

## WILLKIE IS AN OPEN CHALLENGE TO LABOR

### Harte Was Murdered During or Shortly After the GPU Attack on Trotsky

#### May 25th Set as Day Youth Was Killed

GPU Slander Against Trotsky's Secretary Had Discouraged Search for His Body; Found In Search for Arms and Uniforms of Attackers

(Special to the Socialist Appeal)

MEXICO CITY, June 28—Robert Sheldon Harte was killed during the attack on Trotsky's house, May 24th, or shortly after, it may be concluded from the police medical examination of the body, the results of which were made public today.

Two bullets fired into his head from a .38 calibre revolver, one of which had penetrated from behind the right ear through the opposite side of the head, had ended the 25-year old boy's life. The attempt of his murderers to make impossible his identification, by burying the body covered with quicklime, was frustrated because the lime was of such poor quality that it failed of its purpose.

The medical report set tentatively May 25th as the day on which young Harte was probably murdered—that is, the day after the attack on the Trotsky household. But competent medical authority makes clear that a body examined after a month of decomposition cannot be placed with accuracy with a day of its death, and the more probable hypothesis

which fits in with the known facts is that he was killed during the attack on the house, or blackjacked, carried into one of the four cars used by the assailants, killed along the road and then buried where he was found.

How They Got In  
Harte fell into the hands of his

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#### SHELDON HARTE



#### FOUR DRIVERS CONFESS ROLES IN SHOOTING

Total Number of GPU Confessions Brought Now to Eight

(Special to the Socialist Appeal)

MEXICO CITY, June 27—Four more participants in the attempted assassination of Leon Trotsky this week made confessions to the police, making a total of eight of the GPU band who have admitted their complicity.

The new four are Leonardo Tapia Guerrero, head of a chauffeur service and a Stalinist, who was hired by David Alfaro Siqueiros, one of the leaders of the armed band, to arrange for transport of the band in four automobiles; and three other chauffeurs picked by Guerrero, who are Ramon Gomez Castaneda, Ernesto Bucio Gomez and Jose Vazquez Martinez.

Today the four chauffeurs ratified in toto the previous declarations they had made to the police of their complicity—with one significant correction. Guerrero had in his first declaration stated that Siqueiros had had a meeting in a cafe with Robert Sheldon Harte, Trotsky's secretary. That first declaration had been made before and was in line with the Stalinist story that Harte had been an accomplice of the attackers—a story launched to discourage search for Harte. Now Guerrero stated he wasn't certain that it was Harte who had met Siqueiros.

When first arrested, Guerrero had attempted to deny that he had participated in the armed attack, but the police had him identified as a participant. Yesterday he lamely explained that he had denied his complicity at first because he did not want to discredit the chauffeurs' organization of which he is the head.

Extremely Well Paid

Another of the chauffeurs, Castaneda, yesterday added that he had been paid 350 pesos for driving one of the murder cars. From a photograph he identified the "Don Jose" who led the band as none other than Siqueiros. The

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### Midwestern Workers Know All About Willkie

His Vicious Anti-Labor Record Is His Recommendation to the Bosses

(Special to the Socialist Appeal)

ELWOOD, Indiana—This is a very appropriate place for Wendell Willkie to come to make his formal speech of acceptance. Since the Carnegie mills moved out, practically every steel worker in town is either on work relief or on home relief. Yes, this is a real American town!

DETROIT, Michigan—Wendell Willkie may have been a dark horse elsewhere, but his name is

not a new one to the great body of workers in the heavily industrialized Saginaw Valley of Michigan. This CIO area has seen four bitter strikes in two years, thanks to Wendell Willkie.

For Mr. Willkie's Commonwealth & Southern utility holding company owns as its major operating subsidiary the Consumers Power Co., which sprawls over the Saginaw valley.

The first strike occurred in May, 1937. When the company would not sign, the power workers staged a sit-down strike and for more than eight hours there was no power in the Saginaw Valley.

Governor Blamed Willkie

Responsibility for that strike was placed directly on the company by Governor Murphy of Michigan. "They agreed a week ago in my office to do certain things, which agreement has not been kept," said Murphy.

Willkie himself signed the agreement settling that strike, in Washington on June 8, 1937. But he had no intention of abiding by the agreement. He signed it because those were the days of the great forward movement of the CIO. Shortly afterward, however, came the defeats in "little steel" and labor's upsurge ceased. Immediately Willkie's company proceeded to violate the agreement. Nor did a second sit-down strike, in April, 1938, end the company's union-busting tactics.

Those union-smashing tactics were summarized in a decision handed down by the National Labor Relations Board on November 8, 1938, which indicted the company for using spies in union meetings, using foremen to issue anti-union statements, demoting the union chairman and transferring active union men to inferior positions, and creating a company union and sending out literature from the company offices on behalf of the company union—beginning three days after the first contract with the CIO was signed!

Last September the CIO called its fourth strike against Willkie's company, after negotiations for a contract renewal broke down.

A group of CIO auto workers, helping their brothers in the utility strike, were terribly beaten by company thugs. Some of them spent weeks in the hospital as a result.

Yes, Mr. Willkie is certainly an appropriate candidate for a boss party!

### BIG BUSINESS OPENLY BACKS GOP CANDIDATE

Foreign Policy Same As Roosevelt's; Offers Big Stick

By ALBERT GOLDMAN

With Wendell Willkie, labor-hating utilities czar, Big Business and the Republican party offer an open challenge to American Labor.

Roosevelt has been used for eight years to wheedle, to bamboozle, to deceive, to outflank and cut off the marching legions of American workers.

Now, unless American entry into war makes retention of the Roosevelt method advisable for a time, the reform-weary bosses and their middle-class satellites are going to try to put in a man who won't "coddle" labor and whose sole interest as president will be to assure the profits of the bosses.

For the working class, the nomination of Willkie is not something that can possibly be regarded as something to support as against Roosevelt. It has to be looked upon as the maneuver of an enemy. Don't forget that Roosevelt and Willkie both are part and parcel of the boss system.

For reasons that can best be explained by a psychiatrist, John L. Lewis appeared before the platform committee of the Republican Party, creating the impression that disgusted with Roosevelt he was turning to the Republican party as a possible champion of labor.

It is safe to say that not even Lewis will resurrect his old Republicanism and support the Republican party. If he should be insane enough to do so his followers in the world of labor will be few indeed. For if there is one thing recognized by the great mass of organized workers it is that the Republican party represents the most reactionary section of the capitalist class.

Convention Issues

The two problems concerning which there was a serious difference of opinion in the Republican convention were the question of the policy of the party to the European war and of the person to carry its banner as presidential candidate.

Reactionary intellectual figures like Walter Lippmann were seriously disturbed at the attitude of the majority of the delegates toward the problem of foreign affairs.

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### Behind the Lines

Japan Takes First Steps Toward Carving Out Its New Sphere

by GEORGE STERN

Japan has now formally announced its intention to convert all of East Asia and the South Seas into "a single sphere" under Japanese authority.

To this end Japan's army and navy are already in motion. Hong Kong, Britain's South China fortress, is to all intents and purposes a besieged city. During the last week, Japanese troops have formed an iron circle around the city for the openly-announced purpose of cutting it off from the South China hinterland. In panic, the British have begun evacuating women and children from the island metropolis. Farther south, the Japanese have established themselves on the China-Indochina border as a preliminary to the eventual occupation of the French colony. Finally, the Japanese await the crushing of Britain to press through the demands they have already made to cut the route from Burma to the unoccupied portions of China.

That these steps are all preliminary to assumption of power throughout East Asia, the Western Pacific and the South Seas was made plain by Foreign Minister Hachiro Arita in a speech on June 29 in which he pictured the organization of a group of satellite states revolving around Japan. Toward British and U.S. resistance to this plan the Japanese now adopt a contemptuous tone. The British they expect shortly to go down before the German war machine. The Americans, they know, will therupon be incapable of making a single move in the Pacific to checkmate Japanese aims. The U.S. Fleet is back in Hawaii but it can't stay there for long. Its return to the Atlantic is a foregone conclusion.

This is all but admitted in Washington. Officially, American policy of resistance to Japan in the diplomatic domain is still "reaffirmed" by Cordell

Hull, the Secretary of State. But it was painfully apparent that Hull dared make no specific reply to the Arita speech. He "did not care to say anything on the subject," according to the July 2 New York TIMES. The new two-ocean, four billion dollar fleet voted for by Congress will take years to build. Until then, Japan's hands are all but free. And long before then, much will have happened.

