

Funds Are Needed To Safeguard Trotsky From Further Attacks

Defense of House Being Organized

Cannon and Dobbs Issue Appeal to Party And Sympathizers to Help Finance New Arrangement in Coyoacan

Warning that Stalin will undoubtedly make another attempt on Trotsky's life, the Trotsky Defense Fund has issued this week an appeal to all members and friends of the Socialist Workers Party for funds to complete the reorganizing of the defense arrangements at Trotsky's house.

Reorganizing of the defense was begun immediately after the May 24 attack, for it was realized that Stalin, already having the discredit for the attempt to murder Trotsky, would as soon as possible seek to wipe out the stigma of his failure.

An appeal for funds at that time secured a very generous response from S.W.P. members and friends. Undoubtedly they will similarly respond now, for all party members and friends realize the seriousness of the situation and the necessity of taking adequate steps to meet it, no matter what the cost may be.

The text of the appeal follows: To All Party Members and Sympathizers: Stalin's latest and most serious attempt to murder Trotsky was meticulously planned and carried out in a workman-like manner. There is abundant evidence of the experienced hands of the GPU assassins. Feminine agents of the GPU were assigned to seduce the members of the regular police guard for the purpose of obtaining detailed descriptions of the inside of the house and the defense mechanism. Others were assigned to take residence in the neighborhood and watch the house for months carefully to study the movements of the household.

The attackers were well supplied with necessary equipment for all possible emergencies—machine guns, incendiary and high explosive bombs, scaling ladders, portable electric saw, etc., etc. The thirty members of the murder band were dressed in military and police uniforms. Tremendous resources were necessary for such large-scale preparations.

After brutally murdering Robert Sheldon Harte, the secretary-guard who was on watch, the attackers proceeded toward the main objective in their gruesome task, the assassination of Comrade Trotsky. Hundreds of rounds were fired from the machine guns into the patio and the house. An incendiary bomb was exploded in the house in an unsuccessful attempt to burn Comrade Trotsky's archives.

Thought They Succeeded Scores of bullets were found embedded in the floor and walls of Comrade Trotsky's bedroom. Slugs ripped huge gashes in the bedding and mattresses of the beds of both Comrade Trotsky and Comrade Natalia. Powder burns in the mattress gave mute testimony of the assassins standing at the foot of the bed to fire what was to have been the coup de grace.

Confident that they had accomplished their objective, the attackers fired a final volley and departed. But they had failed. The intended victims were not in their beds; they had quietly concealed themselves in a protected corner of the dark bedroom. Comrade Trotsky remains alive to hound Stalin with his merciless exposures of every step taken by this hangman of the October Revolution and the world proletariat.

8 GPU Agents Confessed Intensive investigations by the Mexican police have resulted in the arrest of a large number of suspects. Confessions have been obtained from eight GPU agents who were actual participants in the assault. Stalin now has world discredit for the attempt on Trotsky's life. But more intolerable to him than the brand of murderer is the stigma of failure in an attempted murder. He will try again, no doubt soon. And the next time on an even larger scale and in a more desperate manner.

Events during the Mexican national elections on Sunday, July 7, and the turmoil which has arisen over the counting of the ballots, indicate plainly the dangers of the period ahead. The outbreak of an insurrection is not excluded. There are certain to be periodic flareups of open conflict between the contending parties. In either case a good cover will have been provided for a new attack on Trotsky's life by Stalin and his GPU.

Efforts of the Socialist Workers Party and its friends and sympathizers played an important role in saving the life of Comrade Trotsky. Had he been without any special defense it would have been an easy matter for the GPU to invade his home and take

Socialist Appeal

Official Weekly Organ of the Socialist Workers Party, Section of the Fourth International

Vol. IV, No. 29

NEW YORK, N. Y., SATURDAY, JULY 20, 1940



FIVE (5) CENTS

DEMOCRATS OFFER US FOUR MORE YEARS OF CRISIS, UNEMPLOYMENT

TRADE UNION WAGES ON ALL DEFENSE WORK!

Canadian Seamen's Union Head Still Jailed Incommunicado

TORONTO — J. A. "Pat" Sullivan, president of the Canadian Seamen's Union, is still held in jail by the government and not permitted to make contact with his union.

The arrest was made secretly, the authorities seizing Sullivan in his hotel room and preventing him from telephoning what had happened to him. Only by a ruse was Sullivan able to notify friends.

HAVANA MEET ASKED TO AID REFUGEES

A request that the refugee problem be placed on the agenda of the Havana Conference when it opens July 20 was voiced this week by the New World Resettlement Fund in a letter to Cordell Hull.

Oswald Garrison Villard, Chairman of the New World Resettlement Fund, said in his letter: "Historically the New World has been the haven for refugees of the Old World fleeing from persecution, from racial intolerance, from religious prejudice and from political pogroms."

"But the problem is so tremendous in scope that it should be faced by all of the countries in the Western Hemisphere. . . . It is a question of the resettlement of many hundreds of thousands of families, including many of the keenest minds of Europe. It is too vast to be solved by well-intentioned committees or generous-hearted individuals."

"There are vast areas in the New World that will be enriched through cultivation. And the people of the Americas will be enriched as they have been in the past with an influx of defenders of democracy, many of whom rank high in the world's hall of fame."

"May we urge in the name of our Committee that you request that the Refugee Problem and all of its ramifications be put on the agenda of the Havana Conference? What can be done about transportation? What type of refugee is each country prepared to welcome? etc."

The New World Resettlement Fund has just negotiated a contract with the government of Ecuador for the resettlement of Spanish Loyalist refugees.

Auto Union Convention Spotlights Weaknesses

UAW Failed to Carry Out Key Organizing Campaign in Ford and Elsewhere

(Special to the Socialist Appeal) DETROIT—The United Automobile Workers of America will hold one of the most important national conventions in its history on July 29 in St. Louis, Missouri.

Unquestionably the UAW is the most important of the new CIO unions and has set the pace for the past three and one-half years to the whole industrial union movement of America.

