

Relief Officials Try to Force Jobless Into Army

In New Jersey on June 8 the State Relief Director, Arthur Mudd, ordered that relief be refused to single men eligible for service in the army.

Next day Howard L. Russell, Secretary of Assistance in Pennsylvania, advised local relief authorities that they could withhold relief from single men under 40 "who have failed to take advantage of employment opportunities, including those offered by the expansion of the nation's military forces."

In Yonkers, New York, Mrs. Edith P. Welty, member of the City Common Council, announced the same day that she would ask opinions of corporation counsel "on the legality of her plan to force eligible single men on relief to enlist."

These people are not local crackpots. They are responsible officials. They are not acting without having reason to believe that their vicious press-gang plan has the tacit approval of authorities higher up.

The reason for this press-gang move is not hard to find.

The army has been trying to drum up recruits to reach the figure of 280,000 set in Congressional legislation last year. Last week the New York Times (June 9) announced that with the recruiting drive at the halfway mark, "New York, New Jersey and Delaware had enrolled considerably less than one-quarter of their quota, while incomplete figures from Washington indicated that the rest of the corps areas were faring little better in the present drive."

The cannon-fodder is not coming in voluntarily at a fast enough rate. That is why they are now forcing the jobless to enlist.

About half the young men who have applied to join the army in the last few months come from the unemployed, the army figures show. Forced idleness and hunger drove them.

To speed the rest of the jobless into the army by enforcing hunger on all of them is the openly-admitted purpose of these moves to cut them off relief.

The capitalist system could find no place for these millions in life-giving production.

Unable even to use them as wage slaves, it proposes to turn them into galley-slaves, the first recruits for the totalitarian war machine that American capitalism has set out to build.

As for the rest of the youth and young manhood of the country—there is to be provision for them too. The campaign has openly begun for instituting a system of compulsory military training. The New York Times came out on June 7 with an editorial favoring such conscription. Next day President Roosevelt, asked about that editorial, said he "liked it."

This is the sort of thing that capitalist "democracy" turns into as it enters its death agony. This is the "way of life" it wants us to die to preserve.

Nothing doing. We're not pacifists. We'll fight, if need be, and die, if we have to, but only in the fight to abolish this whole order of things and to bring about a new order, an order of world socialism, world peace.

Behind the Lines

Move to Appease Japan Gains Ground as U.S. Prepares for War in Atlantic

by GEORGE STERN

So far carefully confined to non-administration spokesmen in Congress and in the press, the "appease Japan movement" gained steady ground during the past week.

Its growing importance was signaled by no less an authority than Senator Arthur Vandenberg, Republican presidential aspirant from Michigan. It was Vandenberg who last July in the Senate moved the resolution abrogating the 1911 Japanese-American trade treaty.

Vandenberg has now reversed himself and come out flatly for signing a new pact with the Japanese in the face of "our new vicissitudes." In a statement on June 9, the Michigan senator said a deal with Japan now would be worth "half a navy."

"We could serve our preparations no more realistically," said the erstwhile anti-Japanese fire-eater, "than to write a new commercial and political treaty with Japan, if reasonably possible, which would stabilize our relations in the Far East where we most emphatically face a condition, not a theory."

On June 9 the United Press carried a wishful dispatch from Shanghai declaring that "Japan is increasingly apprehensive over the effect that a totalitarian victory in Europe might have on the Far East and may attempt to better her relations with the United States with a view to a Japanese-American agreement to maintain the present status in the Pacific."

As evidence of this, the United Press adduced the report that the Japanese are being more conciliatory toward Americans in the occupied areas of China.

Actually, Japan is not alarmed at all by the prospect of a totalitarian victory. On the contrary, such a victory is serving and will serve Japan's turn in

the Pacific as nothing else could. The United Press was simply trying to extend a gingerly "feeler" in the direction of Tokyo to give Washington an opportunity to observe the reaction there to possible American overtures for smoothing out the "quarrel" of past years.

The Japanese are not wasting their opportunity. On June 9 it was announced in Moscow that the long-delayed Soviet-Mongolian-Manchurian border demarcation had been put through. In Tokyo this was jubilantly heralded as the forerunner of settlement of all Soviet-Japanese "disputes" in Japan's favor. Having graciously accepted the proffer of appeasement from Moscow, Tokyo will wait for the next move from Washington. The Japanese can now be secure in the knowledge that the German sweep in Europe is dropping Asia in their hands. The U.S. fleet is still in the Pacific but it dare not become engaged now in a Pacific war. The Atlantic uncertainties thoroughly prevent that.

The Japanese, moreover, are flaunting their new favored position right under Washington's nose. All Japan's envoys in the Western hemisphere are meeting on June 18 in Washington for the announced purpose of organizing a campaign to take over in Latin America the markets lost by the belligerents!

The way things are moving in Europe, the Washington government cannot afford the luxury of a slow shift in policy. Support of the Chungking Chinese government is going to have to be dropped hard and fast and the best deal possible secured from the Japanese. The only thing that makes Washington hesitate, however, is the realization that Japan right now holds the best cards and can take what it wants without giving anything in return.

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ROOSEVELT SHEDS ALL PRETENSE OF KEEPING COUNTRY OUT OF WAR

AUTO PARLEYS ARE NEARING BREAKDOWN

General Motors Uses War Issue To Balk Union Demands

DETROIT, Mich.—The contractual negotiations between the UAW and the General Motors Corporation faced a breakdown today as the corporation flatly refused the auto union's demands for a wage increase and recognition of the shop stewards system.

The corporation, instead, insisted on a clause which "bars sit-down or slowdown strikes, or other stoppages or hindrances to production" and which would require a five day wait after grievance machinery had been exhausted before a strike could be called and would further require the authorization of the International Officers of the union before a strike would become valid.

Anti-Alien Clause

The corporation also demanded a "disciplinary" clause that would permit the firing of "aliens" who show no diligence in seeking citizenship papers and provides that "any employee guilty of sabotage, or who advocates or engages in subversive activities designed to damage the interests of the corporation, or to overthrow the government or violate its laws, impede or nullify its public policies, shall be discharged immediately."

Thus GM, whose agent Knudsen already heads the government Committee for "National Defense," is moving ahead at breakneck speed to put the militant Auto Workers Union into the army straitjacket, in preparation for M-Day and the setting up of a dictatorship over the labor movement.

The corporation demands, in effect, the authority to write the union constitution and set the union rules with regard to procedure in the calling of strikes, and further demands the right to fire any union militant who does not subscribe to the DuPont brand of patriotism.

Result of Hillman Policy

The GM corporation officials, bold, confident and now arrogant, have again maneuvered the union negotiating committee into a corner. Again the union is on the defensive. Each are the results of

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Arrest Stalinist In Connection With Attack on Trotsky

MEXICO CITY, June 8—The press here announced today that a number of Stalinists had been arrested, and charged with complicity in the attempted assassination of Leon Trotsky.

Radio and press reports here last Sunday announced that the Mexican federal secret service had arrested a Spaniard, member of the Communist party, as one of the band of terrorists who attempted to murder Trotsky on May 24. He was seized in a Vera Cruz hotel and taken to Mexico City.

(See Trotsky's letter to Mexican authorities, page 4 of this issue.)

ANTI-UNION DRIVE REACHES OMAHA DRIVERS

OHAMA, June 7—The government's drive against the unions was extended here this week, when the Federal Trade Commission cited General Drivers Union Local 554 for "acting to restrain trade" in the bakery industry.

Similar citations have been issued against the Des Moines, Sioux City and Minneapolis bakery drivers in the last few weeks.

A hearing on the Des Moines citation was held last week. The government commission centered its attack on a clause in the union contract which limits the number of so-called "independent route salesmen" that may be employed by bakeries. The union inserted the clause in order to prevent unscrupulous bosses from undermining union conditions by "selling" their merchandise to large numbers of wildcatters who, by taking only a small profit, work in effect way under the wage scale and thus destroy union conditions.

The government's attempt to cover up this attack on the union, by citing not only the union, but also the baking companies, was blasted in a statement issued by Al Russell, recording secretary of Local 554. "Certainly the bakers (owners) did not initiate the clause in the contract," he said, "because that clause prevents the cutting of wages and lengthening of hours of route-salesmen."

Strike by Furnace Men Hits Crucible Steel; On War Order

HARRISON, N. J., June 11—Refusing to be browbeaten by pressure talk about their interfering with "national defence," 155 workers in the electric furnace department of the Crucible Steel plant here, working on shell casings for the Navy, went out on strike last week and are still out. Theirs is a desperate revolt against grievances which they have vainly sought to resolve for two years. They are the lowest paid furnace men in the area, and are forced to work under a stagger system—each man works five days but the days' off are rotated so that the plant is in continuous operation—which is actually a speed-up system.

The men are demanding a 10% increase in wages and an end to the stagger system. In October, too, they struck against the stag-

ger system, but were sent back to work by the CIO Steel Workers Organizing Committee, of which they were members. Although they were the best-organized department in the union local, indeed the backbone of the local, they made the mistake of breaking from the union shortly after the first strike, when the top leaders of the SWOC signed an agreement, securing none of the demands, and without the approval of the membership. The furnace men set up their own organization.

The strikers are not picketing regularly but are near the plant gates every day. The SWOC men in the plant are sympathetic with the furnace men's grievances, but the SWOC is not supporting the strike.

Mussolini's crime of plunging Italy into the war was answered by Roosevelt with a crime of equal proportions—the end of American neutrality.

There was no pretense about the fateful meaning of Roosevelt's address on Monday at Charlottesville: "Sources close to the Administration said it was obvious the United States had abandoned a position of neutrality for one of non-belligerency," declared the Associated Press. The New York Times' Washington bureau reported that the president's speech was "widely interpreted here as ending neutrality as far as the executive department of the government is concerned."