This does not mean that Japan has a push-over. The welding of all East Asia into a single Japanese empire requires not only the elimination of rival imperialists. It requires also the subjugation of the colonial peoples of Indochina, the East Indies, the Philippines, Malaya, and of India. The Japanese army has already more than half-choked itself trying to swallow China. Unable to conquer by direct assault, it is now attempting to force a victory by successively cutting off all sources of arms supply for the Chinese armies. That attempt has been greatly facilitated by the Allied defeats in Europe, but will still require considerable Japanese effort to succeed.

Then first they face the task of "stabilizing" the peoples who for decades have been fighting British, French, Dutch, and U.S. rule and who are not at all likely to surrender supinely to the new would-be master of Asia. And even assuming the big guns of the Japanese fleet and the bombs of the air force establish an early armed superiority, the problem of economic organization and consolidation only then begins. The Japanese have held the Yangtze Valley and North China now for nearly three years and have still been unable to make it work profitably for them.

Japanese dreams of empire are certain to be broken by more than one harsh awakening.

### GPU Tried to Cover Murder With Slander

By LEON TROTSKY

The body of Bob Sheldon Harte in a tragic manner proves the falsity of all the calumnies and denunciations levelled against him. The police authorities, who were obligated not to refuse to take this suspicion seriously, have revealed exceptional energy in this matter also. The GPU is

not a simple band of gangsters—it is an international selection of trained agents with a long background of crimes, armed with unlimited technical and economic resources. According to the lowest calculations, the technical preparation alone for the assault in Mexico, leaving aside bribes and the

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## Coolie Wages For Workers on Defense Jobs

The hopes of many workers that the "National Defense" program will provide them with real jobs at union wages received another blow last Sunday, when Colonel F. C. Harrington, WPA Administrator, announced that by Fall he would have at least one-third of the WPA workers working on projects for the rearmament program.

Do you realize what this means? It means that there will be two classes of workers employed on armament work. One will be workers hired under civil service and under government legislation providing wages approximating prevailing union wages. The second will be workers doing the same work—but getting the coolie wages dictated for WPA by the Roosevelt-Woodrum Act last year, and now repeated in the new relief act signed last week by Roosevelt.

The government now has an incentive for continuing the WPA! Continuing it as a device for getting its war machine built on starvation wages. Continuing it as a weapon to drive down the wages paid to non-WPA workers employed on the war program.

To realize how outrageous this government move is one must visualize what these WPA workers will be doing. In many cases they will be working on projects which are handled directly by the War and Navy Departments, where they will be supervised by the same personnel that handles the regular employees of these departments. The WPA

workers will be working side by side, on the same jobs, with men on the regular payrolls. They will be doing exactly the same work, but on two entirely different wage-scales.

"You think you ought to be paid more?" a swivel-chair admiral will say to a union business agent representing skilled workers who are being pushed to the limit of their endurance in the name of patriotism. "Why you people ought to be ashamed of yourselves. Look at those fellows out there, working right next to you and getting only half the salary you people are drawing down."

That's the situation the government is trying to create!

Nor is this scheme one that has just been hatched in Washington. It has been long planned. It was already envisaged last year when the Roosevelt-Woodrum Act was drawn up and passed, wiping out the previous provisions in relief law which required that WPA pay the prevailing (union) wage on its projects. It was the reason why the Roosevelt administration went to such lengths in crushing the WPA strike last summer and made an example of the Minneapolis WPA strikers whom it railroaded to prison.

Some people wondered last year why the government was so adamant against the prevailing wage clause for WPA. After all, it didn't cost the government any more money per worker in most cases. If a man was going to get only \$60 a month on WPA, what difference did it

make if that amount were paid to him for working the number of hours that \$60 amounted to at union wage rates, or the 130 hours per month that the administration was insisting he work? Most people couldn't see much difference, because they thought of WPA as "made work."

Now they will see the difference! The government will get 130 hours of work on armories, military roads, army and navy camps and barracks, etc., for an average of \$52 per month per man—roughly about half what the government would have to pay for that work at decent wage rates.

If the AFL and CIO top leadership, now wallowing in patriotic trances, permit the government to get away with this, they ought to be tossed out on their ears by an outraged union membership.

Equal pay for equal work! That's a good, fundamental slogan of any decent union and should apply to the defense program as well as to any job.

All work on the defense program shall be done under the usual regulations governing employment of civilian employees by government departments. By all means hire the men now on WPA to participate in this work—but hire them as real workers, not as WPA slaves.

Union wage rates and union conditions on all government jobs and all government orders!

And that takes in a lot of territory these days!



# Strike Weapon Surrendered in G.M. Contract

## Union Leaders Ram Pact Down Throats Of Auto Workers

Use "National Emergency" To Put Over Settlement Which Binds Them to Give Up Strikes

DETROIT—Using the "national emergency" as a ramrod, leaders of the United Automobile Workers Union have forced a contract down the throats of the General Motors workers which binds them to compulsory arbitration and in effect gives up the weapon of strikes.

In exchange for vacations with pay at the rate of an equivalent of 40 hours earning annually for each worker, and a 1½¢ an hour wage increase to be arbitrated in the distant future on a plant basis, the company wrote into the contract a clause which calls for an "impartial" umpire, to be paid \$30,000 a year jointly by the union and the Corporation.

This umpire will have power to settle all grievances on "recognition, representation, seniority, discharge, disciplinary lay-offs, call-in pay, working hours, leaves of absence, strikes and stoppages, and contract violations."

### Means Dictatorship

This umpire is in actuality a dictator with the widest possible powers to decide crucial and decisive questions for the auto workers. He can stall around 30 days and more in making up his mind, according to the contract, and once he rules, no resort is left to the union. His word is final.

Once the umpire rules on a question, there can be no strike should the union men believe his decision unfair. The contract specifically reads, "The union will not cause nor will any member of the union take part in any strike or stoppage of any of the corporation's operations on any of the corporation's premises until all bargaining procedure as outlined in this agreement has been exhausted, AND IN NO CASE ON WHICH THE UMPIRE SHALL HAVE RULED. . . . The corporation reserves the right to discipline any employee taking part in any violation of this section of the agreement."

With this clause as their main target, hundreds of union militants in the important Flint plants battled furiously against acceptance of the agreement. There was by no means a unanimous acceptance of this agreement.

### Sold For Patriotism

In Chevrolet Local 659, a special meeting called for the purpose of ratifying the agreement, went on for four hours, and even in that time no decision could be made. A special meeting had to be called for two days later, at which time the union militants conducted an organized battle against accepting the new agreement. But the leadership's barrage and campaign of intimidation succeeded in forcing it through. George Addes, Financial Secretary of the UAW, and Walter Reuther, in charge of GM, constantly referred to the fact that "now we must accept even a bad agreement, for the good of the country." They made the most unprincipled appeal to the membership's patriotism, and didn't even try to convince anyone that the agreement as such was a good or satisfactory reward for the months of strenuous efforts the membership had expended to build up and support the CIO.

### More Hours Coming

In local after local the same arguments were heard. Militants pointed to a clause in the contract which read, "In case the laws of the United States are changed either to increase or decrease permissible working hours and overtime rates, modification of the section on working hours shall be subject to negotiation."

This clause means that when the Walsh-Healey Act is abrogated by Congress, the 40 hour provision in the contract will be meaningless. It is in fact a go-ahead signal to all the anti-labor congressional forces in their reactionary march to destroy the rights of unions.

The corporation succeeded in getting into the contract a clause that will in the future prevent any such consequences as ensued in the Chrysler strike, in which one plant shut down, and when the corporation locked out workers in other plants the workers were able to collect unemployment compensation. This clause reads as follows, "An authorized strike in one bargaining unit under this agreement which results in an interruption of the flow of material or services to operations in any other bargaining unit under this agreement will be con-

sidered an authorized strike in any such affected bargaining unit."

With the above clever device, the corporation can hold a weapon over the heads of all workers, play one plant against another, use the lock-out with impunity, and prevent men who are locked-out from collecting unemployment compensation.

The contract does not touch the "D" list of company stools with privileged seniority.

Although a 1½ cent wage increase is given, this must be negotiated on a plant basis, and not until October.

### End of NLRB!

So kind were the negotiators to the corporation that they repealed the NLRB Act of their own volition. By the terms of the agreement, the union pledges not to appeal any case settled by the umpire to the courts or to any government board.

