

TRADE UNION WAGES ON
ALL DEFENSE WORK!

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FRENCH 'DEMOCRATS' TURN FASCIST

Communist Int'l Preparing to Abandon "Anti"-War Policy; Only Workers Can Protect Freedom We Must Fight Its Support of Wall Street's Imperialism

By FELIX MORROW

Panic-stricken by the consequences of the Stalin-Hitler pact which so enormously facilitated German imperialism's conquest of Europe, the Kremlin is embarking on a new orientation—toward an alliance with the imperialist enemies of German imperialism, above all with the United States.

As always in its bargaining with the imperialist powers, the Kremlin is offering the services of the Communist International to those whom it woos. From 1935 until August, 1939, the Kremlin sold the Comintern to "the democracies"; then it sold the Comintern to Hitler along with oil and manganese; and now it is offering the services of this corrupt prostitute to American imperialism.

Each time the Comintern is offered up for sale to the imperialists by the Kremlin's ambassadors, the private negotiations are accompanied publicly by a deliberately-created atmosphere of confusion, of mixing the old line with the new for months, so that the Communist party rank and file cannot see what is happening. The way for the new line is paved by a series of hints which appear buried in the Stalinist press amid shouting along the old line; there is no explicit announcement of the new line as it is brought more and more to the fore; finally step by step it replaces the old line altogether. Thus, step by step, the deceived rank and file of the party is maneuvered from one lout line to a new one.

This time the Stalinist leaders are certain to be more cautious than ever in switching to the new line, for now they must get their followers to leave an avowedly anti-war line for a line of support of American imperialism's foreign policy—and that policy, every child knows, is a war-making policy whether that war policy is carried out by American imperialism and her capitalist satellites alone or whether that policy is also

supported by the Kremlin. Followers of the Kremlin in 1935-1939 could still be deluded to believe that "collective security" was a "peace policy"; they can scarcely be persuaded to accept that at this stage of the war! This difficulty imposes extreme caution on the Stalinist leadership in putting over the new line.

New Line Tried On the Youth

The most explicit statement so far of the latest turn was made Saturday morning, July 6, at the American Youth Congress, by Mac Weiss, head of the Young Communist League. The perplexed delegates—the vast majority of them young YCL and CP members or sympathizers—prepared in their localities for the Congress along the "isolationist" and "pacifist" line, suddenly heard Weiss declare:

"The people of the U.S. must collaborate with Russia to stop Hitler. I want to associate myself with the great mass of American people who feel that the conquests of Hitler represent a serious menace to the United States."

Non-Stalinists immediately pressed Weiss for an explanation of his change of line. All that Weiss could lamely say was: "If there is a change of line, perhaps the explanation should come from those who once favored a moral embargo against Russia and now favor sending Russia tools and machinery."

An extraordinary argument! The Kremlin's foreign policy according to Weiss is in the hands of the White House! Roosevelt's release of some tools and machinery previously ordered by Russia but held up, is enough to cause a reorientation of the Kremlin—and of the Comintern.

Weiss' statement was perplexing, however, only to his own followers. Others had noted the beginnings of a new turn in the resolution on for-

eign policy which had been introduced by the Stalinist fraction and which the Youth Congress adopted (of course) by a vote of 384 to 19.

Instead of a resolution along the line of recent Stalinist agitation—one which would declare unalterable opposition to any war engaged in by a capitalist government of the United States, a denunciation of Roosevelt's "national defense" program, etc.—the Stalinist tops introduced a resolution which said:

"We declare our readiness to contribute to the maximum our energies, our services and IF NEED BE OUR LIVES to the great task of DEFENDING OUR COUNTRY and our democratic rights against any attack of enemies from without and against any betrayal from within, as in France."

Although continuing a perfunctory opposition to compulsory military training, the resolution declared that youth would make the sacrifice required by war "only in a just cause." Stalin and Roosevelt, or Roosevelt's successor, will naturally determine that "just cause."

It is typical of the hypocritical and deceitful Stalinist method of changing political lines that the Stalinist short and casual report on the adoption of this resolution (Sunday Worker, July 7), does not quote the key paragraphs which we have quoted from the resolution.

First Hints of the New Line

The first hint of the new line came on June 16, when France asked for the armistice. Whereupon Israel Amter, addressing the YCL convention that day, declared that the Kremlin's occupation of the Baltic countries "is also furthering the interests of the workers of France and the rest of Europe by weakening Hitler's position on his eastern front." (Daily Worker, June 17).

Three days later William Z. Foster gave the next hint. For seven months the Comintern press—in the democratic countries—had been denouncing the idea of supporting the defense of a capitalist country. Foster himself had been writing little homilies about the responsibility of all capitalists for war and that socialism is the only way out. Now, suddenly, Foster offered "a program of national defense" as opposed to that of Roosevelt. The main point was the demand for a "peoples' democratic government." Foster recalled: "The Communists always vote to furnish arms to such democratic governments, as in the cases of the first popular front government in France, and the democratic people's governments of Spain, China, Mexico, Chile and Cuba." (Daily Worker, June 20).

Foster Recalls Roosevelt Support

This was the first time in seven months that any Stalinist spokesman had recalled the awkward fact that the Stalinists had voted arms to Daladier-Blum. Four days later Foster recalled another fact unmentioned for seven months. He asked the question: "Doesn't Roosevelt's pro-war policy show that the Communist Party was wrong in giving support to the New Deal?" And he answered:

"Our Party had to back up such tendencies as the Roosevelt government was then showing towards a policy of collective security and more democratic relations with the countries of Latin America. This in spite of the fact that Roosevelt was then and is now a defender of capitalism. He has today completely abandoned his reform program and is promoting an imperialist war policy. What our Party supported was not Roosevelt's capitalism, but the pro-

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"Liberty, Equality, Fraternity" Thrown Overboard Without a Splash, Teaching Us Not to Trust Boss Politicians

Republican France is now Fascist France.

The "stout defenders of democracy" are the latest recruits to fascism.

A hastily-scrawled constitution was put through an assembly of docile Deputies and Senators at Vichy on July 9.

By this simple act the Republic of "Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity" was erased from the political map of the continent.

The men who have taken the lead in turning France into a fascist country are the same who only a few weeks ago were among those hailed the world over as the Horatios at the bridge of western civilization.

Pétain was the soldier-hero who came out of retirement at his country's call in the struggle for freedom and democracy.

Weygand was the military genius who all but bared his breast to the legions of the modern Attila. Pierre Laval was the man—you remember—who went to Moscow in 1935 and there made the historic pact with Stalin which was to insure western Europe against the menace of Fascism.

Now They Tell

In our newspapers now we are all reading long and detailed accounts of what villains these men really are. We are being told how they and their associates veritably delivered France into the hands of the enemy. They are—we now learn—nothing but traitors and saboteurs.

But only a few weeks ago the same newspapers told us they were heroes, mighty fighters under the banner of democracy, men who were ready to give their all to keep the dread iron heel of fascism from crushing out the heritage of "liberty" in Europe.

"Democracy" Was A Lie

Both these versions are lies. Politicians and generals are nothing but the servants of the class that rules. Up to yesterday the bosses of France were pleased to use the fictional insignia of "Liberty, Equality and Fraternity" to conceal their naked power. Now things have changed. Having been defeated by a more powerful rival they adapt themselves to him and their first method is to change the form of their rule. It is easy enough for them to erase Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity from their political manuals. They were never anything but words to them.

Now we can see what a thin tissue of lying phrases forms the real content of capitalist democracy so far as the capitalists are concerned! At one stroke they brush them away and the French capitalists, protected from the deceived and betrayed masses by the legions of Hitler, begin to rule without all the mummery of parliaments and hot air about freedom.

The Great Lesson

The lesson for workers everywhere—and above all in the United States—is once more not trust boss politicians and boss clearly taught by events: we can governments to assure us freedom. Unless we act first to secure and protect our own freedom and economic well-being and security, we leave the capitalists free at any time it suits their interest to slap us into the chains of Fascism.

The French workers were told that revolution would open the way to Hitler. They let the bosses stay in power. They got Hitler. They got Fascism. And they got him after they were rendered helpless to resist. That is what we have got to understand and act upon before it is too late.

SEE EDITORIAL

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Behind the Lines

Hints of Appeasement Begin to Come From Roosevelt's Horse's Mouth

by GEORGE STERN

The main effects of Hitler's European victories on U.S. imperialist strategy are already quite plain. The rivalry with Japan for domination of the Pacific area has had to be abandoned, in deed if not in word. The Atlantic, not the Pacific, has become the focus of U.S. war strategy. Finally, against the day when U.S. imperialism will have to fight its rivals both in Asia and in Europe for world domination, this country will have to play somehow for time, for time enough to build the monster two-ocean fleet and air force it needs to meet these formidable rivals of tomorrow.

Consequently we need not share the astonishment and consternation of the liberal know-nothings when hints of appeasement begin to emanate from the sacred portals of Roosevelt's own private offices. Last Saturday morning Stephen Early, the presidential secretary, threw a group of newspaper correspondents into complete confusion when he relayed what he said were some notions of the president about the Monroe Doctrine. The U.S. did not want, he said, to "interfere" with territorial settlements in Asia and Europe arising out of the war. Let the countries of Europe settle their territorial problems and the countries of Asia, theirs.