Since the last convention held in Cleveland over a year ago, the union has been free of factional struggles and the union leadership was in a position to use its full energies on behalf of the growth and progress of the union.

The quick capitulation of Congress to the demands of the Packard Motor Company merely demonstrates again the fact that this government represents the Wall Street bankers and profiteers. For the big manufacturers, it is easy to secure relaxation of the tax provisions, and to make sure that they will make a huge profit out of the production of war materials.

Workers Bear Burden But the taxes recently put into effect against the working class go on. Taxes on tobacco, on movies, on thousands of daily needs of the masses of people, are NOT relaxed. The Packard Motor Company is relieved of tax burdens, and the expense is added onto the already exploited, ill-housed, and ill-fed millions of workers.

This is what the boss government means by "National Defense." That is what is meant by "Patriotism."

When the Packard Motor company goes on strike against high taxes, as they recently did by refusing to honor the government order for 9,000 airplane motors, that is "Patriotism." When the shipyard workers went on strike for a few cents an hour more wages . . . that was denounced as the work of Fifth Columnists.

Equality of Law? That is the Democracy we are asked to die for. One law for the bosses . . . another set of laws for the workers.

The National Defense Council has found it possible to amortize the taxes on the Packard Motor Company. That is, payment is deferred for several years.

But every day workers shell out their hard-earned pennies and carry the burden of the huge armament program, now arrived at the figure of ten billion dollars for this session of Congress.

SAILORS GAIN INCREASES IN NEW CONTRACT

Secure Raises Despite Sell-out by National Maritime Union

After lengthy negotiations between the Seafarers International Union and the A. H. Bull Lines, the seamen on this line made the following gains: \$7.50 per month increase on all coastwise vessels, including the Puerto Rico run, and \$10 on foreign runs, plus an all around increase in overtime of 10 cents an hour.

While this is not as good as the flat \$10 per month and 10c an hour increases of the other coastwise lines under agreement with the SIU, such as the Seatrain, Waterman, C & G, and Range Line companies, it is far in excess of the gains made by the "National" Maritime Union on ships of the same class run, and in general superior to even the best of the NMU agreements.

Negotiations with the Bull Line were going along in good order, when the NMU "Pilot" came out with a recommendation to its membership that they accept a \$2.50 per month increase with NO increase in overtime at all. The Bull Line officials at the negotiations confronted the SIU with this scabby stab-in-the-back of the NMU leaders, and announced that they would stand pat on the \$7.50 per month and 10c cents increases.

The SIU negotiating committee came back to the membership with this proposal, explaining the conditions leading up to this stalemate. In addition, there was the danger that the NMU would scab if the SIU struck for the \$2.50 a month which was the difference between the union demand and the company proposal. The membership accepted the latter proposal.

The aftermath to this situation was that as a result of the SIU gains, the Curran "leadership" of the NMU got up the courage to go up to their coastwise shipowners and plead for an increase, settling for the additional \$2.50 increase that the shipowners were willing to throw them.

Net result: The SIU got \$7.50 per month increase on all coastwise ships, and \$10.00 on foreign runs, with 10 cents an hour increase on all ships.

The NMU got \$5.00 increase with NO overtime increase at all.

Roosevelt Named For 3rd Term Try

Democratic Convention Suddenly Soft-Pedals Administration's War Policies As Obedient Delegates Obey Orders

By FELIX MORROW The most glowing future that the election-year convention of the ruling party of this country was able to promise the American people is—maintenance of the status quo.

The outlook of the Democratic convention was adequately expressed when Senator Barkley, delivering his address as permanent chairman, answered Hoover's charge that the Democratic administration has "stabilized unemployment" in its eight years of office. All that Barkley could say in retort was that stabilization of unemployment was better than the accelerated rate of unemployment under Hoover! Barkley was pronouncing it a virtue that "only" ten million men remain unemployed and without hope of employment!

Barkley's address and that of the keynoter, Senator Bankhead, set the tone of the convention. Their speeches constituted a declaration that the condition of the country during the last eight years has been as ideal as possible and that these same conditions will prevail during another four years if Roosevelt is re-elected. Great reforms? Destruction of the power of the "economic royalists"? A job for every man and woman? These and similar promises of previous years were forgotten. They were no longer to be even promises!

What a marked difference between this convention and those of 1932 and 1936!

Everything Seemed Possible Then In 1932 the Democrats swore that all that Hoover had stood for—unemployment, hunger, insecurity—would be ended by the election of Roosevelt. Even the delegates seemed to believe that it would come to pass!

In 1936 the Democrats were riding an economic upturn (that collapsed the following summer), a decrease in unemployment plus PWA and WPA had given hope to millions, and Roosevelt campaigned with vigorous denunciations of the "economic royalists" whom he would now really drive back. A fast-growing labor movement directly took part in securing Roosevelt's re-election.

But Now? In Chicago this week, however, almost nothing remained of the

CIO Die Casters in 3rd Week Of Strike at Cleveland Plant

CLEVELAND, July 13—Defying anti-picketing injunctions, imported plug uglies, and a vicious lynch campaign in the daily press, the CIO National Association of Die Casters is putting up a real scrap against the Precision Castings Co. In the two-week old strike here. This is the third strike waged against the plant to gain union recognition, several attempts by the AFL to organize here having failed in the past.

After workers had barricaded the gates with a mass picket line and overturned cars, a dozen workers were hauled into court for violating the injunction. The boss press, gnashing its teeth because the plant is just over the city boundary in the suburb of Lakewood where the Cleveland police force cannot be turned

loose against the workers, is howling for the National Guard. The union is showing in court that the plant hired professional strikebreakers from Toledo and Detroit, and one of the company flunks testifying against a picket was proved to be in jail during the time he was alleged to have seen rock throwing by the picket.