The company retains its provision on seniority by which a worker must be employed six months consecutively before he begins to acquire seniority. As this works now, all new workers are laid off exactly two weeks before their seniority period arrives, thus keeping them out of the seniority lists.

The grievance procedure is very elaborate, and by conservative computation means that any serious grievance would be at least two or three months in arbitration before settled. Then once settled by the umpire, there is no recourse.

The auto workers are quite disgusted with the agreement. The average worker, however, sees no alternative but to accept it. The government pressure, plus the cowardice of their leaders at the top of the UAW, has discouraged and disoriented them.

Many feel that they would be better off without this contract, under the less binding terms of the old agreement.

The deep resentment, and the serious revolt witnessed in several locals, especially in Flint, against acceptance, will undoubtedly rise to the surface in the future, when the effects of this agreement begin to be felt.

## Wall Street Drops Plenty In Europe If Hitler Wins

When the foreign market took an average of \$4,687,800,000 annually of American exports in the years 1926-1930, Europe took \$2,206,600,000, or about 45%. In 1935, total exports dropped to \$3,298,900,000 but still the European market took \$1,337,900,000 or about 40%. Europe is the largest foreign market area of the American capitalist class. A victorious Hitler would drive the American imperialists from the European market, which would become the private preserve of the German capitalist class, while Hitler would challenge America in the markets of Latin America.

Europe is also rich in American investments. Of the \$13,693,700,000 of American foreign investments in 1935, \$3,026,600,000 were in Europe. A victorious Hitler will tear these investments out of the hands of the American banking interests—especially the House of Morgan—and plump them into the lap of the German ruling class.

These are some of the simple facts which explain the fervor of the "Stop Hitler Now" campaign organized by Wall Street bankers.

# Conservatives Dominate Farmer-Labor Convention, Dictating Its Platform

By CARL O'SHEA

MINNEAPOLIS, Minn.—What remains of the once-powerful Minnesota Farmer-Labor Party completed its convention in Brainerd on June 21 and 22, adopting the most conservative platform ever endorsed by the Farmer-Laborites.

With conservatives in complete charge, and with the war issue overshadowing all other considerations, the convention made a sweeping endorsement of Roosevelt's "national defense" program and his policy of aiding the Allies, and joined him in attacking the "Fifth Column" and subversive elements.

Even fewer trade unionists were among the 450 delegates than attended the earlier convention in Rochester last March.

The flag-waving pro-war plank adopted by the Farmer-Laborites is exactly the same plank adopted by the Republican Party, the same plank that the Democratic Party also will adopt: a piously-voiced opposition to sending American youth abroad to fight, negated by a strong call for strong national defense against enemies without and within the country.

### Deal with Democrats

Its "national defense" endorsement clears the FLP decks for a deal with the Democratic Party directly after the primaries, whereby Farmer-Laborites will withdraw in favor of Democratic politicians for certain offices, and vice versa. It is public knowledge that such a deal is forthcoming.

"A reasonably conservative platform"—"a sane platform"—that was the way the boss papers described the handiwork of the Brainerd convention.

With only a sprinkling of unionists present, and those mainly conservative, opposition to the pro-war stand of the convention came from the Stalinists and their captives, such as ex-Governor Benson. Whereas two years ago the Stalinists led the pack in bellowing for "collective security against the fascist nations" and "quarantine the aggressors," in

### Leaves Unions Cold

In a move calculated to bring

the union movement back into the Farmer-Labor fold, the convention voted to amend the Association constitution so as to permit member organizations to be chartered directly from the State Committee. This move changes absolutely nothing so far as the Minneapolis union movement is concerned, because it would still leave the Stalinists, through their paper organizations in control of the Hennepin County Central Committee of the Farmer-Labor Association. The Minneapolis union movement has time and again explained its stand to the State Central Committee, for a party directly led and controlled by the unions, but the Committee hasn't enough guts to move against the Communist Party in Hennepin County.

Whatever regard the bulk of unionists in Minnesota still retained for the Farmer-Labor movement has been greatly shaken by the blatantly pro-war stand of the convention. Imagine the Farmer-Labor Association gunning for "subversive" elements! A subversive element is anything and anybody the bosses don't like, as the predecessors of the FLP, the Non-Partisan League, themselves found out in this state back in 1918.

On all hands one sees unionists throw up their hands or shrug their shoulders at mention of the Farmer-Labor convention and platform. Only the most conservative unionists (who have always, openly or secretly, fought the idea of independent labor political action) and the staunch supporters of Roosevelt, will string along with the FLP this year on the basis that the party will be practically taken over by the Democrats at the general elections.

So powerless has it become to enforce discipline in its own ranks that the convention did not even endorse candidates. Instead, the candidates will be chosen in a free-for-all primaries in September.

Confronted with the failure of the Farmer-Labor movement to stand up and fight in the interests of the workers and poor farmers of this state against the war-mongers, it is almost certain that the Socialist Workers Party will enter candidates in the state elections to crystallize the widespread anti-war sentiment in Minnesota.

## SELLING THE APPEAL

### IN THE FOOTSTEPS OF MINNEAPOLIS!!!

500 to Chicago every week!

500 to Newark every week!

Answering the challenge put forward in Minneapolis' bundle order increase to 1,000 papers, two branches in the past week increased their regular weekly orders. Chicago enlarged its bundle from 100 papers to 500, and Newark from 125 to 500. These militant locals are determined to get our paper to the masses, and are organizing wide coverage of their cities each week. Reports on their first experiences will be published next week. And we look forward to hearing, in short order, from St. Paul, Boston, Los Angeles, San Francisco. Forward to coast-to-coast mass circulation of the APPEAL!

And one each from Memphis, Boston, Denver, Chicago, Youngstown, Baltimore and New Castle.

This is better, comrades, but not nearly good enough. You have shown that you can get subs—now let's go over the top with a record-breaking total!

### MASS CIRCULATION IN THE AUTO CENTERS

Toledo, O.—"The Toledo Branch is taking the anti-war campaign seriously and is going to town on the Appeal sales. As far as we're concerned, we're on a voluntary war footing to do anti-war work. Last week we disposed of 150 papers house-to-house and collected a total of over five bucks. We furthermore passed out about 50 at factory gates. We intend to increase our sales, and cut down our bill. We aim to beat that Detroit record of 18 bucks collected in one week from house-to-house sales—and by only about 5 people too! We find the workers, 90% of them at least, are anti-war."

"We are beginning to whittle down our old Appeal bill. All that is required is for the comrades to stop talking about what can be done selling Appeals, and to get out and do it." (Attention San Francisco, and other branches with vast back bills!)

DETROIT, Mich.—"The house-to-house campaign is still going on. One would think that the present barrage of war propaganda unleashed by the war-mongers would effect this method of distribution and money-raising. Fortunately no such thing is the case. The people are receptive to anti-war ideas. They receive us courteously as before the intense war campaign and treat us as generously with finances. Occasionally one meets up with someone who takes the war propaganda seriously. We do not argue. You can't convert them to your point of view in an hour's time and we have no such time to waste on them. Our task is to see as many people as possible, to give a brief smack of what you're there for and to ask for contributions. We average on the whole about 6c per paper. The house-to-house method must be taken up by every branch in the Party."

SUB DRIVE GATHERS SPEED

Subs are coming in somewhat better, as our drive enters the

# Lewis' Politics Bolder But Same 'Run-a-Round' as Green's

By FARRELL DOBBS

A new high in confusing the political problems of the working class was reached by John L. Lewis in his recent addresses at Philadelphia. He gave the definite impression of a man who is rapidly losing all sense of political balance.

Lewis has on many occasions brought forth telling indictments of capitalist mismanagement of social production. As the chief representative of the CIO, a mass organization whose members are vitally involved in the major industries, he is well equipped with facts. Unemployment, malnutrition, inadequate housing, industrial diseases have remained as a permanent nightmare to a broad section of the mass production workers of the CIO. A gifted orator, Lewis has done a good job of describing some of the worst sides of these evil conditions.

All of this is an excellent and most necessary service to the workers. But an analysis of the conditions of the working class is only a preliminary step to an effective solution of these problems. In sharp contrast to his good performance in describing the bad conditions of the workers, Lewis has amassed an impressive record of misleadership in action on both the economic and the political front.

### LEWIS HAS REMAINED A CLASS-COLLABORATIONIST

He has adhered consistently to the old-line trade union policy of horse-trading with the employers. But the big corporations, already enjoying a monopoly in their respective fields, have little to expect from a union except higher labor costs and a resultant reduction in their profits. The CIO unions in the basic industries have failed, therefore, to find "friends" among the big employers.