As the newspapers generally pointed out the next day, this seemed to be saying that Europe should be left to Germany and Asia to Japan, while this hemisphere would be left to the U.S. and everything would be smooth and happy. This smacked like Chamberlain-Daladier appeasement projected on a far vaster scale.

The presidential statement was at such variance with the formal policy still expressed by Hull, especially with respect to the Far East (Indochina and the Dutch East Indies) that Early next day clouded over his previous remarks a little bit by

saying he had failed to stress another presidential point: that all this had to be done "co-operatively" and not by methods of conquest. This did not change very much and observers here, as well as in Berlin and Tokyo, were fully entitled to wonder just what Roosevelt was actually thinking about and whether this new line of policy is soon to replace the present one, in form as well as practice.

Actually the incident would seem rather to reflect the very real confusion that must exist both in Washington and in Wall Street about the course that has to be pursued right now in the sphere of foreign policy. They know they have to discount the defeat of Britain. They know they dare not move against Japan. They know that they may have to compete with Hitler for Stalin's partnership before very long. They also know that they need at the least two years—more probably five—to arm themselves adequately enough for the big jobs they have set for themselves in the future.

At the same time they have to face the fact that they may not have so much time, that they may not be able to dictate the circumstances or the tempo of the rapidly unfolding world struggle, that a decision may be forced upon them one way or another before they are ready for it.

It must have been out of a conversation along these lines that the Roosevelt-Early remarks emerged. They reflect the process of change rather than any definite change that has already taken place. The fact that Roosevelt, upon returning to Washington from Hyde Park, called the Commander-in-Chief of the fleet back from Hawaii and consulted with the chief of staff of the armed forces in the Philippines, showed that these problems are still being weighed from all angles.

GOV'T TAKING APPLICATIONS IN JOB-TRAINING

"Locked-Out" Generation Flood Employment Stations

Over 5,000 workers attempted to register here Monday for government-controlled training in the skilled trades. All the unemployed were turned away and only those now working in machine shops were permitted to register.

Courses in auto and aviation mechanics, welding, sheet metal work, radio and pattern making were to start this week, as part of the federal drive to train additional skilled workers for war industries.

The entire project is part of the program of the National Defense Commission and is being financed by a \$1,000,000 federal appropriation. The project is under the formal supervision of the federal Bureau of Education, but is to be administered in the different localities by the state, county and city Boards of Education.

Daily newspapers carried misleading stories that the bulk of the trainees are to come from the unemployed. According to the statements of the officials in charge of the registration in New York, however, the unemployed will be the last group to be admitted, and in the smallest proportion. The first group to be admitted are those working at present in machine shops. The second will be taken from other shops which use power machinery. The third group are those who are employed in any industry, and who have had previous experience in one of the first two categories. The unemployed come last.

In New York, which is the first city to get the program under way, registration takes place at 131 Livingston Street, Brooklyn. Unemployed workers must register first with the State Employment Service and will be notified when they will be admitted.

Demand Decent Pay For 'Defense' Jobs!

Hearings of the Senate Military Affairs Committee on the compulsory military training bill introduced in the Senate by Democrat Burke and in the House by Republican Wadsworth, have so far developed one difference of opinion.

The bill provides for paying conscripts \$5 a month for the eight months of training, and an array of big businessmen and militarists have insisted that this provision should stand.

Typical of these gentlemen is Julius Ochs Adler, owner of the New York Times who, these days, is always referred to by the title of "colonel." Colonel Adler was shocked at the idea that anybody wouldn't think \$5 a month was enough: "patriotism," etc., etc.

Others, and it may be that the Army will take this position when its representatives appear at the hearings, say the conscripts should get the prevailing army pay of \$21 a month.

So that the difference of opinion among these gentlemen: \$5 or \$21 a month for an eight month period of military service.

At least one million skilled mechanics are going to be taken away from their civilian jobs and put to work in the ground crews for the air force. In the case of these men the government cannot even pretend that they are going to learn a trade during the conscription period. The men will be doing work along their usual line—except that they will get \$5 a month for it, or maybe \$21 a month.

The government will be repeating here what it is already doing with WPA workers: putting them to work at the WPA coolie wages doing tasks which, under the regular civil service statutes and the Walsh-Healey Act, would have to be paid for at trade union wage-scales.

The government is behaving like the worst chiselling boss.

Labor must answer:

All work on the "defense" program must be done at trade union wage-scales and under trade union conditions!

A \$30 weekly minimum for all workers conscripted under the defense program!

STALINISTS IN ALIBI HUNT FOR TROTSKY ATTACK

C.P. Members Acted "Personally," Says C.P. Statement

MEXICO CITY, July 3—Stalinist strategy in disclaiming responsibility for the attempted assassination of Leon Trotsky and the murder of Trotsky's secretary, Robert Sheldon Harte, this week takes the following forms:

1. That those found responsible are (a) not members of the Communist party or (b) those who are members of the Communist party were in the attack purely as individuals.

This line of defense is formulated in the latest official statement of the Communist party of Mexico, a declaration of its political bureau, in its organ, "La Voz de Mexico," June 30, as follows:

"David Alfaro Siqueiros, who appears to be responsible for the assault, is not a member of the Communist party of Mexico. Neither are [Siqueiros' aides] Antonio Pujol, or Luis and Leopoldo Arenal.

"The declarations of those under arrest establish clearly their personal responsibility; but not that of the Communist party."

2. Defense of the innocence of David Serrano and Luis Mateos Martinez, two of those arrested, and two whom by no stretch of facts can the Communist party disclaim, for Serrano is a member of its Central Committee and Martinez a figure among the teachers.

The same issue of "La Voz de Mexico" carries a list of Stalinist-controlled organizations which have protested to the government against imprisonment of Serrano and Martinez because "there has not been established their participation in the assault."

This part of the Stalinist strategy may be in the process of being abandoned, for the June 30 statement of the political bureau does not even mention by name Martinez and

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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.

Describe Workers' Sentiment In Buffalo

Editor:

If you can be sure of any general opinion at all today it is that the vast majority of poor people do not want to go to war. (Needless to say, there are more poor than rich). How many men are saying that their fingers itch to get hold of a gun and shoot the "dirty Germans"? With all the unemployment, the poverty and gray desolation that so many people have to endure, you'd think a lot of them might fall for the lies about the adventure in a war—or maybe they might decide that joining the army would be a good way to commit suicide and get a dollar a day besides... while they lived.

Yes, you would think this. But they don't enlist. The fact is the fact.

A lot of people don't even think the U.S. is going to war. They think we of the SWP are agitators or well-meaning trouble-makers. Workers who are Republicans or Democrats say that of course they are opposed to going to war. But they are sure that their "leaders" will "keep us out." They may not know just why wars are fought, but nearly every worker agrees that to advertise this affair to the world was: "75 YEARS OF NEGRO PROGRESS EXPOSITION." I was fortunate (really unfortunate from the financial point of view) to have a concession in this Exposition. I spoke to innumerable Negroes and the term Negro—was used—EXCLUSIVELY. To change this term would be a mistake in my opinion. The use of the word "question" is quite another thing. It should in my opinion be changed. To what? To "The Negro Struggle." For that's precisely what it is, their STRUGGLE. Their "question" is the same as the question as the entire working class. But their struggle takes on different forms, is more varied, reflecting their particular status in the home country and in the colonies.

I enjoy reading your column very much. Keep up with the good work.

Detroit, Mich.

L.B.

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'Communist' Int'l Prepares to Change Its "Anti"-War Policy

(Continued from Page 1)

gressive measures and concessions in his program." (DAILY WORKER, June 24). Why should Foster recall this? For no other reason than to pave the way for again supporting Roosevelt or his successor.

Browder Reprints Embargo Demand!

Three days later came a really broad hint, in the form of the reprinting by the Daily Worker, June 27, of an article by Earl Browder dated October 11, 1938, i.e., when the Comintern had been on the "peoples' front" line. The article includes, among others, these significant paragraphs:

"Thus the menace of fascism, hitherto considered by the U.S. as primarily a European problem, becomes world-wide and directly strikes against the national interests of the U.S.A. and against American democracy. . . . 'Hitler has long been fighting against America's influence in Latin America by means of economic and trade war. United States laws already provide weapons of economic self-defense against such aggression by means of raising customs duties or placing an embargo on trade with the offending nation. These laws have not been applied to Hitler Germany. A mass demand for an embargo against Hitler Germany must be raised, with motives of American self-defense pressed equally with those of solidarity with the victims of violent aggression.'"

Why is Browder's demand for governmental action against Germany reprinted now? Because that will be the line shortly. Not merely for an embargo now—that is already pointless—but for the only further governmental action possible—war.

The unfolding of the new Stalinist line has gone on, of course, not only here but in Latin America and Europe. As a matter of fact the very first hint of the new line came in Mexico, a month ago, when Lombardo Toledano, front for the Stalinists, suddenly made a pro-Ally speech after six months of preaching the Stalinist line against the "democracies."