While the company claims the union has only two or three members in the entire plant, it fights against an NLRB election on the grounds that it has no right to "abrogate the terms of the agreement now in effect" with the company union. Meanwhile the workers are holding firm on the picket line and promise to finally beat this vicious anti-union company.

spirit of 1932 and 1936. After eight years of rule, the Democrats had to squeeze hard to work up a contrast between their America and that of Hoover; for in real life the contrast is scarcely very apparent. PWA is gone, WPA is skeletonized, and joblessness dogs the workers. A majority of Democrats in the House vote to bowdlerize the Wagner Act, enraging the CIO, while Thurman Arnold hounds the AFL.

In 1936 Roosevelt had been able to explain away the meagerness of the country's gains in four years by his onslaughts against the "economic royalists." On their shoulders he placed the blame. Today, however, the Democrats can no longer resort to that alibi. Roosevelt will be making no attacks upon the money-changers, for that would be ludicrous with Stettinius, Knudsen and Eudd in his National Defense Council and such spokesmen of Wall Street as Stimson and Knox in his cabinet!

So all that the Democrats can promise, as their maximum for the next four years, is continuation of the present plight of the country.

That isn't very much to sweep the country with, and a realization of that difficulty was a sobering blanket on the convention. Gone was the unfeigned enthusiasm of 1932 and 1936—the high spirits of assured victors.

Many journalistic explanations were offered of the indubitable fact that the convention was not brimming with joy. Some journalists tried to make much of the lack of enthusiasm for a third-term. Others sought to discover a profound break between Roosevelt's close collaborators in Washington and the professional party men around the country.

The basic explanation lay elsewhere. Were Roosevelt's prospects what they had been in 1936 every delegate—especially now that Roosevelt wasn't talking "left" as in 1936—would have defied the Heavens in defense of breaking the third-term tradition. But Roosevelt's prospects were very different now.

Charlottesville High Point Only a month ago, it had seemed that Roosevelt had clear sailing into a third term. The Republicans began to wend their way to Philadelphia amid the deepest gloom. For what Roosevelt had lost as a vote-getter by curtailing his minor concessions to labor, he had gained in powerful support in Wall Street and among far-

(Continued on Page 3)

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.

Imperialism Is Not "New or Revolutionary"

Editor:

For the sake of those socialists dismayed by the rise of the "new" (even "revolutionary") phenomenon of Fascism, I would please print these verses I found quoted in an old travel book, copyrighted in 1905. Except that the Abyssinians are now called Ethiopians and that the rulers of Italy are now called Fascists, these lines might have been written yesterday.

Unfortunately the name of the poet was omitted. The future I am sure will have good cause to remember it.

Wilt thou, Italia, spurn their prayers with scorn?
Snatch the last morsel from thy serfs' white lips,
Ravish for murderous strife their eldest born,
And squander millions on thy useless ships?

Make thine ill-paid officials band-ed knaves,
Drive thy starved sons by thousands from thy shore,
Send them to rot in Abyssinian graves,
And hide the cancer festering at thy core?

Yet none the less shalt thou most dearly pay
For playing thus the war-lord's pompous part,
When thou shalt feel, at no far-distant day,
The people's dagger drive through thy heart.

Egitidio Mattina

Easton, Pa.

The Death of Frank Halstead

Editor:

It is with deep sorrow that we report the news of the death of Frank Halstead, of Los Angeles. Comrade Halstead was one of the founders of the Left Opposition movement in Los Angeles. Previous to that, he had been a member of the Young Peoples Socialist League in the days before the War, a member of the Industrial Workers of the World, and an active member of the progressive group in the Machinists Union.

When the writer of these lines arrived in Los Angeles, comrade Halstead was receiving and distributing a bundle of "Millitants," and speaking wherever he could for the Left Opposition, doing pioneer work in the then "white spot" of reaction. This period marked the beginning of the unemployed movement into which the small nucleus of the Left Opposition threw itself; beginning a left wing in the large unemployed co-operative movement. In this movement comrade Halstead was a leading figure, organizing the unemployed. Working side by side with comrade Halstead, I was able to see a real rebel in action; a rebel who combined a deep loyalty to and faith in the working

Labor In Minneapolis Observes The First Anniversary of WPA Strike

MINNEAPOLIS, July 14—The labor movement of this city this week celebrated the first anniversary of the great WPA strike of 1939. Some of the leaders of that strike in Minneapolis are still in the federal prison at Sandstone, serving sentences on the charge of "conspiracy" against the WPA law.

An editorial in this week's NORTHWEST ORGANIZER, militant organ of the Teamsters Joint Council, commemorates the occasion in the following terms:

"It is difficult to remember that there was a time when WPA employed about three million workers, when it paid the prevailing wage scale, when workers who were denied jobs in private industry were retained on WPA, when some WPA workers made from \$70 to \$103 monthly. All that was changed by the Roosevelt-Woodrum relief law that went into effect a year ago, and it was these terrible alterations in relief standards that precipitated the spontaneous strike of half a million workers in New York, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Illinois, Michigan, Wisconsin, Minnesota, the Dakotas and elsewhere. The strike turned out to be the most popular movement of mass protest ever occurring in the United States.

"In Minneapolis the entire labor movement joined hands in protesting the attack on union wage scales and relief standards. Under the leadership of the Minneapolis Building Trades Council, supported by the Central Labor Union, Local 544's Federal Workers Section, the CIO and the local Workers Alliance (but not the Alliance nationally), thousands of Minneapolis WPA workers joined the demonstration.

"It is ironic to recall how those who today protest so much their love for 'democracy' treated the Minneapolis WPA strikers last July. How the WPA authorities refused to close down the projects in the manner customary in disputes; how Roosevelt and Attorney General Murphy fired their opening salvos in the campaign to psychologize the American workers that 'You can't strike against the government.'

We recall the revelations that FBI agents were sent into Minneapolis, disguised as unemployed workers and directed to the sewing project to spy on the strikers. And we recall the mass indictments by a federal grand jury for the flimsy charge of 'conspiracy,' the arrests of strikers in the middle of the night, the astronomical bail figures set, the trials before hand-picked federal juries, and the sentencing of 32 of our brothers and sisters.