Not content to wait for the benevolence of the employers to solve their problems the workers have pressed for militant trade union action—demands for union contracts, wage increases, reduction in hours, seniority, regulation of production speed and improved working conditions—and they have been ready to strike to win these demands. The employers have fought back all along the line.

The officials of the CIO, with Lewis at the head, failing to get a basis for agreements with the bosses without a head-on fight, sought to stem the tide of strike actions by placing their reliance upon government agencies to force the employers into agreements with the union. This necessitated a pressure campaign on the politicians. Acute problems of unemployment relief, poor housing, protection from industrial disease brought demands from the workers for political action by the CIO.

LEWIS IS JUST A STREAMLINED GREEN

The choice was between the CIO taking the initiative in the creation of a national labor party or continuing to place reliance in "friendly" politicians of the old-line parties. Lewis and his colleagues chose the latter course, streamlining the old AFL methods by the creation of Labor's Non-Partisan League which was nothing more than an organization to bring pressure on the Democratic and Republican politicians, although it was palmed off on the workers as an independent working class political organization. It is against this background that the remarks of Lewis at Philadelphia appear in the most significant light.

On June 18, 1940 Lewis told the NAACP at Philadelphia that "Mr. Roosevelt made depression and

unemployment a chronic fact in American life." Chronic depression, unemployment, is a fact. The workers do not have to be convinced of that. It is the making not of Roosevelt alone, but of capitalism as such. Roosevelt has failed to correct these ills because he is committed to a policy of perpetuating them through his role as a protector of their real creator—capitalism. Neither a Roosevelt nor a Willkie nor any other defender of capitalism can give the workers anything but chronic depression, unemployment, and war.

But in 1936, after the first four years of Roosevelt, John L. Lewis and Labor's Non-Partisan League considered him the workers' champion and gave him unconditional support for re-election. And again in the state elections in 1938 Lewis and the LNP supported the bulk of the New Deal candidates. This could be excused if Lewis had belatedly made an honest discovery of the real nature of the Roosevelt administration. But he has learned nothing.

### URNS AWAY FROM ROOSEVELT—TO HOOVER!

"It was a slogan of the 1932 presidential election," Lewis told the NAACP, "that Herbert Hoover was responsible for that depression. As a simple matter of justice let me say here and now that the workers of the United States realize that he had nothing to do with it."

It isn't the absentmindedness of Lewis which is at fault here; it is his belief that the workers have such a poor memory that they will swallow this clap-trap. But it is the best which Lewis has to offer.

Referring again to Hoover and the depression, Lewis adds, "It was laid on his doorstep when he came to the White House." In other words, Hoover didn't create the depression; he just didn't overcome it. Therefore, he is a politician in whom the workers can place their trust and, to quote Lewis again, "It is only the self-seeking politicians that blame Mr. Hoover."

At this hour of the clock, with the world engulfed in a war which will soon involve the American workers, with Roosevelt already fastening a straight-jacket upon the labor movement, with the Republicans promising the bosses that they will finish the job if their candidate is elected, Lewis can do nothing but fumble around like an octogenarian who has lost his glasses. The best he has to offer is a threat to the Republican resolutions committee, in what the CIO News describes as a "straight-from-the-shoulder talk" that "some day the people will tire of being deceived by the major political parties."

That is right. Some day the workers will. But it will not be because of anything John L. Lewis has done to help them find their way onto the right political road.

Lewis, Hillman and Dubinsky prevented the workers from taking the road of independent political action when they had an excellent chance under the impetus of the growth and struggles of the rising industrial unions in the basic industries. And so far as they are concerned there will be no such action in 1940.

### FROM THE UNSUNG HEROES WILL COME REAL LEADERS

Hillman and Dubinsky are on the Roosevelt band-wagon. Hillman has broken openly with Lewis on the political front. Dubinsky has broken not only politically; he has taken the ILGWU back into the AFL, thus striking a severe blow at the whole CIO movement.

John L. Lewis, who has presumed to be the leader of millions of workers, stands politically bewildered before them in the hour of their greatest crisis. He has neither the courage nor the foresight to lead the workers in independent political struggle through their own party.

On the field of trade union action the real leaders who made the CIO movement what it is today sprang to the front in the periods of struggle against the bosses and then when the fight was over returned into the ranks or remained in minor posts in the unions. They have contributed much more to the building of the CIO than the top leadership which claimed the credit.

These same unsung heroes of the working class will find their way to the front in the political struggles of the days to come. It is in them and not in the John L. Lewises that the workers of the CIO will find the leaders who can guide them to ultimate victory.

## Anti-Alien Act Cloaks Vicious Weapons Against Unions

Ignoring widespread pleas that he veto the bill, Roosevelt signed the Smith Omnibus Bill on Saturday, June 29, thereby putting its provisions into effect.

What was passed was not, however, merely a bill to register aliens. Actually Congress adopted under this guise the notorious Smith Omnibus Bill, originally introduced in March, 1939 when it was accurately characterized by the New York TIMES as a "compendium of all the anti-radical legislation introduced in Congress during the last twenty years." The bill was scarcely expected to be passed—until Roosevelt provided a disguise for it when he asked for legislation against the aliens.

The law is simply a federal criminal syndicalism law, doing for the first time in the federal jurisdiction what the notorious state criminal syndicalism laws did in state jurisdictions during the 1919-1923 post-war wave of anti-labor persecutions.

Among its provisions, applying also to citizens, are:

Title I: Makes punishable by prison terms up to ten years and/or ten thousand dollar fine "to publish or distribute any book, pamphlet, paper, print, article, letter, or other writing which advises, counsels, urges, or solicits any member of the Army



## The Negro Question

by Robert L. Birchman

### A Negro Paper on the War

The California Eagle (Los Angeles, June 20) has a two column editorial entitled "The Stakes: Africa," which follows in part:

"Today the great continent of Africa is the stake for which millions of men are dying on the battlefields of Europe. Empire and empire alone is the guiding spirit of World War II.

"Differences of political structure between the Allies and the Italo-German bloc are important, but are dwarfed beside the weight of motivating economic causes. What President Roosevelt, Senator Pepper (of Florida, no less), Senator Pittman and others have been pointing out for the past few weeks—namely that democracy is threatened—is only incidentally true. The so-called democratic nations, functioning on the basis of liberal federal governments, have represented in the economic field a direct paradox to their political systems. On the one hand they are federalized, representative government; on the other, the most highly centralized and dictatorial administration. Britain's parliament may be a fortress of liberties, but her Bank of England is a battlement of despotism."

The editorial concludes:

"Economic development of the world's resources cannot be left in the hands of power-mad dictators thriving on the theory of nationalism and incidentally, race superiority; nor can it be left to the hit-or-miss capitalistic system that we have known. . . . The welfare of humanity itself depends upon the creation of an efficient world economic system. The day of status quo and balance of power must end. A British victory based upon the old notion of 'Mighty Me' would be as harmful as a Nazi triumph. Economic prosperity cannot successfully exist in any part of the modern world, while there is poverty somewhere else. The channels of trade are too delicately interlaced to permit it. When there is prosperity for all—and it is not an impossible dream—there will be peace for all, since the cause of war will have been destroyed."

But what does the Eagle concretely propose as a solution to the problem? Certainly not a streamlined capitalist system—which would be fascism. The only way to solve the problem of economic security, to build an economic system that makes war impossible is for the Negroes and the entire working class to join with the Socialist Workers Party in organizing to overthrow the capitalist system in both its fascist and democratic forms and build a socialist society.

### Sharecroppers Called Fifth Column!!!

The Chicago Defender (June 29) reports editorially that: "From Oklahoma comes the report that Attorney General Holt of Arkansas in a statement to the press intimated that Negro sharecroppers fighting against eviction and mass starvation and against open and violent robbery of their share of the crop by the landlords, are 'fifth columnists' and subversive elements."

"We warned against this. We foresaw it in the very logic of things. To hide the robbery of black men and women, to silence their outcry against the poll tax and the denial of their constitutional rights, the spokesmen of the landlords will declare these loyal Americans to be fifth columnists."

### Race Equality in the Army

The Pittsburgh Courier reports that the Burke Bill for conscription means that "some 4,000,444 Negroes will have to register and at least 2,300,000 would be liable to be called for military service."

"Something over a million of our people between the ages of 21 and 35 would be surely called."

The Pittsburgh Courier is not opposed to conscription and military training. Their complaint is:

"Now if we are to have conscription, if our colored men are to be called up by the million to risk their lives in the defense of their country, they must not be subjected to insult, discrimination and segregation."