"Non-belligerency" is the warlike state which Italy occupied up to Monday—a stage of transition from neutrality to actual military warfare. Mussolini demonstrated what a cynical and hypocritical stage that is—being in one of the warring camps but finding that the best aid to be rendered to that camp is by not yet declaring war. Thus the very moral Mr. Roosevelt apes the immoral Mussolini.

The entry of Italy into the war was Roosevelt's pretext for catapulting America halfway beyond the brink of war—so he said. Actually, however, Roosevelt's Charlottesville speech merely confirmed what Roosevelt had already done the week before when, while still wooing Mussolini on behalf of the Allies, he had already dispatched the first government warplanes to Britain.

There was this difference: the week before Roosevelt had winked and the interviewing newsmen had appreciatively laughed at his little joke, when the president snickeringly said that the planes he was directly sending to Britain were "old" and "surplus" which were being turned back to the aviation companies for credit on new planes. That formula was dropped at Charlottesville for an open declaration that we will extend to the opponents of force the material resources of this nation.

Roosevelt at the same time paved the way for a declaration of war by identifying the interests of this country with the defeat of Germany and Italy. The same formulas that he used to justify putting "the material resources of this nation" at the disposal of the Anglo-French bloc will tomorrow serve to justify outright entry of America into the war.

The terms which Roosevelt directed against the Italian government have never before been used by the head of a government except as an accompaniment to a declaration of war.

Roosevelt's spurious indignation against Mussolini's "stab in the back," Hull's statement that he was "shocked at Italy's act," and similar highly moral pronouncements by government spokesmen had as genuine a ring as a lead nickel. These cold-blooded pirates must have many a good laugh in private at the expense of those who are taken in by their high-flown phrases!

The fast-dwindling band of pacifists and isolationists, with Norman Thomas and other preachers shepherding them, spent last weekend in Washington, flusteringly complaining that Roosevelt and Congress were succumbing to war hysteria. Their "peace" conference produced this "brilliant" slogan: "Rational not hysterical defense."

Roosevelt can appropriate that slogan. Neither he nor any other authoritative figure in Washington is a bit hysterical. They know just what they're doing—preparing with icy calculation to challenge Germany for the price of world domination.

There was many a "stab in the back" this week. Congress completed action on naval construction legislation—including provisions scuttling the Walsh-Healey and the Wage and Hour Acts. The House passed the "national defense" tax bill, placing the burden for armaments on the workers, by making liable to income tax all unmarried workers earning above \$800 a year—\$15.40 a week!—a 20% addition to the tax on the workingman's tobacco, a similar addition to beer, etc., etc. The FBI could boast of having convicted 16 union seamen for "mutiny" as a new formula for taming the unions. New indictments were handed down in "anti-trust" assaults of the Department of Justice against the labor movement. The House turned the Wagner Labor Act into a weapon against the labor movement. These were the week's contributions to preparing the "war for democracy."

Washington is filled these days with bosses and their representatives—gleefully rushing to the hog troughs which Roosevelt is filling for them. These are great days for the bosses in the nation's capital—big contracts, big cash advances by the government for plant expansion, and hearty cooperation to put the unions in their place. The New Deal has become the War Deal. Roosevelt's National Defense Council of the nation's most powerful capitalist representatives is the symbol of the change. The "war for democracy" is, first of all, a war against the labor movement at home.

Italian Entry Marks Spread Of World War

Mussolini Grabs For Jackal's Share Of Hitler's Spoils

To assure his jackal's share of the spoils, Mussolini last week plunged Italy into the Second World War.

Mussolini moved in only when the Nazi victory in France seemed assured, when Paris was already set ablaze by the all-engulfing conflagration.

In the last war Italy also chose what it thought was the stronger side. It accepted secret promises of territory from the Allies, threw over its alliance with Germany, and went in with Britain and France.

But at Versailles the Allies deliberately doublecrossed their weak little partner in southern Europe.

This time—still seeking to expand beyond the relatively barren confines of its narrow peninsula—Italy has again gone to war with the stronger side.

Because Italy is still a weaker power, it is a sure bet that Hitler, if he completes his victory, will give the Italian imperialists another bitter taste of the old doublecross. It is a regularly-scheduled part of the imperialist game of plunder and profit.

Aim Brazenly Plain

But Mussolini undoubtedly calculates on contributing sufficiently to the Hitlerite victory to get what he wants—a big slice of Africa and domination of the Mediterranean.

It is for this—bluntly and frankly put by Mussolini himself—that the Italian masses, ground for two decades under the Fascist heel, are going to suffer and die. Mussolini has long since passed the stage where he has to use vaguer pretexts for going to war. He openly announces that his object is plunder.

He has played along with Hitler because he can only secure this plunder at the expense of the British and French empires. But what is most important, he goes in on the German side because the German side seems to be winning this part of the war quite handsly. If matters had turned out otherwise, he would without compunction have gone in with the hated Allies, and for the same reason—plunder.

A Blow At France

Italy's entry into the war precisely at this stage greatly worsens France's already perilous position. Italy can't stand a long war but it does hope it can at least help Hitler deliver the death blow to France and on its own account cripple British naval strength in the Mediterranean and successfully secure control of Malta, Cyprus, Gibraltar, and Suez.

Balkans May Wait

It hopes to limit its action to these objectives—which Mussolini thinks can be achieved at a rate faster than his war machine will run down. That is why he promised neutrality toward Yugoslavia, Greece, Egypt, and Turkey.

Turkey is bound to join the Allies but in view of the sweeping Nazi victories may try to hold off long enough to see how things go. While Turkey waits, the Balkans will wait. And Turkey's pause may be dependent upon what Stalin decides to do at this critical juncture.

EWA SEAMEN CONVICTED ON 'MUTINY' COUNT

Sets Precedent For War Drive On Seamen

The federal government's drive against the unions was extended to the maritime crafts when the government, in a case prepared by the FBI's "G-men," secured the conviction of eleven West Coast union seamen on a framed-up charge of "endeavoring to make revolt and mutiny," in the Federal District Court in New York City, Tuesday, June 11.

There was a screaming absurdity between the grave charge and the sentences meted out: one received 90 days, four got 77 days, two 60 days, and four others 30 days, while five were released on one year's probation. By these sentences federal judge Mandellbaum was indirectly confessing that the statutes under which the men were convicted were being stretched to cover facts with which they had no connection.

Union-Smashing Precedent

But the comparatively light sentences should not conceal the union-smashing precedent which the FBI, the U.S. Attorney and the judge managed to establish by their team-work—a precedent which, if permitted to stand, would outlaw practically every form of union activity outside a ship's home port—and that means the end of all seamen's unions.

The men, members of the Sailors Union of the Pacific and the Marine Firemen, were part of the crew of the SS Ewa. When the ship put in at Colachel, India, the crew's union delegates asked for an advance on wages, to which the men were entitled by maritime law; the captain categorically refused, and this, according to the law, constituted breaking the articles of employment, and entitled the men to exercise the right to be paid off in full, which they insisted upon in Port Said.

Consul Backed Men

The full legality of the crew's actions is attested to by the action of the U.S. consul in Port Said who, after communicating with Washington, arranged for the crew to receive its pay, and then effected their repatriation, the men returning as free passengers on the Rex.

No charges of any kind had been placed against the men. Weeks before their return, the Ewa had returned, manned by an Egyptian crew, and the captain, upon being asked about a reported mutiny—an erroneous story which arose out of the fact that Egyptian authorities had interned the crew as all aliens were being interned—said that was the first he had heard of any such event. But between his arrival and the arrival of his former crew, government agents had some sessions with the captain and between them they cooked up a new story. And when the Ewa crew arrived in New York on the Rex, FBI agents were there to start the trial machinery moving.

Making Unionism A 'Mutiny'

Everybody knows what a mutiny is, and it was pretty hard to

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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.

The Main Question Workers Are Asking

Editor:

In our door-to-door distribution of the Appeal we are encountering among working class families two reactions to the war: intense desire to keep out of the war and, at the same time, the wish to see the defeat of Hitlerism. The Roosevelt war-machine is utilizing this fear and hatred of fascism to whip up his pro-Ally crusade. Our job is to direct this feeling toward support of the program of the Fourth International. It is therefore imperative that we have available for sale along with the Appeal a clear, concise pamphlet answering the question that the workers are asking most frequently: How can we defeat Hitler without supporting the Allies?

We understand that you are preparing a pamphlet on the war. It should not be a general anti-war tract. For we find that the workers have not forgotten the lessons of the last war and have no illusions about who pays for and who profits from imperialist war. But they hate Nazism. The pamphlet will not be effective in our work unless it draws on this sentiment and is composed with the above question in mind. One of the workers suggests as a title "How to Fight Hitler." That should also be the theme. Such a pamphlet will help us increase the sale of the Appeal.

Sid Crabbe
(Crabbe's letter is but one of many which makes the same important point. We are publishing not one but a series of 2c anti-war pamphlets and the committee in charge will see to it that the series adequately answers the question pointed out by Crabbe—undoubtedly the most insistent question that the workers are asking.—Editor.)

Dislikes Our Attitude To Bertrand Russell

Gentlemen:

If an impartial critic were to judge the character of the Socialist Appeal solely by Walter C'Rourke's article (Appeal, May 18), on Bertrand Russell, he would scarcely be impressed by anything but its bigotry and its petty conformism to a theory which carefully dismisses one of the greatest intellectuals of our day as unworthy of any serious support because he happens to be among those misguided "liberals" who do not recognize the SWP as the infallible beacon of Truth lighting the path of mankind. Or are you such a self-sufficient organization that you need not concern yourself about the impartial critic and direct your thrusts only for the approval of those who already have been brought to see the Light? Obviously, you are not, either financially or numerically. Yet, you appear to think that you can well afford to waste three columns of expensive space in hurling invectives at a "sorry-looking, cowardly, and uninspiring" professor.