British Stalinists Now Pro-War

In England the new line is already much further advanced than here. On June 22 the British Communist party issued a manifesto which dropped all mention of the "stop the war now" slogan which previously had been the chief slogan of both the French and British parties, and instead raised the cry for ousting of all "Munich-

men" from the government, i.e., the formation of a government which would fight the war to the end. The manifesto was naturally adorned with the usual "radical" embroidery to make the demand sound "revolutionary."—nationalization of industry, etc.—but that they are merely embroidery is indicated by the dispatches from London subsequently published in the Daily Worker, reporting resolutions adopted by the British unions along the new line: all they ask for at bottom is removal of the Chamberlain wing of the Conservative party.

In a word, the Comintern is now being sold to the "democracies" again. Tomorrow the Stalinist spokesmen will be swearing that they have never changed. Tomorrow? Pardon me. Already today, Oakley Johnson writing on the capitulation of France, says: "The Communists, on the contrary, fought like tigers to stop Hitler, as they have been fighting to stop him for seven years. Thorez in France—like Browder in the U.S., like Thaelmann in Germany before 1933—fought against Hitler, against Hitler's appeasers, against Hitler's imitators." (Sunday Worker, July 7). And the day after, Oakley Johnson and similar hirelings will swear that Stalin never made a pact with Hitler!

Fight the New Betrayal!

In Europe, where the counter-revolutionary consequences of the Stalin-Hitler pact and the Comintern line it dictated were plain to see, the best of the militant workers left the Stalinist parties. In America, however, it was mainly the petty-bourgeois elements who then broke with the Communist party under the pressure of bourgeois-democratic opinion. On the other hand the militant workers in the party closed their eyes to the pact and welcomed eagerly the "anti-war" aspects of the turn away from the democracies. At least, they thought, the American Communist party will fight against U.S. entry into the war.

Now these militants will have a rude awakening. They will now be called upon to abandon the "anti-war" line and adopt a line supporting American imperialism. The bureaucrats will welcome the new line, for it will mean a halt to conflict with the bourgeois-democratic opinion. But the many militants in the Communist party have no desire to end their conflict with bourgeois-democratic opinion; they joined the Communist party precisely because they want to fight the bourgeoisie.

We must warn these workers in time of the new betrayal which is being planned. We must help them stand firm against support of American imperialism and its war policy.

Trade Unions Urged To Start Military Training Under Its Control

(The following letter urging the trade unions to undertake military training is a proposal with which we are fully in agreement. We welcome letters from workers commenting on its proposals—Editor.)

Editor:

Two weeks ago a Major from the War Department spoke before the American Legion Post in the town near here where I live and urged them to form a Home Guard to defend this locality against potential enemies and invaders. According to this Army spokesman, the War Department was making the same request of veteran's organizations all over the country.

This week another meeting is going to be held to launch the organization of a Home Guard under the direction of the local Legion Post. One of the leading Legionnaires is acting as recruiting officer. This Home Guard has already become the pet project of the members of the Legion here. This creates a very serious situation. Most of the Legion officers are the worst type of reactionaries, small business men who vote Republican, labor-haters. Now these men are organizing an armed group which is going to function legally and openly in our midst with government aid and blessing and with public approval.

In the last World War we had a Defense unit like this one here. It held regular weekly meetings, drilled in a local hall, and rehearsed such emergency activities as guarding railroad bridges, etc. Like the other Home Guards, it was never called on for any serious defense work. But in many places, if you will remember, these local Defense groups were instrumental in organizing and leading armed mobs which terrorized "labor agitators, wobblers, and reds," and even lynched workers.

It's impossible to prevent the formation of these Home Guards. The forces behind the movement are too powerful and they are being sold to the people as purely defense bodies. The workers are taken in by this argument and don't always recognize what a threat to themselves these Home Guards may be. One veteran said to me: "I wouldn't go over there again to fight, but what's wrong with being ready to defend ourselves here against the Fascists?" There ought to be some way

of warning the workers against the potential danger represented by these Legion-controlled groups and at the same time preparing them to protect themselves against Fascist elements at home and abroad. Is there any reason why local unions can't take advantage of the present defense drive for this purpose? Why should organized workers leave the job of defending their lives and their homes entirely to people who have shown themselves to be hostile to labor in the past? Why can't local unions have their own Home Defense Guards? Trade unions have as much legal right to form defense units and have military training camps and rifle clubs as veterans' organizations. The American Legion and the Veterans of Foreign Wars are not government bodies but independent voluntary organizations. Unions of workers ought to have the same privileges as unions of veterans.

It's easy to see why the War Department deliberately places this defense movement in charge of the Legion Posts. It is not so much because these are veterans' organizations but because in most places they are composed and controlled by super-patriotic reactionaries. Instead of permitting the Legionnaires to monopolize this defense movement, the trade unions ought to take the initiative in setting up defense units under their own auspices. They should ask the government for the same kind of aid as the Legion Posts are being given. They should obtain arms and equipment, training camps, drilling halls, and technical assistance from the War Department.

If any corporation should try to use the Legionnaires' Home Guards against the workers in a strike situation, the unions would have reliable units of their own to defend their rights. But in that case the bosses wouldn't be so likely to try it.

This idea could be adopted on a state and national scale. Last week eight hundred men from this district went to Plattsburgh, New York, for a month of military training. There's not a worker in the lot. In the first place, the War Department has specifically designated Plattsburgh as "the business-men's camp." And in the second place, what worker can afford to pay the government for a month's

military training, as these men are doing?

Here are big business men training themselves, with the aid and encouragement of the War Department, to become officers in their private training camps. These class-conscious big shots want to be in a position to order the workers about when they get them in the army just as they boss them during peace time. Why should the workers allow them to get away with this?

How about some Workers' Plattsburghs? The workers have the same right to officers' training camps as business and professional men. Just as local unions and City Centrals ought to form their Defense Guards, so the state bodies and national unions should have officers' training schools and camps where their members can learn how to handle modern military and mechanized equipment under the direction of their own organizations. The War Department, I notice, has announced plans for more training camps for mature men during September. Why can't the trade unions take over some of them?

I realize that these suggestions may offend the anti-war feelings of many workers. I know that the working people are going to get an even worse deal in this rotten war than they got in the last, and that they can't expect anything better from their bosses now. But this proposal is not pro-war at all.

We have to be realistic about the situation. Here are reactionaries organizing local forces, here are business executives training themselves for officers' positions. The workers would be foolish to ignore these activities. At least they can use them for their own benefit by training themselves for the inevitable conflicts. Whether they'll have to fight for their bosses tomorrow or for themselves the day after, they'll need the best military training.

The workers ought to take a tip from the big shots and the local reactionaries, who are getting ready for the coming war in their own way and in their own interests. The organized workers should do the same thing and not leave the defense of their interests in the hands of their worst enemies.

I'd like to know what you think about these ideas.
Fraternally,
Bridgeport, Conn. W.F.W.

"National Emergency" A Good Excuse For Anti-Labor Laws

McKEESPORT, Pa. — The city council has found the "national defense" emergency to be a good excuse for adopting ten "war-time" ordinances, anti-labor to the core, which the council's own city counselor had advised were unconstitutional.

The council followed the advice of an American Legion spokesman who insisted that the ordinances be adopted "regardless of the constitution."

Among the ordinances are: permits for public meetings to be issued only if the Mayor thinks they would "not be detrimental to the public interests"; distributors of leaflets must give police their fingerprints and Bertillon measurements; hotel and rooming house owners must give the police a short history of all non-residents of McKeesport who remain in town more than 24 hours.

WHAT SAILORS ARE THINKING ABOUT THE WAR

By G. LORD

Having just been paid off after a coastwise voyage to the West Indies and up the east coast, I found the comments of my fellow sailors and other seamen indicative, not of the current war propaganda dished out by the Roosevelt war machine, but rather a live expression of the anti-war sentiments of the entire merchant marine.

I do not say that the seafaring workers are unanimously against the war (there are many jingoos among them), but rather that the large majority of them, for different reasons and with different degrees of intensity, feel that the United States' entry into the war can only bring bad times to the seafaring man.

On the particular vessel of which I speak, there were two exceptions to the general sentiment on board, and significantly these two men were of the licensed personnel—two blue-nose Nova Scotian officers.

The following are individual comments, selected at random, of members of the crew, and of the licensed personnel:

Bosun: If we go in, they'll hogtie the sailors to the Maritime Commission and wipe out the unions. The only way to stop that is to tie up all the ships on all the coasts when they try to spike us.

Oiler: England wants to fight this war to the last American.

Ord. Seaman: What's this war about? I see the Frogs and Limeys are banging hell out of each other now. Will we end up battling the Limeys and Hitler? Who gets the gravy?

A.B.: I was in the last war fighting for democracy and came back to find my job missing. If we go into this I won't bite again. This Hitler wrecked the Heinies unions, but if we go to fight him they'll wreck the unions here. No, sir. This war's no good for the sailors. Democracy begins at home.

1st Mate: We've got to help the British defeat Hitler at all costs. You sailors may not know it, but you're sabotaging America's aid to the Allies by asking for increases. Don't you want to help England in her hour of need? Every good American would give up something if he loved his country. We must help England.

2nd Asst. Eng.: The Heinies are no good. We've got to wipe out Hitler and the Dutchmen once and for all. Too bad we didn't do a better job last time.

Fireman: The Limeys will fight to the last Ally (this in its various forms is a constant refrain).