"No conscription law must be passed that does not contain a specific provision that no citizen called for military service shall be excluded from service in any branch or division of the Army or Navy because of race, color, or creed."

"Yes, let us have conscription, but without any color line."

We are opposed to jim-crow policies in the armed forces of the nation and everywhere else that it may rear its ugly head. We stand for full economic, political and social equality for the Negro people.

We are for military training. But the question is, for what? The military training that we want is that undertaken by the organizations of the workers—both Negro and white—the trade unions. This training will be for the purpose of defending the interests of the workers and of the exploited and oppressed Negro peoples. Not a war for "democracy" which neither the Negro nor the working class of all races and colors have had in either peace or war time. No. Our war is to secure the democratic rights that have been denied us. To stop lynching, jim-crowism, segregation and for jobs and economic security.

Only an army controlled by the workers, fighting to defend and extend the interests of the workers, will eliminate jim-crowism. That is the only army that the Negroes should join and not the army of those fighting to protect and extend their right to exploit and oppress the common people.

The Chicago Defender in an editorial (April 27) stated: "Now in principle, we are not against the creation of Negro soldiers. The Negro should know how to fight, he must know how to fight. But the Negro must be a fighter for democracy; 1917 is not to be forgotten."

"Most assuredly, we must learn to fight. But the victims we speak of have not been created by Europeans, workers and farmers in uniform. We have nothing against the people of Germany, France or England. They however, must deal with the leaders who have dragged them into a war which has nothing of democracy about it. That is not our task. We must deal with those who deny democracy to us."

# Harte Murdered During Attack on Trotsky

(Continued from Page 1)

murderers in one of two possible ways. One of the police whom Harte knew as assigned to guard the household and who was in league with the assailants may have persuaded Harte to open the door on some pretext, and behind the policeman rushed in the assailants. Or the assailants had found a certain weakness in the surrounding wall which enabled a skillful attacker to get in and strike Harte from behind.

The third possibility, which the police had entertained and which was bolstered by confessions of those who have been arrested, is now destroyed by the finding of his body.

### GPU Discouraged Search

It must be said that the GPU and its friends had done their job well. So successfully had they propagated the idea that young Harte was an agent of the GPU who had now fled the country, that the police investigators were seeking some word of him in Guatemala or in the United States—anywhere except the short distance from the Trotsky household where he was actually found. That was precisely the purpose of the GPU—spread slander against the boy—to discourage any search for his body.

It was not in a search for it that the body was found. It was found while the police were searching for the police uniforms and arms used by the attackers.

The ill-kept farmhouse in whose cellar Sheldon Harte was found buried came under the scrutiny of the police in two ways. Neighbors reported seeing some men living there for a few days who had left May 24th, the day of the attack on Trotsky. Police paid more attention to this report when they had gotten a new hint of the ramifications of the conspiracy from Mariano Herrera Vazquez. He was the sweetheart of Ana Lopez Chavez, the woman who with Julia Barradas de Serrano had had the task of corrupting the police guarding the Trotsky household. [The confessions made by the two women, both Stalinists, were reported in detail in last week's Appeal.]

### GPU Rented All!

Vazquez minimized his own role in the affair. Through his sweetheart he had been hired, first to keep watch on a certain house in Coyoacan and then to live in a house on Viena Street—right alongside of Trotsky's—and then another, etc. In painting himself in the modest colors of a caretaker Vazquez gave the police their first realization of what afterward unfolded in an astonishing picture—that the GPU band had rented practically every house which became empty in the whole neighborhood of Trotsky's house!

As this picture became clear, the police proceeded to examine carefully every house in the area which might have been used by the attackers in their conspiracy. In the course of this systematic work the farmhouse, not very far from Coyoacan, was examined Monday.

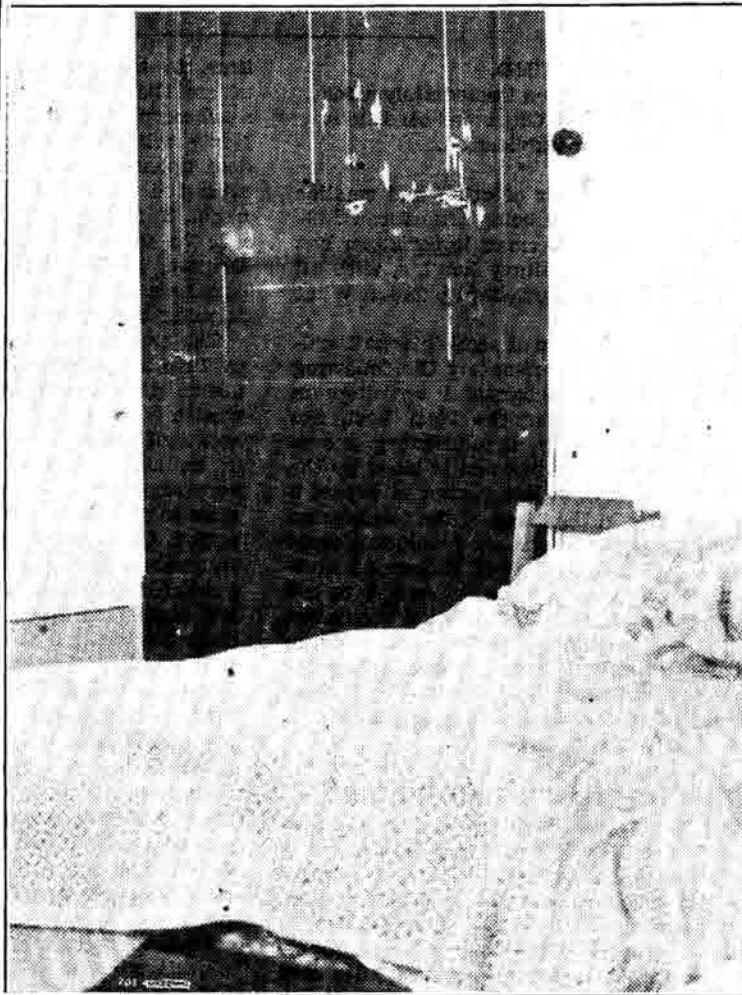
In the cellar a close examination discovered a spot where the earth had been recently disturbed. It was a likely place to hide arms and the uniforms, thought the police, and they began digging. Soon they were assailed by the odor of a decaying human corpse. Higher officials were hastily called, including General Nunez, chief of police, and Colonel Salazar, head of the secret service.

Clothes and a lock of hair from the disinterred body were brought at 12:15 a.m. to the Trotsky household. These were immediately identified by two of Sheldon Harte's co-workers who showed police in Sheldon's belongings an undershirt identical to one from the body. His co-workers were then taken to see the body and there could no longer be any doubt—they knew him too well and his distinctive features, including his kinky red hair, were unmistakable.

But his father, Jesse Harte of New York City, notified by wire by his son's friends, still hoped that the body was not Sheldon's. Mr. Harte called Trotsky by long-distance telephone; would Trotsky himself go see the body? Trotsky agreed and went to the morgue; he had to tell the father, there was no mistake.

### Another GPU Story

Up to the finding of the body all that the police had been able to get out of Vazquez, the "caretaker" for various houses used by the GPU in the conspiracy, were some of the addresses of these houses. On the way to being taken to view the body, however, Vazquez suddenly became voluble. He told a story of having shared the farmhouse for a night and day with Sheldon Harte until



One of the Doors of Trotsky's Bedroom, Riddled With the Bullets of the Assassins Sent by the GPU.

the Arenal brothers, Luis and Leopoldo, lieutenants of Siqueiros, had dismissed him (Vazquez). The design of Vazquez' story was to paint a picture of young Harte as an accomplice of the attackers, alive after the attack and killed presumably by the Arenal brothers. Why? Those who took Vazquez' story seriously could only propose such preposterous hypotheses as that Harte was then killed for the big sum of money he had been paid. But that could only make sense if Harte had been in the plot for the money—and he was the son of a very wealthy man, a boy who had given up a life of ease and comfort for the hard life of the revolutionary movement.

### GPU Guilt Established

Eight of those arrested have admitted their complicity. All of these are C.P. members or closely associated with the C.P. They have named as the leaders of the armed band David Alfaro Siqueiros, his brother Jesus, Antonio Pujol, Juan Zuniga Camacho—all figures known for many years as Stalinists, men who were in the Stalinist apparatus in Loyalist Spain. The Stalinist party is now engaged in frantically dissociating itself from these four, but cannot. In addition the facts already known have implicated David Serrano and Luis Mateos Martinez, well-known C.P. members closely associated with the present C.P. leadership. Still further, clues are now pointing to the higher-ups from whom Siqueiros and his men took their orders—foreign officials of the GPU.