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been in a much stronger position today.

"If there is still a WPA program at all in the United States, if the government has not yet dared to draft and regiment the jobless into the army, if the new 8-months' relief bill provides jobs for an average of 1,900,000 workers monthly (insufficient as that is), the workers can thank themselves and above all, thank the Minneapolis labor movement. The WPA strike of 1939 taught the rulers of this country that there are still limits beyond which they cannot venture safely.

"The workers and unemployed of the United States, like all mankind, are now confronting one of the darkest and most reactionary periods in human history, an epoch of a terrible new imperialism. World War. The approaching entrance of the United States into that war, impelled by the laws of capitalism and the desire of the wealthy American industrialists and bankers for new colonies, new sources of raw materials, new markets and spheres of investment, will bring about vast changes in the status of the unemployed and the problems that confront organized labor.

"In the last few months alone, Roosevelt has asked for and Congress has united in giving him, sixteen billion dollars for the war machine—more money than the federal government has spent for relief in the entire last six years, much more money.

"How very wrong and cowardly were those politicians and fake liberals who refused to demand and fight for decent appropriations for the unemployed, because, they said, 'The government can't find the money, the government hasn't got the money.'

"The money was there all right—the almost daily war appropriations now reveal this clearly. It was just that the government did not care to appropriate it for the use of the unemployed, it was just that the politicians and some sections of the labor movement didn't have the courage or the understanding to fight for it.

"In the struggles to come, may the toilers everywhere take new courage from the memory of the brave fight conducted last year, and vow anew to resist tyranny and to fight for the right to life, the right to decent jobs at union wages for all who wish to work.

"On this first anniversary of the Great WPA Strike of 1939, organized labor dips its banners at the grave of Emil Bergstrom, victim of Bloody Friday at the WPA sewing project. We again solidarize ourselves and pay homage to the men and women who were convicted of 'conspiracy,' with those who have already served their prison sentences, with those brothers still incarcerated in prison, and with the families of those jailed by the government.

"Against War and the War-Makers!

"For Jobs at Union Wages for All!

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SELLING THE APPEAL

APPEAL SALES

GOING WAY UP!

500 to San Francisco!
500 to Los Angeles!
500 to Boston!
400 to St. Paul!
100 to Youngstown!
100 to Toledo!

Pushing the AP

The Negro Question

by Robert L. Birchman

Is Ethiopian Revolt Growing?

A dispatch from London to the *Chicago Defender* of July 13 gives details of Ethiopian struggle against Italian armies which, if true, are a very significant development in the colonial struggle for freedom. Ordinarily such a dispatch, date-lined from London, would have to be taken with a grain of salt, for the British naturally are interested in painting a picture of Italy in difficulties. But this particular dispatch cannot be dismissed as British propaganda, for it is written by George Padmore, West Indian Negro, who is an irreconcilable defender of colonial peoples against British imperialism. Padmore during the same week-end sent a dispatch to the *Pittsburgh Courier* which reports that the Senegalese soldiers evacuated from Dunkirk to England have refused to join the British-sponsored French Legion under General de Gaulle and have chosen to return to Africa. Dispatches like that are not sent by British propagandists!

"Mussolini, despite all reports to the contrary," writes Padmore, "is faced with serious and ever-increasing trouble in Ethiopia. Since his declaration of war, Ethiopian patriots have increased their offensive against Italian garrisons in various parts of Ethiopia.

"These men, far from being the discouraged and disorganized rabble that Italian propaganda makes them out to be, are a disciplined guerrilla force, capable of swift movement and deadly attacking power on lines of communications.

"Most of them are armed with modern weapons, the greater part of which they themselves have seized from Italian columns and convoys raided at night. . . .

"What is significant is that there are many Italians operating with the Ethiopian guerrillas. Although native forces are mainly officered by their own fellow countrymen, they have an ever-growing number of Italians with them and, according to my informant, there is much discontent among the ranks of Italian unemployed (in the colonies). . . .

"There are also thousands of Italian native soldiers, especially Somalis, deserters from the fascist forces, now fighting shoulder to shoulder with the Ethiopians."

If Padmore has accurately sifted his information, this resurgence of Ethiopian struggle is a serious threat to Italy.

Roosevelt Branded Jim-Crow

Perhaps nothing makes clearer the difference between the special problems of the Negro workers and those of the white workers than their respective relations to the army and navy. The class-conscious white worker has already advanced to the point where he should be fighting for universal military training under control of the trade unions, for workers' officers, and against conscription and enlistment under government control. The advanced Negro worker, on the other hand, still has the task of fighting for the right of Negroes to enlist in the army and navy—a right which the advanced white worker will, of course, support.

A bitter attack on Roosevelt as a jim-crow president appears in the July 13 issue of the *Pittsburgh Courier*. It says in part:

"The Editor of the *Pittsburgh Courier* requests an appointment for the purpose of discussing the jim-crow system in the armed forces of the nation that relegates colored citizens to the category of servants and laborers. . . .

"But the President's secretary replies that the Chief Executive is too busy to 'permit an appointment,' and insults the intelligence of the Editor and the millions for whom he speaks by pretending that the vicious jim-crow system exists because there is such a small turnover in existing jim-crow military organizations that there is no room for more Negroes. . . .

"No matter how busy colored people will be next year, they will have to help pay the billions that have recently been appropriated for the support of the national defense machine. To put it mildly, they do not consider it a democratic procedure to take their money for the upkeep of an institution which they are scarcely permitted to enter and in which they are prevented from exercising full opportunity.

"They cannot reconcile the wholesale discouragement of Negro applicants for Army and Navy enlistment with the frantic drive for white recruits. . . .

"They are unable to see why some of the new warships which their money is helping to build cannot be manned by colored citizens in the face of so much talk about our 'people's Navy.' . . .