Tomorrow, if Russell declared himself one with you, you would not hesitate to point with pride at this new member even though today he is "afraid to open his mouth." If, tomorrow, he came out in support of Trotsky, you would hasten to his defense. Your attitude is one of: let the liberals come to us, otherwise we can have no traffic with them. Such a shut-in policy on the part of a minority group is neither militant or progressive. It is self-defeating because it fears to stray from its own dogma long enough to effect any temporary compromise with other forces for freedom besides its own. It reserves its Marxist support for Marxists or the forces controlled by Marxists. O'Rourke says: "The decisive blows in defense of academic freedom as well as liberty and progress in general will have to be dealt by the workers." Perhaps! But what are we our attention to a system that to do in the meantime—devote all may take generations in coming and refuse to take sides with "liberalism" because it is not the ultimate cure-all? Such a position is too reminiscent of certain religious sects who put all their faith for the cure of the world's ills in the second coming of Christ.

Of course, you assume a very democratic pose when you say: "... the defense of academic freedom is an important cause worthy of the support of the workers." That is beautiful in theory, but Russell or any other intellectual leader could not in jail waiting for the revolution. While the Cultural Committee takes steps to defend academic freedom, you sit on the sidelines and smile sarcastically. You are waiting for the ULTIMATE victory.

You many reply that you are concerned primarily with the abused proletariat rather than the abused intellectual. I fail to see how you are furthering your cause by deriding the Committee for Cultural Freedom or the faculty members of Northwestern University. To go further, I think that your whole paper suffers from a consistently negative policy. Presumably, you are offering socialism to the masses. Actually, you are offering in your literature only a criticism of capitalism—to say nothing of liberalism. I suggest that occasionally you take time off to tell the workers just what kind of a set-up they will have after they've gotten rid of the one they have now.

Incidentally, may I suggest that you could do worse than extend your democratic tolerance in the direction of studying a little of Russell along with so much of Trotsky. It is somewhat amusing to learn that while you dismiss Russell as a petty-bourgeois and pride yourselves on your complete Marxism, he charges you with not being Marxist enough in that you have kept only half of Marx's doctrine—the economic half. I refer you to POWER, page 284. Don't scoff. After all, gentlemen, it is perfectly possible that you are not infallible. It is, also, possible that even Marx might have been subject to error. If you will not admit this possibility, the worker might as well cast his lot with Hitler and Stalin as far as any hope for democracy is concerned.

Adrienne Stoutenburg
Minneapolis, Minn.

Since the above letter was received, Bertrand Russell himself has written a letter which, we sincerely hope, will cause Miss Stoutenburg to be a little less irritated with the APPEAL's narrow-minded attitude toward Russell and his kind.

From the University of California where he is now teaching, Mr. Russell wrote the following letter to the British magazine, "New Statesman":

"Since the war began, I have felt that I could not go on being a pacifist. If I were young enough to fight I would do so, but it is difficult for me to urge others to do so. Now I feel as though I ought to announce my changed mind."

Mr. Russell is now assured of not rotting in jail waiting for the revolution. He may even get back his appointment at City College. As to Sidney Hook's Committee for Cultural Freedom, we shall take the time shortly to demonstrate that it is no better than Russell now reveals himself to be.

Yes, Miss Stoutenburg, we are very sure that the truth that the SWP stands for is the only truth. We are certain that the "liberalism" of a Russell, of Hook's committee, etc., serves the capitalist class and not the working class. Russell, Hook, and the established intellectuals as a whole today are serving the war-makers. There is no middle ground in war and revolution. The fight for socialism is a war of the working class against the capitalist class. Those who, like the intellectuals, pretend to stand in between, actually serve the capitalist class. Is this dogma, Miss Stoutenburg? Why, look around you at the actual facts, at what the Russells are actually doing!—Editors.

Use of "Negro" or "Colored" No Problem

Numerous letters have discussed the question whether Negroes prefer to be called "colored," but the problem is really one of common sense in day to day work. Many Negroes wish to be called

colored; others would be hurt and embarrassed if they were referred to in that manner. In most cases it becomes something that can only be resolved by the party builder in his day to day work. He will have to determine which to use.

This question is not a new one. It was discussed considerably in the Communist Party and Young Communist League from 1929 to 1933, when the Stalinists were making strenuous efforts to recruit Negro members. As part of it's campaign the C.P. was advocating the establishment of a Negro republic in the black belt. Together with this, public trials of white party members on charges of white chauvinism were staged. These were vulgar displays which sought to impress but which, because of their artificiality, more often repelled the very ones for whose supposed benefit they had been arranged. The Stalinists also went in for Garveyism. It advocated that white workers in Negro neighborhoods be discharged and be replaced by black. Obviously this slogan could only serve to create ill will between the two. Certainly a demand for both to be hired would have been more in keeping with the ideas of class solidarity. It was against this background that the permissibility of sometimes using the word colored was discussed.

The C.P. leadership was unalterably opposed to the word colored as a substitute for Negro. At a party meeting in the Brownsville section of Brooklyn, three party members, Reiss, Gerber and Mitlin, had charges of white chauvinism preferred against them by Israel Amter, the District Organizer. The reason was that they insisted that at times the word colored had to be used as a matter of tactics. William Bryant, a militant Negro worker and ex-serviceman, took the floor in their defense. He spoke in the following vein:

"I know that at one time I was prejudiced against being referred to as a Negro. I preferred to be called colored; there are many others who are like that. It is bad but true. In the worker's movement, however, I began to learn something of the revolutionary tradition of the Negro and his leaders such as Toussaint L'Ouverture and Nat Turner. Today I would be deeply insulted if I were to be called colored. That word will always make me think of the phrase 'a gentleman of color' which is on a par with the crack 'Some of my best friends are Jews but—'

Nevertheless there are Negroes who wish to be called colored. Avoid antagonizing them; comply with their wishes. Win them into the party. Let the party educate them; and also learn from them. The problem of whether to use Negro or colored will disappear, just as it disappeared for me. They will find out that there need not be the slightest feeling of shame in being a Negro, just as their need be no shame in being born Jewish, Irish, Swedish or Italian.

Amter admitted that there was some logic in Bryant's speech, but he still maintained that it was absolutely wrong to use the word colored; Amter to the contrary. Bryant was absolutely right. He spoke fine words at that meeting; members of the Socialist Workers Party can well afford to use them as a guide in their work.

Brooklyn, N. Y. David Rahlsens

MINERS ACCUSE FBI OF HELPING BREAK STRIKE

Charges that the Federal Bureau of Investigation has used "Gestapo methods" to help the Tennessee Copper Co. break a 9-months strike of 1,200 Negro and white miners and smelters were made on May 30 by the International Union of Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers (CIO).

The indictment of the FBI was made by Reid Robinson, International President of the union, following a decision of the union executive board to end the strike. The union charged that FBI agents had arrested 20 unionists on charges of conspiracy to dynamite TVA property and had "herded strikers into a private concentration camp" at Copperhill, where they were forced to sign confessions "under duress." The agents were accused of refusing to allow wives, parents and relatives of the men to visit them at Hamilton jail at Chattanooga.

The Tennessee CIO Industrial Union Council convention at Knoxville passed a resolution declaring that FBI agents used strongarm methods in an unjustified attempt to pin the charges on union men, and asking for financial aid in fighting against the FBI frameup.

Ewa Seamen Convicted on Phoney Charges of 'Revolt' and 'Mutiny'

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twist the few relevant simple facts into "endeavoring" or "conspiring" mutiny. Elaborate interpretations of the relevant maritime laws by the U.S. Attorney and the federal judge, thoroughly confusing to a jury of small businessmen unacquainted with seafaring life, were served up with dark hints about the war situation.

Even all this had as its first result six hours of deliberation by the jury and then a message to the judge that they could not possibly come to a decision. The judge thereupon charged them with the necessity for returning a verdict. They finally got one together after deliberating till near midnight and two hours the next morning.

And what a verdict! On the charge of "conspiring to make mutiny and revolt, and to resist lawful commands of the officers," the jury voted not guilty; on the charge of "endeavoring to make revolt and mutiny on a vessel," the jury voted guilty. How men could be innocent of the one and guilty of the other, the jury did not explain, but sought to patch up the whole mess by adding a "recommendation for extreme clemency."

In sentencing the men the judge put bluntly what he had already, in teamwork with the prosecuting attorney, worked into the heads of the jury: the seamen should remember, he said, that when they are on a ship it is "LIKE BEING IN THE ARMY."

Like means, bluntly, no unionism on board ship.

The captain of the Ewa, thoroughly primed, was the most brazen of all: any meeting of the men on board ship, he said on the witness stand, constituted conspiracy against the officers. When it was pointed out to him that the union's contract with the ship's owners provided for such meetings, the captain said that the contract didn't apply to him, the captain, though he is the company's agent!

An Admiral's Conception
Admiral Land, head of the U.S. Maritime Commission, has for three years pressed for transforming the merchant marine into what he frankly calls "an auxiliary to the navy"—which means wiping out all union limitations on the rights of shipowners and their officer-agents. The brazen stand of captain, prosecutor and judge in this case represents the most direct attempt by government authorities to force Admiral Land's conception upon the seamen.

Admiral Land's conception prevailed before 1934 for many years—the years of no unions. That conception of the merchant marine meant what all-powerful bosses mean in any industry—hunger, ill-treatment, horrible living conditions, starvation pay, etc., etc.

In the great strike of 1934, and in subsequent struggles, the West Coast seamen smashed the Admiral Land conception of the merchant marine. They fought their way up from sea-slavery to

the status of proud and self-respecting union men, who have a voice in determining their wages, working and living conditions.

Those limits, which mean something like a decent living to the men are now, according to this New York decision, to be wiped out as "mutiny." Anything the captain and the shipowner says, is to prevail, says the New York decision. Admiral Land's conception of the merchant marine as

part of the navy, smashed in 1934, is to be imposed by "law."

