a visit to Leon Trotsky.

Anderson has further shown that Farrell Dobbs is now a member of the Socialist Workers Party.

What all this has to do with the finks' suit against Local 544 neither Anderson nor the daily papers, which work hand-in-glove with the finks in trying to smear the union movement, have explained.

## Some "Disclosures"

Having failed to find what he sought in 544's books, Anderson has used the device of condemning the union, with a great show of righteousness, for practices that are common to every decent labor organization, and that, in Local 544's case, have been publicized by the union itself.

For instance, Anderson will bring out that the union purchased \$50 worth of tickets to the annual Central Labor Union picnic, and carry on as though this were a sin against mankind. Or he will "prove" that 544 spent \$250 on the union's annual Christmas Party for kids—or that 544 donated \$100 to a food workers' strike, \$2,248 to the widow of the late president of the union, Bill Brown, \$100 to a union in Albert Lea whose hall had been wrecked by deputized thugs, etc.

All these expenditures have been regularly listed in the books of Local 544, and in the monthly financial reports which are presented to the membership—yet Anderson and the boss press present them as though 544 were caught red-handed in some dreadful crime. And of course to the employers it IS a crime for any union to show solidarity with any other labor organization.

Anderson has also proved that Local 544 does whatever it possibly can to come to the assistance of its members in case of illness or death.

The finks' lawyer has also revealed that Local 544 pays 10c per member monthly to the Minneapolis Teamsters Joint Council building fund, and a similar amount to the Northwest Organizer.

He has further proved that when Local 544 officials travel on union business, the union pays their traveling expenses.

All of this, you may say, is ABC, known to any literate person who has examined the laws of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, the by-laws of Local 544, or the labor and socialist press. But from Anderson's presentation, ballyhooed in the employer-controlled press, one would gather that the General Drivers Union was guilty of every crime in the book.

## Labor Supports 544

No doubt the prolific anti-union publicity given the union by the daily press has served to influence a section of middle class opinion against Local 544.

But the more Anderson "disclosed," the firmer the labor movement supports 544. At its last meeting the Minneapolis Central Labor Union unanimously reaffirmed its confidence in 544 and its officers, members and policies.

The last 544 stewards' meeting gave the officers a vote of confidence. So did the last 544 membership meeting.

Typical of the characters that have testified against the union is Eli Joseph Graves, owner of a local coal yard who hired a fink driver.

## Carries A Shotgun

Graves admitted he carries a shotgun in his car and another gun in his office, for use against union organizers.

When John Goldie, union attorney, asked Graves if he had ever attended a meeting of the fascist Silver Shirts, Graves replied: "No, but I've often thought I'd like to."

Another employer testified that 544 had made him pay double the amount of back pay due his driver when this boss had chiseled on the union wage scale. Local 544's union agreement provides for this penalty against chiseling employers.

## Union Pamphlet On Sale

The pamphlet "Behind the 544 Suit", published by the Northwest Organizer, is now available to those who wish to read the true history of the fink suit against the General Drivers Union, copies of the pamphlet may be purchased at the Northwest Organizer office, 233 Plymouth Avenue N., Minneapolis, Minnesota, for 5c each, with special rates on bundle sales.

# Norway's Officers Preferred Hitler To Labor Government

Editor:

Treason in Norway became the current topic of newspaper columns and conversation following the Hitler invasion of that little country. It seems strange: the German fleet had penetrated through the Oslo Fjord, through its narrows, past fortifications such as Horten and Drøbak which, while not impregnable, still were sufficiently strong, due to their strategic location on the mountain sides, to challenge effectively any battleship. But these fortresses remained silent.

No doubt the workers of Norway were stunned by what appeared to be a double blow—invasion and treason. Even workers of Norwegian origin in this coun-

try felt stunned and expressed bitterness mixed with a sense of shame. How could it be? Treason in military circles in a land of peaceful pursuits such as Norway, which was not otherwise given to ordinary corruption so often witnessed in other and more powerful nations. The explanation, however, is not so difficult to find.

First of all it should be remembered that the militarist officers' caste is pretty much the same everywhere, whether of Prussian or of Napoleonic tradition, whether in a Fascist nation or in a democratic capitalist nation. The officers' caste of necessity identifies its interests as bound up with those of the capitalist system.

## Officers Pro-Capitalist

It is true that Norway had only a small army with a small officers' caste, not harboring so many of the remnants of feudal nobility. But Norway has also had a labor government for a number of years, supported by the majority of the population. It is in this contradiction presented by a labor government existing alongside of a conscript army officered by militarists who were ardent supporters of the capitalist system, that the explanation for what is called treason must be found.

## Impossible Straddle

This labor government was of the Social Democratic type and in some respects, at times, a little to the left. It had during its tenure reconciled itself to the continued existence of capitalist exploitation of labor. It governed within the framework of this system. But as a labor government it had to be concerned also about labor reforms. Thus the Norwegian workers enjoyed certain privileges, among which were old age pensions, insurance for unemployment and sickness, vacations with pay, extensive cooperative enterprises and a relatively good standard of wages. To make up for these reforms taxes were relatively heavy in the higher income brackets and supported by measures cutting a bit into profits. In other words the labor government tried to tread the narrow path of the "golden middle-way", balancing itself between labor reforms and certain restrictions upon capitalism.

Known as the dean of American mayors, Hoan was the confidant and adviser of city executives at the helm of municipalities much larger than Milwaukee. Hoan indicated that he would take a vacation and then consider several flattering offers from Milwaukee law firms." (The Call, April 13)

Mr. Hoan in other words, predicts that the capitalist mayor will get no further with capitalist methods than Hoan did—with the same capitalist methods!

One more gem should be added, from an editorial in the same issue of The Call, entitled "Dan Hoan's Record":

"It is to be chalked up as a gain for the Socialist and Farmer-Labor movement that Hoan as an individual leader will be free to contribute in larger state and national fields to the building of a socialist influenced farmer-labor political movement."

We ask every reader to compare the grave seriousness of the worker's letter from Milwaukee with the grotesque flippancy of The Call on the significance of the election. It is the difference between one who takes the class struggle seriously and a crew of petty-bourgeois shysters preaching sewer socialism.

Both for \$4.50

PIONEER PUBLISHERS

116 UNIVERSITY PLACE

NEW YORK CITY

## A Letter from Milwaukee

# About the Defeat of Dan Hoan

Editor:

On Tuesday noon, April 16, Daniel Webster Hoan, the "socialist" Mayor of Milwaukee for 24 years, turned over the office to the 35-year old Republican boy, Carl Zeidler. In the afternoon, the greatest inaugural splurge ever held took place in the City Auditorium.

Daniel Webster Hoan turned over the office "with any bitterness of the campaign forgotten," as the daily papers put it.

And do the workers of Milwaukee feel any bitterness? No—they don't feel bitter. They elect Zeidler by an overwhelming vote. Why did they? Well, as several workers expressed it to me: "Funny in 24 years not to a single young man comes forth to be leader of Milwaukee." Is this the workers' independent reasoning as to what a mayor should be? Again no. It's the so-called "clever" campaign propaganda of the bosses.

Though not particularly clever, his campaign propaganda did the job. Because the "socialist" campaign of Hoan could not be distinguished from the big-business-backed campaign of Zeidler, Zeidler received the workers' vote. They didn't have any other issues to choose between, so they chose the younger man.

What do the workers say about Hoan now that he is defeated? On this question they are doing some real independent thinking. One worker tells me: "Oh Hoan! He is all right—pretty smart guy—he made \$350,000 wages as

whole lot better right here. But you don't know what you're up against, if you think you can get all the working people together. Sure, I'll read your paper. Here's a couple cents for the can. It's all I can spare.

And the man next door, like as not, says the same thing. Lots of people feel the same way. There's a bond between us and them. By convincing them that it can be done, we'll make revolutionists out of them. Not only by argument, though, but also by showing them we're a party of action. But the bond is there for us to cement.

Member-at-large

Buffalo, N.Y.

mayor at \$12,500 a year and he never did spend much on himself." And another adds: "Yes, and he's a lawyer too, so he don't need to be afraid."

I asked some workers: "How do you think Zeidler will turn out?" The answer reminded me of Marx's dictum that workers learn best from their own experience. For the several workers I was talking to carefully explained to me that Heil was elected as governor over a year ago "because we wanted a change." Now, however, they say: "Heil—why he's the biggest liar that ever stood in shoes. What has he done, after all his promises. Nothing—and made it worse." To day about Zeidler they are saying: "By next year we will know what Zeidler is good for."

From this it should be plain that the workers, though constantly being deceived and cheated by capitalism, are nevertheless searching, always searching, for a way out. Once they lay their hands on a real revolutionary program, the one and only means to an answer for their ever-increasing problems, they will know what to do with it.

The workers of Milwaukee are clear on what the Socialist party of Mayor Hoan stands for. Because they do understand this, the name of socialism has been discredited by 24 years of capitalist rule under a socialist label. That makes more difficult the job of acquainting Milwaukee workers with the REAL socialist program, the revolutionary program of the Socialist Workers Party. But the job can and must be done!