From now on the investigation takes on darker hues. It is no longer the question of an attempted assassination of Leon Trotsky. Now, in addition, it is the story of how the GPU ruthlessly murdered Leon Trotsky's secretary, Robert Sheldon Harte.

## BIG BUSINESS OPENLY BACKS WILLKIE

(Continued from Page 1)

fairs. It is evident that the majority of delegates represented the "isolationist" tendency—using that term to designate those modest imperialists satisfied with control over the Western Hemisphere.

It is clear that most of the delegates, anxious to get votes rather than to formulate correct policies, were of the opinion that if they would only come out of the convention parading as a "peace" party. They knew that the masses did not want to go to war and were willing to give the masses a chance to vote the Republicans into power in the expectation that the Republican party would keep the country out of war.

Willkie a God-send  
The dramatic phase of the convention consisted of the nomination of a presidential candidate. The mediocre character of the available candidates among the old-line politicians was obvious and gave serious concern to the capitalists who really run the party. The responsible people behind the party were in a real dilemma. They are all for Roosevelt's pro-war policy and could not trust a second-rate politician in the presidential chair at a time when momentous decisions will have to be made daily.

On the other hand their hostility to Roosevelt for his social reformism is still smoldering. They were in a panic lest the nomination of a Dewey or a Taft would compel them to support Roosevelt for a third term.

## HARTE MEMORY IS SPOTLESS, WRITES TROTSKY

(Continued from Page 1)

costs in other countries, amounted to not less than \$10,000.

The solving of the crimes of the GPU, because of this, presents tremendous difficulties. In no other country of the world, not in France, not in Switzerland, not in Spain, have any of the crimes of the GPU been brought to light with such thoroughness as is being done before us with this one, the assault of May 24 in Mexico. The body of Bob Sheldon in all certainty will shed a supplementary light on all the devices of this complicated conspiracy.

In two of its announcements, the Central Committee of the "Communist" Party has repeated that the participation of Sheldon casts a "suspicious" light on the assault. In reality the penetration of an agent of Stalin into my household could have indicated solely that the GPU had succeeded in deceiving my friends in New York, who recommended Bob Sheldon to me. Every informed person knows that the GPU floods its agents into all the workers' organizations and state institutions throughout the world. For this it spends annually tens of millions of dollars. But the version that Sheldon was an agent of the GPU is completely crushed. His body is a convincing argument. Bob perished because he placed himself in the road of the assassins. He died for the ideas in which he believed. His memory is spotless.

During the Spanish civil war the Soviet ambassador in Loyalist Spain, Rosenberg, was recalled to Moscow and executed. Haikys took his place at Valencia as Stalin's spokesman to Loyalist leaders, but remained in the background, unknown publicly.

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The chauffeurs' declarations stated that Siqueiros, whom they knew well, had arranged with them for what, they insisted, was presented to them as a task of transporting police to Leon Trotsky's house. The considerable armament which the assailants carried, including machine guns, was described by the chauffeurs, who concluded that the commission the police were about to execute was an extremely perilous one, but that did not cause them to be suspicious. Not until they heard the shots inside the patio and the assailants came out did they realize, the chauffeurs claim, that an attack had been made and that the occupants of their cars were not real policemen.

But the chauffeurs were "paid splendidly." Chauffeur Castaneda was hired personally by Siqueiros immediately afterward. He drove him, his brother, Siqueiros' sweetheart and her two brothers, Luis and Leopoldo Arenal, about for several days, finally taking them to Guadalajara.

After this, the political agents of the GPU can speak of my "persecution mania."

Coyoacan, D.F.

June 25, 1940

Join the Socialist Workers Party

## HAIKYS IDENTIFIED AS GPU CHIEFTAIN IN MEXICO

MEXICO CITY, June 28—

The "man with a French accent" from whom Siqueiros took orders, and whom Siqueiros introduced to one of his hirelings as "my chief," is identified as Leon Haikys, first secretary of the Soviet Legation in Mexico during the presidency of General Obregon, according to two articles appearing yesterday and today in Mexico some years ago, the articles say, Haikys has had no official mission.

"Excelsior," Mexico City daily. "Excelsior" claims that one of its reporters has been able to ascertain that Haikys has been in Mexico for some time, without an official mission. Haikys is also not listed as serving anywhere today in the Soviet diplomatic service.

During the Spanish civil war the Soviet ambassador in Loyalist Spain, Rosenberg, was recalled to Moscow and executed. Haikys took his place at Valencia as Stalin's spokesman to Loyalist leaders, but remained in the background, unknown publicly.

## FOUR DRIVERS CONFESS ROLES IN SHOOTING

(Continued from Page 1)

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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.

## Patriotism at a Price

The final argument which induced the French cabinet to capitulate to Hitler was that unless they surrendered the country to Hitler there would be a proletarian revolution in France!

We have this on the authority of Elie J. Bois, former editor of the *Petit Parisien*, who tells the story in a June 30 dispatch from London to the *New York Times*. It was General Maxime Weygand himself who led the capitulators. Weygand first described the military difficulties of the French armies. Then, Bois tells:

"Then, referring to the Russian debacle of 1917 and the Soviet menace, he said, 'We must not let it come to that.'

"This gave the defeatists in the Cabinet their chance to come forward, since the Commander-in-Chief not only justified but actually covered them. Didn't he tell them that, according to an Admiralty report, there were riots in Paris and that Maurice Thorez, Communist leader, had occupied the Elysee Palace?"

Bois tells this story indignantly—indignant because it turned out, he says, that there was no revolutionary danger in Paris. He is not a bit indignant at the fundamental attitude taken by the cabinet that surrender to Hitler was preferable to a proletarian revolution.

This revelation of how the French cabinet preferred a foreign invader as against the victory of the French working class serves to underline one of the central thoughts expressed in the Fourth International's Manifesto on the war, which we published last week. We quote from it:

"The bourgeoisie never defends the fatherland for the sake of the fatherland. They defend private property, privileges, profits. Whenever these sacred values are threatened, the bourgeoisie immediately takes to the road of defeatism. That was the way of the Russian bourgeoisie, whose sons after the October revolution fought and are once again ready to fight in every army in the world against their own former fatherland. In order to save their capital, the Spanish bourgeoisie turned to Mussolini and Hitler for military aid against their own people. The Norwegian bourgeoisie aided Hitler's invasion of Norway. Thus it always was and always will be.

"Official patriotism is a mask for the exploiting interests. Class-conscious workers throw this mask contemptuously aside. They do not defend the bourgeois fatherland, but the interests of the toilers and the oppressed of their own country and of the entire world. The theses of the Fourth International state: 'Against the reactionary slogan of national defense it is necessary to advance the slogan of the revolutionary destruction of the national state. To the madhouse of capitalist Europe it is necessary to counterpose the program of the Socialist United States of Europe as a stage on the road to the Socialist United States of the World.'"

## Lewis and Wheeler

Two weeks ago John L. Lewis was defending Herbert Hoover and was opening the way to collaboration with the Republican party. This week he is saying (at the Townsendite convention, Tuesday) that the Republican party "failed to accept its opportunity to become a party of the people" and that the only Democrat who can defeat Willkie is Senator Wheeler. And if Wheeler is not nominated by the Democratic convention, why then, says Lewis, like a really dynamic leader firmly and unflinchingly pointing the concrete way which *must* be, which is the only road, why then, "then it will be time for organizations of labor, organizations of labor, organizations like the Townsend clubs and others to consider what to do."

That's bold leadership for you!

Periods of war pitilessly bare all the realities of the society we live in. The relationship between the capitalist class and the labor bureaucracy, ordinarily concealed by numberless devices, has to be uncovered as these labor lieutenants of capitalism spring to obey the orders of the ruling class to prepare for war. The AFL and CIO bureaucrats automatically, unquestioningly, endorse the war program and especially its immediate aspects, the gigantic armament program. And Lewis, as the most "left" of the labor bureaucrats, can permit himself no greater liberties than to flirt with the Republicans, to "demand" the acceptance of the candidacy of a cheap capitalist demagogue like Senator Wheeler, and then to mumble something about "considering what to do" if he doesn't get Wheeler.