That's maybe what the Maritime Commission and its henchmen may think. But wait till the seamen hear about this! They'll fight back against this decision. They'll fight it in the higher courts, and on the docks, and on the ships and anywhere else it needs fighting. The seamen are through with sea-slavery, Admiral Land!

Lundeberg Fights Anti-Alien Drive

(Special to the Socialist Appeal)
WASHINGTON, D. C., June 8.—Harry Lundeberg, acting president of the Seafarers International Union and secretary-treasurer of its West Coast affiliate, the Sailors' Union of the Pacific, fought back stubbornly—he was on the stand for several hours yesterday—as the House Committee on the Merchant Marine moved to adopt a bill, introduced by the committee's chairman, Congressman Bland, barring all non-citizen seamen from being employed on American vessels.

What a blow against the maritime unions this would be is indicated by the fact that, according to conservative estimates, about 30% of West Coast seamen are non-citizens, with at least the same percentage, if not higher, on the East Coast. Existing legislation already requires that 75% of all personnel on American ships must be citizens.

Statistics Conspicuously Absent

The Bland Bill, endorsed by the Maritime Commission and the Department of Commerce—in other words, a government bill—was opposed at yesterday's hearing only by the unions which Lundeberg represents. For three hours a packed hearing room of hostile shipowners, Congressmen and government officials heard Lundeberg firmly stand by the position of the seamen, that they will fight against any further inroads into the membership of their union through this "alien" smoke-screen.

The bill was not opposed by the Stalinist-led National Maritime Union—not because they were asleep, either. In the hall outside the hearing room, Lundeberg encountered the N.M.U.'s legislative representative, and told him what he thought of the Stalinist rats who were too yellow to defend their membership against the Bland bill.

Washington is literally swarming with shipowners, here to push hundreds of bills which they have introduced to get more gravy and try to get the unions hamstrung.

The endorsements by the government's Maritime Commission and the Department of Commerce of the Bland bill barring non-citizen seamen from United States vessels will not surprise the un-

ionized seamen. For they have had plenty of experience with the use by the government of anti-alien moves which are actually designed to smash the unions.

Gov't Strikebreaking, 1934
Still fresh in the minds of the seamen, especially on the West Coast, is the government's role during the San Francisco general strike of 1934, which was called to back the seamen. Fearing to attack the unions openly and directly, the government intervened first against "aliens." Governor Merriam had sent a telegram to Madame Perkins, urging that the Department of Labor commence a series of deportations in order to crush the strike.

Madame Perkins quickly obliged. She sent a telegram on July 19, 1934, which said:

"Answering your telegram to me in regard to action by federal immigration authorities, I assure you that the Department of Labor will cooperate with California officials. . . . The applicable immigration statutes authorize the department to take into custody and deport any alien who advocates disbelieve in or opposition to all organized government or teaches communism. The Commissioner of Immigration and Naturalization at Washington has today again wired to the District Director at San Francisco to act with promptness in any case in which there is evidence presented to or discovered by him indicating that an alien is deportable. . . ."

In such a manner the "New Deal" cabinet member "representing" Labor gave the waterfront bosses the cue to mask the attack against the San Francisco workers under the guise of "alien trouble makers" who "teach communism." (Incidentally it made no difference to Madame Perkins that the immigration laws at the time made no mention whatever of the phrase "teaches communism.")

Mainly Citizens Arrested

Then started the waves of arrests and illegal raids. Out of 373 who were arrested during the strike as aliens, no less than 272 were citizens of the United States! That alone proved that the drive against "aliens" was merely a method whereby the employers cloaked their union-busting drive against the workers.

Need Two-a-Week Appeal to Fight War

Every day we come closer to war and every day the necessity of publishing the APPEAL twice a week instead of once becomes ever more urgent. To struggle against the war propaganda, to teach the workers the meaning of every move of the Roosevelt government, is a task which cannot be fulfilled by an APPEAL which comes out only once a week.

Our branches, however, do not seem to realize this urgent necessity. We have collected only \$160.00 in the last week, barely enough to keep the APPEAL going on the basis of once a week. Only three weeks are left and 61% of the funds pledged are still due. In those three weeks we must collect every cent.

Every comrade must be at his post for the two-a-week Appeal.

SCOREBOARD

Branch	Pledged	Paid	%
Update New York	\$ 50.00	\$ 50.00	100
Akron	10.00	10.00	100
Rockville	5.00	5.00	100
Texas	5.00	5.00	100
Chicago	100.00	90.00	90
St. Paul	200.00	160.00	80
Lynn	50.00	37.00	74
Minneapolis	300.00	200.00	67
Boston	177.00	119.50	66
Detroit	75.00	46.35	62
Philadelphia	25.00	13.00	52
Flint	105.00	55.00	50
New York City	950.00	417.00	44
Toledo	40.00	17.50	44
East Chicago	25.00	10.00	40
Baltimore	25.00	10.00	40
Los Angeles	100.00	40.50	40
Newark	100.00	30.00	30
Buffalo	5.00	1.00	20
Maritime Workers	780.00	150.00	19
New Haven	55.00	10.00	18
National Office	550.00	44.20	8
San Francisco	100.00	0.00	0
Omaha	25.00	0.00	0
Seattle	15.00	0.00	0
Indianapolis	10.00	0.00	0
Oakland	10.00	0.00	0
Portland	10.00	0.00	0
Lorain	5.00	0.00	0
TOTAL	\$3907.00	\$1521.05	39.0

SELLING THE APPEAL

EXTRA!

Minneapolis has increased its regular weekly bundle order from 200 copies to 1000! This is now the largest regular bundle on the Appeal mailing list, and shows a firm intention on the part of the Minneapolis comrades to make the Appeal known to the thousands of workers within their territory. Factories and union halls will be covered thoroughly.

This order naturally involves a financial sacrifice on the part of these comrades, and the Appeal office has therefore extended a preferential rate to make the burden as light as possible. We salute these comrades for taking the lead in bringing our press to broad layers of the working-class regularly every week, and will give full publicity to their endeavors.

EXTRA!

To all other branches anxious to spread their influence among the thousands of workers, we say: Follow the example of Minneapolis, and swell your bundle order to several times its present size! Get out among the workers with the paper, and see that it reaches the people for whom it is intended. Center all your strength on reaching as many workers as possible! Tell us your financial problem, and we shall extend to you the best preferential rate possible.

EXTRA!

Subs weren't too good this week, with only 17 received since the 1st of June. Minneapolis accounted for nearly half of them. The comrades elsewhere throughout the country will have to get up some real steam, if they intend to keep in the running. Minneapolis is setting a fast pace on its Appeal work. Here is this week's record:

Buy the APPEAL IN MINNEAPOLIS at:
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Morris Kroman,
4th St. & Nicollet Av.
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238 Second Av., South
A. Peterson News Stand,
Washington Av. & B'way N.
Labor Book store,
919 Marquette Av.

Mpls.7
N. Y.3
Chicago2
Youngstown1
Detroit1
Phila.1
Boston1
Los Angeles1

Total17

By next week we should begin to see first results of the branch subscription drive announced in the last issue. Remember, a bound volume of the Appeal to every comrade bringing in 5 subs; and the 1938 and both 1939 bound volumes to every branch getting 25 subs. Get busy, comrades! Get those subs in!

EXTRA!

The Los Angeles branch is the third major center which has had great success with the Detroit RED SUNDAY plan. Boston has been breaking records for three months now through its use, showing that it works just as well on the East Coast as it now seems to be doing 3000 miles away in Los Angeles.

We quote the West Coast report:

"The L.A. comrades have adopted an excellent method for neighborhood sales of the SOCIALIST APPEAL, suggested by the experience of the Detroit comrades: '1. Tell the person who comes to the door that you are distributing a workers' paper free, as part of the Anti-War campaign of the S.W.P.'

"2. Ask him to donate to the Appeal fund, by dropping a coin in the container you hold up while passing the Appeal to him.

"3. The object is to cover as many homes as possible. Speed is an important factor in the success of this plan.

"This procedure has been used twice with increasing success. We are convinced that this method will insure mass distribution of our press. We call on all locals to make use of it. (signed) M.W." All out on RED SUNDAYS!

In AKRON, O.
the APPEAL may be obtained at:
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51 S. Main St.
PORTAGE CIGARS,
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The Negro Question

by Robert L. Birchman

British "Aid" to Haile Selassie

Britain is making overtures to Haile Selassie, exiled King of Ethiopia. Reports in the Negro press are that consultations are taking place daily at Selassie's residence in Bath.

As the tension grows in the Mediterranean and Italy's entry into the war on the side of Germany becomes a fact, the British hope to use Haile Selassie as a rallying force to appeal to the colored peoples of her colonial empire for support of the war. This is of importance since the colonial peoples are not rallying so readily to Britain's war.

Sir Sidney Barton, former British ambassador to Addis Ababa recently headed a delegation from the Abyssinia Association (a white group) that interviewed the ex-king and assure him of the association's support to restore him to his throne—under an Anglo-French protectorate!—after the Italians are expelled from Ethiopia.

The colored people of the entire world must support the Ethiopians in their struggle for independence. But they must be warned that to put any dependence upon France or England in this struggle will not mean independence but only a new form of slavery, merely exchanging an Anglo-French yoke for Italy's.

The Ethiopian masses can only win their independence by an unremitting struggle waged first of all of course against their present oppressor Italy, but waged with the perspective of preventing any other imperialist power from replacing Italy as master of Ethiopia. Such a struggle will inspire the other oppressed colonial peoples in their struggle against French and British imperialism. The hundreds of thousands of colonial troops, many of them now in the Near East, would rally to the support of colonial revolts directed against all the imperialists.