H. ADAMS

Milwaukee, Wisconsin

(Needless to say, The Call, organ of Hoan and Norman Thomas, made no attempt to analyze the reasons for Hoan's defeat. Its news-report on the election was unbelievably grotesque. Modestly hidden on an inside page, and with a one-column head entitled, "Ex-choir boy sings way to Hoan's office", it read:

"Mayor Daniel Webster Hoan, in all his 59 years, 24 of which were spent as Milwaukee's mayor, made one mistake: he never learned to sing. "So last week a blonde, hand-

Chicago, Ill. Wm. Simmons

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# In the World of Labor

By Paul G. Stevens

## A Controversy Regarding the Facts on France

We have received this week a letter from Marceau Pivert, leader of the French Socialist Workers and Peasants Party (P.S.O.P.), respecting some facts we have printed in this column recently about his party and its actions against the revolutionary minority within it. Since comrade Pivert, who is at present in this country, challenges our information, we feel it is our duty to air the controversy before the readers of the Socialist Appeal. We confine ourselves here to the bare essentials. Should further developments require it, we are quite prepared to go further lengths in proving that every bit of information printed here, on French matters as well as in general, is based on sources whose reliability is uncontestable.

The letter of Marceau Pivert and the reply by the author of this column follow below:

### Pivert's Letter

The Socialist Appeal  
116 University Place  
New York City

April 16, 1940

Comrades:

Once again, in your issue of April 6, you make such a fantastic presentation of events in regard to the Socialist Workers and Peasants Party of France (P.S.O.P.) that a simple comparison of this article with that of December 2nd suffices to characterize your method. Yesterday, you announced that your friends had captured the leadership of the P.S.O.P.; today, you are obliged to confess that this leadership was struck by the suppression. You use this occasion to slander the imprisoned militant revolutionists. You accuse them, in a word, of having capitulated at a time when they have remained faithful to their Party, to its program, and when they are brutally condemned for having courageously carried out its decisions in time of war. You find in that an occasion for irony. Nevertheless, you cannot be unaware of the terrible conditions in which they are placed, as, for instance, the tubercular Emile Rouaix, former general secretary of the Party. Enough said! We merely register our opinion that your incurable pretensions to the monopoly of revolutionary action leads you to the use of the same methods as Stalinism in relation to other sectors of the working class movement which are not subservient to your exigencies. But bluff and lies can last only a limited time. Before the French proletariat, all accounts will some day be reckoned.

With socialist greetings,  
Marceau Pivert

P.S.: Because of a discretion (which you will no doubt be incapable of understanding) I will refrain from discussing your information in regard to Lucien Weitz and Daniel Guerin. One thing, however, is certain; that is, that they have not been expelled from the Party.

### Our Reply

Marceau Pivert

April 18, 1940

Dear Comrade:

Your letter of April 1 is at hand and has been turned over to me for reply.

First of all, I am sorry that the first occasion

for contact between us is one which involves a dispute on minor matters of fact. However, let us hope that we will be able to straighten out these lesser disagreements and establish a relationship that will permit of a fruitful political discussion between you and us.

As to the actual matter under dispute, allow me to state the facts as they are. You say that in my column in our December 2nd issue of the Appeal, we announced that our "friends had captured the leadership of the P.S.O.P." A reading of that column will reveal that we announced nothing of the sort. We merely said that rumors had reached us to the effect that some of the leading Freemasons in the P.S.O.P., including yourself, had been expelled by the leadership of the organization with the participation of Jacquier, the secretary.

This information I received by word of mouth from a reliable Spanish militant passing through the States at that time. I have since checked the information with the comrade in question and he insists that that information was correct for that time. Furthermore, I have received direct word from France substantiating that same information. Should you persist in denying that the incident occurred, I shall furnish adequate evidence.

The expulsion of the Freemasons and yourself was later revoked. Just how that was done and how the Right Wing in your party resumed control is not as yet clear to me. Under the conditions under which our correspondence with France—which, let me assure you, is quite ample and quite regular in other respects—is being carried on, it is impossible to check on every detail at once. But we will get around to clearing that up, too, in good time.

Next, you say in your letter:

"Today you are obliged to confess that this leadership [the Right Wing of the P.S.O.P.] was struck by suppression. You use this occasion to slander the imprisoned militant revolutionists. You accuse them, in a word, of having capitulated at a time when they have remained faithful to their party and its program," etc.

Let me remind you of the actual facts:

1. In the April 6 issue of the Appeal we called attention to the arrests of three of the leaders of the P.S.O.P. To my knowledge, that is the first publicity given to these arrests in the United States. We consider that kind of publicity a duty inspired by international working class solidarity.

In this respect, it seems to me that, instead of complaining, you should commend us for reacting more quickly and with greater efficiency than others.

2. Solidarity with our co-fighters against French imperialism in the P.S.O.P. leadership cannot and must not blind us, however, to mistakes made by them, some almost fatal. Such blindness, to our mind, could only nullify that solidarity.

3. We said about the imprisoned P.S.O.P. leaders in the April 6 Appeal that they "refused to prepare for illegal work and insisted on carrying on as if the war had not broken out."

Is that slander, comrade Pivert? Do you deny this fact? If you do, I am quite ready to furnish undisputed evidence in this respect, which I am sure you have at hand also, by now.

4. You say of the leadership of the P.S.O.P. (referring, of course, to those who have the formal leadership and have expelled the militants of the "minority") that they have remained

faithful to the party program. Allow me to correct you. In the same issue of the Appeal that you refer to, my column says:

"In fact they (the P.S.O.P. leaders) had voted to expel the revolutionary minority because the minority [demanded] that the party carry out in action its resolution for revolutionary struggle against war (revolutionary defeatism), adopted at the last convention of the P.S.O.P."

Do you deny that the St. Ouen Congress of your party officially made revolutionary defeatism the party position?

Do you deny that, instead, the "leadership" of your party carried out a social-pacifist policy? Who was it, then, that remained "faithful to the program of the party"? Are you going to oblige me to republish the well-known documents in this matter also? I am quite ready to do so.

In any case, I regard it as the highest duty of a revolutionist, while maintaining complete solidarity with those struck down by imperialist suppression, to state the real facts. That is all I have done.

Finally, you object that we "find in that (the arrests) an occasion for irony." Let me set you straight on this also. What we find ironical, as any objective reader will attest, is not the action of the bourgeois government. Not that—but the criminally stupid policies of kowtowing to the legality of that same government; policies pursued by your friends who, by refusing to prepare for illegal work, thereby not only endangered the lives of the revolutionary militants in the rank and file, but eventually fell as victims themselves.

One last point—with regard to my information on Lucien Weitz and Daniel Guerin. Nowhere in

By JOSEPH HANSEN

J. Edgar Hoover, chief of the FBI, arrested and indicted 17 members of Father Coughlin's Christian Front last January for "conspiring to overthrow the government of the United States by force, the theft of munitions and other government property."

The trial is now on—and its real meaning and purpose are becoming apparent. It is preparation by the U.S. government, as part of its war plans, for an intensified drive against labor. It is preparation to accustom the public to the use of provocateurs as an official method of the FBI.

Avoiding an attack against the real fountain-head of the Christian Front, Father Coughlin and his financial backers, the FBI is cunningly making a bid for favorable publicity for its infamous use of that most perverted and degenerate of human beings—the agent-provocateur. Thus the FBI is laying the basis for similar use of provocateurs in the trade union movement, where it has doubtlessly already planted them by the hundreds, as indicated by their use in the WPA strikes in

Minneapolis. It is therefore of first importance to study the trial of the Christian Fronters—despite the fact that these defendants are the mortal enemies of labor—in order to see more clearly how the FBI practises provocation.

So far, the government has utilized the testimony of only one provocateur, although the FBI agent in charge of the case, Peter J. Wacks, admitted on the witness stand that at least 15 more agents were employed.

### His Father One, Too

This provocateur is Denis A. Healy, an expert machine-gunner of the National Guard in his spare time, by profession a junior civil engineer of the New York Central Railroad. He was born in Ireland 36 years ago, came to this country in 1926. His father, he has admitted, was a sergeant in the Irish Royal Constabulary often assigned to do secret service "for the British Government." Healy himself has "ten or fifteen friends" in the Royal Canadian Mounted Police.

The story as to how Healy joined the Christian Front is not

clear. According to one admission he was invited to join and serve as a machine gun instructor by one of the leaders of the so-called Action Committee, the name used to designate the 17 defendants. According to other admissions, he was sent in by the FBI. Both versions may be true. On the witness stand he reported that after joining he got in touch with the FBI, that he reported to his superior in the railroad company that he was doing work for the FBI. Whatever the circumstances the FBI paid for his initiation fee and the company cooperated by giving him a leave of absence.

### Was Well Paid

For his services, the FBI paid him expense money (about \$25 a week) and \$75 every two weeks during his leave of absence, and paid his wife \$34 a week to compensate her for taking a leave of absence from her job with the Queens Electric Light and Power Company—in all avowedly about \$1,300.

Healy, however bought himself a Packard and later a Mercury automobile. He is also buying a new house for \$5,960.

The column mentioned have I said that these two specific persons are among those actually named as expelled. I do not know whether they are, in fact.

It may be that your friends who are left in charge of the party are attempting a sorry maneuver to split these two excellent militants from the rest of the minority. But in vain—that shabby maneuver will not succeed. The fact is that the P.S.O.P. minority, including Guerin and Weitz have, as stated in that column "joined in a body with the Committees of the Fourth International (our French section) for joint work in the building of a united party on the program of the Fourth International." Let me assure you that I have word from Guerin himself to this effect and I am ready, if you oblige me, to substantiate that also.