No, the seaman hasn't as yet got the revolutionist's position on the war, but one sure thing is that in the main, he's against participation in this war, and feels strongly in his opposition to it. This in spite of the constant propaganda and jingoism that he's subjected to in his daily life, on the radio and on shore. The seaman wants no war.

In AKRON, O.

the APPEAL may be obtained at:

NEWS EXCHANGE,
51 S. Main St.

PORTAGE CIGARS,
Cor. Howard & West Market

Party Statement On Press-Org. Fund

Unforeseen additional expenses of publication, and delay of many branches in completing their quotas, have made it impossible to accumulate the necessary reserve fund to resume publication of the twice-a-week Appeal as planned. In addition, a serious emergency arose requiring the party to turn its attention to the solution of an unexpected problem requiring large expenditures. For these reasons the National Committee has been compelled to abandon for the present the plan of publishing the Appeal twice-a-week.

As things stand now, we will have to strain every nerve to keep the weekly going and to carry through our organizational program. All branches and individual members are requested to collect and send in every penny of the outstanding pledges for the organization-press fund.

NATIONAL COMMITTEE

SCOREBOARD

| Branch | Pledged | Paid | % |
|------------------|------------------|------------------|--------------|
| Chicago | \$ 100.00 | \$ 110.00 | 110 |
| Uptate New York | 50.00 | 50.00 | 100 |
| Akron | 10.00 | 10.00 | 100 |
| Rockville | 5.00 | 5.00 | 100 |
| Texas | 5.00 | 5.00 | 100 |
| St. Paul | 200.00 | 200.00 | 100 |
| Flint | 105.00 | 105.00 | 100 |
| Detroit | 75.00 | 75.00 | 100 |
| Portland | 7.50 | 7.50 | 100 |
| Lynn | 50.00 | 50.00 | 100 |
| Buffalo | 5.00 | 5.00 | 100 |
| Boston | 177.00 | 169.00 | 95 |
| Toledo | 40.00 | 33.50 | 84 |
| Maritime Workers | 780.00 | 645.00 | 83 |
| Baltimore | 25.00 | 20.00 | 80 |
| Indianapolis | 10.00 | 8.00 | 80 |
| Newark | 100.00 | 79.70 | 80 |
| Los Angeles | 100.00 | 78.50 | 78 |
| Minneapolis | 300.00 | 200.00 | 67 |
| Philadelphia | 25.00 | 13.00 | 52 |
| East Chicago | 50.00 | 25.00 | 50 |
| New York City | 950.00 | 422.00 | 44 |
| San Francisco | 100.00 | 35.00 | 35 |
| New Haven | 55.00 | 18.50 | 34 |
| National Office | 550.00 | 53.20 | 10 |
| Omaha | 25.00 | 0.00 | 0 |
| Seattle | 15.00 | 0.00 | 0 |
| Oakland | 10.00 | 0.00 | 0 |
| Lorain | 5.00 | 0.00 | 0 |
| TOTAL | \$3929.50 | \$2422.90 | 62.0% |

Need of Labor Party Seen in Ohio

YOUNGSTOWN, Ohio—For a striking illustration of the need for a Labor Party, the political situation of Ohio presents a clear picture.

The Republican state administration has earned the enmity of all sections of the labor movement, not only because of Governor Bricker's refusal to help the starving workers of Cleveland and other cities last winter but also because the legislative record of his administration has been one of continuous efforts to emasculate previous legislation which had been favorable to the workers.

On the other hand the Democratic primary last month selected Martin Davey as candidate for Governor. His name is etched in the blood of the steel workers shot down by his national guardsmen in the "Little Steel" strike of 1937. Since that time any speaker at a labor gathering had only to mention Davey to get a response of boos and cat-calls.

Not one candidate in either the Republican or Democratic parties who received the support of labor won the nomination. Even William Whetso, a Democratic candidate for the office of Lieutenant Governor, a man holding a card in the machinists union and having a good labor record, supported by the CIO and the AFL as well as the Railroad Brotherhoods, was defeated. While in Youngstown, Ralph Elser, the sheriff who deputized company gunmen to shoot down the steel strikers in 1937, won the Democratic nomination for Sheriff against other candidates supported by labor!

WORKERS BOYCOTT PRIMARIES, WANT OWN PARTY

What the union leaders fail to realize is that the rank and file of their membership is fed up with both the old parties and are showing this disgust by not taking any particular interest in the primary elections. The workers want no mere "friends of labor." They want REPRESENTATIVES of labor, running as independent labor candidates with no strings attached to the political machine of the Republican and Democratic state bosses.

Nor would it be difficult to organize such a movement. Local conferences followed by statewide gatherings sponsored by progressive union leaders would find a quick and ready response in the AFL as well as the CIO and Railroad Brotherhoods.

The very real threat of America's entry into the robber's war abroad makes it all the more necessary for the workers to create an independent labor party.

The workers see that it is Davey and Governor Bricker and the other politicians who have fought the onward march of labor who today are urging "national unity." To all these boss politicians, tools of big business, the preparedness drive signifies above all the opportunity to scrap all the remaining bits of legislation which in any way hindered their desire to lower the living standards of the workers. On the altar of national defense will be sacrificed the gains of many years of hard fought battles by the workers for a decent living. Already before America has declared war we find that in every strike the issue of "interfering with national defense" is raised, as in the shipyard workers strike, and in the negotiations of the auto workers with G.M.

There is one act of treachery being prepared at the present time which when it becomes known openly to the thousands of union men in the state will produce a real explosion. It is reliably reported that John Owens and other top bureaucrats of the CIO have made peace with Davey and are going to try to sell him to their membership.

As for the AFL, already Mike Lyden, President of the Ohio State Federation of Labor, AFL, has appeared at pre-primary election rallies for Davey for Governor. Whether this double-cross of the workers will succeed or not depends on how impressive the rank-and-file can make their protests. There is only one real way that this protest can be made effective, that is that decisive steps be taken immediately to organize an independent labor party.

The Negro Question

by Robert L. Birchman

Conditions of Florida Negro Drivers

The Negro taxi drivers of Jacksonville, Florida, have formed a Transport Workers Union. The 175 drivers work for the Lincoln and New Deal companies, the only ones that provide taxi service for Negroes.

The union has made a survey of the living and working conditions of the men. The survey shows that the men work 12 hours daily, seven days a week with no time off for holidays. Their average wage is \$10 a week or approximately 12 cents for each hour they work.

The Negro taxi driver pays a daily rental of \$3.50 for the use of a cab, and he must buy his gasoline from the company at a price of 19½ cents a gallon. In contrast to this the white drivers rent their cabs for \$3.35 a day and pay 18 cents for gasoline. Drivers of both races use taxis of the same type, offer the same service and charge the same for their services, 10 cents per passenger.

The union reports that two-thirds of its members are married men with an average family of five. The average rent paid for an apartment is \$3 a week. Because of the heavy demands on their small salaries, the men have little to spend on proper food for their children, medical care, clothing and recreation.

If a driver fails to report for work on account of illness or some other reason, he must pay the company \$3.50 for each day he misses.

The union aims to transform these conditions. This is one more incident of the growth of unionism among the Negro workers in the South. But in order to really succeed, this union—now independent—must seek affiliation with the organized drivers on a national scale and bring about solidarity between the Negro and white drivers in order to solve the common problems that face both. Only on the basis of such unity and with the support of organized labor nationally can they hope to successfully secure better wages and working conditions.

A Negro Paper on Africa

The July 6 Chicago Defender in an editorial "Africa Changes Hands" states in part:

"Yes, Africa is the spoil of the imperialist robbers, whether they be French, German, Italian or English. Now it goes to Italy. After the last war the loot went to France and England.

"Are there black men who cannot yet see that a free Africa will come only with the defeat of all the imperialists? Is this not now clear?"

"The Negro people the world over can only hope for the defeat of both imperialist groups. There is no choice between them. Both are bad."

Republicans and the Negro

The plank in the Republican platform on the Negro is but a mere jumble of words promising much but not telling in the least how the Negro people can secure "a square deal in the economic and political life of the nation."

The Pittsburgh Courier (July 6) comments on the plank:

"It is axiomatic that political party platforms are traditionally honored in the breach and that after election day they are promptly forgotten in the general scramble for political spoils. . . .

"It is stated that discrimination in government departments 'must cease,' but not that it 'SHALL cease,' which is something quite different: the former being a statement of conviction; the latter a statement of intention.

"The statement on universal suffrage is, as it stands, a mere platitude which even Negrophobes might accept in principle."

Roy Wilkins in his column "Watchtower" in the Amsterdam News (July 6), comments:

"Does the platform promise that the Republican party will do anything to improve the lot of the Negro? What does the vague phrase 'economic and political life' mean? Are the Republicans, who have controlled vast enterprises, now pledging their party to see that the Negro gets employment and opportunity to rise without restriction as to color? Of course they are not. The Big Business men of this country, many thousands of whom are to be found in the Republican party, have kept the doors of employment tightly shut in the faces of Negro workers. . . .

"Suffrage? Wasn't it a Republican President who spoke at Elizabethton, Tenn., and told the South that there was 'an insuperable difference between the races,' and by this statement said in effect that the GOP would let the South handle the Negro as it saw fit?"