"They feel that the President should sit down and frankly discuss this matter with one who represents them and has led the fight for them, make some definite statement about it one way or the other, and do something as commander-in-chief of the armed forces that would lead them to have confidence in his good intentions.

"But the President's secretary writes that he is 'too busy.'"

"It is well to mention that eight years ago Mr. Hoover was also 'too busy.'"

Negro Printers Get Union Charter

The North American Printing Pressmen and Assistants Union (AFL) granted a charter to some 20 Negro printers and pressmen of Atlanta, Georgia last month and thereby partially bettered a shameful situation created by the International Typographical Union. The ITU had refused to grant these Negroes a charter or membership in other locals; an appeal to the last national convention of the ITU to remove a jim-crow clause from its constitution was unsuccessful. For nearly two years this ugly situation lasted.

Finally the pressmen's international came through with a charter.

This is an important step in breaking down lily-white unionism in the South. But we hope that another group of Negroes in another Southern city starts pounding on the doors of the ITU. The next fight will, we hope, be conducted with more publicity. The Atlanta group fought with a little too much privacy.

Democrats Offer Four More Years of Crisis

Will Workers Vote For Roosevelt?

(Continued from Page 1)

sighted businessmen who saw eye to eye with Roosevelt on foreign policy.

The maximum of support must be arranged as quickly as possible for France and England, America's fortresses in Europe, Wall Street agreed, and continuity of Roosevelt in office was a minor price to pay for continuity and acceleration of his foreign policy. On June 10, the day Roosevelt made his Charlottesville speech, pledging "the material resources of this nation" to the aid of England and France, he unquestionably had the backing of the most powerful sections of the capitalist class. Had the situation remained as it was that day, the November elections would have been a walk-away.

New Foreign Perspective

But the situation quickly changed. France capitulated, and the possibility of Britain holding out became slight. In that eventuality, the American capitalist class had to drop the perspective of immediate aid to Germany's opponents. For without Britain and France as fortresses from which to fight Germany, America had to think of a different kind of a war and of a different time-perspective.

Instead of preoccupying itself with providing arms for France and Britain, American imperialism must think now first of tightening up the entire Western Hemisphere as its base of operations. Instead of the problem of sending to England and France as many airplanes and munitions as could be manufactured within the next few months, the exclusion of England and France from American calculations meant that the war problem becomes one of a longer view, of organizing America as the direct challenger of German imperialism.

Roosevelt Now Dispensable

That changed perspective toppled Roosevelt from his pedestal as the man of the hour. That changed perspective transformed the Republican convention from the gloom of its preliminaries to a new-born hope of success by the time Willkie was nominated. The lavish praise heaped upon Roosevelt by Wall Street spokesmen during the early days of June was turned off like a faucet; after all, if they were going to have a little time to prepare for the struggle for world supremacy, these big businessmen would prefer to have one of their own men in the White House and not a fidgety agent who, moreover, was losing his mass appeal.

Furthermore, the new perspective involves the need for "peaceful" maneuvers with Hitlerized Europe; Roosevelt is too hope-

lessly labeled as a friend of Hitler's foes; a man starting with a clean slate would be more useful in the preliminary rounds of the coming world battles.

Whatever their particular reasons, all the authoritative spokesmen for big business now agree on this: they have a freedom of choice about the presidency today that they did not have on June 10. Hitler's first successes made Roosevelt indispensable; Hitler's further successes, wiping Europe out of American calculations, make Roosevelt quite dispensable!

Roosevelt Recognizes Change

The changed perspective for foreign policy had to be recognized by Roosevelt himself, before the convention opened. His July 10 message to Congress contained that lawyer's formula: "we will not send our men to take part in European wars." Though, upon examination, it is meaningless as a commitment against sending soldiers overseas—he could still send them for American wars!—it would never have been uttered by Roosevelt had the situation not changed so drastically since his Charlottesville speech exactly a month before. Bankhead and Barkley's speeches followed suit.

Unable to offer the masses more than a continuation of their present plight, and shorn of their talking-point of an immediate national emergency—no wonder the delegates at Chicago were none too enthusiastic.

Best None Too Good

They drafted Roosevelt because he was still their best candidate; who else could they put up? But they had the distinct feeling that their best was none too good in the new situation. Twice Roosevelt had provided the best-possible fig leaf for their party—that incredible bloc of Southern poll-tax Bourbons, corrupt big-city machines and workers' votes.

But all they could offer the working masses, now, was maintenance of the status quo. That isn't much. And the more far-seeing of the delegates understood it well enough. Even if the workers don't have a real alternative—a Labor Party—they can still vote with their feet. If enough of them do, Willkie will be elected. That very real possibility haunted the Democratic convention.

Behind the Lines

British Maneuver to Stave Off Japanese Action Before German Assault

by GEORGE STERN

On the eve of the German attack on the British Isles, Britain is maneuvering in a hasty and desperate effort to ward off Japanese blows on its wholly unprotected Asiatic flank. Last week the Japanese, dazzled by the prospects opened up for them by the disappearance of British power from the East, began putting the heat on. Their first step was to choke off the Burma supply route to China, just as they have already closed the rail and road links between French Indochina and the Chinese southwest.

Japanese forces began ringing the south China British citadel of Hongkong. The British authorities there, thrown into a real panic, started evacuating their women and children. On July 13 the British yielded and announced that

shipment of arms and war supplies through Burma would stop—for a period of three months.

What the British want is to gain time. What the Japanese want first of all is an end to their bogged-down war in China in order to be free to exploit the broad advantages they see opening to them.

The new situation places the Chinese government at Chungking on the sharp end of the spike. The resistance of Chiang Kai-shek and Co. to the Japanese has been based upon the support of the U.S. and Britain. If that support defaults now—as seemingly it must—Chiang will have to seek a new principal.

He need not at all turn at once in supplication to Japan. The triangular situation involving Germany, Japan, and the Soviet Union leaves him still with ample room for maneuvering. Germany, be it remembered, never entirely severed its friendly connections with Chiang even after it entered into its famous anti-Comintern pact with Japan.