Your reference to the condition of comrade Rouaix and others of your comrades now under arrest is, of course, in spite of the fact that you manipulated this situation very crudely against us in place of an argument, of deepest concern to us. We are prepared, let me assure you, in spite of the deep-going differences existing between us, to join with you at once in a close collaboration to bring immediate aid to all of our French class war prisoners, as well as to the comrades now hit by the spasmodic spread of the war in other countries. We are prepared to discuss this with you, and others of the F.O.I. (International Workers Front Against War), either informally or formally, and await word from you at your earliest convenience.

Assuring you of my most cordial respect, I remain,

Fraternally yours,

(signed) Paul G. Stevens

### Provoked Fascist Moves

Healy's technique was to gain the confidence of the members of the Christian Front, to get them attached to him as a bosom friend and then to provoke them into some action or declaration which was recorded by agents of the FBI hidden nearby.

With expense money furnished by the United States government, Healy bought his "friends" roast pheasant at \$2.50 a plate, liquor for parties, invited them to dinner at his home where the FBI agents were hiding.

In constant touch with the FBI agents, Healy arranged methodically for them to gather their evidence. He often invited the Christian Fronters to his home where he served wine and food paid for by the government while he engaged them in leading conversations as FBI agents listened through dictaphones and made recordings of the conversations. FBI agent Wacks testified that he was hidden in the attic of Healy's house listening through a device called the detectaphone while Healy talked in the basement with Claus Ernecke. On another occasion, testified Wacks, he and Special Agent Charles Gannon listened through a device known as a "contact mike" to a meeting of the Christian Fronters in the dining room of Healy's home.

### Joined Target Practice

When Healy went with the Christian Fronters to Narrowsburg, New York, for target practice with rifles, FBI agents hidden in the shrubbery of a nearby hill made motion pictures of the defendants with the aid of a camera equipped with a six-inch telephoto lens. Wacks testified also that they had made sound recordings of the conversations at which Healy talked with his "friends" about a "campaign of sabotage in the event the United States should enter the war."

At meetings of the Christian Fronters where the FBI were apparently unable to install their listening and recording devices, Healy took down notes on his cuffs as to the names of those present, the subject discussed. These notes he transferred to a notebook to which he referred constantly during the heavy cross-examination of the attorneys of the defendants.

The extent to which Healy inveigled the Christian Fronters into incriminating actions is shown by the note which Ernecke left in the basement where he hanged himself. According to the police, this note mentioned that Healy had giv-

en him one gun and told him where another could be bought for \$1.

The FBI apparently instructed Healy on every move.

### Agent Helped In Robbery

When some of the Christian Fronters plotted to steal some ammunition and equipment from the locker of John F. Cook, one of the defendants, the FBI instructed Healy to go along with the others. "I knew they could not succeed," he hastened to explain, "because all the things they had sought had been removed from Cook's locker. The agents did not want to involve me in crimes."

### Defendants Red-Baiting

The lawyers for the defendants have attempted to link Healy with the Stalinists. They have persistently demanded, for example, whether or not his sister-in-law who lives with him and his wife, a person named Minnie Kaznowski, was not employed by the Daily Worker. They have asked him if he is acquainted or related to Michael Quill, head of the Transport Workers Union. Healy denied both imputations. Since the lawyers failed to introduce any evidence which would indicate there was anything back of their questions, it may be ascribed to an attempt of the Christian Front to cry persecution from "Communists" and "Reds," in line with the familiar Coughlin thesis that the Roosevelt government is Jewish and communistic.

### Agents In Unions?

One other aspect of the use of provocateurs by the FBI is of interest: In September of 1939 immediately after war broke out in Europe, President Roosevelt issued an order requiring investigation of "subversive activities" by the FBI. The FBI began paying Healy \$25 a week (the amount admitted in court) for expense money as a provocateur on October 10. It would be interesting to see the secret files of the FBI.

How many provocateurs, following the order of President Roosevelt, were sent into the labor movement? How many applications of would-be provocateurs were officially approved by the FBI during this period and their names added to the government pay roll?

During the coming period trade unionists must watch with the utmost caution for these wolves in the pay of those out to crush the labor movement as an obstacle in the path of the war machine.

# The Struggle for a Proletarian Party

By JAMES P. CANNON

National Secretary, S.W.P.

(The following article is the second chapter of a pamphlet written by comrade Cannon to sum up the seven-months' discussion in the party on the question of the Soviet Union and the "organization" question. The pamphlet was published in the Internal Bulletin. Now that the Third National Convention of the party has settled the disputes by a decisive majority, this article will acquaint our readers with the party's estimate of the dispute. In the next issues of the APPEAL we shall publish other chapters of comrade Cannon's pamphlet—Editors.)

## II.

### A New Stage in the Development of American Trotskyism

The body of doctrine and methods known as "Trotskyism" is indubitably the genuine Marxism of our time, the heir and continuator of the Bolshevism of Lenin and the Russian revolution and the early Comintern. It is the movement known as Trotskyism and no other that has developed Bolshevism in analyzing and interpreting all the great events of the post-Lenin period and in formulating the program for the proletarian struggle and victory. There is no other movement, there is no other school that has answered anything. There is no other school that is worthy of a moment's consideration by the proletarian revolutionists. Trotskyism, embodied in the Fourth International, is the only revolutionary movement.

But the road from the elaboration of the program to the organization of firm cadres, and from that to the building of mass parties of the Fourth International, is difficult and complicated. It proceeds through various stages of evolution and development as a continuous process of selection, attracting new forces and discarding others who fail to keep step. The American section of the Fourth International is right now in the midst of a crisis in this evolutionary process. If, as all signs indicate, we are moving toward a radical solution of the crisis, it is to be accounted for by the speed at which world events are marching and the immensity of their scope and the sensitivity of our party to their impact.

The second world war, no less than the first, strikes all organizations and tendencies in the labor movement with cataclysmic force. Our own organization is no exception. Like all others, it is being shaken to its foundations and compelled to reveal its real nature. Weaknesses which remained undisclosed in time of peace are rapidly laid bare with the approach of war. Numerous individuals and whole groupings, whether formally members of the Fourth International or sympathizers, are being submitted to the same tests. There will be casualties, which may seem to indicate a weakening of the movement. But that is rather the appearance of things than the reality. Trotskyism is the veritable doctrine and method of proletarian revolution; it reveals its true substance

most unflinching in times of crisis, war, and revolutionary struggle. Those who have assimilated the program, the doctrine, the method and the tradition into their flesh and blood, as the guiding line of struggle, cling all the more firmly to the movement under the pressure of the crisis.

It is only those who took Bolshevism as a set of literary formulas, espousal of which gave one a certain distinction in radical circles without incurring any serious responsibilities; those who adopted Trotskyism as a form of "extreme radicalism" which never went beyond the bounds of sophisticated debate—it is such people who are most inclined to falter and to lose their heads under the pressure of the crisis, and even to blame their panic on that same "Trotskyism" which simply remains true to itself.

Everybody knows the crisis has dealt heavy blows to the imposing movement of Stalinism. With the signing of the Soviet-Nazi pact the flight of the Stalinist fellow travellers began. They could stomach the Moscow Trials but not the prospect of coming into collision with the democratic government of U.S. imperialism. After the Soviet invasion of Poland and then of Finland the flight of the fellow-travellers became a rout. This wild migration attracted wide attention and comment. We ourselves contributed our observations and witticisms on this ludicrous spectacle. Up to now, however, we have remained silent on an analogous phenomenon in our own "periphery." The flight of the more sophisticated, but hardly more courageous, intellectual fellow-travellers of American Trotskyism has been scarcely less precipitate and catastrophic.

With the approach of the war Trotskyism as a doctrine and as a movement began to lose its "respectability." Many of the intellectuals, sniffing danger, arranged a somewhat hasty and undignified departure. In truth, there is not much left of that considerable army of drawing room heroes who used to admire Trotsky's literary style and confound the less intelligent periphery of Stalinism with nuggets of wisdom mined from Trotsky's writings. The collapse of the Trotskyist "cultural front" was taken by some people, especially the ex-fronters themselves, to signify a collapse of our movement. In the journals of the class enemy to which they promptly attached themselves some of them have already worked up courage to write about Trotskyism as an "outmoded sectarian tendency." However, it is they who are "outmoded," not the movement of the proletarian vanguard, Trotskyism.

The petty-bourgeois intellectuals are introspective by nature. They mistake their own emotions, their uncertainties, their fears, and their egotistic concern about their personal fate for the sentiments and movements of the great masses. They measure the world's agony by their own inconsequential aches and pains. Insofar as our party membership consists in part of petty-bourgeois elements completely disconnected from the proletarian class struggle, the crisis which overtook the periphery of our movement is transferred, or rather, extended, into the party.

It is noteworthy that the crisis struck the New York organization of the party, thanks to its unfavorable social composition,

with exceptional force and virulence, while the proletarian centers of the party remained virtually unaffected. The tendency of the petty-bourgeois elements to flee from our program and to repudiate our tradition is counterposed to a remarkable demonstration of loyalty to the program and to the party on the part of the proletarian membership. One must indeed be blind not to understand the meaning of this differentiation. The more our party revealed itself as a genuine proletarian party, the more it stood firmly by principle and penetrated into the workers' mass movement, the better it has withstood the shock of the crisis. To the extent that our party has sunk its roots in proletarian soil it has gained, not lost, during this recent period. The noise we hear around and about our movement is simply the rustling of the leaves at the top of the tree. The roots are not shaking.