One indication that this is a real possibility is the report that appeared in the Negro press last fall to the effect that the black Eritrean troops of Italy turned on the white Italian soldiers, and after killing them all, went off to join the Ethiopian General Hiyot, taking with them all their arms and ammunition.

Let Haile Selassie get arms from the British. But any promises he makes in return for the arms should not be binding on the Ethiopian people. British workers should cheerfully transmit such arms to a colonial people, for these arms can be used by the Ethiopians to win their freedom. The revolutionary struggle against imperialist war is aided by successful military action of any colonial people against the imperialist power which dominates that colored people—if that colonial people conducts that war for its own independence and not as a tool of one of the imperialist powers.

Negro Aid to France Is Denounced by George Schuyler

"Of all the incredible nonsense of which so-called American Negroes have been guilty, I think the palm must go to the 'Five for France' campaign which has its headquarters at Atlanta university," says George Schuyler in the *Pittsburgh Courier* (June 8), in reference to the plan to collect five cents each from Negro students "to give something, no matter how little, to the brave Senegalese and West Indian soldiers who are fighting to save the noblest country in Europe."

So far only \$103.05 has been collected and we are told that "The response from adults, however, has been less encouraging." Schuyler continues: "I think it is a very encouraging sign that Negro adults have not wasted their nickels in this manner; but depressing to learn that Negro youngsters are depriving themselves of chocolate bars, milk and soda pop to dump money into the lap of French plutocracy."

"Why the Senegalese and French West Indians should fight to save France is a mystery. Both have been unmercifully exploited by the hard-fisted Gauls, the former for over a century and the latter for about three centuries. Both have done the dirty work of French imperialism all over the world, wallowing in mud and blood to enrich the bankers, industrialists and tradesmen who run the Republic and received little except worthless medals for it."

"It is my personal opinion that Negroes dying for France are stooges and saps. The aggression called Hitlerism, which they are now stupidly battling, differs only in name from the aggression which the French have visited upon numerous African nations and the people of Indo-China, than which there is none more ground down."

"If it is merely a matter of sending money to Negro soldiers, why not take up a collection for the troops in England's West African Frontier force or the dark regiments in her Indian army? Or why neglect Belgium's black slave catchers in the Congo? Or the uniformed dark minions of Queen Wilhelmina? Or for that matter, the 50,000 black Italian soldiers in East Africa? None of these countries is more imperialist than France. Their black soldiers, like those of France, are used, not to defend democracy, but to keep down 'unrest' in their colonial slave pens and to help, when necessary, to defend the property and money of the respective gangs of plutocratic masters."

These black French soldiers deserve no reward for risking their lives to perpetuate a pernicious system, just as American Negro soldiers deserved no reward from Negroes for helping to slaughter Indians and Filipinos to further America's 'Manifest Destiny.'

"The 'nobility' of France is to be judged by Negroes from a Negro point of view and not from the point of view of the intellectual gendarmery of capitalist imperialism. As an exploiter of Negroes, France has no peer. True, it flatters and sops over a picked handful of Negroes and has boosted isolated blackamoors to high positions as a reward for misdirecting and betraying their people. But so have a few Negroes everywhere, even in the United States, won their 30 pieces of silver. We cannot judge the position of the bulk of blacks under the Third Republic by the treatment accorded a handful, no more than we can judge the position of the American Negro sharecroppers and slum dwellers by that of a small number of sleek, immaculate and well-housed college professors, doctors, undertakers and numbers barons."

ILGWU Convention Ruled by War-Mongers

By A DELEGATE

The fortieth anniversary convention of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union adjourned on June 7 after twelve days of bureaucratic steamrolling through resolutions advocating a third term, unlimited aid to the Allies (short of war?), reaffiliation with the AFL and many other reactionary measures not consistent with a supposedly progressive trade union.

President Dubinsky keynoted the convention at the opening session at Madison Square Garden May 27 with a war-mongering speech that might easily have been written by corporation lawyers from the house of Morgan, Standard Oil, the Rockefeller interests and their ilk. From then on, during the days that followed, each successive speaker seemed to be trying to start in where the last speaker left off.

Each expressed in his own inimitable way that labor and capital must cooperate, that labor, above all, must not strike, that World War 2 is different than the last war in that this is a just war on the part of the same Allies, etc. One speaker rationalized it by saying that if Germany had won the last war she would have demanded colonies, but if Germany wins this war she will demand civilization.

Delegates Intimidated

The reaffiliation of the ILGWU with the AFL was achieved amidst a reign of intimidation comparable only to that which brought about the passing of the war resolution. Although sixteen resolutions representing over 40,000 members were presented to

DUBINSKY MACHINE COMMITS UNION TO BACK FDR, AID ALLIES, REJOIN AFL

the convention advocating an independent status, only twelve delegates who refused to be intimidated rose to vote against affiliation. On the basis of a fraction over two delegates to each thousand members, there should have been at least 80 votes against.

The twelve who voted against affiliation were called Communists by Dubinsky—a performance he repeated on other votes. The resolution advocating a third term for Roosevelt was greeted with a planned demonstration that lasted at least 15 minutes. This time, the "Communists" and "fifth columnists" that had the gall to oppose the Dubinsky administration numbered only four.

Anti-War Vote

There were two minority reports on the war situation—one by the Stalinists, and one by Louis Nelson of the New York knitgoods workers representing a loose bloc of non-Stalinist opponents of the pro-war orientation of the Dubinsky administration. The Stalinists report was far more reformist, "isolationist" in formulation, than the other minority report and silent, of course, on Stalin's role in Poland and Finland. It got seven votes. Nelson's report got seventeen votes.

Although the Nelson report was backed by International vice-president Rose Pesota and other otherwise close collaborators of the administration, it got a re-

ception from the administration which made clear that the Stalinists are merely at the moment the most vulnerable victims, but woe to anybody who talks against war!

Charles S. Zimmerman, manager of Local 22 and leading Lovestonite, was not to be heard on the war, third term and AFL questions. So far as the naked eye could discern, he was voting with the administration, while other Lovestonites were voting against. The only sign of the Socialist Party was Gross' proposal for nationalization of the munitions industry—offered as an amendment to the majority's pro-ally report!

Zimmerman played a particularly foul role when the resolutions committee brought in this proposal on continuance of the Dies Committee: "We believe that a reorganization of that Committee, making it a joint congressional committee of persons interested, not in grinding their own political axes, but in doing a job for good government, will prove of inestimable value."

Zimmerman was chairman for the day and had the last word. He was in an ideal position to rally opposition to this reactionary proposal, so dangerous in its implications for the labor movement. Instead he made the final speech for it!

The proposed Congressional committee, said Zimmerman,

would "make a real investigation of un-American activities, including Father Coughlin, the Ku Klux Klan, the Silver Shirts, and all other subversive or reactionary un-American activities. And if," concluded Zimmerman with cheap malice addressing the Stalinists, "as you claim, the work of the Communist party is an open book, then there is no reason why you should oppose the recommendation of the Committee." And this scoundrel has been passing himself off as a revolutionist!

Stalinist "Strategy"

On a number of questions a few consistent progressives had to vote with the Stalinists, but the Stalinists made it well-nigh impossible to win the votes of the average progressive delegate. An example was the administration resolution advocating replacement of the Dies Committee by a joint Congressional committee which would have the same purpose as the Dies Committee, i.e., investigation of the Communist party. It was a thoroughly reactionary resolution, and one against which it might have been possible to rally advanced workers.

Instead of attacking the resolution and the role of such a Congressional committee, however, the Stalinist delegates devoted themselves to whitewashing the Communist party. They made the issue one of for or against the C.P. In that light the delegates

voted, and only two or three non-Stalinists voted against the resolution.

The burning questions of the trade that confronts the union? Except for a few perfunctory resolutions the union's tasks were shunted aside. The convention was dominated by the war-mongering speakers with whom Dubinsky flooded the platform, day after day.

Union "Babies" Learn

But there was more to the convention than the Dubinsky gang. There were many demonstrations during the convention by the old time cloakmakers, the newer element of dressmakers, and perhaps most interesting of all, the so-called babies of the union from its newly organized locals in the Midwest and the Eastern out-of-town department. It was heartening to see these young people, full of their fresh solidarity with the trade union movement. They proved to the convention that they had what it takes to win strikes. They left no doubt in the minds of the delegates what their actions would be if called upon to strike again and again. The recognized the class line between themselves and their bosses.

All these young people came to the convention, as was natural for people who have recently discovered unionism, as ardent administration supporters. But most of them went away with a new thought or two. They sat agape as Dubinsky shut up delegates, denounced all opposition as Communist, and railroaded the convention. Dubinsky will pay for that hysterical performance.

Citing Documents Is a Dangerous Business, Mr. Earl Browder!

Earl Browder, in his closing speech to the Communist party convention, said:

"Is there any other party in America today that can bring forth the documents and the advice that it gave America two, three and four years ago, and ask America—if you America, had followed the advice we gave you then, is it not entirely possible that America could have been the force to prevent this horrible slaughter that is engulfing the world? No! There is no other party that wants to resurrect its documents of two or three years ago. All it asks is that these documents be forgotten as quickly as possible. What other party can pass such a test of comparing its past proposals with the principle needs of the world." (*Daily Worker*, June 6, 1940).

All right, Mr. Browder. "Browder, in addition, swore by Washington and Jefferson, that he owed allegiance only to the American flag." (*N. Y. Post*, Oct. 1, 1937).

"In the rising movement throughout the world to halt Hitler and to save world peace the U.S. is playing a more active role." (*Daily Worker*, Sept. 29, 1938—editorial).

"And we (the Communist party) support the peace policy of President Roosevelt as one of the most hopeful factors for world

peace and the peace of America."

"Concretely today, our country is uniting its people for a real fight for peace and progress. We reject the cowardly and hypocritical theories of isolation and neutrality which have aided the fascist war-makers."