Secondly, there is the continuing source of supply from the Soviet Union. The Japanese are not likely to succeed in pinching off the last remaining road from the outside world into the unoccupied portions of China, the road from the Soviet Turkestan frontier. Nor is Stalin likely to stop playing along with Chiang at a time when renewal of Soviet-Japanese strife seems not far off. The fact that the Soviet Union and Germany are latently in conflict despite their pact provides the canny Chiang and Chungking with a perfect set-up for keeping his own pot boiling.

No, Chungking is not likely to play along with the British "peace." Chiang Kai-shek has too little to hope for now from making terms with Tokyo.

Will the great majority of the workers vote for Roosevelt? At first glance this may seem to be a simple question. There is no Labor Party, thanks to the trade union bureaucracy. To vote for Norman Thomas cannot but seem pointless even to militant workers; for the Socialist party of Thomas offers them neither a militant program of immediate tasks nor a revolutionary way out; its middle-class gentility makes it alien to the workers. As for voting for Browder, the realization that the Communist party is not a free agent for workers' action, but an obedient tool of the Kremlin, used for reactionary ends, has pervaded the militant workers. Too many of them have seen the reactionary role of the Stalinists in the trade unions.

Faced, then, by little more than a choice between Roosevelt and Willkie, won't the workers vote for Roosevelt? Even if the distinction between the two is slight—and the masses in the trade unions understand this better than they are given credit for—what else is there for the workers to do except to vote for Roosevelt?

So it might seem. But we venture to say that at least some of the shrewder analysts in the Democratic machine are not so sure.

LESSONS OF THE OHIO PRIMARIES

The recent primaries in the heavily industrialized state of Ohio have given these analysts food for thought. In the chief proletarian centers of that state, labor-indorsed men uniformly failed to win the primaries. Despite the backing of the CIO and AFL (in some cases of both), they were defeated by openly reactionary candidates. They could easily have been elected by the masses of workers who were registered in previous elections as Democrats.

The difference between the labor-indorsed candidates and their opponents was not sufficiently inspiring to galvanize the workers to go and vote for the men their union leaders designated as "friends of labor." In previous elections, notably in 1936, they had heeded the exhortations of their union leaders and voted—

for "friends of labor" like Governor Davey who broke the "little steel" strike shortly afterward with the use of the National Guard. This time the exhortations fell on deaf ears.

They could only have been brought out to the primaries if they were being asked to support bona-fide labor candidates—and that could only mean a Labor Party. Anything less than that, even a union-card-holding Democrat, wasn't enough to bring them out.

FARMER-LABOR DEFEAT SHOULD TROUBLE DEMOCRATS

Minnesota trade unionists can offer testimony which can only add to the fears of the Democrats. With the onset of the economic crisis, Governor Olson led the Farmer-Labor Party to one victory after another. After his death his successor in the party, Governor Benson, was able to score an enormous electoral majority. When Benson ran for reelection against the Stassen Republican machine in 1938 the Benson machine took for granted an easy victory. Didn't they have the support of the labor movement and the farmers?

The progressive trade union leaders in Minneapolis knew better. They warned the Farmer-Labor politicians, but the latter dismissed the warnings with irritated contempt. The Socialist Workers Party of Minnesota issued an "Open Letter to Governor Benson," warning that the workers and farmers were not going to assure the election. We pointed out that the watered-down program of the Farmer-Labor Party—by that time it was little more than a left wing of the Democrats, working with them nationally in return for state support—was not going to inspire the workers and farmers to turn out for Benson. Only a radical re-

orientation of the Farmer-Labor party, a new program of bold demands on behalf of the unemployed and the farmers, could win the election.

Benson's "brain trust" rejected these proposals. They took the labor movement for granted, as something they had in their pocket.

So the Farmer-Laborites concentrated their attention on the more prosperous farmers, the main group they were worried about.

Stassen won the election by a whopping majority. The more prosperous farmers voted for him despite all the efforts of Benson. The neglected workers and poorer farmers either did not vote at all or, particularly in the rural sections, voted for Stassen.

What is more, an analysis of solid working class wards in Minneapolis showed that good union men, militants, had in many cases voted for Stassen. Men who would not dream of violating a union decision in the economic field, men who were ready to go on the picket line at a moment's notice, had voted against the unions' appeals. Why? It is hard to put it in a few words. They were sick of Benson, outraged by his disloyalty toward the unions, disgusted by his pretense of being a friend of labor. That Stassen would be no better they could well understand. But faced with a choice between the two, they got even with the s-o-b who had already been the governor.

The atmosphere around the Democratic campaign today is reminiscent of Benson's 1932 campaign. The alert analysts of the Democratic party will be losing many a night's sleep worrying about this problem—a problem which is insoluble for any capitalist party or, for that matter, for any party committed to the existing system.

Youth Congress Shows Stalinists Preparing to Drop "Anti-War" Line

The half-turn taken by the Stalinists, publicly recorded at the American Youth Congress sessions at Lake Geneva, Wisconsin, July 3-7, was reported in last week's *Appeal*. Some further details now available may help to indicate the exact significance of this latest Stalinist move.

The new Stalinist orientation was significant not only for what it said, but also for what it did not say. The Stalinist fraction's "Declaration of the American Youth Congress on National Defense" includes no specific pronouncement against economic aid to the British. It makes no attack upon the tremendous ten billion dollar defense program, and does not even mention Roosevelt's name where, formerly, he would be the focal point of attack as the leader of the pro-war orientation.

In the midst of fears expressed about the danger of American involvement in war, there suddenly springs out of the document a denunciation of "proposals for American participation in a new Munich at the expense of the people of our own and other lands." That is, pure "collective security" stuff of the 1935-1939 vintage!

The key sections of the "Declaration" are best understood in the light of the circumstance in which it was introduced.