The evolution and development of American Trotskyism did not proceed according to a preconceived plan. It was conditioned by a number of exceptional historical circumstances beyond our control. After the initial cadres had accustomed themselves to withstand the attacks and pressure of the Stalinists, the movement began to take shape as an isolated propaganda society. Of necessity it devoted an inordinate amount of its energy to the literary struggle against Stalinism. World events, one after another, confirmed our criticisms and prognoses. After the collapse of the Comintern in Germany, the failure of the successive 5-year plans to bring "socialism" in Russia, the monstrous excesses of the forced collectivization and the man-made famine, the murderous purges and the trials—after all this, which Trotsky alone had explained and analyzed in advance, Trotskyism became more popular in petty-bourgeois intellectual and half-intellectual circles. For a time it even became the fashion. Party membership conferred a certain distinction and imposed no serious hardships. Internal democracy was exaggerated to the point of looseness. Centralism and discipline existed only in the program, not in practice. The party in New York was more like a sophisticated discussion club than a combat party of the proletariat.

The fusion with the Muste organization, and later the entry into the Socialist Party, were carried out with the deliberate aim of breaking out of propagandistic isolation and stagnation and finding a road to wider circles. These actions brought hundreds of new recruits to the party, and gave us the possibility of expanding our activities. But the successes also brought their own contradictions. The membership of the Socialist Party in New York, including its left-wing and its youth organization, was primarily petty-bourgeois in composition; and, despite their good will, were not easy to assimilate. If our party organization in New York had been much larger, and predominantly proletarian in composition, the task would have been much easier. As it was, some of the new forces from the S.P. complicated the problem of proletarianizing the party and contributed fresh recruits to the petty-bourgeois clique of Abern.

At the same time, thanks to our deliberate orientation toward trade union work, the party in other centers of the country was developing in a proletarian direction. Penetration into the trade unions was bringing into the party fresh elements of proletarian fighters; and the contrast between the proletarian centers and the New York organization flared up in numerous skirmishes before it finally exploded in the present party crisis.

The approach of the war, with its forewarning of heavy difficulties and sacrifices for members of the party, brought with it a restlessness and dissatisfaction among many of the petty-bour-

geois elements. These sentiments found authentic expression in a section of the leadership. They began to translate their own nervousness into exaggerated criticism of the party and demands upon it which could not be fulfilled in the circumstances. After the signing of the Stalin-Hitler pact, the opposition became more articulate. It began to express itself in the form of a fight against our program and, eventually, in a revolt against the whole doctrine, tradition and method of Marxism and Bolshevism.

It would be utterly absurd, however, to characterize the party crisis as the result merely of political differences of opinion. We would not touch the core of the problem if we confined ourselves to a "political" characterization of the fantastic proposals and flip-flops of the opposition. Serious political struggles, such as these, are an expression of the struggle of classes; that is the only way to understand them. The leaders of the opposition, and a very large percentage of their followers, have shown that they are capable of changing their opinions on all fundamental questions of theory and politics over night. This only demonstrates quite forcibly that their opinions in general are not to be taken too seriously.

The driving impulses behind the opposition as a whole are petty-bourgeois nervousness at the prospect of impending struggles, difficulties and sacrifices, and the unconscious desire to avoid them at all costs. For some, no doubt, the frenzied struggle against our program and our tradition is simply a device to mask a capitulatory desertion of the revolutionary movement in a cloud of dust and controversy. For others, their newly discovered "political position," and their endless talk about it and around it are an unconscious rationalization of the same inner compulsion. In such cases it is not sufficient to stop at a political characterization of the outlandish propositions of the oppositionists. It is necessary to expose their class basis.

The present crisis in the party is no mere episode. It is not to be explained by simple differences of opinion such as have occurred at times in the past, and will always occur in a free and democratic party. The crisis is the direct reflection of alien class pressure upon the party. Under this pressure the bulk of the petty-bourgeois elements, and the petty-bourgeois leaders, lost their heads completely, while the proletarian sections of the party stand firm, and rally around the program with a virtual unanimity.

From this we can and must draw certain conclusions:

(1) It is not sufficient for the party to have a proletarian program; it also requires a proletarian composition. Otherwise the program can be turned into a scrap of paper over night.

(2) The crisis cannot be resolved simply by taking a vote at the convention and reaffirming the program by majority vote. The party must proceed from there to a real proletarianization of its ranks. It must become obligatory for the petty-bourgeois members of the party to connect themselves in one way or another with the workers' movement and to reshape their activities and even their lives accordingly. Those who are incapable of doing this in a definite and limited period of time must be transferred to the rank of sympathizers.

We stand at a decisive stage in the evolution of American Trotskyism from a loosely-organized propaganda circle and discussion club to a centralized and disciplined proletarian party rooted in the workers' mass movement. This transformation is being forced rapidly under pressure of the approaching war. This is the real meaning of the present party struggle.



# Order Out of Chaos—By Leon Trotsky

The article printed below was issued as a pamphlet by the Supreme Council of Soviets in Moscow in 1919. It was written at the front lines of the Civil War by the head of the Red Army. It is particularly appropriate today when Europe and the world has once again been plunged into the bloody chaos of the Second World War.—EDITOR.

From the lands where they were hurled by the German plunderers, German soldiers are streaming homeward. The German soldiers are attacked by half-baked Polish regiments; they are disarmed and sometimes beaten. The Anglo-French and the Americans tighten their death-grip on Germany and take careful count of her feverish pulse. This does not prevent them from demanding that her government send the remnants of German troops to engage Soviet Russia in battle and prevent the latter from liberating territories occupied by German imperialism.

The Belgians, whose country was only yesterday crucified by German imperialism, are today seizing purely German Rhenish provinces.

Semi-pauperized, Roumanians, despoiled by their ruling swindlers, whose capital is alternately the prey of Germans and the Anglo-French, are themselves seizing Bessarabia, Transylvania and Bukovina.

Trans-oceanic American regiments sit on the tip of our famine-stricken and icy North wondering why they were brought there.

The streets of Berlin, only so recently proud of its severe orderliness, are swept by the sanguinary waves of civil war. (1) French troops have landed in Odessa; (2) while great areas of France itself are occupied by American, English, Australian, and Canadian troops who treat Frenchmen like they would colonials.

Poland, resurrected after almost a century and a half of oblivion, strains with a kind of feverish impatience to engage the Ukraine and Prussia in battle and provokes Soviet Russia.

## American Colossus Bestrides Europe's Ruins

The American President Wilson, a philistine and hypocrite on whom the white stitching still shows, an oily (Quaker-vegetable-oil) Tartuffe criss-crosses blood-drenched Europe as the supreme representative of morality, as the Messiah of the American Dollar; punishing, pardoning, and arranging the fate of the peoples. Everybody beckons to him, invites him, implores him: the king of Italy, the reigning, perfidious Georgian Mensheviks, the debased and seditious Scheidemann, the mangy tiger of the French middle class, Clemenceau, all the strong boxes of the London City and even Swiss midwives. With his trouser-cuffs primly turned up, Wilson walks over the bloodpools of Europe with the blessings of Wall Street that has so well played the last stake of the European lottery, he unites Jugo-Slavs with Serbians; appraises the crown of the Hapsburgs; between two pinches of snuff rounds out Belgium at the expense of plundered Germany; and ponders the possibility of drafting orang-outangs and baboons to save Christian culture from the barbarism of the Bolsheviks.

Europe resembles a madhouse. And at first glance it seems as if the inmates themselves are unaware half an hour in advance whose throat they will cut and whom they will next embrace. But in the stormy waves of this chaos one irrefutable lesson is to be discerned—the criminal responsibility of the bourgeois world. Everything now occurring in Europe was prepared for during the past generations, by its economic system, its state relations, its system of militarism; by the morality and philosophy of the ruling classes, by the religion of all the priests. The monarchy, the aristocracy, the clergy, the bureaucracy, the bourgeoisie, the professional intellectuals, the masters of wealth, and the rulers of states—it is they who have prepared and are preparing those incomprehensible events which make old "cultured", "Christian" Europe seem like a madhouse.