"All America is rallying to the call of President Roosevelt to throw the weight of our country into the scales on the side of security, justice, peace and international order for all peoples." (*Browder speech, Daily Worker*, Aug. 27, 1938).

"The issue in the world situation is fascist war-making aggression and its allies, against the peace-loving and democratic peoples. And that is the issue and alignment in our own November elections. The democracy of the U.S. is faced with the necessary choice either to surrender or fight. To surrender is simple: 'peace' of the Munich type can always be purchased so long as people are ready to pay the price, and then Hitler will solve all other problems for us. To fight, and to win through to victory, is hard and difficult, and requires the close alliance and unity of all forces that can be rallied, in America and throughout the world. As we march to the polls to cast our ballots for progress and democracy against reaction and fascism..." (*Browder speech, supporting Roosevelt, Daily Worker*, Nov. 5, 1938).

"All Aid to the Heroic Polish People. Support Poland and all those who are helping the Polish people save their independence from Nazi barbarism." (*Daily Worker*, Sept. 11, 1939).

Etc., etc., etc.

"I know it, Browder; 'I know it, Browder; 'Our line has changed again.'"

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Roosevelt Refuses To Commute Sentences Of WPA Strikers

MINNEAPOLIS—The WPA Defense Committee of the Minneapolis Central Labor Union was notified from Washington last week that President Roosevelt has rejected organized labor's petition to commute the sentences of the Minneapolis WPA strikers, six of whom are still serving time at Sandstone federal prison.

The sole "crime" for which these workers were convicted was that they had participated in last summer's WPA strike. Though nationwide, the strike was particularly effective in Minneapolis, where not only the skilled building trades workers but also the unskilled WPA workers went out, thanks to the solidarity of the unions and the unemployed movement here. Precisely for that reason Roosevelt made an "example" of the Minneapolis strikers.

CLARKE SPEAKS IN LOS ANGELES

SAN FRANCISCO—George Clarke, member of the National Committee of the Socialist Workers Party, spent the past week here on his coast-to-coast tour.

Next week Comrade Clarke will be in Los Angeles. On Thursday, June 20, he speaks at the Embassy Auditorium of Assembly Hall, 843 Grand Street, Los Angeles, on "War and the American Workers." The meeting is at 8 p.m.

On Thursday, June 27, he speaks at the Los Angeles Labor Temple, 7315 South San Pedro Street, on "Trade Unions and the War." A third meeting will be held in the Wilmington-San Pedro harbor area.

Militant Worker Gets 25 Years by Frame-up

SYRACUSE, N. Y.—Chris Poppo, a militant trade unionist, a Macedonian immigrant who has devoted most of his life to the labor movement, and who has been blacklisted on job after job because he insisted on fighting the bosses, has been sentenced to FIFTEEN YEARS TO TWENTY-FIVE in the state prison on a trumped-up charge of second degree attempted arson and conspiracy to commit arson.

The charge grew out of an alleged attempted burning of a restaurant in Watertown, N. Y., on Feb. 4, 1940.

Three men were arrested in the case. One of them, Peter Gregor, the owner of the restaurant, died before the trial.

Peter Panagiotatos, also known as Peter Burdabas, a confessed firebug who for years has been setting fires for money, turned state's evidence, implicating Poppo.

Not Charged With Fire!

According to Burdabas, the three men are supposed to have met in the restaurant on two separate occasions. On January 28, they met there and Gregor allegedly went off to get the \$150 additional money for the job which was to have brought \$200. The other two men are supposed to have busied themselves spreading inflammable liquids, but when Gregor failed to return, mopped up the stuff, returned the \$50 already paid them, and left the keys with Gregor's brother, Thomas.

Then on February 4 they are supposed to have returned and again made the preparations. The fire failed to materialize, however.

The restaurant finally did burn down on February 13, but Poppo was not indicted for this.

Framed by Provocateur

Another witness against Poppo, a man named Lampros, was an agent provocateur, hired by a Greek detective Popos, who in turn works for the National Board of Fire Underwriters.

The only other witness offered by the state denied on the witness stand that he had any court record. Letters from Poppo's attorney state that this man was

convicted and served time for grand larceny.

Chris Poppo's attorney offered only three witnesses for his defense. One, Thomas Gregor, brother of the deceased restaurant owner, testifying regarding the alleged motive for the crime—breaking the lease—said that it was absolutely unnecessary for any such action as the landlord had told him that Gregor could move anytime, as the place would bring much more rent than Gregor was paying.

Paul Vasil, a cousin of the Gregors, said that although he had been a frequent visitor at the restaurant, he had never seen Poppo or Burdabas, and that he had not been present, as alleged by Burdabas, when the keys and the money were returned!

Cops Hated Poppo

Further evidence that the case against Poppo is a frame-up is a slip made by the Syracuse police when they visited Poppo in his cell in the Watertown jail.

They told him that "if he beat this case they would hook him on something else as soon as he came back to Syracuse." For they know him and hate him as a militant worker.

Framed Once Before

This is not the first time Poppo has been framed. The Immigration Department seized upon a technicality to try to deport him. He had had a previous conviction. They had him on a Greek boat, ready to sail when, at the last moment, a pardon from the previous conviction arrived, signed by Governor Lehman.

It is more than significant, also, that while Poppo received a sentence of from fifteen to twenty-five years, his alleged conspirator, Peter Burdabas, a confessed arsonist of long standing, got only two years.

It is likewise significant that while Poppo was unable to raise the \$5,000 bail set for him, his alleged conspirator, Burdabas, for whom a public defender had also to be appointed, was able to raise the bail money and enjoyed his freedom pending the trial.

Poppo is a class-war victim, just as surely as if he were struck down by the cops on the picket line.

Technique of Drive Against Alien Workers

by SAM MARCY

The campaign against "aliens" has reached such proportions that a call for mass murder has issued directly from the floor of the United States Congress. Representative Robert F. Rich (Rep., Pa.) on May 29 made the following remarks (Congressional Record, page 10811):

"I think we ought to make every effort in this country to find those people who came to this country who are trying to overthrow our government and nothing should stop this Congress from either deporting them or putting them in concentration camps, and if we know they are going to do anything to overthrow our government, we ought to find a good brick wall, put them up against it, and get our bayonets out, and if necessary use them."

On May 30, Attorney General Ellis Arnall of Georgia proposed to Georgia Congressmen to remove the guarantee of the United States Constitution which formally gives rights to all residents of the country, irrespective of place of birth or citizenship status. Along with this comes the Smith Bill providing for finger-printing of immigrants, for deportation of non-citizens who belonged to a proscribed organization at any time in the past.

Such is the situation in the land which for centuries was known as the traditional asylum for the persecuted of all lands. Such is the situation in the land which during the days of capitalist progress invited more than 37,000,000 immigrants, to dig its coal, make its steel, build its railroads, pick its crops, cultivate its fields and produce riches for the wealthy. Many of these immigrants were brought by soliciting companies, thousands of others were kidnapped and shipped here in loads. "Give me your huddled masses yearning to breathe free" is still the inscription on the base of the Statue of Liberty. Now that the capitalist class is in a blind ally, madly racing towards war, it seeks to turn all its wrath against those who created its wealth.

Arrested Aliens Get No Real Trial

When an alien worker is arrested by the Immigration Service for deportation he is not even accorded a trial by court or jury. He is tried by an immigration inspector, who acts both as judge, prosecutor and jury, who alone finds the facts and makes the record. He then presents them to the Secretary of Labor. There is no review directly from the Secretary's order to any court. It is final so long as it has been shown that there was merely some evidence to support the decision and the hearing not grossly unfair.

And yet Congress has just passed a law transferring the Immigration Service from the Department of Labor to the Department of Justice, on the ground that the Labor Department "does not adequately enforce the immigration laws"! This measure is calculated to put the supervision of the alien workers directly under the FBI. Roosevelt's request for speedy enactment of this law prevented any public hearing on the bill by any committee of Congress. What a strange contrast to the LaFollette Bill which attempted to remove certain oppressive labor practices—such as labor spying, etc., which took more than three years for passage by the Senate. And when passed it is saddled with an amendment forbidding the employment of more than 10% of non-citizen workers in any interstate industry, and other reactionary features.

With regard to these anti-alien bills now pending, it is very important to point out an extremely significant feature of this legislation, which at just a glance may appear to be entirely remote from the subject. It is the relation between the poll-tax and these anti-alien bills. The overwhelming mass of the anti-alien legislation comes precisely from those districts where alien workers are almost unknown and the foreign-born population negligible.

The Mechanism of Alien-Baiting

One would think that if the foreign-born workers represented a real danger to the bosses, the Congressional representatives of the big industrial areas, where the foreign-born workers are concentrated, would be the logical ones to propose these anti-alien measures. On the contrary, however, these Congressional lackeys of the bosses, are to a considerable degree still dependent on the votes of the foreign-born workers. Hence there is a nefarious division of labor between representatives of the large industrial states and those Southern states where the vote is very restricted by poll taxes and other requirements, which work particularly well in disfranchising native workers, especially Negroes.

Below are listed four of the most prominent alien-baiters who are responsible for the bulk of the most vicious anti-alien legislation, and the total vote by which they were elected. They are all representatives from states where the suffrage is very restricted, where Negroes are systematically disfranchised and where poll-tax systems are a venerable tradition.

Rep. Joe Stevens..... 9,853
Rep. Sam Hobbs..... 12,603
Rep. Martin Dies..... 12,824
Rep. Howard Smith..... 13,852

Congressman Lee E. Geyer, of California, who supplied the above figures, contrasts them with the number cast in an election for a representative who opposed the anti-alien bills, Magnusson of Washington, who polled 177,061—fifteen and twenty times the number of votes polled by the alien-baiters!

It is also noteworthy, that the poll tax states (Texas, Virginia, South Carolina, Tenn., Georgia, Alabama Mississippi and Arkansas, wield the greatest amount of power in Congress. They furnish 28% of the committee chairmen in the House, and 33% of the committee chairmen in the Senate, in addition to the presiding officers in both houses. They also supply 45% of the chairmen of the eleven leading standing committees of the Senate.

