

FRANCE'S FATE WARNS U. S. WORKERS: TAKE POWER IF YOU WANT TO DEFEAT FASCISM!

Hope For Jobs From Arms Drive Is Illusion, CIO Shows

Unemployment during April stood at 11,259,000 despite heavy armament orders, the CIO declared last week in its monthly survey, "The Economic Outlook."

Non-farm employment increased only 23,000, or one-tenth of one per cent from March to April.

These figures demonstrate that billions for armaments will not provide jobs or prosperity for the American people, the CIO survey pointed out. Roosevelt's armament program "does not provide the basis for much increase in our industrial production or for any substantial reduction in the number of unemployed."

Only a few optimistic economists argue that armaments expenditures will raise the level of industrial production to that of December, 1939, within the next six months. But even if that were so, it was pointed out by the CIO, it would only mean jobs for about two million workers and still leave 9,250,000 unemployed.

For, the CIO pointed out, "expenditures under a program of armaments are of a less productive character both in terms of jobs and of socially-useful output than would be provided by similar sums expended on the usual public works program."

These plain and simple facts were known to the Senate when, last week, it adopted Roosevelt's proposed "relief" bill, slashing the WPA rolls. The Senate knew these facts, because in secret session before a Senate subcommittee considering the WPA appropriation, WPA chief Col. Harrington had warned that "regardless of events abroad unemployment in the fiscal year 1941 is likely to number eight million to nine million." Yet the Senate joined Roosevelt and the House in slashing WPA. (See story on Harrington, page 3).

Behind the Lines

Hitler Victory Heads World Toward Greater Wars Between Totalitarian Blocs

by GEORGE STERN

The swift victory of Hitler on the continent of Europe is but the beginning of fresh agonies for a tortured world. More than borders and nations are being obliterated. It is the era of "democratic" capitalism and a multi-state system that is finally being stamped into the dust forever. Had its destruction been accomplished by workers' revolution the world to come would look different indeed.

But now out of the mad scramble of the victor and his satellites for the spoils there will emerge before long the principal features of the war world of an early tomorrow—a world divided into three vast continental blocs more or less continuously at conflict within themselves and with each other.

To a conquered Europe, Hitler will seek to bring full-blown the totalitarian machinery of organization already so developed in Germany. The working classes of Western Europe would be reduced to the helotry of the Fascist system. Capital control would pass into the hands of the ever-narrowing group of super-finance capitalists knit closely with the tops of the totalitarian regime. The Germans will doubtless dominate this group but will not be alone in it. Capitalists in Belgium, France, and before long in Britain (for Britain cannot long withstand a German attack now), will readily come forward to accept whatever degree of participation Hitler allows them in the totalitarianized exploitation of wealth and labor. With this conscripted economy—assuming it will have time to be consolidated and extended throughout the continent—the new masters can and will turn to the problem of the rest of the world's markets, resources, and labor.

While Hitler thus brings into being this grotesquely distorted image of a United States of Europe, the United States of America will be engaged to its neck in trying to become the United States of the Americas. The American capitalist class realizes today that under the present form of organization it would be totally incapable of withstanding the economic assaults upon its markets in Latin America of a Germanized Europe and a Japanized Asia. It must—and speedily—estab-

lish no less a totalitarian control over this hemisphere.

Roosevelt's project for an "economic union" of the Americas shows how acutely this is realized now in Washington. The June 18 New York Times bluntly says that "the plan envisages almost (!) totalitarian control over exports of surplus commodities of North and South American countries."

This plan or something probably even more sweeping will be imposed upon all American nations, by force if necessary, if U.S. capitalism has its way. And an inevitable concomitant is the establishment of "almost" totalitarian control of American economy itself. The sheer adaption of the American industrial and trade structure to the new situation will in itself mean a gigantic convulsion and will in itself lead swiftly to advanced stages of the totalitarian method—a method that means ruthless repression of living standards and equally ruthless repression of all working class resistance thereto.

This major crisis—immeasurably hastened by the unexpectedly swift debacle of the Allies—imposes upon U.S. imperialism a strictly hemisphere strategy for the time being. This leaves Japanese imperialism with hands free to complete, if it can, creation of the third great continental bloc. Japan has already begun the process of moving in on the Far Eastern spoils of Hitler's victory, giving every sign of assuming to itself the first prerogative of deciding the fate of French Indo-China and the Dutch East Indies—and perhaps before long, of British Malaya, and even of India.

The Soviet Union would lie between a Germanized Europe and a Japanized Asia and without a revolutionary revival on a world scale would face the danger of being broken in two between them.

What we all face in the coming years are titanic collisions between these vast continental imperialist blocs or their break-up within through risings of the workers and the colonial peoples. The first will lead the peoples of the world deeper into the abyss. The second will lead them out to the dawning of a new, a socialist civilization.

The French working class has been placed in the chains of German Fascism.

Only three years ago the workers of France stood at the threshold of revolution. The great wave of strikes culminating in the occupation of factories throughout the land in the general strike of June, 1936, placed the country in their hands.

But the French People's Front of Blum-Stalin checked and dispersed the revolutionary wave with the dire warning: "Revolution will open the road to Hitler."

So the French workers gave the factories back to the capitalists. And the capitalists, as events have now shown, left the road open to Hitler.

The French capitalists proved totally incapable of defense against the revolutionary wave with the dire warning: "Revolution will open the road to Hitler." So the French workers gave the factories back to the capitalists. And the capitalists, as events have now shown, left the road open to Hitler.

Instead the French capitalists helped Hitler place between the French and German workers a Maginot line of national division and hatred. While that Maginot line held fast, Hitler found it easy to crack the other Maginot line of steel and stone and to cut his way to a swift and terrible victory.

Thus bourgeois France has gone down to ignominious defeat at the hands of the rival it humbled 22 years ago.

The advanced workers will not weep at the passing of the French Empire. Its millions of black and yellow slaves will fight the new masters as they had to fight the old.

Nor will they weep at the passing of French "civilization." The time has long passed since bourgeois France added a single stone to the cultural accumulation worthy of being carried into the future. French capitalism tottered in permanent crisis. Its German rival succeeded earlier in crushing the workers and giving itself the hypodermic of totalitarianism. Had bourgeois France succeeded in defeating Nazi Germany it would in its turn have gone swiftly down the same dark road of totalitarianism—it was already beginning to do so during the war. Instead it was Germany which conquered and the ghastly tragedy of Versailles is to be re-enacted, only with the roles of the principals exchanged.

Only a workers' France could have turned the tide of European history in a totally different direction! Only a workers' France could have assured the defeat of Fascism in Spain. Only a workers' France could bring welling to the surface all the mighty latent forces of the people in struggle against slavery, home-grown or imported. Only a workers' France could have reached into the heart and core of the German working class to revive and nourish their struggle against Hitlerism.

That is the incomparable advantage of a revolutionary workers' regime in war! As the Russia of Lenin and Trotsky showed in 1918 it not only can and does command the total sacrifice of the workers at home, but can and does successfully appeal to the workers of all other nations, including the workers under the bourgeois enemy.

Bourgeois France could do neither. It kept its own masses enchained and could not dispute Hitler's mastery within the Reich. And as events have proved, it could not dispute Hitler's mastery throughout continental Europe.

Settlement Favors General Motors

FLINT, Mich., June 17—The threatened break in negotiations between General Motors and the UAW was avoided this week-end by agreement on a new contract between the union negotiating committee and the company, under heavy government pressure.

Terms of the agreement are not yet public, and will not be announced until the local unions vote on the new provisions.

From start to finish the negotiations were conducted under the pressure of a government campaign to force the union to accept whatever the corporation offered, because of the "pressing national emergency." R. J. Thomas, union president, repeatedly stated his undying patriotism and loyalty to the government, his support to the big rearmament campaign, but meekly tried to explain to the company, and the U.S. arbitrator, Steelman, that he couldn't go back to the membership without "something" to offer them.

A Poor Contract

In the last week the union was maneuvered into concentrating all negotiations around the question of wages. UAW officials, led by CIO representative Phil Murray, decided that there was only one way to get the union membership to swallow a contract that undoubtedly will be one of the poorest in all the CIO's history. That way was to throw out a bone . . . a few cents an hour increase in wages.

There is little likelihood that the new agreement contains any improvements whatever in bargaining procedure. The shop steward system will be a forgotten demand; seniority provisions will undoubtedly be weak; the contract will contain reactionary anti-alien provisions, anti-strike clauses, etc.

A Puny "Raise"

But as a counterweight to all this the workers will be offered a

Only a successful revolution by the workers would have enabled France to dispute that mastery. Only a workers' revolution will enable it to dispute that mastery tomorrow.

In 1936 the great risings of the workers in Spain, France, and Belgium offered the only way of avoiding the victory of Fascism in Europe. Messrs. Stalin, Thorez, Blum, and all the other Stalinist and Socialist lackeys of Western Europe brought those risings to nought. The result is the present catastrophe.

But this catastrophe is not final.