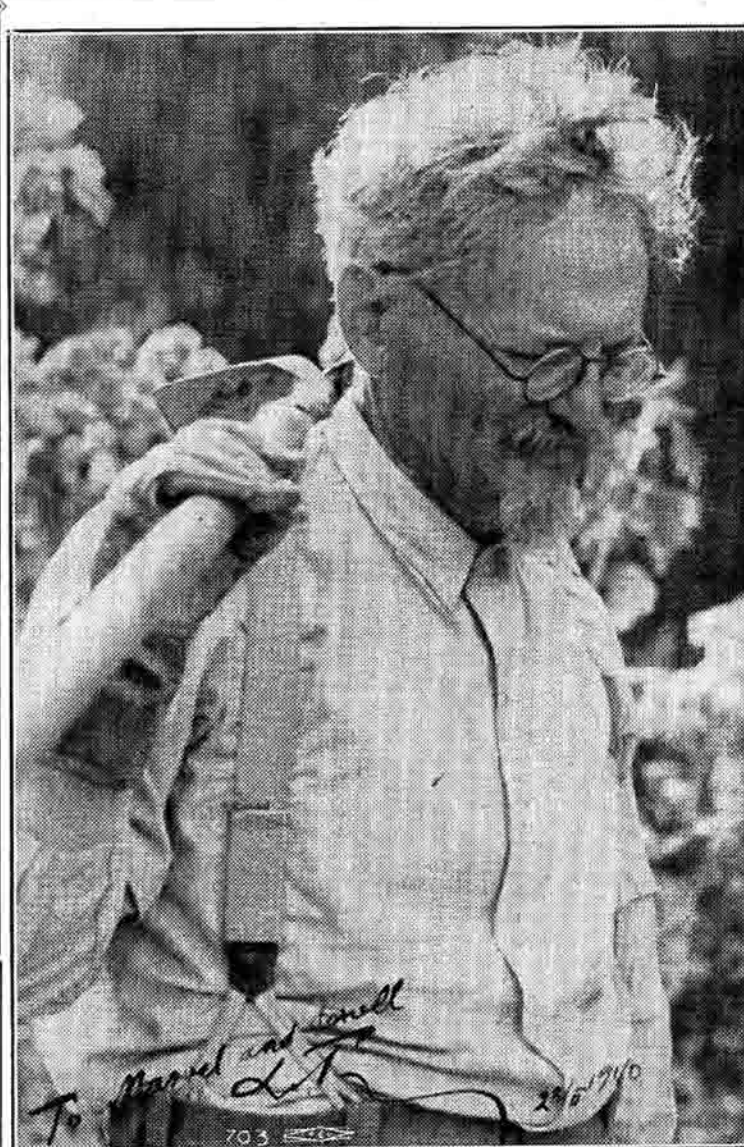
## Imperialism, Nationalism, Communism

The European "chaos" is chaos in form only; in substance expressed in it are the supreme laws of history which is now destroying the old to make way for the new. The population of Europe now uses the very same rifles in fighting for different tasks and different programs which correspond to different historical epochs. Basically they are reducible to three: Imperialism, Nationalism, Communism.

This war began as a gang-fight between the great capitalist bandits over seizures and the division of the world—this is precisely the sum and substance of imperialism. But in order to plunge the many-millioned masses into the struggle, to bait them against one another, to fan in them the spirit of hatred and fury, "ideas" and "moods" dear to the deceived and doomed-to-destruction masses were required.

This hypnotic medium at the disposal of the imperialist bandits was provided by the idea of nationalism. The reciprocal bond of the people who speak one and the same language, belong to one and the same nation—that constitutes a great force. This bond did not make itself felt so long as people lived a patriarchal life in their villages or provincial regions. But the more bourgeois production developed, the more it tied village to village and the provinces with the cities, all the more did the people drawn into its maelstrom learn to value a common tongue—this great medium of material and spiritual communion. Capitalism sought to entrench itself first and foremost on a national foundation and engendered powerful nationalist movements: in atomized Germany, in dismembered Italy, in harrowed Poland, in Austria-Hungary, among the Balkan Slavs, in Armenia.

By means of revolutions and wars, by hook or crook with a hole here and a patch there, the European bourgeoisie solved part of the national problem. A unified Italy, a unified Germany, without German-Austria but, by way of compensation scores of kings, were created. The peoples of Russia were bound together by the steel tentacles of Czarism. Austria and the Balkans were convulsed by a bitter internecine struggle of nations who were



doomed to live in close proximity but were incapable of establishing peaceful forms of collaboration.

## Capitalism Plunges Into Slaughter

Meanwhile, capitalism quickly outgrew the national framework. The national state served it only as a springboard for the leap. Capitalism soon became cosmopolitan—at its disposal were world-wide means of communication—its agents and servants spoke in all tongues and it sought to plunder the peoples of the earth regardless of their language, color of skin, or religion of their priests. While the middle and petty bourgeoisie, together with broad circles of the working class, still continued to remain in the atmosphere of national ideology, capitalism developed into imperialism, into an urge for world domination.

The world slaughter from its very beginning presented the terrible spectacle of the combination of imperialism with nationalism; the omnipotent clique of financial capital and heavy industry succeeded in harnessing to their chariot all the feelings, passions and moods produced by the bond of nationalism, by the unity of language, by common historical tradition and above all, by common existence in a national state. Taking to the highroad for robberies, seizures, and manslaughter, the imperialists of each contending camp proved capable of instilling in the popular masses the idea that the struggle presumably involved national independence and national culture. Just as bankers and big manufacturers exploit small shopkeepers and workers, so imperialism subjected completely to itself the nationalist and chauvinist feelings and goals by pretending that it was serving and safeguarding them. It was this terrible psychological charge that fed and sustained the great slaughter for four and one half years.

## Communism a Unifying Force

But Communism emerged on the scene. It had in its time likewise arisen on national soil simultaneously with the awakening of the workers' movement at the very first and still uncertain beat of the capitalist machine. With the doctrine of Communism the proletariat opposed itself to the bourgeoisie. And while the latter soon became imperialist and a force for plundering the world, the advanced proletariat, on the contrary, became internationalist and a force for world unification.

The imperialist bourgeoisie represented numerically an insignificant minority of the nation. It maintained itself, it ruled and dominated so long as it was able through the ideas and moods of nationalism to keep broad petty bourgeois and working masses in thrall. The internationalist proletariat constituted another minority at the very opposite pole. It had every justification for believing that it could tear the majority of the people from the spiritual yoke of imperialism.

But up to the last great slaughter of the peoples even the best and most perspicacious leaders of the proletariat never suspected how powerfully the consciousness of the popular masses was swayed by the prejudices of bourgeois state rule and the habits of national conservatism. All this was revealed in July, 1914, which without exaggeration became the blackest month in world history; not only because kings and the stockbrokers were able to unleash the war but because they succeeded in gaining inner sway over hundreds of millions of popular masses, duping them, spinning a web about them, hypnotizing them and

psychologically drawing them into their murderous enterprise.

Internationalism which had for decades served as the official banner of the most powerful working class organization, seemed to have disappeared instantaneously in the fire and smoke of the world slaughter. Later it re-appeared as a weak and flickering tiny flame among disconnected, isolated groups in various countries. All the learned and the unlearned priests and lackeys of the bourgeoisie tried to depict these groups as the dying remnants of utopian sects. But the name of Zimmerwald (3) had already evoked echoes of alarm in the columns of the entire bourgeois press. The revolutionary internationalists marched along their own road. Above all, they gave themselves a clear accounting of the causes underlying the events.

## Betrayal of Official Social Democracy

The prolonged era of "peaceful" bourgeois development with its day-to-day struggle of the trade unions, with its reformist petty-foggery and petty parliamentary squabbles created a many-millioned organization, opportunist at the top, which curbed with heavy chains the revolutionary energy of the proletariat. By dint of historical events the official social democracy, born under the sign of the social revolution, became transformed into the most counter-revolutionary force in Europe and in the whole world. It became so intertwined with the national state, its parliament, its ministers, its commissions; it became so accustomed to its friendly enemies—the bourgeois and middle class parliamentary swindlers—that at the outbreak of the bloody catastrophe of the capitalist system it could perceive nothing save—the threat to national "unity". Instead of calling upon the proletarian masses for an assault against capitalism, it called them to defend the "national" state. This social democracy of the Plekhanovs, Tseretellis, Scheidemanns, Kautskys, Renaudels, and Longuets, mobilized in the service of imperialism every national prejudice, all the slavish instincts, the entire scum of chauvinism, everything dark and corrupt which had accumulated in the souls of the toiling and oppressed masses during centuries of slavery.

It was clear to the party of revolutionary Communism that this colossal historical blackmail would terminate in a terrible collapse of the ruling cliques and their retinues. To evoke in the masses a martial upsurge, a readiness for self-sacrifice, and finally even the mere ability to spend years in the filthy stinking mud of the trenches, it was necessary for the rulers to arouse in the masses enormous hopes, monstrous illusions. The disillusionment and embitterment of the masses would inevitably assume proportions commensurate with the scope of this deceit. The revolutionary internationalists (they were not yet called Communists) foresaw this and upon this forecast they based their revolutionary tactic. They "steered a course" toward the social revolution.

## Internationalism Versus Imperialism

Two conscious minorities—the imperialist and internationalist—declared a war to the death against each other. And before their combat was transferred to the city streets in the shape of open civil war, it unfolded in the consciousness of millions upon millions of toilers. These were no longer parliamentary conflicts, which even in the best days of parliamentarism educated the masses only to a very limited extent. Here the entire people, down to its darkest and most inert depths, were seized by the steel claws of militarism and violently plunged into the maelstrom of events.

Imperialism was challenged by Communism which said: "You have now shown the masses in action what you really are and what you are capable of doing. My turn is next." The great combat between Imperialism and Communism is decided not by paragraphs of reform, not by parliamentary ballots, nor by the strike reports of trade unions. The events are written in steel and every step of the struggle is sealed with blood. This alone predestined that the struggle between Imperialism and Communism would not be settled within the limits of formal democracy.