The one specific peace activity proposed for the American Youth Congress, anti-conscription, was under discussion. (It looks at this writing as though the Democratic convention is going to take this proposal for its own!) Joseph Lash, spokesman for the pro-Roosevelt forces, was arguing that the anti-conscription resolution did not provide for emergencies, such as invasion of the country.

STALINISTS MEET LASH HALF WAY—AND MORE

It was then that Mac Weiss, Young Communist League president, proposed that the anti-conscription resolution be prefaced by the "declaration on national defense." That was more than satisfactory to Lash, for here are the two key paragraphs in the "declaration":

"We declare our readiness to contribute to the great task of defending our country and our democratic rights against any

attack of enemies from without and against betrayal from within, as in France. We are prepared to support whatever measures may be necessary for such defense of our nation and our inalienable rights and liberties to which we are entitled under the Declaration of Independence, the Constitution, and the Bill of Rights.

"In any war in which our country may be engaged, we—the youth—will be the first to suffer, the first to shed our blood, the first to die. Our readiness to make every sacrifice in a just cause gives us the right to insist that we shall be called upon to make such sacrifice only in a just cause. It gives us the right to insist that our needs and aspirations, our aims and ideals be incorporated into the heart of any program elaborated for the defense of our country."

There is the meat of the declaration: leaving the way open to finding a just cause—under the present, capitalist government of the United States—for which it is O.K. to die. Stalin and Roosevelt or Roosevelt's successor, when they agree on that just cause, will dictate it to a willing American Youth Congress.

MEANWHILE THE LINE COMBINES IRRECONCILABLES

Pending that Stalin-Roosevelt agreement, the American Youth Congress, like all other Stalinist institutions, will continue to peddle a mixture of the post-Hitler pact "anti-war" line and broad hints of the coming new line.

A grotesque example provided by the Youth Congress in its resolution on the colonies. It achieves the feat of combining Roosevelt's line of opposing transfer of colonies from one power to another (i.e., from Britain and France to Germany), with a "demand" for colonial independence! It resolves "that the Sixth American Youth Congress stands opposed to the transfer of colonies from one power to another, and supports the fight of colonial peoples to secure their independence." That "and" connects two absolutely incompatible propositions! It is therefore the fitting symbol of the present stage of the Stalinist line.

Social Democrats Try Hard to Blur Lesson of France

By FELIX MORROW

If you read the labor and liberal press, you have been reading three basically differing stories about the events in France: (1) the bourgeois-democratic and social-democratic—these two tell essentially the same story; (2) that told by the Stalinists; (3) the story which we, the revolutionary Marxists, tell.

The differences between our account of the French debacle and those of the Stalinists and social democrats are not merely one of "interpretation." Facts, as Lenin used to say, are stubborn things; some facts, if true, make impossible a given interpretation of the events. Hence no one can, with a wave of his hand about differing interpretations, avoid the task of determining what the facts are; he must then accept only that interpretation which flows from those facts.

In the coming weeks I shall deal with the Stalinists. Here I wish to add a few comments to what I said last week about the falsification of the facts about France by the social democrats. To its previous lies the latest *New Leader*, organ of the Social Democratic Federation, adds new distortions.

A New Alibi For French "Democracy"

The *New Leader*, apparently recovering somewhat from the hysteria induced by the transformation into fascists of its idols of yesterday, no longer repeats such obviously fantastic lies as the one about a "fascist putsch," which was its previous explanation for the transformation of French democracy into totalitarianism. Its July 13 issue attempts a more subtle apology for the French bourgeoisie.

Here are typical paragraphs:

"This week, to a world mourning defeat after defeat of democratic forces, came the heartening news that Leon Blum, Paul Reynaud swathed in bandages, and scores of other French democratic leaders were in Vichy fighting to keep alive the French tradition of Liberty, Equality, Fraternity.

"The attempt to force upon the country a fascist constitution with the consent of a rump parliament met its first resistance from a group of deputies and senators headed by Herriot, president of the Chamber, who succeeded in forcing the government to submit the constitution to a plebiscite. This in itself may save the Third Republic, but it is symptomatic of the coming political battles in France, the consequences of which may be profound.

"Herriot also took the lead in repelling the shameful plan of the counter-revolutionary government to throw a sop to Berlin and Rome by trying Daladier, Mandel and other political leaders for alleged responsibility for the war. Leon Blum, one of the men upon whom the hatred of the reaction is centered, appeared challengingly at Vichy, ready to face the music and give battle."

It is easy enough to show that this stuff is compounded of untruths and half-truths. For example: Herriot's "leadership" against fascism actually consisted of (1) complete silence on his part as he presided at the Chamber of Deputies session which ratified the totalitarian proposals; (2) at the subsequent joint session of the Chamber and the Senate, Herriot was so r-r-r-evolutionary as . . . to register his abstention on the vote; (3) if it was so wonderful for Herriot to defend Daladier, then Laval is also wonderful, for according to a July 10 A.P. report Laval defended Daladier and other absentees, and complained that they had been prevented from participating by the armistice commission's refusal to provide transportation from North Africa.

But untruths about this individual or that is not the main crime committed in the *New Leader* accounts. The main crime is that these accounts deliberately seek to evoke, with references to Herriot, Blum, Reynaud, the impression that—although defeated and with a few defections—the "democratic leaders" of yesterday substantially remain also today. At all costs the "New Leader" will not tell the simple fact: that the same French bourgeoisie which held power yesterday by leaning on Hitler and a French military dictatorship—but yesterday and today it is the same French bourgeoisie. At all costs the "Marxists" of the *New Leader* will not use the Marxian categories of classes; for them there is no bourgeoisie, there are only "democrats" and "fascists." That yesterday's democrats become today's fascists—that is something which the *New Leader* seeks to suppress as much as it can, for central to its ideology is the myth that there is an impenetrable wall between bourgeois democracy and fascism.