It has not yet even run its course. British "democracy" awaits the same fate as its French counterpart. The British workers have been lashed by the Labor Party to the lagging chariot of British capitalism. If they could in time throw off the dead hands of their rulers they could still throw back the German hordes that now threaten to engulf Britain itself. But the frightened British bourgeoisie will sooner come to terms with the German conqueror in hopes of saving at least a remnant of its imperial wealth!

No, the catastrophe is not final.

The lesson is there plain for the workers of the whole world to see. The capitalist order is in its decline. Out of its cancerous sickness it gives forth growths like Hitlerism. These growths produce convulsions in the whole system. In Germany this diseased growth appeared earlier and in its most virulent form. In France, Belgium, England, and in the United States in the years leading up to the war all the symptoms of the same fatal sickness appeared. It is fatal to the lives of men. It is fatal to society itself. The only cure is a radical one—the surgical operation of revolution.

The Fascists boast falsely when they present themselves as the new and virile forces in the world. Actually they are the violent sores that are consuming an over-aged, broken, dying body. They represent a kind of dope that the capitalist order is shooting into its arm for a new lease on life. Their effect cannot last long. They too must and shall die.

Out of the depths of the catastrophe of modern total, capitalist war, the real virile forces of the future must arise and end the slaughter.

That opportunity still stands before the workers of this country and of all the Americas.

Roosevelt or his successors can only lead us into the totalitarian maelstrom, make us, in our turn, the helpless victims of the inter-capitalist struggle, dying for a system in which we have no stake at all.

But the way of the workers' revolution leads to a brighter future that can still be won!

It will call for sacrifice, to be sure, but it will be sacrifice worth making. The American workers especially have the power today to revive the workers of the nations brought under the Fascist heel. To our call will come a response that will bring Hitler's conquered empire crumbling around his head.

Only a workers' America can defend the country from Fascism, nurture at home or brought in by invading enemies. Only a workers' America can take the lead now in freeing the world of the heavy menace that hangs over it.

The job still can be done.

If we do it, the tread of Hitler across Europe, so deafening today, will be remembered only as a half-heard footfall down the receding corridors of time.

Trotsky Indicts the Kremlin's Role In Europe's Catastrophe

By LEON TROTSKY

MEXICO CITY, June 17—The capitulation of France is not a simple military episode. It is part of the catastrophe of Europe. Mankind can no longer live under the regime of imperialism. Hitler is not an accident; he is only the most consistent and the most bestial expression of imperialism, which threatens to crush our whole civilization.

But in line with the general causes of the catastrophe inherent in imperialism, it is impermissible to forget the criminal, sinister role played by the Kremlin and the Comintern. Nobody else rendered such support to Hitler as Stalin. Nobody else created such a dangerous situation for the U.S.S.R. as Stalin.

During a period of five years the Kremlin and its Comintern propagandized for an "alliance of democracies" and "people's fronts" with the aim of preventing war against "Fascist aggressors." This propaganda, as witnessed most strikingly in the example of France, had a tremendous influence upon the popular masses. But when war really approached, the Kremlin and its agency, the Comintern, jumped unexpectedly into the camp of the "fascist aggressors." Stalin with his horse-trader mentality sought in this way to cheat Chamberlain, Daladier, Roosevelt, and to gain strategic positions in Poland and the Baltic countries. But the Kremlin's poor had immeasurably greater consequences: not only did it cheat the governments but it disoriented and demoralized the popular masses in the first place in the so-called democracies. With its propaganda of "Peoples' Fronts" the Kremlin hindered the masses from conducting the fight against the imperialist war. With his shift to Hitler's side Stalin a brutally mixed up all the cards and paralyzed the military power of the "democracies." In spite of all the machines of destruction the moral factor retains decisive importance in the war. By demoralizing the popular masses in Europe, and not solely in Europe, Stalin played the role of an agent provocateur in the service of Hitler. The capitulation of France is one of the results of such politics.

But it is by no means the only result. In spite of the Kremlin's territorial seizures, the international position of the USSR is worsened in the extreme. The Polish buffer disappeared. The Rumanian buffer will disappear tomorrow. Mighty Germany, master of Europe, acquires a common frontier with the USSR. Scandinavia, a place of weak and almost disarmed countries is occupied by this same Germany. Her victories in the west are only preparation for a gigantic move toward the east. In the attack on Finland the Red Army, decapitated and demoralized, again by Stalin, demonstrated its weakness before the whole world. In his coming march against the USSR, Hitler will find support in Japan.

The agents of the Kremlin began to speak once more about the alliance of the democracies against the fascist aggressors. It is possible that as the cheated cheater, Stalin will be forced to make a new turn in his foreign politics. But woe to the peoples if they again trust the dishonest agents of the Kremlin's chief! Stalin helped convert Europe into bloody chaos and took the USSR to the very brink of the abyss. The peoples of the USSR now cannot help but feel the greatest anxiety. . . . Only the overthrow of the Moscow totalitarian clique, only the regeneration of Soviet democracy can unleash the forces of the Soviet peoples for the fight against the inevitable and fast-approaching blow from imperialist Germany. Hence Soviet patriotism is inseparable from irreconcilable struggle against the Stalinist clique.

Stalin Moves Into Baltic Countries

By FELIX MORROW

The complete occupation and transformation into military camps of Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia by Soviet troops last weekend was almost universally recognized as a move inspired by fear of Hitler. With France out of the war, the Nazi armies completely dominated continental Europe, able to turn and rend the partner whose "peace and friendship treaty," freeing Hitler from any worry about a fight on two fronts, had so enormously facilitated the Nazis' speedy victory. Occupation of the tiny Baltic states provided certain strategic advantages in case of hostilities with Germany, but these seemed pitifully paltry as contrasted with the enhanced power of Nazi Germany now as compared with last August when Stalin entered the "peace" pact with Hitler.

From Stockholm it was reported by Otto Tolischus of the New York Times that "Germany makes little secret of her displeasure" at the Soviet move.

Almost the only source that did not characterize the step as a defensive move against Germany was the Stalin regime and its Stalinist press abroad. For Stalin could not admit now, any more than when he sought strategic bases in Finland, that he was seeking protection against the consequences of his "peace" pact of last year. Then, he had justified the pact on the ground that it

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STALINIST BAND ARRESTED FOR TROTSKY ATTACK

Mexican Police Say Case Is Solved as One Confesses

Twenty-one Stalinists are in the hands of Mexican police and General Jose Manuel Nunez, head of the police, announced that complete light has now been shed on the May 24 attack on Leon Trotsky's house, a cable from

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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.

Will We Remain Firm Against the War?

Editor:

I have had the most disheartening news from friends in England. The Independent Labor Party has abandoned its opposition to the war. Its leader, Maxton, says now he can see no alternative to the prosecution of the war. The party has dropped its criticism of the political truce among the parliamentary parties and has itself withdrawn its candidate for a Lancashire by-election. In the seat of its chief strength, Glasgow, the I.L.P.'s nine city councilmen will no longer even collaborate in peace meetings.

Since, as you know, the I.L.P. was the chief spokesman in the British Isles in opposition to the war—you Trotskyists have only small groups there whose voices do not reach very far—it is heart-breaking to find that men like Maxton and Brockway have now collapsed.

Please don't be insulted but this news raises the question in my mind whether anyone will hold out against the martial spirit. So incorruptible a figure as Bertrand Russell suddenly came out for the war. Among my own friends confirmed pacifists of twenty years' standing have changed. I read each week your brave declarations in the Socialist Appeal and I honor you for them. But what likelihood is there that you will prove any firmer than men like Maxton and Brockway? When this country is faced with such grim consequences as those now facing Britain, what will you do? It is of course easy for me as a private person to ask you such questions, although I have no right to. But I wonder...

Marian Sanders
New York, N. Y.

Your disappointment at what happened to the I.L.P. is only due to your previous illusions. We never expected anything else from people like Maxton, who voted and made a speech in Parliament praising Chamberlain when the latter returned from Munich.

We predicted what the I.L.P. would do. We were able to do so on the basis of a fundamental criterion: the program and conduct of the I.L.P. in peacetime. "How was it possible that the most eminent representa-

tives of the Second International could betray socialism?" Lenin asked in 1914. He answered: "It is perfectly clear that the fundamentals of the political ideology of social-chauvinism perfectly coincide with the foundations of opportunism. It is THE SAME ORIENTATION. Opportunism, in the war environment, engenders social-chauvinism. The main thing in opportunism is the idea of class collaboration."

One could, therefore, predict as we did in advance the collapse into chauvinism of the I.L.P., as of their American brothers, the Lovestonites and the Norman Thomas socialists. Following an opportunistic course in peacetime—most notoriously in the trade unions—the I.L.P. was certain to succumb in war-time, as they had already done in peacetime, to the pressure of the trade union bureaucrats, agents in the labor movement of imperialism.