## The Solution Cannot Be Postponed

To solve the basic tasks of social development through universal suffrage would, under present conditions, when all questions are posed point-blank, signify a cessation of the struggle between the mortal class enemies. It would mean an appeal to an arbitrator in the person of those intermediate and primarily petty bourgeois masses who either have not yet been drawn into the struggle or are participating in it semi-consciously. But it is precisely these masses who were deceived by the great lie of nationalism, who were bled white by the war, who have lost their heads and only seek for a way out, who are subject to the most diverse and contradictory moods—these masses cannot be accepted as authoritative arbitrators by Imperialism, all the less so by Communism, nor even by themselves. Why then not temporize and postpone the solution of the dispute until the bewildered intermediate masses come to their senses and draw all the necessary conclusions from the lessons of the war? How? In what way? Artificial interludes are possible in combats between athletes; on the arena of a circus or on the tribune of parliament—but not in a civil war. The more aggravated all the relations, all the needs and all the misfortunes become as a result of the imperialist war, the less objective possibility there is for leading the struggle into the channels of formal democracy, the simultaneous and universal counting of noses.

"In this war you, Imperialism, have shown what you are capable of and now my turn has come. I shall take power into my hands and show the still vacillating, the still bewildered masses what I can do, where I can lead them, what I want and can give them."

This was the slogan of the October insurrection of Communism; this is the meaning of the terrible war which the Spartacists have proclaimed against the bourgeois world on the streets of Berlin.

day. In many cities they won their demand, and in others they succeeded in appreciably cutting down their hours of work. But it was in Chicago that the strike centered. The size and the militancy of the workers' demonstration there had many far-reaching effects.

The bosses of Chicago, their police and their government decided that when the workers were ready to take to the streets to fight for their needs, it was necessary for the bosses at all costs to curb and kill the organized labor and workers' political movement.

On May 3 the police fired into the picket line at the McCormick Deering plant, killing four and wounding scores of the strikers.

On May 4 a gigantic mass meeting at Haymarket Square protested the brutality of the police. The meeting was peaceful and just about to adjourn when suddenly the police attacked the crowd. Someone threw a bomb, killing a sergeant. When the smoke of battle cleared, seven police and four workers were dead. Most of the militant labor lead-

The imperialist slaughter has erupted into a civil war. The better the capitalist war has trained the workers how to handle rifles, the more decisively are they beginning to apply these rifles for their own goals. However, the old slaughter is not yet liquidated; here and there new bloody clashes along the old national and state lines still flare up and threaten to spread into a new conflagration. At the moment when Communism is already celebrating its first victories and is fully justified in not fearing isolated defeats, the yellow tongues of nationalist flames still erupt from underneath the volcanic soil.

## Inferno of National and Social Conflict

Poland, only yesterday herself strangled, dismembered, torn and bled white—Poland seeks today in a final and belated drunken fit of nationalism to plunder Prussia, Galicia, Latvia and White Russia. Meanwhile, the Polish proletariat is already building its Soviets.

Serbian nationalism seeks a robber's satisfaction for ancient slights and wounds in territories settled by Bulgarians.

Italy grabs at Serbian provinces. The Czechs, who have just freed themselves from underneath the German-Hapsburg boot, drunk with the pseudo-independence proffered them by the mighty sharks of Imperialism, are violating the cities of German Bohemia and massacring Russians in Siberia. The Czech communists are sounding the alarm.

## Wall Street Is Growing Uneasy

Events pile on events, the map of Europe changes uninterceptedly, but the most profound changes are occurring in the consciousness of the masses. The very rifle which was yesterday used in the service of national imperialism serves today in the same hands the cause of social revolution. Wall Street, which has long and skillfully fanned the European bonfire so as to enable its bankers and industrialists to warm their hands at its flames, now sends to Europe its chief clerk, its supreme broker, its methodical rogue, Wilson, to investigate at first hand whether things have not gone too far.

Only recently, the American millionaires laughed in their clean-shaven chins and rubbed their hands: "Ha-ha! Europe has become a madhouse, Europe is exhausted, bankrupt; Europe is becoming transformed into a cemetery of old culture. We shall tour its ruins, buy up its treasured monuments; lavishly tip the august scions of all the European dynasties! European competition will vanish. Control over industrial life will pass completely into our hands, and the profits from the whole world will begin flowing into our American pockets."

But, at present, the snide chuckle is beginning to stick in the throat of the Wall Street Yankees.

## The Communist Order Raises Its Head

Amid the European chaos, the idea of a new order, the Communist Order, is raising its head ever more imperiously and powerfully. In the clash and din of bloody imperialism, nationalist and class conflicts, the peoples most backward from the revolutionary standpoint are slowly but unswervingly beginning to fall in step with those who have already left their first victories behind them. From a prison of the peoples which Czarist Russia was, it is turning before our very eyes—with the liberation of Riga, Vilna, Kharkov—into a free federation of Soviet Republics. (4)

There is no other way out, no other road for the peoples of the former Austro-Hungarian empire and the Balkan peninsula. Soviet Germany will enter as a member into this family which sooner or later will include in its ranks Soviet Italy and Soviet France. The transformation of Europe into a Federation of Soviet Republics is the sole conceivable solution of the needs of national development of great and small nations, which is not detrimental to the centralist requirements of economic unification—first of Europe and then of the whole world.

Bourgeois democrats dreamed in their time of a United States of Europe. These dreams have found a hypocritically belated echo in the speeches of the French social patriots in the first period of the last war. (5) The bourgeoisie proved incapable of unifying Europe because it could counterpose to the unifying tendencies of economic development only the dividing will of national imperialism.

## Only Socialism Can Unify the World

To unify the peoples it is necessary to free economic life from the fetters of private property. Only the dictatorship of the proletariat is capable of bringing the demands of national development into their natural and legal boundaries and embracing all nations in a unification of working collaboration. This unification will take shape precisely as the Federation of the Soviet Republics of Europe on the basis of the free self-determination of the peoples dwelling there. There can be no other solution. This alliance will be directed against England should the latter lag behind the continent in her revolutionary development. Together with Soviet England the European Federation will direct its blows against the imperialist dictatorship of North America so long as the trans-oceanic republic remains the Republic of the Dollar—so long as the triumphant snorting of Wall Street is not turned into its death rattle.

Bloody chaos still stands over Europe. The old is combining with the new. Events pile up on events; and blood accumulates on blood. But from this chaos, ever more resolutely and boldly emerges the idea of the Communist Order from which the bourgeoisie will be saved neither by its Versailles conspiracies, nor its hired gangs, nor its voluntary flunkies of class collaboration and social patriotism, nor by the great trans-oceanic patron of all the capitalist stragglers.

It is no longer the spectre of Communism that hovers over Europe as was the case seventy-two years ago when the Communist Manifesto was written—it is the ideas and hopes of the bourgeoisie that are being transformed into a spectre. Communism now strides over Europe in flesh and blood.

(1) Comrade Trotsky is referring to the January 1919 uprising of the Berlin workers and soldiers. It was provoked by the treacherous policy of the social democratic government of Ebert and Scheidemann. The government had issued an order removing the incumbent independent social democrat from his post of the Berlin chief of police. The workers replied by mass demonstrations. Within 24 hours a general strike was declared. The movement was headed by a revolutionary committee composed of Karl Liebknecht, Ledebour, and Scholtze. This committee had the support of the Spartacists and of the Berlin organization of the Independent Social-Democrats. The authorities began negotiations with the workers and at the same time mobilized military forces from bourgeois youth, White Guard students, and non-commissioned officers of the old Hohenzollern army. On January 11, under the leadership of Noske the bloody suppression of the workers' uprising began. On January 15, Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg were murdered by the officers conveying them to prison.

(2) The landing of the French troops in Odessa took place early in January 1919, as part of the general Allied plan to aid Denikin against the Soviets.

(3) The Zimmerwald conference was held in Switzerland in September 1915 on the initiative of the Italian Socialists. The Left Wing at this Conference headed by Lenin issued a manifesto to the workers of the world calling upon the armies then fighting for imperialist aims to turn their guns against their own bourgeoisie.

(4) With the outbreak of the revolution in Germany, the German troops occupying Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, White Russia and the Ukraine rushed home; and the Red Army was able to advance without meeting any serious resistance.

(5) For the current version of this "dream" one need only refer to the bourgeois press, especially of the Allied camp.

# How May Day Began

By MARVEL SCHOLL

May Day, 1940, marks the fiftieth anniversary of that first great international working class holiday when the workers of every nation went into the streets, on May 1, 1890, to strike for the legal establishment of the eight hour day. Four years before that, however, the first May Day had been celebrated in the United States.

The history of May Day is the history of the organized labor and revolutionary movement of the world, its rises and downfalls, its martyrs, its leaders—and its mis-leaders. A study of that history contains many valuable lessons for the workers of today.

The first gigantic May Day strike occurred on May 1, 1886, in the United States and grew out of more than fifty years of previous struggles by the American workers for a shorter work day. From its very inception, May Day as a workers' holiday has been recognized as a political institution. The struggle to establish the legal limit for a working day to eight hours was a political battle. To this original demand, as the years passed,

and economic organization for the working class.

May Day began in the United States. From the very beginning of the factory system here, the workers began their fight against the murderous hours imposed on them by their employers. The first demand was for a ten hour day. In 1821, without the benefit of any organization, a group of cordwainers in New York went on strike. During the trial of their leaders for conspiracy later, it was brought out that the "normal" working day for these men was from nineteen to twenty hours.

During the next two decades the number and militancy of the strikes over the ten hour day were so great that many industries had to grant it. In 1837 President Van Buren finally decreed that all government employees work ten hours a day.