Thus the systematic disfranchisement of the native population goes hand in hand with the most brazen attack on the foreign-born. In fact it can be fairly said that, in order to more intensively exploit the native workers, it is necessary for the bosses to begin with the foreign-born workers.

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Fight with the Socialist Workers Party for:

1. A JOB AND A DECENT LIVING FOR EVERY WORKER.
2. OPEN THE IDLE FACTORIES — OPERATE THEM UNDER WORKERS' CONTROL.
3. A TWENTY-BILLION DOLLAR FEDERAL PUBLIC WORKS AND HOUSING PROGRAM.
4. THIRTY-THIRTY-\$30 WEEKLY MINIMUM WAGE—30-HOUR WEEKLY MAXIMUM FOR ALL WORKERS ON ALL JOBS.
5. \$30 WEEKLY OLD-AGE AND DISABILITY PENSION.
6. EXPROPRIATE THE SIXTY FAMILIES.
7. ALL WAR FUNDS TO THE UNEMPLOYED.
8. A PEOPLE'S REFERENDUM ON ANY AND ALL WARS.
9. NO SECRET DIPLOMACY.
10. AN INDEPENDENT LABOR PARTY.
11. WORKERS' DEFENSE GUARDS AGAINST VIGILANTE AND FASCIST ATTACKS.
12. FULL SOCIAL, POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC EQUALITY FOR THE NEGRO PEOPLE.

Knudsen-Stettinius

The auto workers want to see Hitler stopped, but they don't think it can be done by putting Knudsen, anti-labor head of General Motors, in charge of "national defense" production.

The steel and railroad workers want Hitler stopped, but when they see their worst bosses, Stettinius and Budd, at the helm of "national defense," they smell a rat.

Why does the Navy insist, and Congress agree, to begin building the new battleships by scuttling the Walsh-Healey and the Wage and Hour laws? Why were the Kearny shipyard workers driven back to work on the bosses' terms—the boss being Stettinius' U.S. Steel!—and their strike denounced as "treason"?

Never were bosses' voices so powerful as they are today in Washington. At their bidding the House has adopted a series of amendments which would turn the Wagner Labor Act into a weapon against the trade unions.

At the bosses' bidding the "national defense" tax bill puts the burden for the new armament on the backs of the workers. Every unmarried worker earning more than \$15.40 a week will now have to pay an income tax!

At the bosses' bidding the "aliens"—the non-citizens, most of them workers and good union men, many of whom cannot become citizens because of one legal provision or another—are turned over to the FBI's "G-men," and are hounded and bulldozed by all kinds of laws directed against them.

The Department of Justice's "anti-trust" union-busting campaign extends to one city after another.

The Federal Trade Commission has joined in, hounding the militant Mid-west drivers' unions from a new angle—attacking their union contracts which limit the tricks which bosses use to chisel down the wage-scale.

What's going on in Washington? Why are the bosses having everything their own way?

The answer is simple. The Roosevelt government today wants the maximum possible cooperation from the bosses, in order to build in the shortest possible time the gigantic war machine which Congress has already authorized.

The government needs the cooperation of the bosses because they are bosses—they are the legal owners, masters of the factories and mines and railroads. Any friction between the bosses and the administration, no matter how slight, means an obstacle to the building of the war machine.

And so the bosses come to Washington with the exultant feeling that they are running the show completely now. And every Congressional committee is loaded to the brim with the bills which these bosses are noisily demanding—and which they are getting.

Very different from the reception the bosses are getting is that which labor leaders are experi-

encing in Washington these days. The CIO's protest against the scuttling of the Walsh-Healey and the Wage and Hour laws in the naval construction bill was contemptuously ignored. Likewise the CIO's objections to the disemboweling of the Wagner Labor Act. The shipyard workers' officials are cooling their heels in government anterooms and getting nowhere. Roosevelt shows his teeth and commands that "Labor will not strike" during this period, although he and everybody else knows perfectly well that, deprived of the strike weapon, the unions are impotent.

The AFL and CIO top officials grab at a straw to solve this dangerous situation. They propose that representatives of organized labor sit on the National Defense Council and on all other boards and bodies connected with the "defense" program.

Will that solve anything? Not a bit. Sidney Hillman is already sitting in the National Defense Council, cheek by jowl with Knudsen, Stettinius, Budd & Co. The result? The destruction of labor's gains, the deafness to labor's demands, continues just the same. With this difference—that some workers still have delusions that labor "representatives" like Hillman in the government agencies may still get something for the workers. Those who have such delusions will be cruelly disappointed in the coming months.

For even if John L. Lewis and Phil Murray and William Green and Matthew Woll and scores of others sat in the government agencies, even if labor officials were an actual majority in such agencies, the destruction of labor's gains would continue. Because whoever sat in the swivel chairs in Washington would still have to cater to the arrogant requirements laid down by the masters of industry, the bosses, the capitalist class.

Everything that Labor will retain of its previous gains, every advance that Labor will make in the coming period, will have to be secured by a head-on collision with the bosses—and with Washington. The cry will go up, and it will be plausible, that the strikes are interfering with the "defense" program. Labor will have to learn how to hear that cry and to ignore it—if Labor wants to stand its ground.

Isn't there a way of stopping Hitler and still not giving way to the bosses? There certainly is.

In the first place, the "defense" program will not stop what Hitler represents—fascism, military dictatorship, the destruction of the labor movement, anti-Semitism—because these evils grow out of capitalism today. The rat-like desperation of the American bosses, after eleven years of economic crisis, can give rise to fascism just as the rat-like desperation of the German and Italian bosses led them to turn to fascism. Whatever capitalist powers are victorious in the war, fascism may be their last resort at the end of an exhausting war.

There's only one way in which Labor can prevail—against fascism, as well as against the bosses and their National Defense Council. That is for Labor to become master in the house of society!

What do we need the bosses for? American Labor is not a bunch of ignorant peasants who have to be taught how to run machines. American Labor, in reality, running American industry right now!

And it can run the government, too. What is the government, anyway? Nothing but the executive committee of the capitalist class as a whole. When Labor takes over industry, the government it establishes will be the executive committee of the working class as a whole.

That's the only way to fight Hitler and Hitlerism, including the American varieties.

Stalinist Fakery

The Communist party says it fights for the rights of the foreign-born.

BUT the Stalinist leaders of the National Maritime Union are looking the other way while the House Committee on Merchant Marine is arranging for passage of a bill barring all non-citizens from ship's crews.

Verbal objections in the *Daily Worker* addressed to the world in general don't take any guts. But it takes plenty of guts to wade into the shipowners and their Congressional stooges and fight them off, as the Sailors Union of the Pacific and the Seafarers International Union are doing.

Verbal opposition to the "defense" program in general is easy. But to stigmatize the shameful role of John L. Lewis and the CIO Executive Board in endorsing the "defense" program and in endorsing Hillman's sitting in the Defense Council—that takes revolutionary courage, and the *Daily Worker* and the Stalinist leadership are neither courageous nor revolutionary. That's why they look the other way while John L. Lewis leads the CIO into the war machine.

The Stalinists fight against war? Don't make us laugh.

Trotsky Letter Exposes Stalin Role In Recent Assassination Attempt

The Mexican press published on June 1 a letter, written by Leon Trotsky to the attorney general of Mexico, the chief of the federal police, and the foreign minister. The letter constituted Trotsky's answer to attempts by influential forces to direct away from the Stalinists the investigation of the May 24 attempt to assassinate Trotsky.

The letter follows in part:

It is first of all necessary to affirm that the attempted assassination could only be instigated by the Kremlin; by Stalin through the agency of the GPU abroad. During the last few years, Stalin has shot hundreds of real or supposed friends of mine. He actually exterminated my entire family, except me, my wife and one of my grandchildren. Through his agents abroad he assassinated one of the old leaders of the GPU, Ignace Reiss, who had publicly declared himself a partisan of mine. This fact has been established by the French police and the Swiss judiciary. The same GPU agents who killed Reiss trailed my son in Paris. On the night of November 7, 1936, GPU agents broke into the Scientific Institute of Paris and stole part of my archives. Two of my secretaries, Erwin Wolff and Rudolf Klement, were assassinated by the GPU; the first in Spain, the second in Paris. All the theatrical Moscow trials during 1936-1937 had as their aim to get me into the hands of the GPU.

In saying this I do not exclude the possibility of the participation of Hitler's Gestapo in the assassination attempt. Up to a certain point the GPU and the Gestapo are connected with each other; it is possible and probable that in special cases the same agents are at the disposal of both. Authoritative representatives of the German government have publicly indicated that they consider me a dangerous enemy. It is completely possible that these two police forces cooperated in the attempt against me.

HOW THE GPU IS ORGANIZED ABROAD

The general scheme of the GPU organization abroad is the following: in the Central Committee of each section of the Comintern there is placed a responsible director of the GPU for that country. His status is known only to the secretary of the party and one or two trustworthy members. The other members of the C.C. have but a slight inkling of the special status of this member.

As a member of the C.C. the country's GPU representative has the possibility of approaching with full legality all members of the party, study their characters, entrust them with commissions, and little by little draw them into the work of espionage and terrorism, appealing to their sense of party loyalty as much as to bribery.

This whole mechanism was discovered in France and Switzerland in connection with the murder of Reiss and the later moves against my dead son and other

persons. As for the United States, Krivitsky established that the sister of Browder, general secretary of the party, became a GPU agent through her brother's recommendation. This example proves the rule rather than an exception.

Agents of the GPU upon coming to a foreign country for a specific task always work through the local head of the GPU, the above mentioned member of the C.C. of the C.P.; without this they could not orient themselves in the local situation and select the indispensable exco-ordinators of their mission. The emissary from abroad and the local resident and their trustworthy aides work out the general plan of their undertaking, study the list of possible collaborators and draw them into the conspiracy step by step.