The Republican platform has in every election year from 1920 on had a plank in its platform, either urging or recommending the passage of an anti-lynch bill but at no time have they fought for the adoption of such legislation.

Wilkins continues: "Except for the Negro dyed-in-the-wool Republicans or those on the party payroll, Wilkie and the GOP are going to have a hard time convincing the brother.

"But the Democrats who meet in Chicago in a few days have not got the brother hogtied either. . . . the balance sheet will show that the New Deal, while improving the Negroes lot in many respects has not done as well as it could.

"It would seem that a high school boy could write a better platform than that of the Republicans, but the Democrats may fool us and write a worse one, especially the plank on the Negro."

The record of both the Republican and Democratic parties, is one of mere lip service as far as the interests of the Negro people and the workers of the country are concerned. It could be nothing else, since they are the political representatives of capitalism—America's Sixty Families.

The only way for the Negro people to end Jim-crowism, lynching, job-discrimination, etc., is to join hands with the working class in building their own party—a party that will have as its aim the abolition of the capitalist system, which is the cause of all the economic, social and political problems of the Negro people. Only such a party will secure full economic, political and social equality for the Negro.

What Really Happened In France?

THE "NEW LEADER" INVENTS SOME FACTS TO FIT ITS THEORY OF DEMOCRACY

"We Feared You More Than We Feared Hitler"

During the unfolding of the complete story of the French capitulation, the New Leader, organ of the Social Democratic Federation, has provided us each week with an astonishing example of sheer desperation in politics. How explain the surrender? How explain it, that is to say, in terms of the mythology, to which the New Leader subscribes, that the Second Imperialist World War is an ideological war between democracy and fascism?

The first explanation offered by the New Leader, before the main circumstances of the surrender became known and at a time when it could still plausibly speak of the French defeat as mainly a matter of overwhelming technical superiority of the Nazis, was that it was the fault of the 40-hour week and other social concessions of the Popular Front governments. Incredible as it may seem, this "socialist" paper devoted its leading article (by Willy Schlamm, graduate of Muenzenberg's Stalinist school of corruption and hence an obvious choice for leader-writer of a Social Democratic paper) to such an interpretation. Anything rather than to question the nature of bourgeois democracy!

That interpretation was too much for even the trained stomach of New Leader columnist Charles Yale Harrison (he has not yet had the opportunity to help betray a people into the hands of fascism, like Schlamm, and is therefore not as hardened). Harrison wrote a protesting column. During that week moreover came the first details of the circumstances of the French capitulation. Schlamm's interpretation was therefore dropped by the New Leader though without repudiating it. Then came a new interpretation, even more astounding. To realize how astounding, one must first summarize the facts which have now emerged, assess their meaning—and then read the New Leader.

WEYGAND'S ARGUMENT FOR SURRENDER WAS POLITICAL

Weygand, appointed by the "liberal" Reynaud government to replace the "defeatist" Gamelin, had scarcely concluded reorganizing the army before he demanded of the cabinet, June 15, an end to the war. His argument was primarily not military but political, i.e., the class-struggle politics of the French bourgeoisie. The defeats had engendered unrest among the French masses, and the developing situation was likened by Weygand to the situation in Russia in 1917: military defeats and unrest eventually culminating in proletarian revolt. "It must not come to that," Weygand said. How prevent it? Not, naturally, by surrendering to a revolt of the French workers. Instead surrender to Hitler, and thereby (with Hitler's blessing) save the remaining French armies to "maintain order and quiet in the country."

Weygand's argument was one which the cabinet understood very well. "Civil peace"—cessation of struggle between the workers and the capitalists—is a slogan very useful to the bourgeoisie in arranging, through traitors like Blum and Jouhaux, to chain the workers to the war machine. But the bourgeoisie itself never practices civil peace; it uses wars as the occasion to intensify its struggle against the workers at home; in the name of "national defense" the French bourgeoisie, first through the cabinet of Daladier, then through that of Reynaud, had outlawed the biggest of the workers' parties, dissolved hundreds of trade unions, arrested thousands of workers' militants, wiped out every vestige of trade union control of hours and wages. And now that further consequences of the war itself might revive working class activity, the bourgeoisie preferred to abandon the war, to surrender to the foreign invader rather than to make any concessions to the workers at home. "The main enemy is at home" is and always has been the slogan of the bourgeoisie toward the workers.

WHY REYNAUD AGREED TO GIVE WAY TO PETAIN

Weygand's argument therefore won a majority in the cabinet. Nor did the minority, of Reynaud and his associates, carry the argument any further. Had Reynaud thought the issue sufficiently important his course was clearly indicated: to denounce the capitulators as traitors to France, to refuse to yield to them, to convene the Chamber of Deputies and appeal to it for a majority against Weygand-Pétain-Chau-

temps, and to ensure a majority in the Chamber by rousing all France against surrender. But to rouse all France—that meant to rouse the French proletariat, to join with the workers against the powerful and authoritative section of the bourgeoisie for which Weygand-Pétain were speaking—that meant to precipitate precisely that great and decisive struggle between bourgeoisie and proletariat which Weygand was seeking to avoid by surrendering to Hitler and getting Nazi bayonets to help hold down the French workers. Faced therefore with only two alternatives—either join the capitulators, by quietly resigning without convening the Chamber and by acquiescing in the formation of a government of capitulation headed by Pétain.

CAPITULATION MEANT NOT PEACE, BUT CHANGING SIDES!

Once the regroupment of the bourgeoisie around the Pétain-Laval cabinet had been completed, the full implications of the capitulation became clear. It was not to be the retirement of France from the war; by no means. It was to be the switching of France from the side of Britain to the side of Hitler.

How could those who had been fighting this war, as the New Leader had assured us, for the sake of democracy against fascism, now join Hitler? For that is what they did. If it had become impossible for the French democracy to continue the fight within the borders of France, there was nothing to prevent the French democracy from keeping the navy and the colonies in the war—if it was fighting for democracy.

It could have been easily arranged. If necessary the government could have formally abided by the armistice provisions, ordered the navy to return to France and the colonies to cease fighting, while privately arranging for the navy and the colonial governments to join the British in continuing the war. It could easily have been done—if the French bourgeoisie had been fighting for democracy, as the New Leader assures us.

But nothing of the sort happened. Instead we have witnessed a demonstration of the complete solidarity of the French bourgeoisie. The colonial governments to a man have obeyed the cabinet at Vichy. The navy obeyed, going to the length of fighting a great naval battle with the British at Oran, Algeria, rather than accept the alternatives of joining the British, being interned in British ports or scuttling their ships.

The French "National Committee" in London cannot claim the adherence of a single representative figure of the bourgeoisie! Scarcely, indeed, has any class been as united as is the French bourgeoisie today in its new regroupment around the Pétain-Laval government. United for fascism and for collaboration with Hitler.

ORAN A MIRROR OF THE FRENCH EVENTS

That dramatic clash at Oran deserves a closer glance. The armed forces are always a reflection of the class relations existing in a country. The officer caste is a carefully selected and trained body, class-conscious to the core. Admiral Gensoul was able to secure the carrying out of the orders of Pétain-Laval only because these orders were recognized as truly authoritative by the fleet's officer body and because these orders corresponded with their deepest convictions concerning the needs of French bourgeois policy. Otherwise they could not possibly have agreed to enter a battle in which many of them died, and which they could have avoided to the plaudits of the British and American bourgeoisie.

And the rank and file of the fleet, a thousand of whom died in the battle? They certainly did not share the outlook of the officer caste. On the contrary, they were either class-conscious workers opposed to all the imperialists in this war or, if not, they were workers who had accepted the democratic mythology and did not want to turn the ships over to Hitler-dominated French ports. Why could they not prevent the officers from carrying out the Pétain-Laval orders?

Because for years the big workers' parties had mis-educated them into the impotence of this terrible moment. From 1935 on the Stalinist party had preached "national unity," i.e., obedience to the officers; and when the party had somersaulted after the war began, its belated reversal was completely compromised by Stalin's pro-Hitler orientation. The "socialists" of course preached obedience to law and order, consequently to officers, for aye and forever. For five years the two big workers' parties had thus joined hands to extirpate all thought of sailors' committees, of proletarian revolt. The result came at Oran when, in the face of all their beliefs, the sailors nevertheless obeyed their officers. And this was in the navy, where—it is manned by trained workers primarily—the specific weight of the proletariat is far higher than in the army. All the more certain, therefore, was it

unlikely for the soldiers to revolt at this moment either in the colonies or in France. Here, indeed, was the final consequence of "national unity" for the sake of the war for democracy against fascism: worker-sailors and soldiers obeying a fascist-oriented government.

CLASSICAL EXAMPLE OF TRANSITION TO FASCISM

All the facts are clear. Indeed, seldom has a great historical event been less complicated by cross-currents and side-eddies. The capitulation of French democracy will go down in history as the classical example of the facility with which bourgeois democracy turns into its "opposite," fascism, when the bourgeoisie finds it necessary. In this case is revealed the absurdity of the phrase, "fifth column," with all its operative implications of secret conspiracy in the dark of the moon. What happened in France was the reorientation and regroupment of the entire bourgeoisie. It becomes a screaming absurdity henceforth to talk of any bourgeoisie going to war for democracy.