Scarcely had this demand been won on a more or less widespread scale than the workers took up

the cry for an eight hour day. The issue was never lost sight of, from 1827, when the first trade union in the world was organized in Philadelphia by the Mechanics until 1884, when the first convention of the Federation of Organized Trades and Labor Unions of the United States and Canada (later simplified to the American Federation of Labor), passed a resolution setting May 1, 1886 as a day for mass strikes for the eight hour day. The National Labor Union, organized as a federation of trade unions in 1866, the First International, and the Knights of Labor, had all passed resolutions and organized their forces around this demand.

May 1, 1886 is a day which will long be remembered by both the workers of the world and the employing classes. In every large city in the country workers laid down their tools and took to the streets to fight for the legal establishment of the eight hour

many political issues were added. Slogans for May Day parades and demonstrations today include (1) international working class solidarity, (2) universal suffrage, (3) the ending of colonial oppression, (4) the right to the streets, (5) the freeing of political prisoners, (5) the right of political



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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.
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5. Thirty dollar weekly old-age and disability pension.
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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.

## War in the Pacific

Step by step this country is being shoved by the Washington government closer and closer to war against Japan in the Pacific.

Secretary of State Cordell Hull last week warned Japan not to occupy the Dutch East Indies and on April 24 the well-informed Washington columnists, Pearson and Allen, said in their "Merry Go Round";

"The Hull warning to Japan is subject to various interpretations, but that given it by established usage is that if Japan does not heed the warning it means war. Nations do not usually stick their necks out to tell another nation what to do without the risk of war. So, write it down as certain that if we get into war, it will be through the back door of the Pacific."

But far more specific and authoritative was the blunt statement made on April 22 before the Senate Committee on Naval Affairs by Rear Admiral J. K. Taussig, a former assistant chief of naval operations and at present commander of the Fifth Naval District at Norfolk, Va.

"I cannot see how we can ultimately prevent

being drawn into war on account of the Far Eastern situation," Admiral Taussig said.

He cited the famous Tanaka Memorial outlining Japanese expansionist aims and declared: "In the Far East, a situation has arisen which definitely threatens our national interests. . . . I cannot see how we can escape being forced into eventual war by the present trend of events."

By "our interests" the plain-speaking admiral means the interests of American investments, trade, imperialist power. Just what these have to do with the interests of the workers of the United States nobody troubles to say, because they have nothing to do with them. The whole country is to be asked to line up for the slaughter to defend and expand the "interests" of the handful of bankers and big business men in the Far East, six to ten thousand miles from our homes.

Of course, both Hull and the Navy department immediately issued disclaimers of responsibility for Taussig's plain talk. But just imagine an admiral in active service, a former chief of the naval staff, making public statements like that without the nod from Roosevelt.

The government isn't really going to rebuke Taussig for declaring that "we" are going to have to fight Japan and should, to that end, make a pact at once with Britain, France, and Holland, and spend a couple of billions more of the people's money for bigger and bigger warships.

The government isn't going to rebuke him because, the fact is, he expressed the real intentions of the government, and his public statement was probably deliberately designed to test public reaction.

Let that public reaction be made plain and made fast. The workers of the United States have no "interests" to defend in the Far East. Their interests lie with the Chinese and Japanese workers who will defend them in common against the capitalists of those countries, and will defend them all the better if the American workers concentrate on breaking up the imperialist war plans of our own boss rulers right here at home. And we can do that first of all by organizing to fight the vast drive of union repression that the government has already started as a wartime measure and by fighting for jobs and for the 30-hour week at a \$30 minimum. That's OUR fighting front. Let's get busy on it!

### IT WASN'T NAILED DOWN!

Herbert Fleishacker, 68-year-old former president of the Anglo-California National Bank, is given a clean bill of health by Harry S. Young, his attorney, who is defending him against the federal indictment charging him with misappropriating \$55,000 from the huge bank he once controlled. "He has taken nothing to which he is not entitled," declared Young.

"Lent," says the Minneapolis Star Journal editorially, "teaches many things to those who observe it, and among the most important, is self-denial, the discipline of oneself for a 40-day period. It is a beneficial form of therapy to make ourselves, once in awhile, do without—to refuse ourselves certain pleasures we have learned to accept as our own. It overhauls our habits, puts backbone in our character, proves we can say 'no' to ourselves and be obeyed." Aren't the reliefers and other unemployed the luckiest persons ever! They have Lent all the time.

## How May Day Began

(Continued from Page 7)  
most gigantic demonstrations of international working class solidarity the world has ever seen. In most industrial centers in Europe and the United States, the workers poured into the streets, ready for the inevitable fight with the police. May Day was born as an international holiday with the blood of many workers to baptize it.

Through the next decades May Day became a day of dread for all of the governments and their police. Every year the demonstrations grew larger than the year before, more political in character.

The Gompers regime in the AFL did its best to stifle the spirit of the workers, and their

loyalty to their holiday. The AFL top leadership did everything in their power to divert the celebration of May Day on May 1 to May Sunday. They tried to change the character of the day from one of strikes and street fights with the police to picnics, parades, tournaments, and pageants. But the workers wanted May Day to remain what it was—a mass demonstration for political, social, and economic solidarity between the workers of the world, and that is what it remained. Finally, the AFL leaders tried to shift altogether to "Labor Day," in September.

In 1915 the social democratic leadership of the European working class succeeded in averting a May Day strike. They pledged their governments that the work-

ers would remain at work for the defense of "their" countries. Not so in the United States.

In 1917, with the United States already in the world war, the workers and revolutionary elements within the Socialist Party went into the streets to protest against the war. A huge parade in Cleveland was set upon by the police. One man was killed and another wounded.

May Day is the Workers Day. It has never been legalized, and it will never be, by the bosses. It is the one day on which, above all, the workers demonstrate their class-consciousness, their realization that they have only one road to freedom—and that is struggle to the death against the bosses of the world and the economic system under which they rule.

## Philadelphia SWP Appeals to Unions To Organize Fight Against the Wage Tax

(Continued from Page 2)

gan to make things hot for the Republican bosses with one round after another of demonstrations, mass meetings and other pressure actions. The sales tax was repealed.

In 1939 the city-owned gas works was put in hock to the tune of \$42,000,000 and the crisis was staved off for a time. But not before Cooke had stuck his hand into this soft pie and extracted for himself \$100,000 in commission for himself for the deal. "That man will get ahead," they say in this town, "because he never steals anything under five figures."

### Now They Try This

Still they had to find more taxes by the time 1939 came to a close. Taxing property and real estate in the higher brackets was ruled out—this would hit the people who had plenty of money, and that would never do! Suddenly they hit on a grand idea: the wage tax. Here was a proposition that discriminated against no one—treated rich and poor alike. The man that made ten million and the WPA worker, the millionaire and the relief slave—all of them had to pay the same percentage. The principle of equality—no less!

The next job was to put over the 1½% tax painlessly without fuss or commotion. A "Citizens' committee" was formed with Gates, member of the Board of Directors of the Penna. R.R. as its chairman. Representatives of labor unions were invited to participate. The committee "investigated" and "investigated" until the day came to balance the budget. It conveniently had no other idea than the wage tax. Whereupon the City Council passed the tax by a 17-3 vote with no discussion whatever. Unlike other taxes, this one has no time stipulation. It must stand until repealed.

### Labor Caught Asleep

The labor movement, the trade unions had been caught sleeping at the switch. No demonstrations, no actions, no picket lines as there had been at the time of the sales tax. They just tried to get a few petitions signed and that was all. The City Council just ignored the workers and went on to dig deeper in the pork barrel.

The wage tax still hangs around the necks of the workers like a millstone. Nothing is being done about it despite reports of civic groups urging economies upwards of \$3,000,000 to substitute for the wage tax.

And that's just the point! Nobody has forced the City Council to do anything. Labor leaders have done nothing. The workers have suffered in silence.

The wage tax has been wringing the working population dry

for four months. It's time to call a halt. The Socialist Workers Party calls upon all unions and workers' organizations to organize a mass movement that will throw the wage tax in the ashcan and along with it the City's Stepfathers who made it law.

A "repeal the Wage Tax" movement can sweep the city by storm. Every union, every workers' neighborhood, every place where poor people live and work can be organized for the anti-wage tax movement.

Can it be done?  
It was done with the sales tax!  
It can be done with the wage tax!

The Socialist Workers Party, Philadelphia local, calls upon the workers of this city to set afoot the picket lines, mass demonstrations and mass actions that will finish the wage tax just as it once finished the sales tax.

## GREETINGS ARRIVE FROM THE FRENCH SECTION OF 4th INT'L

### Greetings:

THE COMMITTEES OF THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL (French section of the Fourth International) address their fraternal greetings to the workers of all countries who are struggling to transform the imperialist war into a civil war.

We salute our brothers of the Fourth International everywhere—in the French Colonies, the British Colonies, and PARTICULARLY OUR BROTHERS, THE FOURTH INTERNATIONALISTS OF GERMANY, OF BOHEMIA, OF POLAND AND OF THE U.S.S.R.

We greet especially warmly Leon Trotsky, in whose person Stalin, Hitler and Daladier hate the living symbol of the revolution in progress!

We call upon the comrades in America and in all sections in those countries which have not yet entered the war, to come to the support of the revolutionists of the belligerent countries to render them the aid which they sorely need.

We reaffirm our profound faith, more than ever, in the proletarian revolution which will soon sweep from the world that rotten capitalism which is leading the workers to slaughter. We call upon all the sections of the Fourth International to close their ranks more closely than ever and to prepare for the revolutionary battle!