As for the "anti-war" stand of the I.L.P. so long as it lasted, it did not include the fundamentals of a revolutionary position on war: continuation of the class struggle during war-time regardless of its consequences to the military activities of its "own" bourgeoisie, and opposition to pacifism in favor of turning the imperialist war into a war of the workers against the imperialists for socialism. Both the pacifism and the isolationism of the I.L.P. became utterly unreal in the face of Hitler's advance. It became plain that Hitler had to be stopped. The revolutionary conception of Hitler being stopped by a victorious proletarian dictatorship of France and England which would inspire revolution in Germany, hastening it, if necessary, by a revolutionary war against Hitler—this was alien to the I.L.P. Finally conceding that Hitler must be stopped by force, the I.L.P. conceded that task to the British ruling class.

But a party grounded in our fundamental revolutionary conceptions and which, furthermore, has developed and tested its cadres and program over a period of eleven years as we have—that party, you may be sure, will remain firm to the end and at all costs, against the imperialists and their war.—Editors.

Against Whom Is the Anti-Alien Drive Really Being Directed?

Forget for a minute what the capitalist press is saying, close your ears to the blare of the radio—and ask yourself: What is the real meaning of all this hue and cry against the aliens?

Why has Roosevelt demanded that control of non-citizens be transferred to the Department of Justice? Why has the Roosevelt administration asked Congress to pass legislation for fingerprinting and registration of all non-citizens? Why has the Senate adopted a provision to limit to 10% the number of non-citizens employed in any industry? Why are other bills being pushed to cut down immigration even lower than it now is?

Will these anti-alien bills help fight fascism? That is the claim made for them. But what is the truth?

Who suffers most from fascism? The workers and national minorities. Fascism, wherever it comes, murders the workers' leaders, destroys the workers' unions, slashes their wages, lengthens their hours of work, condemns to shame and slavery the Jews and other national minorities.

The German workers didn't want fascism. They voted against it, thirteen million strong, at the last real election held in Germany in 1932. But the German bosses put Hitler in. The Italian workers hated fascism, but with the help of the King and the bosses Mussolini took over the government.

It is obvious, then, that workers don't want fascism.

And who are the aliens? They are mostly WORKERS!

Just take one look at the latest government figures available, from the last census. They show that although the foreign-born were only 10% of the population, they were 23% of the industrial workers! They were 28% of the coal miners, 30% of copper miners, 49% of coal miners, and so forth. And about 25% of these foreign-born workers have not become citizens.

In short, the blows aimed at the "aliens" are really blows aimed against the labor movement!

In some cases the game the government is playing is crudely obvious. Take, for example, the case of the famous seamen's unions on the West Coast—the Sailors Union of the Pacific and the Marine Firemen. A fascist sympathizer wouldn't last a day on one of their boats.

At least 30% of the members of these militant unions are non-citizens. As is true with many non-citizen workers in other trades, these seamen in many cases cannot become citizens because they can't comply with the elaborate rules and regulations. But, as every citizen in the same unions will tell you, these non-citizens are splendid union men and enemies to the death against fascism.

Yet the government is now sponsoring a law which would bar all these non-citizens—one man in every three now in these unions—from being employed in the merchant marine. The government's proposed law will help fascism, not stop it.

Here is another example. There are millions of fighters against fascism and victims of fascism who want to come to this country—the Spanish Loyalists, the anti-Nazi Germans and Austrians, Czechs and the Jews. If the government were sincerely desirous of creating a bulwark against fascism and against a "fifth column" here, it could do nothing better than to admit all these refugees whose lives have been blasted by fascism. Yet as part of the government's anti-alien drive these anti-fascist refugees are being barred from entry into this country. Does that help fight fascism? No, it helps fascism.

Nor will the drive against the foreign-born stop with the non-citizens. Already we have seen an attempt made to bar longshoremen, citizens of Italian extraction, from loading American ships in New York. Fortunately in this case the leadership of the AFL International Longshoremen's Union, despite their conservatism, understood the anti-union meaning of this move and refused to permit it. But other moves like this will follow. They are anti-labor moves and have nothing to do with the fight against fascism.

Many non-citizens could easily pass as foreign-born or native-born citizens, and the only way to really tighten up the registration of aliens would be if everybody in the country had to carry a registration card. Registration of aliens is only the first step to an internal passport system.

It is a lie that these steps against aliens are motivated by the desire to fight fascism. The motive is very different. In seeking transfer of the non-citizens into the tender mercies of the FBI, Roosevelt's message to Congress said the government wanted it so it could "deal quickly with those aliens who conduct themselves in a manner that conflicts with the public interest."

What is the "public interest"? By government definition it includes Roosevelt's declaration against strikes; it includes the scuttling of the Walsh-Healey and Wages and Hour Acts as was done in the naval construction bill; the scuttling of the Wagner Labor Act by the House of Representatives' "amendments"; the union-busting "anti-trust" campaign of the Department of Justice, etc. In a word, whoever won't do what the heads of General Motors and U.S. Steel tell us to do—and they are now running the National Defense Council—is against the "public interest."

The real meaning of the blows against the aliens is now clear. The National Defense Council wants a tamed and house-broken labor movement—if it wants any labor movement at all. But the government cannot as yet openly direct its heaviest blows against the unions, for Labor is still strong; therefore the government masks as many blows against Labor as it can under the guise of "anti-alien" legislation.

Every anti-alien bill is a blow against the workers. An injury to one is an injury to all—that is Labor's slogan! Defend yourself and your union, by defending the aliens!

Stalinists Mum on Jingo Resolutions In Auto Unions

FLINT, Mich.—Who said the Stalinists had a new line?

Who said the Communist Party was opposed to the jingo campaign of Roosevelt?

The Daily Worker says so—in words—but their members seem to have different instructions.

In Flint the Communist Party members are still back in the days of support to Roosevelt and the Democrats, and are either unwilling or afraid to say a word against the fake patriotic campaign now being waged in the unions. In the Buick Local No. 599 meeting the other day, a motion was made that every member be forced to salute the flag upon entering the union hall. Everyone waited with hushed breath for one of the several known Stalinists to open up on this motion.

BUT NOT ONE OF THEM OPENED HIS MOUTH! Not one of these so-called revolutionaries had the guts to voice a word of opposition to this dictatorial and undemocratic decree.

That task was undertaken by a rank and file militant, well known as an anti-Stalinist who attacked the motion as being part of a jingo campaign to harness the union to the reactionary government war campaign, pointed out that it re-

sembled the provisions of a Fascist union, and was aimed at all those who for religious, political or personal reasons did not believe in idolatry of the flag. The motion requiring the flag salute was lost . . . no thanks to the "anti-war Communist Party."

CAFETERIA LOCAL BY-ELECTIONS DUE TO BE HELD TUESDAY

The eyes of all organized foodworkers in New York City are fixed on the special by-election on Tuesday, June 25, for President of Local 302, Cafeteria Workers Union.

There are two candidates in the field, William Kincheloe, representing the "United Orange Ticket" of the progressive anti-administration bloc, and Costas Dritzas, representing the Stalinist "Rank-and-File" machine, which controls the administration. The progressives are confident of victory in the election.

Stalinists On Way Out

Victory for the progressives will be a severe blow to the Communist party machine, already reeling from recent election defeats in two foodworkers locals and a partial defeat in Local 302 last December. In the December elections the United Orange Ticket elected ten officers of the Local, including two business agents, who have since done an excellent job, an indication of what the local can expect when the Stalinists are completely repudiated.

In April, in Local 16, Waiters and Waitresses, the Stalinists were swept out of office by a progressive victory. Three weeks

in addition to this demonstration of craven cowardice, several of the outstanding Stalinist functionaries in the unions, recruited by the C.P. in the honeymoon days of the Pro-Roosevelt Popular Front, attended and participated in the Michigan State Democratic convention held in Flint.

They didn't attend to attack Roosevelt's war-mongering campaign, but to seek support among "the respectable" elements, and to show everyone that they were good "Americans."

No anti-war resolutions have been introduced in any local union in Flint by the C.P. No indication can be seen that they are carrying on any kind of campaign against the reactionary congressional legislative

program of the bosses. That is how the C.P. is fighting war preparations in Flint.

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AIR KING STRIKERS APPEAL TO MEMBERSHIP OF LOCAL THREE

The workers of the Air King Radio Co. of Brooklyn, N.Y., are entering the sixth week of their strike in a militant mood.

When the workers left Local B-1010 of the I.B.E.W. (AFL) in a dispute with William Beedie, the International Representative, and joined the CIO, Beedie ordered the dismissal of three of the CIO workers in the shop. Demanding the reinstatement of these workers the entire force walked out. Since then the workers in a subsidiary company of the Air King plant have joined them in a sympathy strike, swelling the total of workers involved to 450.

This week Beedie has made several attempts to bring scabs through the CIO picket line. He secured unskilled workers through the Italian Welfare League and sent about 40 of them by subway to enter the plant without even telling them there was a strike in progress. Most of these people refused to enter the plant. 18 joined up with the CIO as soon as they learned what the conditions were, 12 entered the plant as scabs and the rest ran from the scene.

Local 3 Interferes

The same evening a large group appeared at the shop, members of Electrical Workers Local 3, I.B.E.W. (AFL). They told the picket captain that they had been ordered by their union officials to go to the plant after their regular days work, to protect those who were working in the plant.