And if he permits himself no greater liberties than this now, when the country is still at peace, we can imagine how cravenly Lewis will come to heel when the capitalist masters actually embark on war.

To trust Lewis, to lean on Lewis, to expect anything from Lewis, in the coming period of war and social convulsion, would be to deliver the American workers into the hands of their enemies. These are strong words. But unless they become part of the understanding of the American workers, they will run the mortal danger of frittering away the great opportunities which lie ahead, still concealed in the smoke of the battlefields, but there, ahead of us, soon capable of realization.

## The Voorhis Bill

The Smith bill, which became law when Roosevelt signed it on Saturday, sought to outlaw the publishing and other activities of all labor organizations which advocate the overthrow of the government by force or violence, "or by any other means." Now the government is backing a bill, which was adopted without debate Monday by the House, which strikes heavy blows against every labor organization with international affiliations, whether it advocates changes in the government or not.

This new bill, introduced by Congressman Voorhis of California, Roosevelt's spokesman on the Dies Committee, (Dies himself is backing the bill), would make it obligatory for a labor organization to file the names of all officers, the address of all meeting places of branches, the time of meetings and the name and address of any member or contributor to the organization, if the policies of the organization "are determined by or at the suggestion of, or in collaboration with . . . an international political organization."

Ostensibly aimed at the Bund and the Stalinists, these provisions also apply to the Social Democrats, the Socialist party, the CIO (through its participation in the congresses of the Latin-American Federation of Labor), the AFL (as an affiliate of the International Federation of Trade Unions) and, of course, to ourselves as the American section of the Fourth International.

The bill now goes to the Senate. Every labor organization which doesn't want to have its membership lists in the hands of the capitalist class must fight it tooth and nail.

Reads a Richman Brothers clothing ad: "No longer does even a workman need sweater in summer! See now our new summer-weight suits—at prices even workers can afford to pay." How wonderful is the capitalist system—it can provide—sometimes—even the producers some of the product they made!

### STATE OF THE NATION

San Jose, Calif., State college co-eds have organized an "Archshoot club" to deal with any stray parachute troopers. They will use bows and arrows. Some of them explained: "When they come we'll puncture the parachutes, then watch them fall and break their necks."

### PATRIOTISM

E. D. McMahon, San Antonio oil man, says: "One of the greatest immediate dangers is a bottleneck in the defense industries, due to labor laws. Any labor leader who opposed amending our labor laws . . . comes close to being a traitor. And any senator or representative who panders to these labor leaders who would sacrifice the defense of the United States in order to build up their personal power, union dues, etc., is betraying his country."

# AFTER HITLER'S CONQUEST OF FRANCE--WHAT NEXT?

By L. LUND

(This article was written immediately after France had capitulated. Objective conditions have prevented earlier publication.)

In the wake of a number of other and smaller European states, France is being transformed into an oppressed nation. German imperialism has risen to unprecedented military heights, with all the ensuing opportunities for world plunder. What then follows?

From the side of all sorts of semi-internationalists one may expect approximately the following line of argumentation: Successful uprisings in conquered countries, under the Nazi heel, are impossible, because every revolutionary movement will be immediately drowned in blood by the conquerors. There is even less reason to expect a successful uprising in the camp of the totalitarian victors. Favorable conditions for revolution could be created only by the defeat of Hitler and Mussolini. Therefore, nothing remains except to aid England and the United States. Should the Soviet Union join us it would be possible not only to halt Germany's military successes but to deal her heavy military and economic defeats. The further development of the revolution is possible only on this road. And so forth and so on.

### Nothing New In This Argument

This argumentation which appears on the surface to be inspired by the new map of Europe is in reality only an adaptation to the new map of Europe of the old arguments of social patriotism, i.e., class betrayal. Hitler's victory over France has revealed completely the corruption of imperialist democracy, even in the sphere of its own tasks. It cannot be "saved" from fascism. It can only be replaced by proletarian democracy. Should the working class tie up its fate in the present war with the fate of imperialist democracy, it would only assure itself a new series of defeats.

"For victory's sake" England has already found herself obliged to introduce the methods of dictatorship, the primary pre-requisite for which was the renunciation by the Labour Party of any political independence whatsoever. If the international proletariat, in the form of all its organizations and tendencies, were to take to the same road, then this would only facilitate and hasten the victory of the totalitarian regime on a world scale. Under the conditions of the world proletariat renouncing independent politics, an alliance between the USSR and the imperialist democracies would signify the growth of the omnipotence of the Moscow bureaucracy, its further transformation into an agency of imperialism, and its inevitably making concessions to imperialism in the economic sphere. In all likelihood the military position of the various imperialist countries on the world arena would be greatly changed thereby; but the position of the world proletariat, from the standpoint of the tasks of the socialist revolution, would be changed very little.

### Revolution Must Be Prepared For!

In order to create a revolutionary situation, say the sophists of social patriotism, it is necessary to deal Hitler a blow. To gain a victory over Hitler, it is necessary to support the imperialist democracies. But if for the sake of saving the "democracies" the proletariat renounces independent revolutionary politics, just who would utilize a revolutionary situation arising from Hitler's defeat? There has been no lack of revolutionary situations in the last quarter of a century. But there has been lacking a revolutionary party capable of utilizing a revolutionary situation. To renounce the training of a revolutionary party for the sake of provoking a "revolutionary situation" is to lead the workers blindfolded to a massacre.

From the standpoint of a revolution in one's own country the defeat of one's own imperialist government is undoubtedly a "lesser evil." Pseudo-internationalists, however, refuse to apply this principle in relation to the defeated democratic countries. In return, they interpret Hitler's victory not as a relative but as an absolute obstacle in the way of a revolution in Germany. They lie in both instances.

### What the Nazis Now Face

In the defeated countries the position of the masses will immediately become worsened in the extreme. Added to social oppression is national oppression, the main burden of which is likewise borne by the workers. Of all the forms of dictatorship, the totalitarian dictatorship of a foreign conqueror is the most intolerable. At the same

time, to the extent that the Nazis will try to utilize the natural resources and the industrial machinery of the nations defeated by them, the Nazis will themselves become inevitably dependent upon the native peasants and workers. Only after the victory, do economic difficulties always begin. It is impossible to attach a soldier with a rifle to each Polish, Norwegian, Danish, Dutch, Belgian, French worker and peasant. National socialism is without any prescription for transforming defeated peoples from foes into friends.

The experience of the Germans in the Ukraine in 1918 has demonstrated how difficult it is to utilize through military methods the natural wealth and labor power of a defeated people; and how swiftly an army of occupation is demoralized in an atmosphere of universal hostility. These very same processes will develop on a far vaster scale in the European continent under Nazi occupation. One can expect with assurance the rapid transformation of all the conquered countries into powder magazines. The danger is rather this, that the explosions may occur too soon without sufficient preparation and lead to isolated defeats. It is in general impossible, however, to speak of the European and the world revolution without taking into account partial defeats.

Hitler, the conqueror, has naturally day-dreams of becoming the chief executor of the proletarian revolution in any part of Europe. But this does not at all mean that Hitler will be strong enough to deal with the proletarian revolution as he has been able to deal with imperialist democracy. It would be a fatal blunder, unworthy of a revolutionary party, to turn Hitler into a fetish, to exaggerate his power, to overlook the objective limits of his successes and conquests. True enough, Hitler boastfully promises to establish the domination of the German people, at the expense of all Europe and even of the whole world, "for one thousand years." But in all likelihood, this splendor will not endure even for ten years.

We must learn from the lessons of the recent past. Twenty-two years ago not only the defeated countries but also the victors emerged from the war with their economic life disrupted and were able to realize very slowly, to the extent that they realized at all, the economic advantages accruing from victory. Therefore the revolutionary movement assumed very great proportions in the countries of the victorious Entente as well. The only thing lacking was a revolutionary party capable of heading the movement.

### Crisis In Germany Too!

The total, i.e., all-embracing character of the present war excludes the possibility of direct "enrichment" at the expense of the defeated countries. Even in the event of a complete victory over England, Germany in order to maintain her conquests would be compelled in the next few years to assume such economic sacrifices as would far outweigh those advantages which it might draw directly from her victories. The living conditions of the German masses must in any case worsen considerably in the next period. Millions upon millions of victorious soldiers will find on returning to their homeland an even more poverty-stricken home than the one from which they had been torn away by the war. A victory that lowers the living standard of the people does not strengthen a regime but weakens it. The self-confidence of the demobilized soldiers who had scored the greatest victories will have been raised in the extreme. Their betrayed hopes will turn into sharp dissatisfaction and embitterment. On the other hand, the Brown-Shirted caste will rise even higher above the people; its arbitrary rule and profligacy will provoke ever greater hostility. If in the last decade the political pendulum in Germany has, as a result of the impotence of belated democracy and the betrayal of labor parties, swung sharply to the right then, as a result of disillusion in the consequences of the war and of the Nazi regime, the pendulum will now swing even more sharply and decisively to the left. Dissatisfaction, alarm, protests, strikes, armed clashes will again be on the order of the day for Germany. Hitler will have too many worries in Berlin to be able successfully to fulfill the role of executioner in Paris, Brussels or London.