Paris, France

CENTRAL COMMITTEE,  
COMMITTEES OF THE  
FOURTH INTERNATIONAL

## Why We Publish "Fourth International"

(REPRINTED FROM "FOURTH INTERNATIONAL")

This is the first issue, Volume I, No. 1, of *Fourth International*, the new monthly theoretical organ of the Socialist Workers Party. *Fourth International* will defend the program, ideas and tradition which *The New International* can no longer represent. We owe our readers an explanation for changing the name of our official magazine.

*The New International* was the official theoretical organ of the Socialist Workers Party, American section of the Fourth International. The magazine had been in existence since 1934 and was published regularly with the exception of the period when the Fourth Internationalists of this country held membership in the Socialist Party. At all times *The New International* was the property of our organization. It voiced in its columns the official position of the Trotskyist movement, as a section of the International Communist League and later as a section of the Fourth International. The policies of the magazine were determined by our National Committee. The editors and business staff of the magazine were appointed by and subject to the decisions of the Party. *The New International* was financed by the nickels and dimes and dollars of the worker members of the party and its sympathizers. Its deficits were paid by the party. *The New International* was an integral part of the international Trotskyist movement and its American section, the Socialist Workers Party.

By a breach of trust, morally and legally equivalent to a misappropriation of funds by a financial officer of a workers' organization, Burnham, Shachtman and Abern, who held posts on *The New International* by party appointment, and who were trustees for the party in *The New International* Publishing Company, have usurped the name of the magazine and attempted to appropriate its mailing rights as their personal property.

These turncoats, defeated in the party convention after a free and democratic discussion in the party, have sought to revenge themselves on the proletarian majority of the party by stealing the name and the mailing rights of the magazine entrusted to

their management, and attempting to cash in on its tradition. An issue of *The New International* has appeared under the auspices of these ex-Trotskyists. A casual reading of the forged copy is sufficient to convince any reader that it is not *The New International* they have known, but a miserable counterfeit.

The old *New International* defended the program of the Fourth International; it was the chief medium for the publication of the theoretical contributions of Comrade Trotsky, and was honored throughout the world as the theoretical protagonist of the Marxism of our time, i.e., "Trotskyism." The counterfeit *New International*, stolen in sneak-thief fashion from the party that owned it and paid for it, and published behind its back in the dark of night, has nothing in common with the traditions of its name and its past association.

Those who know the revolutionary traditions established by the magazine, those who appreciate its great work in the ideas of Marxism throughout the world cannot fail to be revolted by the publication of *The New International* under revisionist and anti-Trotskyist auspices. This feeling of revulsion must have been augmented by the appearance from the pen of Burnham under the heading "Archives of the Revolution," of a foul attack on the Marxist doctrine and method and on the author of most of the rich material in Marxist theory which in the past appeared under this heading.

There is no doubt that by every political and moral right *The New International* belongs to the Socialist Workers Party as represented by its convention majority. There is likewise no doubt, competent attorneys have assured us, that all legal rights to the magazine, its name, its subscription lists and its second class mailing rights belong entirely to the Socialist Workers Party, and that Burnham, Abern and Shachtman would stand in any litigation as betrayers of financial trust and common thieves. No class-conscious worker would censure us for taking legal action to protect our rights in this case. Obviously, we are dealing here, not with an ideological dispute but a case of petty-larceny. Neverthe-

## A Statement by the National Committee of the Socialist Workers Party

less, we have decided to forego any legal action. We are washing our hands of *The New International* and launching a new magazine, *Fourth International*, for the following reasons:

1. It is not worthwhile for us to spend time and effort in legal struggles over property rights which could only divert energies and resources from more serious and important activity.
2. We do not want our irreconcilable political struggle against the turncoats to be obscured or confused by squabbles over a magazine's name and property rights. Our aim is, in every respect, to distinguish ourselves from the ex-Trotskyists, and to eliminate every possible point of identification with them.
3. The once-glorious name of *The New International* has been irretrievably sullied by its appearance for one issue under the auspices of these betrayers of its tradition. The program of the Fourth International, the great theoretical contributions of comrade Trotsky, the Marxist message of our party, cannot appear under its dirtied name. We want no deception, no confusion, no mixing of banners. We need a clean banner which will truly express what we stand for and at the same time sharply distinguish us from the prostituted *New International*. They stole it. They have already identified its name with their own treachery. Let them keep it, and let the whole world know it is henceforth their magazine, not ours.

Our magazine is *Fourth International*!

It alone is the theoretical organ of the Socialist Workers Party and of the Fourth International!

*Fourth International* will fill out all the unexpired subscriptions of *The New International*. The subscribers of *The New International* are entitled to get what they paid for—a theoretical organ of Bolshevism. We feel politically and morally responsible to give it to them by sending this magazine for the full time of the unexpired subscriptions.

We appeal to all readers who sympathize with the principles we stand for to help us maintain this magazine by subscriptions and contributions.

## The Unions Must Lead the Youth Or Fascists Will

By LOU COOPER

In a recent poll in San Francisco, unemployed youth were asked what they considered to be the cause of their unemployment. A surprisingly large group answered that they considered the trades unions to be the cause of their unemployment. Is this the attitude of many unemployed youth throughout the nation?

Every labor man should be vitally interested in the answer. Why? Because the lesson of Germany, in particular, is that the unemployed youth, locked out by capitalism are the easiest victims of fascist demagoguery and propaganda. This fascist propaganda directs its lying attack not against the real cause of unemployment, capitalist chaos caused by private ownership of the means of production—but against the labor unions. The fascists say, the trades unions with their closed shops and seniority rights have locked you unemployed youth out of industry. Trades unions are a racket, they shout.

The end result of this lying attack in Germany was that Hitler built up an army of young unemployed who hated the trade unions with all the fierceness of their untamed emotions and who ruthlessly took the lead in the merciless crushing of the trade unions when Hitler came to power. The trade unionists in Germany learned too late that it was the elementary duty of every liberty-loving labor man to combat the vicious lies of the fascists.

### How Youth Can Fight for Jobs

What's the first thing we should attempt to have unemployed youth understand? Capitalism, in its present period of stagnation and decay, provides too few number of jobs for labor, and that's where the fault lies! Unemployed youth must understand that it's the greed and profits of the Sixty Families that's responsible for their locked-out condition. The wheels of industry are not rolling because under private ownership industry must work at a profit or else it rots and men starve.

How can unemployed youth alleviate this condition? By attempting to fight the trade unions that are attempting to maintain the present number of jobs for labor and get some security for the men on the jobs? Absolutely no! The unions are not responsible for the existence of the huge army of unemployed. Unemployed youth must direct all their fire against the owners of industry, the Sixty Families, and their government in Washington.

Open the idle factories of the nation and give us jobs! That's the slogan around which the unemployed youth should rally. And once they want to put teeth into that slogan they'll realize that only union control of newly-opened factories could insure a decent standard of living and security on the job.

Furthermore, immediately, unemployed youth must demand that the Sixty Families provide Three Billion Dollars for jobs for all youth. The attack must be centered on those who have locked youth out and can afford to pay.

### Unions Must Accept Responsibility

Who will present this program to the unemployed youth? Obviously not the Sixty Families nor their stooge Roosevelt who keeps on cutting appropriations and hasn't even thought of putting the idle factories to work. There is only one force in the land today that can and must present this program to the unemployed youth and their unemployed organizations. The giant force of organized labor must rally the unemployed youth into a solid front with labor against the Sixty Families!

Why must labor do so, aside from honest humanitarian reasons? Because jobs for the unemployed are the best guarantee that your job will be secure from an army of desperate men who in their desperation will be ready to accept crumbs and unhesitatingly break down all living standards built up by the unions. Further, and what is possibly more important, because these unemployed youth might be the easy victims of a fascist leadership bent on destroying the trade unions.

Unions must further solidify themselves with the unemployed youth of the nation with the understanding that only through joint agitation and struggle will the unemployed learn to respect the trade unions as a necessary bulwark of decent living standards for all workers, employed and unemployed. Unemployed youth will only accept the closed shop and seniority rights (both obviously vital and elementary needs to men who have jobs) as necessary needs for men on the job, when they feel that the men who have jobs are also concerned with those who are less fortunate.

The plight and needs of unemployed youth must become the concern of the organized trade union movement. Organized Labor must extend a comradely hand to the unemployed youth of the nation if it wants to save itself from fascism.

### MORALITY PLUS

"I have no desire to enter into any controversy with Mr. Bertrand Russell," said Supreme Court Justice John E. McGeehan, who scornfully refused to "match his private life" with that of the British philosopher and mathematician, whose appointment to a chair of philosophy at City College of New York he rescinded because of Russell's views on morals. At the same time, Justice McGeehan refused to reopen the case to give Russell an opportunity to come to New York to state his side of the case.

On Maundy Thursday, at the conclusion of the Sistine chapel mass, Pope Pius himself took the crystal chalice containing the sacrament and bore it in a brilliant procession to the Pauline chapel altar. Which proves that even popes work and thereby earn their living.

In London there is a prominent man of letters who was asked why he wasn't at the front saving civilization. "I," quoth he, "am part of the civilization they are trying to save."

# MAY DAY MASS MEETING! Wednesday, May 1st

SPEAKERS:

JAMES P. CANNON  
FARRELL DOBBS MURRY WEISS

IRVING PLAZA

Irving Place and 15th Street  
New York City

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