On Friday, June 14, several officials of Local 3, I.B.E.W., came down to the strike headquarters

of the CIO and tried to induce Emil Katz, Business Agent of the CIO Local 430, who was expelled from the AFL by Beedie, to settle the strike. He refused to accept their terms and turned the Local 3 officials over to the Air King Strike Committee.

The Strike Committee sat with the Local 3 officials all afternoon but could not reach an agreement. The Local 3 officials wanted the strikers to return to the AFL without securing their one demand, that the status quo be maintained in the shop until a NLRB election be held and that those discharged be rehired pending the outcome of the election. The Local 3 officials then threatened that if the strike committee would not re-enter the AFL under the protection of Local 3 that they would be faced with a battle with the powerful Local 3 membership. They threatened that they would bring down 5,000 I.B.E.W. members to see that the shop was reopened by AFL men.

On Monday about thirty of Beedie's scabs got into the shop and Local 3 sent 100 of their members to protect them on their way home.

The CIO Local 430 passed out a leaflet to the Local 3 men explaining the situation in the shop to them and placing responsibility for the situation where it belongs, on the shoulders of Beedie. Most of the Local 3 men showed reluctance to protect the scabs and many were heard to say that they were going to demand an explanation from their officials on the role Local 3 is playing in the strike.

St. Paul Annual
Strawberry Festival
AT WELSH'S FARM
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Shortcake-Refreshments
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Sunday P.M.
JUNE 30, 1940
Follow Highway 61 thru White Bear, then follow Arrows
Auspices: St. Paul Local SWP.
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Only Two Weeks To Go In Appeal Drive!

While more money came in last week on the two-a-week Appeal fund than the week previous, we are still far from satisfied. \$369.00 was sent in on the fund, boosting the amount collected to the sum of \$1,890.05, 48% of the total amount pledged.

But less than two weeks are left before the end of the drive! Chicago moves up to the top with 105% of its quota. St. Paul came in with the full quota. East Chicago raised its quota from \$25 to \$50. The maritime workers came through with a substantial sum, raising their percentage from 19 to 56%.

All very well—but we MUST have 100% by July 1st!

SCOREBOARD

Branch	Pledged	Paid	%
Chicago	\$ 100.00	\$ 105.00	105
Upstate New York	50.00	50.00	100
Albion	10.00	10.00	100
Rockville	5.00	5.00	100
Texas	5.00	5.00	100
St. Paul	200.00	200.00	100
Lynn	50.00	40.00	80
Boston	177.00	129.50	73
Minneapolis	300.00	200.00	67
Detroit	75.00	46.35	62
Maritime Workers	780.00	435.00	56
Philadelphia	25.00	13.00	52
Flint	105.00	55.00	50
New York City	950.00	422.00	44
Toledo	40.00	17.50	44
Buffalo	5.00	2.00	40
Baltimore	25.00	10.00	40
Los Angeles	100.00	40.50	40
Portland	7.50	2.50	33
Newark	100.00	30.00	30
New Haven	55.00	11.50	21
East Chicago	50.00	10.00	20
National Office	550.00	50.20	9
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
Lorain	5.00	0.00	0
TOTAL	\$3929.50	\$1890.05	48

SELLING THE APPEAL

MINNEAPOLIS GOES TO TOWN!

Fifteen comrades of the Minneapolis branch are putting one thousand Appeals every week into the homes of Minneapolis workers. Every Monday evening the comrades come to the branch headquarters—get their papers, and cover the working class communities assigned to them. The assignments are permanent so that the same comrade goes to the same community each week.

This week—one man called to the comrade and asked for the paper through the window—then got another for the family upstairs. At another house the comrade was asked to stop the next time he came around and get their subscription.

Enthusiasm for this type of mass coverage with the Appeal is high in the branch, and prompt payment of the cost of the bundle is assured since the bundle is paid for out of the general fund. The slogan is "Rain or Shine, The Appeal Goes Out Every Monday."

The great speed with which events of the day are moving has caused the branch to adopt this policy of mass coverage of Minneapolis, with 1,000 copies every week of the party organ.

Ask your branch literature agent to read the letter from the center about applying the Minneapolis plan of mass work to your

locality. Your branch, too, can do it, at our special rates for quantities. Forward to real mass circulation of the Appeal! Now is the time to achieve it!

GET BEHIND THE SUB DRIVE!!!!

Subs are beginning to come in from the far corners of the country, on the current Appeal sub drive. The mass centers, though, are now just about getting under way, according to local reports, and will start to show up in the week's tally in the very near future.

The total for the current week remains very poor, with only 12 subscriptions on the record as this issue goes to press. They arrived from the following places:

Montana 3
Rochester, N. Y. 3
Houston 1
Flint 1
New Jersey 1
Lynn 1
San Francisco 1
Chicago 1
Total 12

From this point, however, we expect to see a steady rise in the total each week . . . provided the comrades start now, and don't let grass grow under their feet. The Appeal needs money, and there's money in subs! Get yours in early, and remember the prizes!

NOW READY!!!

TRADE UNION PROBLEMS

by
FARRELL DOBBS

A comprehensive study of problems facing the American Workers
44 pps.

Price: 10¢

A NEW ANTI-WAR PAMPHLET

by
Joe Hansen
16 pps.

First of a series of 2c agitational pamphlets

Published for the S.W.P.

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116 UNIVERSITY PLACE
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Perk up!
There is a
PICNIC
WE'RE SAILING FOR
SILVER LAKE
(Staten Island)
on
SUNDAY, JUNE 30
MEET AT SOUTH FERRY
10 A.M.
Boating-Tennis-Games
Home Cooked Food
Grand drawing of World's
Fair Souvenir Book
Auspices: West Side Br.

The Negro Question

by Robert L. Birchman

Negro-White Solidarity In Strike

The month-old strike of Negro and white laundry workers at the Lewandos Company of Watertown, Mass., is an example of the solidarity between workers that is necessary for either colored or white workers to win better conditions.

The strike is for better working conditions and more pay. Standing shoulder to shoulder with the white workers are nine colored workers. The colored workers immediately joined the white workers when the strike was called a month ago by the Laundry Workers Union, No. 66.

The Lewandos Co., one of the largest cleaning companies in the Boston area, has had a policy of paying colored workers a smaller wage than that paid white workers for similar work. During the strike the officials of the company have tried to create dissension among the workers by making overtures to the white workers. It is reported that the company volunteered to restore the strikers jobs provided the colored workers were left out. When that failed the company sent out an ultimatum that they would take back only those who had been with the company for five years or more, automatically eliminating the colored workers. These offers of the company were refused by the union.

A picket line is maintained, with both colored and white workers doing their part. The length of the strike has entailed great hardship on the strikers, but they intend to remain on strike until their demands are obtained. Last week the organizer, Rose Norwood and another worker were arrested on a charge brought by a strikebreaker. It was shown in court that the Lewandos Company was backing the prosecution in its determination to break down the morale and starve out the strikers. The judge ruled out the evidence of intimidation by the Lewandos Co. as irrelevant; he dismissed one defendant but postponed the organizer's case.

The Lewandos Co. refuses to submit its case to the Labor Board, and has refused all offers of arbitration and consideration of proposals that have been termed very fair by the Labor Board.

Chicago Negro Drivers Strike

Five hundred Negro taxi drivers on Chicago's Southside went out on strike on Monday, June 10, in response to the call of Johnny Patrick, president of the Bronzeville Chauffeurs Club.

The drivers are protesting high rental rates for the cabs. The drivers pay from \$4.70 to \$5.70 a day for the cabs with another dollar added for Saturday and Sunday. They are also required to pay for gas and oil, which must be bought from the cab owners, and are responsible for damage done to the cabs. The rental increases, according to Patrick, is 50 cents for night and 25 cents for day drivers.

Louisiana Solons Threaten Negro Jobs

The reactionary legislators of the state of Louisiana are seeking to displace Negro workers from their jobs through a bill introduced in the state Senate last week. The bill would require railroads operating within the state to employ "only bona-fide and qualified voters of the United States."

Various methods are used by the reactionary state officials to keep Negroes from voting and the bill would only permit the employment of those who have "participated in the primaries and general elections within the confines of any state in the Union."

According to a report in the Kansas City, Mo., Call, Negro paper, the bill has the backing of lily-white labor unions. It threatens the jobs held by Negro workers on the Southern Pacific, Missouri Pacific, Texas Pacific, Illinois Central, Gulf Coast Lines, Louisiana and Nashville and Southern Railway systems operating within the state and on which Negroes hold many positions as brakemen, firemen, porters, etc.

Another case of discrimination is brought to our attention by a suit filed by Ed Teagle, Negro fireman on the Gulf, Mobile and Northern Railroad, in Memphis last week against the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and Engineers for an injunction and \$50,000 damage. Teagle contends that the Locomotive Firemen and Engineers signed a secret contract with the railroad company whereby senior Negro firemen were replaced by junior white firemen on stoker-fired engines.