All this is clear, enough, is it not? Yes, to anyone who will put together the simple facts recorded in the press during the last few weeks. And here we return to the gentlemen of the New Leader and their truly astonishing demonstration of sheer desperation in politics. The facts about France destroy the mythology of the war for democracy? Then they must change the facts. That is what the New Leader has been doing these last two weeks. Believe it or not, in the June 29 issue, under the signature of Dick Reynaud, its foreign editor, you can read that the Pétain-Laval government was established by a fascist putsch—i.e., an armed overthrow of the democratic government—by men whom Reynaud had vainly attempted to intern (why he couldn't is not explained). And in the July 6 New Leader, in a short comment on the

Oran naval battle—as short as possible—it explains that event as being the result "of a fascist cabinet putsch." The mythology of bourgeois democracy needs, with each passing event, additional myths to sustain the verbal structure. Apparently the New Leader intends to invent whatever myths that will require.

Fortunately, the meaning of the French events cannot be so easily distorted and perverted. The widespread understanding of these events is indicated by Fitzpatrick's monumental cartoon in the St. Louis Post-Dispatch, depicting the French bourgeoisie as fearing the French masses more than they did Hitler. That Fitzpatrick, a great artist with much social insight, but ideologically little more than a democrat, should see the French events so clearly, is a heartening fact, testifying that many who are not Marxists have understood the plain import of what has happened. That the St. Louis Post-Dispatch printed the cartoon is a happy accident! The active editor is a naive bourgeois. It would never have been published had he been a Social Democrat!

F.M.

STALINISTS IN ALIBI HUNT FOR TROTSKY ATTACK

(Continued from Page 1)

Serrano, whereas they would be the focal point of a defense campaign if it were feasible.

3. Revival of the "self-assault" theory, that Trotsky arranged the attack.

Fantastic as this may seem after the finding of Harte's body, it was attempted yesterday in court by Pavon Flores, attorney for Serrano and Martinez.

Trotsky In Court

It was in the course of an interrogation of Leon Trotsky by the Stalinists' defense attorney, (Mexican law provides for such interrogations of witnesses prior to actual trial.)

The attorney had asked a series of questions concerning the possibility of the assailants having been hidden in the cellar of Trotsky's house and then asked whether Sheldon Harte had told Trotsky, the day before the assault, that an attack was to take place that night.

When Trotsky saw the drift of the questions, he turned to the judge and said: "After the material assault on me, they are now attempting a moral assault!" And then, turning on the attorney, he said, in vibrant words which stirred the audience:

"It seems you are trying to revive the corpse of the theory of self-assault; it would be better to try to revive the corpse of my friend, Robert Sheldon Harte!"

On Serrano, Trotsky said:

"Among the accused Stalinists, said Trotsky, 'are men and women who are more or less honest, but demoralized victims' of the GPU—such as the two women who were spies. There are others, like Rosendo Gomez Lorenzo or David Serrano, whose attitude denotes them to be agents of the GPU. That is my conviction; but I do not yet make the accusation because I do not have the concrete data; I merely express at this time my opinion. And that is that David Serrano is one of the most dangerous agents of the GPU, even though—a prominent member of the CP of Mexico—he may not have taken a personal part in the assault.

"The GPU has its authorized representatives within the parties. Not even the members of the executive committees know who these representatives are, even though they may be able to guess it from the exceptional power that these men have. The GPU always retains in these executive committees one or two direct representatives. Serrano is a resident of the GPU in Mexico, within the central committee of the party. He did not take part in the actual execution of the attack, but in its preparation. I am convinced that neither the CP or its central committee officially took part; for that would be completely contrary to all the rules of the GPU!"

Will Stalin Try To Seize the Dardanelles?

By ALBERT GOLDMAN

Will Stalin try to seize the Dardanelles?

The answer is: "I do not know but I think it highly probable."

This question, which is discussed by everyone and on every occasion, affords an opportunity to repeat in concise form the propositions which best explain Stalin's foreign policy beginning with the Hitler-Stalin pact.

1. Stalin's main object is to avoid getting involved in a major conflict.
2. His secondary objective is to take advantage of the imperialist war to bring as much territory as he possibly can under his influence in order to strengthen his defensive position and to increase the prestige, power and revenue of the bureaucracy of which he is the leading figure.

Every step that he has taken since he entered into a pact with Hitler and the pact itself can be best explained by taking the foregoing two basic propositions as a guide.

Does his war against Finland conflict with this theory? Not at all. When his demands on Finland were refused by the Finnish government, Stalin's prestige was at stake. Thinking that the Red Army could settle with Finland in quick order, he took a chance on military action. The peace with Finland can be explained only by the fact that to continue the war would have risked being involved in a conflict with the Allied powers. In addition Hitler, anxious to make his coup in Norway, was impatient at the slowness of the Red Army which made possible Allied intervention, and probably exerted pressure on Stalin to make peace.

Against whom was Stalin, in the early stages of the war, preparing his defensive positions? Obviously against all possible enemies. He is not so foolish as to trust Hitler and he understood that the Allies would not feel very kindly towards him after he had double-crossed them.

Stalin Fears New Stage of War

But a new factor entered into the situation after Hitler made his spectacular drive westward and succeeded in laying low the Netherlands, Belgium and France.

That was as unexpected for Stalin as it was for everybody else and far more uncomfortable. For there looms before him a Hitler completely dominating Europe and having a common frontier with the Soviet Union.

Stalin's calculations when he signed the pact with Hitler were not fulfilled one hundred percent. The pact saved him from war but enabled Hitler to gain complete hegemony over Europe. Whereas Stalin expected that that England and France would not go to war over Poland or if they did it would be a prolonged and exhausting war.

From now on fear of an attack by Hitler will be another basic factor added to the above-mentioned two that will dictate Stalin's policies. When he sent additional troops into Latvia, Estonia, and Lithuania, he was not afraid of the Allies. There was nothing to be afraid of as far as they were concerned. That move can be explained only as motivated by fear of Hitler.

It is true that from the very beginning of the war Stalin had his eye on Bessarabia. Having once belonged to the Soviet Union and seized by Rumania it was most natural that it should be taken back whenever there was an opportunity. Stalin's seizure of northern Bukovina, however, clearly indicates a desire on his part to strengthen his defensive position against Hitler.

Stalinophobes Invent Fantastic Theories

The theory advanced by some people who see the class struggle only as a struggle against Stalin, to the effect that the march of the Red Army into Bessarabia was dictated by Hitler because the latter wants Stalin to guard the Rumanian oil wells for him, has absolutely no sense whatever. Against whom must the oil wells be guarded by Stalin? Against France which has already capitulated? Against England, after Rumania has switched to Hitler and after Turkey has moved away from England?

Why should Hitler ask Stalin to guard the oil wells now when they need no guarding?

And should Stalin attempt to seize the Dardanelles, that seizure also will be explained by the two propositions first mentioned and the additional one of fear of Hitler.

While the question whether Stalin's present moves are made with the knowledge and consent of Hitler is an interesting one, it is absolutely irrelevant as far as explaining his motives in making those moves. That would be relevant only if Hitler today were in a position to stop Stalin and failed to do so.

It is important here to emphasize the point that we have stressed since Stalin began sending the Red Army outside of the Soviet Union. We defend the Soviet Union not because we think we have the correct explanation for Stalin's moves (although we do think so), but because nationalized property still exists in the Soviet Union and so long as it will exist we shall defend it regardless of Stalin's policies.

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and the
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(See advertisement on Page 2)

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A Bitter Lesson For Labor to Learn From

Can you imagine Roosevelt and Willkie and all the other big-shot Republicans and Democrats getting together to put fascism over on this country? Can you conceive of Congress convening and voting unlimited power to a triumvirate of Hoover, LaGuardia and Garner, including the power to scrap the Constitution and to wipe out Congress?

No? You can't imagine such a thing happening? It does sound fantastic, doesn't it—
But that's exactly what happened in France last week!

The members of the French Chamber of Deputies who, last week at Vichy, voted to establish a totalitarian government, were no better and no worse than any group of Republican and Democratic Congressmen. Their top-leaders were men who, until last week, had spouted democracy just as much, maybe even more, than the top leaders of the Republican and Democratic parties here.

Reynaud, who weeks ago was still Premier of "the French democracy" and swearing he would fight to the death against fascism, voted for the fascist regime. Two weeks ago anybody would have conceded that Reynaud was as much a democrat as Roosevelt.

Chautemps, vice-premier under Reynaud, was also at Vichy and also voted for fascism. During the hey-day of the Popular Front, Chautemps was Premier of a Popular Front government of bourgeois liberals and socialists and supported by the Communist party. That makes him at least as much of a democrat as Willkie will ever be.

Pétain, Laval, Weygand and all the other "French republicans" at Vichy could, until last week, paint a picture of themselves as "good democrats." As good, that is, as the democracy of the president of the United States and Congress.

What that democracy is worth, they showed last week at Vichy. They joined in setting up a regime which wipes out the French constitution, replaces bona-fide trade unions with fascist "unions" and, in a word, attempts to turn France into a Nazified country.