I do not have any information concerning the real role played by sergeant Casas and the five police under him who were on guard outside my house. I know only that they are arrested. One cannot be sure that they were not in the conspiracy; the GPU has means as no other institution in the world of convincing, coercion and bribery. They could have systematically insinuated to the police that I am an enemy of the Mexican people; promised them a career; and finally they could have offered a high price for their services. But foreign agents could not approach the Mexican police; local agents were necessary.

STALINIST AGENTS PREPARED PUBLIC OPINION

The GPU is particularly concerned with the problem of preparing public opinion for a terrorist act, especially when a person well-known nationally and internationally is the victim. This part of the job is always assigned to the Stalinist press, Stalinist speakers and the so-called "friends of the Soviet Union." The judicial investigation, it seems to me, from this point of view cannot fail to examine the work of the newspapers, "El Popular," "La Voz de Mexico," and some collaborators of "El Nacional." I am not referring to criticism of me, to the political criticism of my convictions, for such criticism, even though most severe, is the most elementary democratic right of everybody. But "La Voz de Mexico" and "El Popular" have never occupied themselves with such criticism.

I recall that many times they have accused me of connections with all the reactionary circles in Mexico as well as abroad; in one speech Toledano declared that I am preparing a general strike against the Cardenas government;

in "El Machete" and afterward in "La Voz de Mexico" they accuse me, every Sunday, of preparing a revolution together with General Cedillo and many other real or supposed counter-revolutionaries; they pictured me in secret sessions with a certain Dr. Atl; in collaboration with the German fascists in Mexico, etc. etc. In recent times "Futuro," "El Popular," as well as "La Voz de Mexico," systematically repeat that I am in secret contact with the reactionary U.S. congressman Dies and that I gave him certain information against Mexico. All these accusations, it is easy to see, make no sense, for they ascribe to me acts which are not only contrary to my convictions and my life's work, but also against my immediate interests, since I would have to lose all reason to commit disloyal acts against the Mexican government which has accorded me such generous hospitality.

I need not recall that through the press I have called upon my accusers repeatedly to bring their case before an impartial commission, appointed by the government or the (government) Party of the Mexican Revolution, in order to publicly examine the accusations made against me. Toledano and the C.P. chiefs have always been careful enough not to accept my proposition.

With this I do not wish to say that Toledano and the C.P. chiefs took direct part in preparing the attempt against me. The GPU has a strict division of labor. Known persons are assigned the task of propagating the slanders against me. Lesser known but more serious agents are assigned the task of assassination. Nevertheless Mr. Toledano is no youngster. He knows perfectly well the methods of the GPU, particularly the systematic persecution to which the members of my families, my friends and I have been and are exposed throughout the world. It is no secret to Toledano that the GPU is out to annihilate me physically. I am therefore within my rights in saying that, in occupying himself systematically with the poisonous campaign against me, Mr. Toledano took part in the moral preparation of the terrorist act. Consequently Toledano as a witness should be of immense interest to the investigation.

It cannot be doubted in the least that the former and present chiefs of the C.P. know who is the local director of the GPU. Permit me also to assume that David Alfaro Siqueiros, who took part in the civil war in Spain as an active Stalinist, may also know who are the most important and active GPU members, Spanish, Mexican, and of other nationalities who are arriving at different times in Mexico, especially via Paris. The questioning of the previous and the present general secretary of the C.P. and also of Siqueiros, would help very much to throw light on the instigators of the assassination attempt and together with them discover their accomplices.

Auto Parleys Near Break As G.M. Invokes War Issue

(Continued from Page 1)

the phony statesmanship of Lewis, Hillman and Murray and their young pupils, Thomas, Reuther, etc.

Why shouldn't GM feel cocky? Every passing day reveals anew how the CIO top leadership is preparing to capitulate to the war machine and to meekly turn over the labor movement to the tender mercies of Stettinius and Knudsen.

A "Substitute" for Militancy

The "United Auto Worker," official paper of the union, instead of explaining to the auto workers the critical situation that the union now faces, instead of mobilizing the membership for a life and death struggle to preserve the union and its gains, points with great pride to—the victory achieved when Hillman was appointed by Roosevelt to sit on the seven-man Defense Board!

"This proves again," an editorial in the paper boasts, "that the CIO is always on the job in looking after the interests of the workers. No matter what the emergency, no matter how tough the assignment, the CIO tackles it and comes through with the right solution."

And this brazen "sell-out" of the auto workers is written by a "Socialist" editor, Ed Levinson, Norman Thomas' pupil, who puts

in his two cents to sell the auto workers down the river to the anti-labor dictatorship of the war machine!

Union President or Senator?

R. J. Thomas, International President of the UAW and also delegate to the National Convention of the Democratic Party, is so busy pulling strings trying to get elected to the U.S. Senate on the Democratic ticket, that he has no time to keep up with the current events affecting the lives and welfare of the auto workers he presumes to represent. Roosevelt and his henchmen in Congress are every day passing innumerable laws attacking the labor movement, the unions, the unemployed. Thomas is too busy to notice it, to fight it. Besides, it might hurt his chances with the Democratic party.

So, instead, he blandly informs the auto workers that "President Roosevelt's pledge in his fireside talk of May 26 that there would be no attacks on labor legislation has clarified the air somewhat and driven the deliberate provocateurs of hysteria into silence."

What Roosevelt DOES is of no interest to Thomas. He said some nice things in a nice fireside chat, and as far as Thomas is concerned, that is good enough!

Is it any wonder that the cynical, tough executives of GM have

only contempt for the leadership of the UAW and feel free to ignore the demands of the auto workers?

Union In Danger

The present policy of Thomas, Reuther, Addes and their cowardly allies of the Communist party only tires out the auto workers and makes them feel that it is impossible to fight and impossible to move forward.

This policy is only paving the way for accepting a "sell-out" agreement at the next stage of the game. This policy will only disintegrate and eventually destroy the splendid union that the auto workers have built.

Briggs Shows the Way

The Briggs workers, representing over 20,000 men in the four Detroit plants, have shown the way this week, when they repudiated the poor agreement negotiated by their leaders with the Briggs Corporation and instructed their committee to go back and tell the company they had to do better. It is up to the GM locals to display that same spirit of confidence and militancy—tell the GM Corporation that they cannot manufacture cars until they settle up with the men and their union, the United Automobile Workers of America.

Workers Must Intervene In War -- But How?

By ALBERT GOLDMAN

The American workers have a sacred obligation to intervene in the imperialist war now raging in Europe.

Does that sound like Roosevelt and all of his fellow war-mongers in and out of the labor movement? There is a difference of course in the use of the word 'imperialist,' a term which Roosevelt and his supporters do not use.

The question is: *HOW* to intervene.

The idea that the American workers are not at all interested in the imperialist war is absurd. It is true that they should not be interested in it the same way as those who are responsible for the war. But to say that the American workers or the workers of any other country should not be interested in a war that is destroying millions of human beings and untold wealth created by the working masses is complete nonsense.

To make a serious attempt to stop the war is the duty of the American workers, if for no other reason than that, if they do not stop the war, they will inevitably be dragged into it.

But again the question must be asked: *HOW* to intervene?

Certainly *not* the kind of intervention that Roosevelt proposes. He wants to intervene because a victory of Germany threatens the imperialist interests of the American ruling class. He is afraid that a victorious fascist Germany will be a successful competitor of American capitalism on the world market and especially in Latin America.

The American workers must do their utmost to prevent *that* kind of intervention. For such an intervention can mean nothing except a lower standard of living, destruction of all liberties, untold sacrifice and slaughter—all to preserve and protect the interests of the American capitalist class.

The intervention of the American workers must be of an altogether different *form* and for an altogether different *purpose*. They must *intervene by destroying in this country the social system which brought on the war in Europe* and which will sooner or later involve us in the same kind of a war.

How will the destruction of the capitalist system in this country constitute intervention in the war in Europe? The answer is: should the American workers take over power and establish a socialist United States it would be impossible for the imperialists of the European countries to keep their workers in subjection and to keep them slaughtering one another.

The European workers would be electrified by a victory of the American workers; they would in short order turn their guns against those who sent them to the slaughter. The capitalist rulers of the European countries, including Hitler and Mussolini could not last very long after the capitalists of the United States would fall from power.

There are many who are crying: keep America out of the war. They consist of demagogues and sincere but blind pacifists who do not see that it is impossible to keep this country out of war so long as it is ruled by the capitalist class.

The advanced workers will also fight to keep America out of the war, that is, to keep imperialist America from intervening in an imperialist war. The longer this country stays out of the war, the more time will the advanced workers have to educate and organize the American masses for the kind of intervention that will really benefit the workers of this country as well as the workers throughout the world.

To fight for and establish a Socialist United States is the only effective and worthwhile intervention on the part of the American people.

DIALECTICS CATCHES UP WITH BURNHAM AND SHACHTMAN

(The announcement that James Burnham, leader of the petty-bourgeois opposition that split from the Socialist Workers Party in April, had retired from the movement because he had come to the conclusion that socialism was not the next stage of society, provoked the following comment from Leon Trotsky, which we excerpt from a letter.)

"Burnham doesn't recognize dialectics but dialectics does not permit him to escape from its net. He is caught as a fly in a web. The blow he gave to Shachtman is irreparable. What a lesson on principled and unprincipled blocs! And poor Abern. Four years ago he found the protector for his family clique in the person of Holy Father Muste and his altar boy Spector; now he repeated the same experiment with the secularized Catholic, Burnham and his attorney, Shachtman. . . . In the good old times we waited, often for years and decades for a verification of a prognosis. Now the tempo of events is so feverish that the verification comes unexpectedly the next day. Poor Shachtman!"