The Brotherhood has claimed the right to make contracts for all firemen because the majority of the firemen are white and members of the Brotherhood, but it excludes Negroes from membership, while it claims the right to represent them under the Railroad Labor Act.

Teague claims that the action by the Brotherhood was not representative of the Negro firemen. He claims that the law requires the Brotherhood to give the Negro firemen notice and a chance to be heard and vote before any contracts can be made by the Brotherhood.

We need scarcely comment on this shameful situation—a Negro worker, obviously loyal to the principles of labor solidarity, forced by lily-white policies to take a union into court.

What Shall We Call This Column?

The question as to the correctness of the term "Negro" in the heading of this column has brought forth considerable discussion and a number of suggestions for a new title. We agree that the use of "Question" should be eliminated; but as yet we do not believe that a sufficient number of opinions have been expressed to warrant not using the word "Negro." The papers and other publications of the colored people use the terms "Negro," "colored," "black" interchangeably, but do not use one to the exclusion of the others and the use of "Negro" appears to be more extensive than the others.

Among the suggestions for a new title for the column we have received the following: "The Negro Struggle," "Black and White Solidarity," "Revolt of the Black Man," "Colored People's Struggle," "Voice of the Negro," "Life and Struggles of the Negro."

We would like to receive further opinions of our readers before we change the title of the column.

Fearing Hitler, Stalin Moves Into Baltic Countries

Swift German Victory in Western Europe Upsets Kremlin's Calculations; Stalin Reaping Fruits of His Pact With Nazis

(Continued from Page 1)

made impossible a German war against the Soviet Union; that advantage of the pact, Stalinists had argued throughout the world, outweighed all its evil consequences. Now, less than ten months after the pact, Stalin could not admit that he was convulsively adding to his defenses to guard against that which the pact with Hitler was to have made impossible.

Since the Stalin cult of infallibility precluded telling the truth, the occupation of the Baltic states had to be justified by preposterous lies. The official Soviet communiques solemnly declared that the Lilliputian states had "prepared an attack on the Soviet garrisons" stationed there.

The Baltic states could very likely play the role of puppets of a great power preparing an assault upon the Soviet Union. But with the Allies cracking under Hitler's blows, the only great power which could be manipulating the Baltic puppets would be Germany—and that Stalin could not admit for it would condemn his entire policy. Hence his absurd lies, which convince no one and which further discredit the Soviet Union in the eyes of the world's workers.

STALIN'S BANKRUPT POLICY ENDANGERS THE S.U.

It does not require an admission from Stalin to establish the utter bankruptcy of the Stalin-Hitler pact. When the Nazis marched on Poland, Stalin counted on a second Munich as the most likely aftermath. On the day the German troops marched, Molotov smiled skeptically when the Polish ambassador told him that France and England would fulfill their commitments to Poland; "we shall see," said Molotov unbelievably. Neither Molotov nor his master had understood that the European crisis had gone too far for a second Munich.

The only other possibility which occurred to the Kremlin minds was that, if war did come, it would be of long duration. Precisely the Stalin-Hitler pact, however, wiping out the possible danger of a war on two fronts, enabled Hitler to concentrate all the war power of German economy in the West to assure a short war. Stalin's intelligence service undoubtedly acquainted him with the fact that Hitler's military machine actually believed in the reality of the blitzkrieg timetable which Hitler was publicly enunciating—with August 15 as the outside date for successful completion of the European phases of the war; but Stalin did not use this information to reorganize his policy. He followed that policy out to its dead end.

And what a dead end! Never in the worst days of the war of intervention of 1918-20 was the infant Soviet republic in a more dangerous position than is the Soviet Union today, thanks to Stalin's strategy.

The European labor movement, which Lenin considered to be the most important bulwark defending the Soviet Union, lies crushed under Hitler's war machine, as

the end-result of Stalin's foreign policy, Lenin said the Soviet Union must take advantage of the contradictions between the imperialist powers; instead, Stalin let himself be used, first by one imperialist power, then the other. Lenin said the Soviet Union must take advantage of the contradictions between the imperialist powers in order to advance the world revolution, the only real safeguard of the Soviet Union; Stalin permitted himself to be used by the imperialist powers to crush, one after another, the labor movements of Europe.

HOW STALIN DESTROYED EUROPE'S LABOR MOVEMENT

In 1936, in the name of the "defense of the Soviet Union" provided by the Franco-Soviet pact, Stalin's French lieutenants prevented the revolutionary June strikes, from culminating in a complete social revolution; instead they told the workers to be good French patriots, to surrender the factories and to obey the coalition with the bourgeoisie, the

Having perpetrated all this evil without adding a particle to the security of the Soviet Union, Stalin then sought protection in the pact with Hitler—with what results we have now seen.

Neither to the British workers nor to the American nor to any

Harrington Warns Arms Drive Won't Help Cut Unemployment

Testifying behind closed doors before a Senate subcommittee considering appropriations for the 1940-41 relief program, Colonel F. C. Harrington, Commissioner of WPA Work Project, gave no encouragement to the hope that a vast defense program would at least mean a partial solution of the unemployment problem. What Colonel Harrington said in this secret session leaked out and is quoted in June 15 *Uncensored*:

"I think it is certain that regardless of events abroad unemployment in the fiscal year 1941 is likely to number 8,000,000 to 9,000,000,000. . . . The expanded armament program will not materially affect the volume of unemployment or the pressing need for relief. In the first place, the sums appropriated for armament cannot be spent immediately. It will take time for those expenditures to get under way in important volume. There is no question that tens of thousands of workers will be re-employed as a result of these expenditures, but the total potential re-employment is small in relation to the total number of workers who need jobs. The national defense expenditures will be concentrated in a few key industries, principally aircraft, machine tools and shipbuilding. Employment resulting from these expenditures will be heavily concentrated in specialized skilled trades and other skilled groups and unskilled workers will not be directly affected.

"In this connection, it might be noted that the additional defense program recommended by the (President's) special defense message of May 16, 1940, will about

Popular Front government of Blum-Daladier. That government and its successors, backed by the Stalinists, broke the back of the French working class. Hounded and denuded of its gains and rights, the French workers could scarcely be inspired by the French bourgeoisie to hurl back Hitler.

That same French Popular Front government of Blum-Stalin refused to provide arms to the Spanish Loyalists. Meanwhile the Spanish Popular Front government created by the Stalinists broke the morale of the Spanish workers and peasants by forcing them to dissolve their factory, land and soldiers' committees; forced them to limit their struggle against Franco within the impotent confines of bourgeois democracy. To achieve this foul end Stalin's GPU assassinated the flower of the Spanish revolutionists—all this in Stalin's vain attempt to establish his respectability and to win the good-will of British imperialism. Instead the British facilitated Franco's victory—and another labor movement was wiped off the map.

Stalin then sought protection in the pact with Hitler—with what results we have now seen.

Neither to the British workers nor to the American nor to any

other labor movement left in the world can Stalin turn with any assurance of aid in this moment of terrible danger to the Soviet Union. Millions upon millions of workers who before that were ready to defend the Soviet Union would not turn a hand for it now, after the Hitler-Stalin pact and the invasions of Poland and Finland. Our prediction that the defensive positions gained by the pact and the invasions would not compensate in any way for the loss among the workers of their former faith and trust in the Soviet Union has been verified. That, and the crushing of the European labor movement by Hitler's victories, leave the Soviet Union bereft of all outer defenses.

SOVIET NOW FACED BY UNITED CAPITALIST EUROPE

The Soviet Union could endure as an isolated workers' state in a capitalist world for 23 years thanks only to the fact that Europe was not a capitalist unity but was divided by imperialist rivalries. Now Hitler is in the process of unifying Europe on the most reactionary basis imaginable. The Soviet Union is confronted by a united capitalist Europe.

This is the end of Stalin's road of "socialism in one country." Stalin and the "realists" who rallied to him turned their back on the dream of world revolution and concentrated on a "practical"

estimate of this index is an average of 115 to 117."

Colonel Harrington testified that the need for skilled workers in the arms industry would not materially relieve demands on WPA because only 10 per cent of WPA employees are skilled. Therefore, he declared, only about 10 per cent of the WPA rolls could be absorbed "even if they go up to 45, 50 and 55 year old men, which industry isn't doing."

But despite this authoritative testimony the Senate passed the WPA-slashing law, already passed by the House.

Story of Norway's Last Days

The writer of the following article was in Oslo when the Germans arrived and was an eye-witness to the collapse of Norwegian resistance. He managed to escape shortly afterward to another country.

The first day of the German landing of troops in Norway, April 9, revealed what all insiders had known long ago: that the Norwegian sea and coastal defenses were a farce. To be sure, the so-called labor government of Norway had in recent years surrendered to the armament hulla-balloo and squandered several hundred millions of kroner in arms expenditures. Squandered is the right word; for these millions were not used to arm the Norwegian workers, but were sunk in a Lilliputian army, half of whose officers were infected with Nazism and the other half absolutely worthless.