As long as it had served their purposes, they had spouted about the sacred cause of democracy. In the name of democracy they had sent the youth of France to their death. But they feared the French workers and peasants more than they feared Hitler. The war laid bare the incompetence of the French politicians and capitalists, and a day of reckoning was coming. Rather than submit to a day of reckoning at the hands of the French workers and peasants, the bosses preferred to surrender to the foreign invader. And now, behind Hitler's protecting bayonets, they are imposing a fascist regime on the French people.

The French armed forces could still have fought on, especially the navy and the armies in the colonies. But the commander-in-chief Weygand warned the Reynaud cabinet that the military reversals were creating a situation like that in Russia in 1917. "It must not come to that,"

he said. In plain English: rather surrender to Hitler than to the French people.

That's what the patriotism of the bosses amounts to! That's what the democracy of boss parties amounts to!

Do you want the same thing to happen here? Then make the same mistake as the French workers and peasants made. In the name of "national unity," submit to the heavy hand of Washington and Wall Street. In the name of "national defense" let the boss politicians bamboozle your unions into ceasing strike action. In the name of the "national emergency" let them lengthen your hours of work. Let them take you or your sons and turn them into unthinking cannon-fodder. All this in the name of "democracy." Then, when it serves their purposes, the bosses and their politicians will put the people of this country into the straitjacket of fascism.

That's what will happen if we, the workers of America, repeat the mistakes of the French workers.

But those mistakes need NOT be made by the American workers. Let us learn from the terrible tragedy of our French brothers.

Let us resolve to build our trade unions into powerful weapons defending all the interests of the working class against the capitalist class and its government.

In the factories and shops, let us give away nothing to the bosses in the name of "national unity." Workers recruited by the government shall be paid wages at the trade union scale.

If we are conscripted into the army, let us go there to learn the military arts with the determination that we shall eventually use our knowledge in the service of the working class.

The world we live in is a military camp. Let the unions themselves, then, organize the military training of their members, and especially train outstanding workers as officers, so that workers can be led by their own officers instead of the reactionary breed from West Point.

In every field in the coming days, let us always keep clear the need of defending the interests of the working class against the capitalist class.

Learn well the lessons of France! Then we can be sure that neither the capitalist enemy at home nor the capitalist enemy abroad can prevail against the might of the American working class!

Workers' Plattsburgs!

We wish to call special attention to the letter of W.F.W., which we print on page 2 of this issue. What he has seen in Connecticut is also seen by workers everywhere in the country: formation of "home guards" and other armed groups under the auspices of the American Legion and other reactionary sponsors. Perhaps the most vivid example of this process is the Plattsburg camp whose personnel is strictly limited to big-shot business and professional men.

Let this process go on for a year or two, and the country will be covered by a network of armed groups under reactionary leadership, ready at a moment's notice to smash workers' meetings and strikes, "radical" headquarters and union halls.

To try and stop this process by pacifist arguments is worse than a waste of time. In a warring world pacifism reveals its utter impotence. For the workers to stand aside with folded arms while the business and professional men become adept in the military arts would leave the workers defenseless against coming attempts to foist a fascist or military dictatorship on the country.

The only realistic response of the workers to the "home guards" and businessmen's Plattsburgs is—for workers' Plattsburgs!

The trade unions should answer the American Legion by forming their own military-training groups. Every worker should be required to undergo military training under the control of the trade unions.

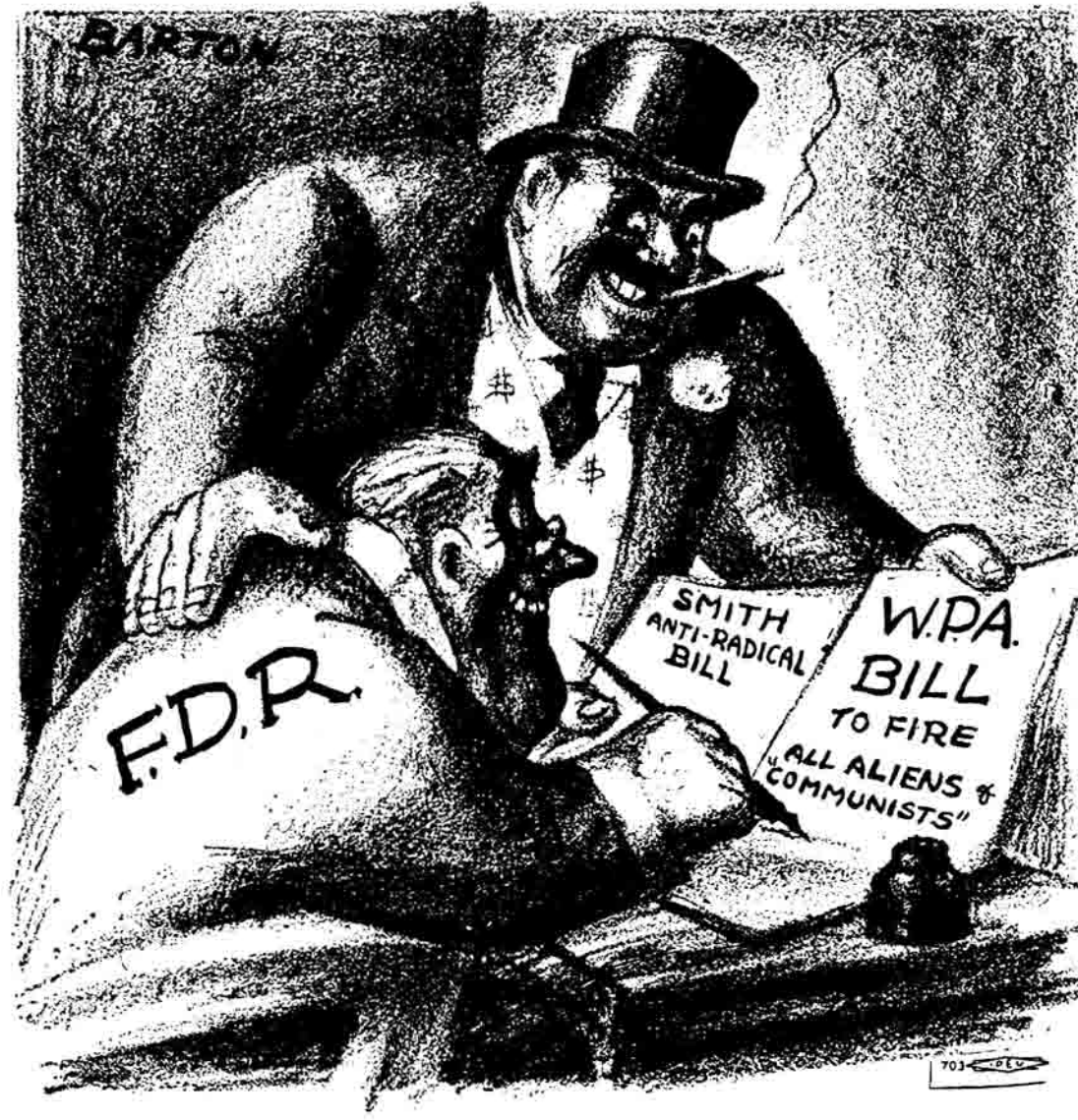
The training of officers is, however, a more difficult task. It requires facilities and equipment which only the government possesses. Therefore the trade unions should insist that, in the same way that the government has made Plattsburg available to the business men, it should make available other Plattsburgs to the unions. Plattsburg is being run by the businessmen. The workers' Plattsburgs should be run by the trade unions.

On July 8 the self-mobilized Plattsburgers held a meeting at which they laid the groundwork for a permanent organization to perpetuate the military training program which they began. A steering committee, consisting of three men from each of the seven companies, has been set up to run their organization.

Labor should do no less. The trade unions should immediately set up a permanent committee, with representatives from each union, to organize the military training of the workers under trade union control.

Military training is here in any event. The real issue is whether the workers shall be trained as puppets for boss-controlled military groups, or whether the workers shall be trained and officered by the trade unions.

The New New Deal



Christian Fronters Boast How They Fixed Treason Trial

By SAM MARCY
Gathered to gloat over the whitewashing of fourteen members of the Christian Front, more than two thousand persons packed Brooklyn Prospect Hall to listen to the most frenzied, anti-Semitic, anti-Labor outpourings ever heard in New York.

The meeting was called by the fascist Christian Front under the guise of a "patriotic" July 4th celebration to honor ex-Magistrate Healy, chief defense counsel for the acquitted fascists, to glorify the acquitted fascists—and to cheer for federal prosecutor Harold M. Kennedy, who tried the case!

The meeting was started by Thomas Ryan, Christian Front leader of Queens. He whipped his boisterous audience into lusty cheers as he introduced, one by one, each of the thirteen defendants who had stood trial in Brooklyn Federal Court on charges of conspiracy to overthrow the government and of stealing government ammunition.

Priest A Speaker
John F. Cassidy, national director of the Christian Front, received a standing ovation. He was described by the next speaker, Father Brophy, a Catholic priest, as a Christian martyr.

In describing him as such, Father Brophy was merely following the line laid down by Cassidy himself. His tactic during the whole trial was to camouflage the most virulent attack against the labor movement by dubbing it "defense of Christians who fight Communism." The essence of his technique, copied from Coughlin, is summed up in the cry he shouted at the trial, "Long Live Christ, the King—Down with Communism."

By the use of such slogans, the Frontist hoodlums have escaped unpunished for numerous stabblings of innocent Jews, beating of militant workers, provocations against trade union meetings, and confessed armed preparation for assaults on the labor movement.