Consequently the task of the revolutionary proletariat does not consist of helping the imperialist armies create a "revolutionary situation" but of preparing, fusing and tempering its international ranks for revolutionary situations of which there will be no lack.

The new war map of Europe does not invalidate the principles of revolutionary class struggle. The Fourth International does not change its course.

# 'Nation' Backs GPU

(Most of the American "liberal" organs which burned their fingers by defending the Stalinist version of the Moscow trials were careful enough not to repeat their performance when the news broke of the attempted assassination of Leon Trotsky. But the weekly "Nation" did repeat its performance, publishing in its June 8 issue an article, "Mexico's Phantom Conspiracy," from its regular Mexican correspondent, Mr. Harry Block. Block said the attack "had all the earmarks of a put-up job" and was at particular pains to absolve the Stalinists.)

### By LEON TROTSKY

I see that the "Nation," which besmirched itself through its attitude in regard to the Moscow judicial frame-ups, has hurried again this time to support the fantastic and stupid versions of the GPU in connection with the attack of May 24. Everyone it seems is guilty, General Almazan,

the "reaction," possibly Trotsky himself—but by no means Stalin.

Meanwhile the Mexican police have uncovered the assassins. They are—by accident—agents of Stalin. . . .

What an infamous reptile breed these radicals of the "Nation"! But they will not escape their punishment: we shall teach the American workers to appreciate them as they deserve—to despise them. Coyoacan, D.F.

### By JOSEPH HANSEN

Who is the author of the "Nation's" article on the attack upon Leon Trotsky? Harry Block is a citizen of the United States. His wife is Malu Cabrera, daughter of the Licenciado Luis Cabrera, a very rich and very reactionary lawyer retained by the oil companies and landlords of Yucatan. At the same time, Harry Block is a close collaborator of Lombardo Toledano, the notorious political agent of the GPU in Mexico. Harry Block is the managing editor of "Futuro," the foul, slan-

derous monthly of Lombardo Toledano. He is also the head of the publishing department of the Stalinist Universidad Obrera. Under orders of the CTM he publishes a special weekly bulletin, "Mexican Labor News," distributed free in the United States.

In the inner staff of Lombardo Toledano the "authority" of Harry Block is based upon the fact that he is considered the agent of the Soviet Embassy in Washington in relations with the CTM. The head of the Soviet agency in Washington is Oumansky, who made his diplomatic career as an agent of the GPU. Consequently Harry Block is the confidential go-between for two agents of the GPU, Oumansky and Lombardo Toledano. No wonder that Harry Block defended the dirty theory of "self-assault" in the pages of such a prostituted magazine as the "Nation."

Meantime the majority of the assassins have been apprehended. All are members of the Communist Party and agents of the GPU. They are the colleagues of Oumansky, Lombardo Toledano, and Harry Block. It will be interesting to learn the reaction of the "Nation's" editorial board now, June 18, 1940

# Rumania Move May Herald Stalin's Policy Switch

By ALBERT GOLDMAN

Taking advantage of Hitler and Mussolini's pre-occupation with their task of dealing a knockout blow to the British Empire, Stalin demanded and obtained the return of Bessarabia, the province which Rumania had seized from the Soviet Union in 1918. The fact that together with Bessarabia Stalin obtained the northern part of Bukovina is almost conclusive evidence that his demands were motivated by a desire to prepare defensive positions against the attack which everyone expects Hitler to launch against the Soviet Union as soon as he is through with or as soon as he makes peace with England.

If it is true that Stalin is also demanding control of the mouth of the Danube it would only strengthen the theory that he is trying to seize as many defensive positions as he possibly can while the seizing is good. To gain control of the Danubian estuary would be bearding Hitler in his den.

Did Hitler know of and acquiesce in Stalin's actions? Speculation is rife as to whether there was an agreement between the two permitting Stalin to take Bessarabia and Bukovina, or whether the latter took what he wanted without asking his "friend" Hitler.

The statement issued by the German Legation in Bucharest to the effect that the occupation of Bessarabia was instigated by Cripps, the British ambassador to Moscow, and was nothing but a British trick to involve the Balkans in the war, conflicts with the attitude of the Berlin officials, which is, that the whole matter is one entirely between the Soviet Union and Rumania. The inference of this difference between Bucharest and Berlin is that Stalin acted without as much as notifying Hitler. This inference is strengthened by the haste with which the Germans in the occupied territories made their exit.

But the answer to the question as to what extent the move into Rumania was made by Stalin with the knowledge and consent of Hitler does not affect its defensive character, that is, that primarily it constitutes a further preparation of Stalin to defend himself against Hitler. The sudden despatch of tens of thousands of troops into Latvia, Lithuania and Estonia a few weeks ago was clear evidence that Hitler's phenomenal success has Stalin considerably worried.

It is the defensive aspect of the move by Stalin, as against Hitler, that will keep the petty-bourgeois democrats of all varieties from going into hysterics and demanding either that the "democracies" take strong action against the Soviet Union or else that the Bessarabian workers take up arms against the Red Army.

When Stalin sent the Red Army into Finland it constituted an invasion of a "small democratic nation" and the petty-bourgeois democrats reacted so violently that they were willing to take up arms to help defeat the Red Army. Some also claimed an intention to use their arms against the Finnish army, but all were for the defeat of the Red Army.

But the petty-bourgeois democrats cannot get all heated up about Rumania as they did about Finland. Although a small country it can hardly be classed as a democracy. We can therefore expect that the "democracies" of all types, while ceremoniously referring to their theory of Stalinist imperialism and of the partnership between Hitler and Stalin to divide the British Empire if not the whole world will, however not raise much of a howl—all of which indicates the democratic roots of their opposition to the Soviet Union.

As for us we shall continue to state that a workers' state has a right and a duty to take advantage of the conflicts and difficulties of the imperialist world in order to extend its base and strengthen its defensive positions. And we shall continue to attack the bureaucratic methods of the bureaucracy of the degenerated workers' state when these methods alienate the sympathies of the working masses and thus nullify the gains made by virtue of the acquisition of territory and defensive outposts. To the Bessarabian workers and peasants we say: Join your brothers in the Soviet Union in the struggle against imperialism and against the Stalinist bureaucracy.

And it becomes clearer with the passing of every day that all of the defensive positions acquired by Stalin cannot possibly compensate for his crime in entering into the pact with Hitler. He thereby not only lost the support of millions of workers who considered the Soviet Union as the champion of the struggle against fascism but he also enabled Hitler to gain complete control over Europe, making certain of an attack by him on the Soviet Union without the slightest fear of any interference by France.

The factor of contending imperialist states on the European scene, a factor of tremendous importance to the safety of the Soviet Union, has been wiped out by the pact and by the consequent victory of Hitler.

That Stalin realizes the danger of his situation is evidenced not only by his movement of troops but by a more or less clearly-indicated change of line on the part of the Stalinist parties, a change of line that has a meaning only if Stalin is cautiously preparing a shift towards the "democracies." For the past two months or so the Stalinists have been attacking German imperialism as well as Allied imperialism and now they have launched a campaign against the Munich men in the English cabinet and for a people's government to continue the struggle against Hitler.

It may not be long before the Stalinists will discover that there has been such a change in the constitution of the English government that to support the "democracies" against Hitler will become the sacred duty of the working masses.

### NOT SAID NOW

"War brings many collateral disasters. Freedom of speech, freedom of the press, suffer. We think we shall be wiser and cooler the next time, if there is one; and we shan't."—Editorial, *New York Times*, August 9, 1929.

Says Raymond Clapper: "We are in a most serious crisis. We do not know at what moment Japan will strike at the Netherlands East Indies, and menace our supply of rubber and tin. If that action comes, we shall have to decide at once, within a few hours, whether to fight or to accept a Munich in the Far East." Step right up, boys, who'll be the first damfool to risk his skin for some rubber and tin?