In spite of the fact that since the Russo-Finnish war, at least, the possibility of a German invasion of Norway had been openly discussed all over the world, the Norwegian general staff had not prepared so much as a single plan for such an eventuality.

The German fleet had already passed the Great Belt when the commander-in-chief of the Norwegian army, General Laake (pronounced Loki, but not to be confused with Loki, the war god of the Norse sagas), received representatives of the Oslo press in a pleasant birthday interview: the general was busy at this time preparing to celebrate his sixty-fifth birthday, which was to take place on April 9.

As for the "labor" government, it could bring itself to no decision in the course of April 8th. It spent its time discussing with various parliamentary committees the attitude Norway should take on the mine fields sown by the English the night before. No one seemed to think at all about any danger from Germany.

Since the Norwegian government had no instructions to announce to the populace, the Oslo broadcasting station went off the air at 11:30 on the night of the 8th. During the night the first German warships penetrated the Norwegian fjords; when the news reached Oslo, the government did

not know whether the ships concerned were English or German.

Early in the morning Dr. Brauer, the German ambassador, delivered Hitler's ultimatum; after negotiating senselessly with Hitler's messenger boy, the government and the Storting decided to leave the capital; without a public proclamation and without the slightest word to the Norwegian people.

At the very last moment, from the railroad station, a mobilization order was issued—short and simple—which was broadcast by the Oslo radio station, but which had already become senseless by that time as far as the large cities of Oslo, Bergen and Trondheim were concerned. For when the Norwegian soldiers arrived during the day at their places of assembly they were received by Norwegian Nazis and German officers and very politely sent home. Thus a few thousand German troops were able to occupy the Norwegian coast almost without a battle.

The Norwegian government arrived at Hamar still full of irresolution. It lost another day in negotiations with the German ambassador, who had come on the trail of the government and the king. However, these negotiations fell through on only one point: Hitler's emissary stood firm on the naming of Quisling, the leader of the Norwegian Nazis, as prime minister. According to the White Book issued by the Norwegian government itself one week after the beginning of the invasion, Foreign Minister Koht asked Ambassador Brauer in very explicit terms whether the German authorities would not accept some other government which would be ready to co-operate "amicably" with the army of occupation. Only when Brauer rejected this proposal were negotiations broken off.

Three weeks of petty warfare followed among the Norwegian valleys and mountains, which, after the German troops had occupied all the important points of exit, had to end the way it did, with the complete conquest of southern and central Norway. Far too late, the English and French expeditionary forces could do nothing to change the situation. In the end the few Nor-

wegian troops had to cover the hurried retreat of the Allies, in the course of which they suffered heavy losses.

Meanwhile the Norwegian government withdrew to the north and took its place there as a modest cog in the great war machine of the Franco-British imperialists. There is no question, even by implication, of any independent class policy on the part of the Norwegian labor party. To emphasize the truce between the classes, conservative deputies were taken into the government; independent propaganda by the labor party disappeared.

Yet, in spite of all this, the labor party is by no means unambiguously on the side of the Allies. Like all Norway, the labor party has split into two sections. While the government and a part of the party's directing council, Tranmæl among them, sit in northern Norway and make common cause with the Allies, the leaders of the labor party and of the trade unions who remained behind in Oslo, Bergen and Trondheim, have submitted to the German authorities and, like Stauning in Denmark, carry out their instructions. The labor party's newspapers in the occupied areas appear with the approval of the German authorities and print their official proclamations. Illegal revolutionary propaganda is carried on only by isolated lower units of the party.

In any case, the Norwegian Stalinists have behaved the most shamefully of all. Their Oslo newspaper, *Arbeideren*, appeals with complete legality under the protection of the authorities of occupation and of the Gestapo governor, Terboven. It exhausts itself in fulminations against Anglo-French imperialism and in accusations against the Labor party members who fled, accusing them of the misappropriation of workers' funds and of other crimes in the same vein. Moreover, information has reached us from the Comintern that two members of the Russian trade delegation in Oslo and the well-known Norwegian Stalinist lawyer, Ragnar Solheim, were surprised in active espionage for the Germans. An extensive report on these matters has been circulated among all the labor organizations in Oslo.

General Nunez announced that the attack was financed by the Mexican Communist party, and that the organizers were David Alfaro Siqueiros, his brother Alfredo, Antonio Pujol and Pedro Zuniga Camacho, Mexican Stalinists who were in Spain during the civil war.

General Nunez also announced that Nestor Sanchez Hernandez, in whose possession was found one of the police uniforms used by the attackers, had confessed he took part in the attack, and that David Siqueiros was the leader of the attack who wore the uniform of a Mexican Army major.

Hernandez is also quoted as saying that Robert Sheldon Harte, one of Trotsky's guards, was in league with the assailants, but there is no confirmation of the likelihood of this from the Trotsky household. As we go to press we have received no direct word about the households' estimate of the arrests.

His Opportunism Leads Lovestone to Pro-Ally Camp

When the Norman Thomas and Lovestone groups voted for the American Labor Party bureaucrats' pro-Ally resolution on October 4, 1939, but insisted they were voting for it merely as an anti-Stalinist resolution, we wrote: "As they yielded previously to the pressure of the Stalinist regime and its 'democratic' allies, now they yield to the pressure of the democratic imperialists. Can one imagine, for a moment, that these people will stand up under the pressure of the warmongers when the war comes here?" (*Appeal*, Nov. 3, 1939).

Unfortunately our prediction is already coming true, even before America's entry into the war.

The process of the Lovestoneites in moving toward an open pro-Ally position was undignified hastened when, without advance preparation in their press, their leading trade union official, Charles S. Zimmerman of Dressmakers Local 22, voted 100% with the Dubinsky pro-war line at the convention of the International Ladies Garment Workers. It is true that not all the Lovestoneites followed Zimmerman at the convention. It is likewise true, however, that in every conflict between Zimmerman and other Lovestoneites, it ends up with Zimmerman having his way. For he is the "mass base" of the Lovestoneites, and Jay Lovestone has never in his motley career let principles stand in the way of preserving the connections of his group with the Local 22 payroll.

In the May 25 issue of *Lovestone's Workers Age* appeared a pro-Ally article which, the editors announced, they would answer the following week. They would answer it to refute it, they indicated. The next issue, however, announced: "E.B.'s questions on the war, published in the last issue of this paper, will be discussed in full very soon. Technical reasons made it impossible to deal with these questions in the present issue, as we had promised." The next issue after that was silent altogether. Then, in the June 15 issue, which appeared after Zimmerman's performance at the ILGWU convention, there is an announcement of a series of articles to appear in the next issue on "The War and Socialist Policy."

"They will bring forward certain new approaches to socialist policy on the war," the announcement says. As usual with a dirty job, the author of the articles will be Will Herberg, editor of *Workers Age*. The "new approaches," we can safely predict, will be as old as Social Democracy's betrayal of socialism in 1914.

The direction the Lovestoneites are moving was cautiously indicated by Jay Lovestone's "Some Further Reflections" (*Workers Age*, June 1 and 8). Buried in the body of the article appeared this:

"For Hitler and for the world as a whole, this war will spell for some time either total prestige or total ruin of fascism. Should he win, fascism would win tremendously. Should he lose, there are many reasons to believe that fascism will lose all, not only in Germany and Italy, but in all countries. This is true despite the headway made by totalitarianism even in the most democratic countries."

To understand the full implications of this line, one must refer to the numerous articles recently appearing in the *Workers Age* favoring a "re-evaluation" of Marxism. The chief exponent of this revisionism is Lewis Corey, a member of the Lovestone group. The revision involves abandoning of the Marxist theory of the state. What follows? If the victory of fascism is worse than the victory of the "democracies," as Lovestone indicates, and if the road to socialism is through the present state "growing into" a socialist order by "democratic"—i.e., non-revolutionary—processes, then there is no reason in the world for not supporting the "democracies" in the war.

Pretend To Forget What Fascism Is

For years the Lovestoneites, like everybody who still had any vestiges of Marxism left, explained that fascism is an economic phenomenon; the form taken by capitalist domination in this epoch of the decline of capitalism. The *Workers Age* explained that the totalitarian trend within the "democracies" would grow whether the "democracies" won or lost the next war, and that the only way to prevent this is proletarian revolution. All this elementary Marxism is now being thrown overboard by the Lovestoneites, under the pressure of American imperialism, and particularly under the pressure of the agents of American imperialism in the labor movement.

This final mutation of the Lovestoneites is no surprise, we have already said. In April James P. Cannon, summing up the history of such groups as a warning to the petty-bourgeois opposition in our party, gave their history in a few words:

"In the terminology of the Marxist movement, unprincipled cliques or groups which begin a struggle without a definite program have been characterized as political bandits. A classic example of such a group, from its beginning to its miserable end in the backwaters of American radicalism, is the group known as 'Lovestoneites.'"

"They were wild-eyed radicals and ultra-leftists when Zinoviev was at the head of the Comintern. With the downfall of Zinoviev they became ardent Bukharinites as quickly and calmly as one changes his shirt. Due to an error in calculation, or a delay in information, they were behindhand in making the switch from Bukharin to Stalin and the frenzied leftism of the Third Period. To be sure, they tried to make up for their oversight by proposing the expulsion of Bukharin at the party convention they controlled in 1929. But this last demonstration of political flexibility in the service of rigid organizational aims came too late. Their tardiness cost them their heads."