A Fixed Jury
Father Brophy is pastor of Precious Blood Church in Long Island City. Author of a booklet full of anti-Semitic filth and venom, he has earned the title of "ideologist" of the Christian Front movement. At the meeting he boasted that Mrs. Helen Titus, foreman of the jury which acquitted the fascists, was his first cousin. That ought to supply no small clue as to how the jury arrived at their verdict.

Macklin Boettger, one of the defendants in the case, boasted that "at least ten members of our jury are going to apply for membership in the Christian Front." That should surprise only those who don't know that the prospective jurors were not asked whether they were affiliated with the Christian Front, or were in sympathy with it, or were followers of Father Coughlin. They were merely questioned as to whether they had any sympathy

or connection with any of the radical or working class organizations! Mere membership in the American Labor Party was sufficient to disqualify anyone from serving on the jury.

Prosecutor Praised Them

The prosecutor, Harold M. Kennedy, had openly praised the Christian Front as based on "good sound American principles." No wonder he received such loud cheers from the fascist audience.

No wonder the lawyer for the fascists apologized for him for having prosecuted the fascists!

Church Connections

Two features of the meeting which indicated official sanction by the Brooklyn Diocese of the Catholic Church were the appearance of Patrick Scanlon, editor of the Brooklyn Tablet, official Diocesan organ of Brooklyn, and the music furnished by the band of St. Thomas Aquinas Roman Catholic Church. The Tablet has been the only paper in New York which openly defended the indicted fascists.

The main speaker of the evening was ex-Magistrate Healy, chief defense counsel. He, more than anyone else, wove the lie of the twin menace, "Jews and Communism." It was he who had raved at the trials that he would like to hang a few thousand Communists from the lamp-posts and shoot others.

Fascists Encouraged

The effect of the acquittal has been to encourage the Coughlin-Curran-Cassidy gang to take the offensive against the working class and racial minorities. Quick upon the heels of the acquittal of the fascists came a brazen demand from Father Curran, President of the International Catholic Truth Society, to "investigate" the reasons why the government indicted the fascists. This demand is addressed to Attorney-General Jackson and its aim is to make scapegoats of lower functionaries in the Civil Service, who are of Jewish origin. In some of the churches, last Sunday, there was discussion of Curran's letter demanding an investigation. The Brooklyn Tablet publicized the letter.

Social Justice, Coughlin's mouthpiece, went further than it ever did before in its anti-Semitic incitement.

"Whether the Jews like it or not," it said, "they will bear more than their brunt for some of their co-racials having used the majesty of government to reap revenge upon a group of men who were intent on saving America from Communism, from Jewish domination and from Semitic ideology."

The Christian Front is making much capital out of an editorial which appeared in the Chicago Tribune, reactionary, anti-New Deal, anti-labor daily. This editorial justified the acquittals of the Christian Front purely on the issue of a "blow against Communism."

For the workers, the lesson of the Christian Front trials is clear. No reliance upon the capitalist government to fight Fascism! Only the independent organizations of the working class can successfully combat and conquer Fascism.

CIO ORGANIZERS SEIZED AS "FIFTH COLUMN"

MEMPHIS, Tenn.—The CIO has started an organization drive here. Henderson of the Inland Boatmen and Will Watts, organizer for the SW-OC, are leading the drive.

So it wasn't surprising one night that the cops raided Henderson's home, and took him, Watts and some workers meeting with them, to the police station as—fifth columnists!

Afterward the cops said somebody had called the police and warned a fifth column meeting was taking place there. Maybe some boss who doesn't like being organized got the bright idea.

What this organizing drive of the CIO must buck up against may be gathered from the recent arrest here of the well-known photographer, Henwar Rodakiewicz and two young aides, who were on a tour making a movie short of Negro education. They were arrested as fifth columnists and it took the intercession of Republican Congressman Bruce Barton to get them out. Because after their arrest Chief of Police Lee asked one of them the question he always asks of any "Communist" suspect: "Do you think a Negro is as good as a white man?"

"Why they're a Communist setup," Chief Lee said. "One of them told me a Negro was as good as a white man. They're down here stirring up the Negroes."

The Picnic of Tomorrow

On the Sunlit Shores of CLOVE LAKE

TASTE . . . the Proletarian Meal of Tomorrow
PLAY . . . the games of today
LISTEN & DANCE . . . to the music of yesterdays immortals

SUNDAY, JULY 21

Auspices:
East Side Branch, S.W.P.

Save the date—More details next week

Willkie Belongs To Inner Circle of Wall Street

By ALBERT GOLDMAN

The mutilation (fortunate or unfortunate) in the printshop of my article dealing with the Republican party convention, which appeared in the last issue of the Appeal furnishes me with an excuse to touch on certain aspects of the convention that were not mentioned in last week's article.

One of the most striking features of the nomination of Willkie is the fact that he is not an agent of Wall Street in the same sense that Taft or Dewey or Vandenberg are agents of Wall Street. In Willkie we have one of the Wall Street boys himself. If he doesn't come from the innermost circle he is certainly close to it.

As director of one of the biggest utility holding companies in the country and one of the biggest banks in New York he mingles with the select few who hire and give orders to politicians but rarely participate openly in politics.

Of course he went through the motion of resigning his post in the companies in which he holds office, but only the most glib will pay any attention to this kind of mumbo-jumbo. Willkie the candidate for President of the United States remains Willkie the head of one of the biggest utility companies. Some smart fellow may find that he forgot to resign from some company or other and try to make a point out of it. To us it makes no difference whatever that he resigns or fails to resign. He is the same Willkie.

An Open Challenge to Labor

It is in the sense that Willkie is not a mere agent but one of the principals that he constitutes an open challenge to the working class. Instead of nominating some one who can try to pose as a "friend of Labor," the Republican party proceeds to throw the gauntlet into the face of Labor by nominating one who has become the champion spokesman against the New Deal and all social reforms.

Not that such reforms as the New Deal brought will remain even if Roosevelt is elected. The war situation and the defense program will result in the loss of a good many if not all of the social gains achieved by Labor during the hey-day of the New Deal. Roosevelt, however, will try to convince the worker-voters that these social gains will remain intact. Not so Willkie. Himself one of the big business men, he knows exactly what they want and will try to get it with the least amount of hokey.

Why They Named Willkie

How is it that the Republican party dared nominate a man so openly a member of the ruling class? The first and most important reason, it seems to me, is that the Republican party cannot and does not hope to obtain the support of Labor. The time has gone by when even Republicans could pose as friends of the workingman. The men behind the Republican party rightly felt that under the circumstances the labor vote was lost to them anyway. No matter whom they nominated the labor vote could not be depended upon.

Moreover Willkie was obviously the best man for the Republicans in so far as getting the vote of the middle class is concerned. There can be no denying the fact that Willkie is a far more colorful and able person than Taft or Dewey or Hoover. Granting that the newspapers were consciously determined to give him a build-up it must nevertheless be recognized that the man has enough in him to furnish the basis of such a build-up.

It must be recognized that the press has succeeded in creating quite a following for Willkie from middle-class layers of the population. Willkie's rise from a middle-class environment to the head of a huge utility company and his nomination for the presidency still has an appeal to a great many amongst the middle-class elements.

That his nomination was supported not only by his own fellow-capitalists but also by the lower ranks of the middle-class Republican voters was made clear to the old wheelhorses of the Republican party who looked askance upon a newcomer and wanted one of their own number to get the nomination. It is this overwhelming support which made the old-line politicians capitulate.

Big Business is fortunate in having him as a candidate for other reasons, too. What is most important is that Willkie's attitude on questions of foreign policy coincides with that of Roosevelt. With his nomination, the "isolationist" plank in the Republican platform becomes meaningless. The aggressive foreign policy of Roosevelt, a policy which the captains of banking and industry support wholeheartedly, will be carried on by Willkie should he be elected.

In fact if Roosevelt should decide to refrain from running for a third term we shall be safe in attributing his decision partly to the nomination of Willkie. For now he can rest assured that his foreign policy will be in safe hands, even if the Republicans win the election.

For the class-conscious workers the danger is not so much from the Republicans with Willkie as from the Democrats with Roosevelt or some other demagogue. The working masses will readily recognize what Willkie means for them: longer hours, lower wages, no relief, loss of every gain they have made in the last seven years. But it will be difficult for the conscious workers to convince the masses that essentially the Democratic party with Roosevelt will mean the same as the Republican party with Willkie.

KLAN PRAISES ROOSEVELT

The June issue of The Fiery Cross, official publication of the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, praises Roosevelt, as follows:

"Never before in the history of America have so many millions of citizens united behind the program of the Ku Klux Klan as in the past few weeks. For twenty years the Klan has spoken out day after day and year after year against alien influences boring from within in the United States."

"Today millions of Americans are acknowledging for the first time that the things the Klan has long warned against now spell imminent danger to this country if left unchecked. . . . It must be a source of great satisfaction to Klanspeople everywhere that the President of the United States has come out boldly in defense of the Klan program. He has joined the Klan in sounding a warning against 'alien influences.' The words of the President are 'foreign poison' which is almost the exact phrase and means the identical thing the Klan has warned the American people for years to beware of."