"Their politics were always determined for them by external pressure. At the time of their membership in the Communist Party it was the pressure of Moscow. With their formal expulsion from the Comintern a still weightier pressure began to bear down upon them and they gradually adapted themselves to it. Today this miserable and isolated clique, petty-bourgeois to the core, is tossed about by bourgeois democratic public opinion like a feather in the breeze."

The storm of war is blowing and the Lovestoneites are swept along with it like the cynical cowards that they are.

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Act of March 3, 1879."

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-A-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.
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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.

Two "Peace" Parties

The Republican party, meeting in national convention this week, will declare itself the peace party and throw upon the Democratic party the onus of being the war party. Three weeks later the Democratic party will meet in national convention, declare itself the peace party and warn that Republican policies if carried out would lead to war. Meanwhile both parties as a whole join in Congress to vote for every armament bill, including those providing for sale of government armament to Britain and France and, in a word, there isn't the slightest difference between the pro-war perspectives of the two parties. Both, too, conceive it necessary to hog-tie the labor movement; Roosevelt warns the workers not to strike, they get together to disembowel the Wagner Labor, Walsh-Healey and Wage and Hour Acts, strike blows at labor under the guise of anti-alien laws, etc., etc. "National unity," the unity of the capitalist class for the coming war, is already complete.

Why, then, label each other the war party? That is particularly preposterous since it is an open secret that Roosevelt's proposal for a coalition government with the Republicans was accepted by Colonel Knox and other authoritative Republican leaders. The reason why they label each other the war party is the same reason which decided both parties, on second thought, not to go through with the coalition government. For the unity of the entire capitalist class, the unity of the "New Deal" and Wall Street, if publicly symbolized by a coalition government, or by a cessation of competition between the two parties, might have very dangerous consequences. The spectacle of the bourgeoisie harmoniously working hand in glove to drag this country into war might very well be sufficient provocation to drive the working class into outspoken opposition to the war policies of the government, and into great strikes and demonstrations to back up its anti-war feelings.

Even after the Gallup poll of a few weeks ago showed 93% of the people opposed to American entry into the war, official Washington hoped that Hitler's ensuing successes would reverse quickly the state of public opinion. But the ever-increasing volume of mail to Congress shows no diminution of the anti-war sentiment; "only a minute proportion of it advocates active participation in the war" the June 16 New York Times mournfully comments.

This vast sentiment against American involvement in the war, formless, chaotic, uncritical though it is, is a force whose power the bourgeoisie fears. It would be a tactical stupidity to confront this overwhelming desire for peace with a coalition government of the two parties. The people against the parties which are supposed to represent them—that conclusion would become too clearly evident. The feelings of the workers are outraged enough by the spectacle of U.S. Steel Stettinius and General Motors Knudsen sitting in the government in the guise of mem-

bers of an "advisory" National Defense Council; to go further and to have the Republican party actually enter the government might be the final outrage which would drive the labor movement into action against the government of war-makers. Hence the coalition government was dropped. Hence each party dubs itself the peace party and throws boxing gloves at the other. Never did two corrupt managers connive a more fraudulent fight between two venal prizefighters.

Equally fraudulent is the game being played by Senator Wheeler and a few other Democrats and Republicans. Wheeler threatens to bolt the Democratic party if it becomes the "war party." But examine his record on all the crucial votes in connection with Roosevelt's war drive, and you will find him voting for practically all the major proposals on which Democrats and Republicans have united. It is ABC that these proposals constitute the road to war; that while adopted with lip-service to "peace" these proposals are driving the nation to a point where there will be no turning back from actual warfare. Yet Wheeler votes for the whole program. His is merely a "left" variety of the game which both the Democratic and the Republican parties are playing.

For Wheeler himself—a second-string politician on the make—and the other politicians who play the same game, it's good business. He draws to himself the attention of the great masses desirous of peace to whom he offers a seeming alternative to the leadership of the Democratic and Republican parties. Moreover he is helped in getting the attention of the masses by John L. Lewis, who needs a bloc with Wheeler as a face-saving device in the transition from Lewis' vociferous anti-war speeches of a few weeks ago to the status he is seeking as a collaborator in the government. (His commendation of Roosevelt's appointment of Hillman to the Defense Council indicates Lewis' course). Thus Wheeler serves to channelize the "left" discontent with the government's war policies, in the end channelizing it... right back to support of the government.

And this deliberate process of breaking up and keeping disunited the peace-seeking masses of the people is necessarily carried out by the most deliberate hypocrisy. The speeches the Democrats and Republicans make against each other, always largely compounded of play-acting, now becomes the most outrageous buffoonery. None of them can possibly believe what they are saying, for they have just left the Congressional committee-rooms in which they have amicably collaborated on all measures. But like actors paid to go through their parts, they go through the clowning necessary to pulling the customers in. What a swinish spectacle! And all of it done naturally, with the usual exhortations of the immorality and deceit of which Hitler alone is guilty. Such is the process of "democracy."

PATRIOTEERS

"It will nevertheless be difficult for many Americans to understand how Britain [in taxing excess war profits 100 per cent] can expect anyone to make the tremendous extra productive effort required by war without some stimulus other than the vague one that it is necessary to save the country. The first thing that capital will require to work harder in war time is some assurance of a larger return."—Carlton Shiveley, financial editor, New York SUN.

Democracy Defined

We are indebted to the June 15 New Leader, war mongering organ of the Social Democratic Federation, for the following contribution to the definition of democracy:

"The international Trotskyite press is in a dither over the arrest and sentencing of nine of its people in France. All were caught fighting war efforts, spreading defeatist propaganda, and 'otherwise engaged in activities of a nature to hinder national defense.' Top punishment for this went to Charles Margne, a post-office employee. He was jailed, term to last five years. The others received three-year sentences and fines.

"What would have been their punishment had they engaged in the same activity in Germany? Would they even have had a trial?"

Since, as the New Leader well knows, our German comrades are engaged in the same activity in Germany, where hundreds have been put in prisons and concentration camps, and the nine sentenced in France are simply the latest arrested, the difference between democracy and fascism in war-time may therefore be defined as:

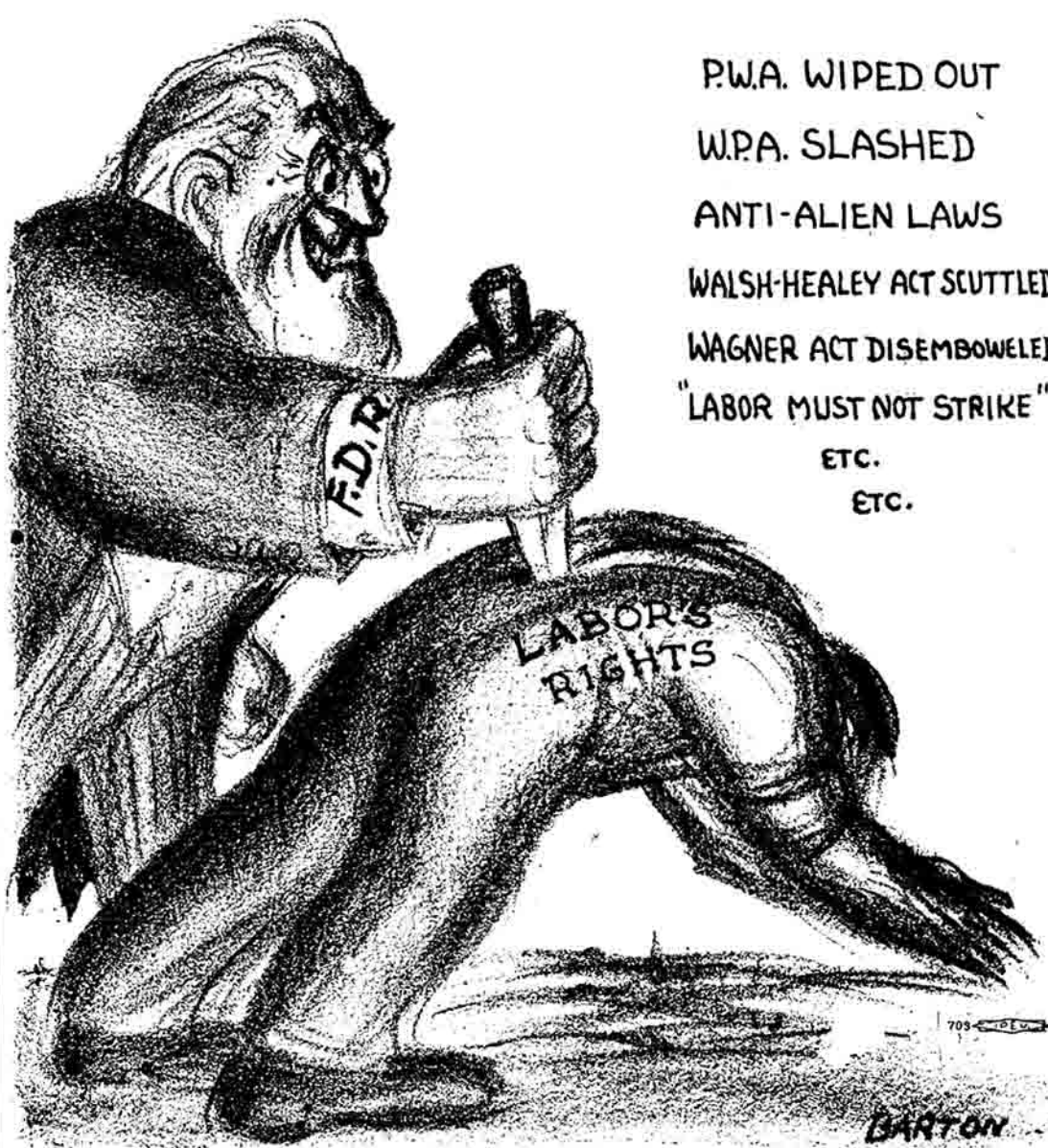
Under fascism proletarian revolutionists are imprisoned. Under democracy proletarian revolutionists are imprisoned. However, under democracy they are first given a trial.

Or, as the old-time vigilantes used to say: "Let's hear him before we hang him."

PRIZE OF PATRIOTISM

"In return for a rapid expansion in production undoubtedly industry will demand many concessions in the way of tax exemptions, amortization policies, relaxation of labor laws, et cetera."—WALL STREET JOURNAL, May 20, 1940.

Stab In the Back



Anti-Alien Prejudice Only Plays the Bosses' Game

By SAM MARCY

Time and again, defenders of non-citizen workers are confronted with the oft-repeated question: "Why don't they become citizens?" In order to cement the unity between the citizen and non-citizen workers, a clear and revealing answer should be given. Here it is.

There are about 4,000,000 non-citizens in this country. At least one-quarter of them are Latin-Americans. Yankee Imperialism, which has allotted to itself the role of "guardian" of all the Americas, which preaches with the most disgusting hypocrisy "unity of all Americas," "unity of the Western Hemisphere" and the like, systematically fosters the grossest discrimination and persecution of Latin American workers in this country.

During the World War, powerful American fruit exchanges, railroad companies and cotton companies were in great need of "cheap" labor. They imported Latin American workers, particularly Mexicans in the thousands, en masse, in direct violation of the United States contract labor laws.

Before importing them the employers did not require of these workers that they pass a literacy test, or warn them that they would have to pay excessive fees to become citizens and that if they couldn't become citizens they might some day be fingerprinted and forced to carry a registration card with them at all times. All that the employers required of them at that time was to be capable of working long hours, and lining the pockets of the bosses. When they were brought here they were herded like cattle into segregated areas.

Some ranches were particularly laid out so that they could not leave. The bosses tried to prevent them from being free to obtain jobs or higher wages elsewhere. Sometimes their shoes and clothing were taken away so they could not escape.

Living under such conditions it became practically impossible for the vast majority of them to obtain the educational requirements necessary to pass a literacy test for citizenship. The starvation wages which they received made it prohibitive for them to pay the excessive fees for naturalization. "A Mexican family living on relief in Colorado would have to stop eating for two months and a half to pay for the citizenship papers of one member of the family," says one observer. Is it any wonder that many of them do not become citizens? Shall we blame them—or the bosses responsible for their plight?

EXPENSE OF CITIZENSHIP IS A BIG ITEM

As far as the great mass of immigrants from the European countries are concerned, the obstacles to obtaining citizenship

papers are just as formidable. Especially true is this with regard to the expense involved. During the pre-depression era the fees used to be about five dollars. Now they average between \$20 and \$50. And if you add to that the expense for witnesses it may be even higher. To a worker who is employed at a fair wage it may not be a considerable sum, but to an unemployed or miserably-paid worker living in the segregated areas, such as "Little Italy," "Little Mexico" and the like, it is a very high price.

A great many alien workers are living on relief, since they are among the first to be discharged when industry slows up. In some states authorities have gone so far as to deny the right to aliens, who are on relief, to become citizens. A New Orleans judge ruled in 1936 that non-citizens on relief are barred from citizenship. Another obstacle to becoming a citizen is the lack of documentary proof of entry. This is sometimes due to failure to register the entry. A case in point is that of a nine year old boy held for deportation, because his mother, while bringing him to this country failed to register his entry. In many cases, however, the lack of documentary proof is due to the fact that the immigrants were brought here en masse, sometimes illegally, by powerful corporations who needed cheap labor, and no records were made at all.

IMPOSSIBLE FOR HOUSEWIVES TO MEET REQUIREMENTS

A very large proportion of the non-citizens are composed of

housewives. These—especially the ones living in the segregated areas—have never had an opportunity to acquire the educational requisites to become a citizen because of the long hours which house work entails. This is particularly true about those who have large families. Evening schools, where they might acquire some education, are prevalent only in the large industrial cities, and even these are being sharply curtailed.

There is also a group of aliens who cannot, under present laws, become citizens because of "illegal entry." The Commissioner General of Immigration in 1936 gave the following reason for the illegal entries: "The motives most commonly promoting illegal entry are a desire to join the family or relatives in this country, to find a refuge from oppression, to better oneself economically." What worker, even with a mere speck of class-consciousness, can condemn any alien from attempting to enter this country for any of the above reasons?

The working class is international in character. Its solidarity is based on the common bonds of exploitation and oppression. The American workers ought not to be blinded by the hatred against the alien workers which the capitalist class attempts to inculcate into them. Division between the native and foreign born workers can only help the ruling class to more thoroughly exploit the native workers.

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How Are Workers To Fight Against Hitlerism?

By ALBERT GOLDMAN

All the war-mongers from Roosevelt down to the small-fry Social Democrats play upon this fear of fascism to inculcate into the minds of the workers the idea that to support England, France or the United States in a war against Germany is a sacred duty.

To make the idea of supporting France, England, or the United States in the war with Germany more palatable to the workers, all the various types of democrats have recourse to the argument that the war is one between capitalist democracy and fascism.

No one would be foolish enough to deny the claim that capitalist democracy is better for the workers than fascism. To say that they are equally bad for the majority of workers would be to say something that is an obvious untruth.

If the present war were one for capitalist democracy against fascism it would be the duty of every class-conscious worker to give material (not political) support to the democratic regimes.

That is what the revolutionary Marxists did during the civil war in Spain. In the struggle between Franco and the Loyalist government, the advanced workers fought against Franco and thus gave military support to the Loyalist government representing capitalist democracy. It is true that the revolutionary Marxists, understanding that fascism could be defeated only by a workers' government, urged the workers to establish a Soviet Spain. But since a majority of the Spanish workers did not follow the revolutionary Marxists the latter chose to fight with the Loyalist government against the fascists.

Conditions, however, are different in a struggle between imperialist countries, such as England, France, the United States or Germany. In the present war what is involved is not capitalist democracy against fascism but colonies, markets, sources of raw material. And since that is the motive force of the war the workers must determine their attitude by that factor and not by secondary factors.

"But," say some workers, "We grant that this war is an imperialist war and that if the United States should intervene it would do so for its imperialist purposes. But the fact remains that the English and American variety of imperialism is better than the Hitler variety and as practical people we must fight for the better kind of imperialism. Imagine what would happen if Hitler should win."

Let workers who ask this question not forget that the German workers can ask the question: "Suppose the Allies win?" They already received a taste of an Allied victory in 1918. Their experience then was not of a nature as to make them contemplate another victory with great enthusiasm. The miserable Social-Democrats may be anxious for a victory of the Allied imperialists in the hope that they would once more be placed at the head of Germany to serve the Allies. But the workers of Germany understand that an Allied victory means complete subjection of their country to the Allies.

A victory for the Allies does not appear to be any better for the German workers than a victory of Hitler for the English and French workers.

And why should the African or Indian worker and peasant exploited by British imperialism worry about a defeat of British imperialism? Nor, in America, can the Negro worker and sharecropper of the South be much impressed with the idea that his lot would be worse under Hitler.

The trouble is that if the workers are presented with a choice of Allied or German imperialism the solution to the problem of defeating fascism is insoluble.

A solution is possible if one delves more deeply into the problem and looks upon the capitalist world as a whole and not upon the relative merits of each national section of that world. Looking upon that world as a whole reveals the incontestable fact that its economic system has reached a stage of decay making its destruction absolutely imperative.

If the capitalist world should continue to exist, whether the victory goes to the Allies or to Hitler, the workers can look forward to more frightful wars, more misery, more death. The workers can have no interest in saving any part of such a system. Their interest is in destroying it root and branch.

Once we see the problem as one which involves the destruction of the capitalist world and not the victory of one set of imperialists over another, then the task of the American workers or the workers of any other country becomes clear. They must begin the struggle against their own capitalism. And if they should win that struggle it would constitute a blow to fascism all over the world.