New Leader's Method

As in other aspects of their degeneracy, the method employed in the above quotations by the social democrats is identical with that employed by the Stalinists. In China, for example, the Comintern swore by Chiang Kai-shek in 1925-27; then Chiang ceased to lean on the Comintern, changing to leaning on the imperialists; whereupon Wang-ching-wei took Chiang's place in the plaudits of the Comintern; when Wang capitulated to Chiang, the Comintern transferred its praise to the banner of the (bourgeois) Kuomintang. In America the same business is taking place with Roosevelt and John L. Lewis.

The same method is employed by the social democrats. Yesterday they swore by Weygand and Pétain; now these are traitors, and the praise goes to Herriot and Reynaud; if tomorrow these capitulate, maybe General de Gaulle (whom nobody ever heard of until June 15) will remain; if not, some bourgeois democrat might still be found; if not, there will always be Blum, as for the Stalinists there are always the Browders.

The method consists of avoiding like the plague all fundamental Marxist categories: bourgeois and proletarian, the nature of bourgeois democracy, the nature of imperialism, the nature of this epoch of the death agony of capitalism. Instead, Stalinism and social democracy are content with two fundamental categories: "good men" and "bad men."

SOCIALIST APPEAL

Vol. IV, No. 28 Saturday, July 20, 1940

Published Weekly by the
SOCIALIST APPEAL PUBLISHING ASSN.
at 116 University Place, New York, N. Y.
Telephone: ALgonquin 4-8547

Editorial Board:

FELIX MORROW ALBERT GOLDMAN

General Manager:

GEORGE CLARKE

Subscriptions: \$2.00 per year; \$1.00 for six months.
Foreign: \$3.00 per year, \$1.50 for six months. Bundle
orders: 3 cents per copy in the United States; 4 cents
per copy in all foreign countries. Single copies: 5 cents.

"Reentered as second class matter December 4,
1935, at the post office at New York, N. Y., under the
Act of March 3, 1879."

Fight with the Socialist Workers Party for:

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12. FULL SOCIAL, POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC EQUALITY FOR THE NEGRO PEOPLE.

What FDR Really Said About Sending Men

On Wednesday, July 10, Roosevelt sent a special message to Congress, proposing an additional five billion dollars for armaments, making a total of fourteen billion dollars for arms that he has asked for so far this session.

That afternoon and the next morning the papers came out with screaming headlines: "FDR Pledges Not to Send Men Overseas"; "Bars Sending Men Abroad"; "Pledges Americans Will Not Fight Overseas."

Roosevelt must have been grateful to the press for those headlines. For they went far to calm the fears of many who had believed that Roosevelt was preparing for war.

But Roosevelt didn't say what the newspapers credited him with saying. The newspapers had interpreted what he said—but theirs was a false interpretation.

What Roosevelt actually said was: "We will not send men to take part in European wars." That's a very carefully-phrased sentence, designed to give rise to such false interpretations as the newspapers made of it—but meaning actually something very different.

It is phrased that way so that, in the event that he does send troops to Europe, Roosevelt can say:

"I have never said that I would not send men to Europe. What I did say was that I would not send men to take part in European wars. But this war is not a European war. We are now involved in it. It is therefore our war and it is ridiculous to suppose that when we are involved in a war, we should not send soldiers to any section of the front, be it in Europe or in Asia or in South America. I have never promised not to fight on all fronts in a war."

That's what Roosevelt would say. And, technically, he would be right.

It's a pretty shabby trick, of course. Roosevelt uses a lawyer's formula, the papers deliberately misinterpret it, the people read the newspapers, sigh with relief and think they are no longer in danger of being dragged into war—and that leaves it so much easier for Roosevelt to go on plunging this country toward war.

As a matter of fact, however, even if Roosevelt promised in plain English never to send our boys overseas, that would still be no guarantee that he wouldn't send them. Just remember what Woodrow Wilson did! He ran in 1916 on a pledge to keep this country out of war.

Roosevelt is neither better nor worse than Wilson. When Wall Street decides we shall enter the war, Roosevelt will obey his master's voice just as Wilson did, and regardless of any promises that he has previously made.

The fact that Roosevelt doesn't lie as completely as did Wilson, but contents himself with a weasel formulation—that can only mean that we are closer to war than America was in November, 1916! Even on the eve of a new presidential election, when every assurance of continuing peace means votes, Roosevelt cannot give even a formal assurance against war—because he KNOWS how close to war we are.

But in any event no worker should guide himself by what the Democrats and Republicans say. What do they do? They join in voting billion after billion for arms—for war. They join in voting for regimenting Labor and conscripting us. Their actions tell the story—not their words.

Japan Hires O'Ryan

Lots of people know Major General John F. O'Ryan as a more or less professional super-patriot. Practically nobody has known, until now, that he is really an economic and trade expert of considerable degree.

All these years the general has been hiding his light under a bushel of red-white-and-blue-ism. But now it shines forth by itself—only it turns out to be the rising sunlight of the Japanese. For the general, without honor in his own country as an authority on international trade, has found a truer appreciation of his worth in the precincts of the Japan Economic Federation—a Japanese government agency for promoting foreign trade.

The Federation so fully appreciated the general's worth in the field of economics that it is paying him \$15,000—not exactly pin money—"to make an economic survey affecting trade relations between Japan and American exporters and importers." Should the general's labors as an expert extend beyond three months, he is to collect \$5,000 per month for each additional month worked.

These facts came to light when Gen. O'Ryan felt obliged to register with the State Department as an agent representing foreign interests. He denied in his registration that he was exactly an agent because, he said, there was no element of profit by his principal. We are sure that the same modesty, which has impelled the general to conceal his unsuspected ability as a trade expert all these years, must have made him extremely reluctant to register in this public manner. Perhaps knowledge of the matter slipped out unintentionally and he thought he had better come out with it.

Considering all that we are hearing these days about fifth columns and treachery in the high army, navy, and government quarters of many nations, it is refreshing to think that a real patriot like Gen. O'Ryan, with his intimate knowledge of the War Department and the workings of the U.S. army, would sell nothing to Japan but his abilities as a trade surveyor. Maybe the general really figures that by taking \$15,000 from Japan in good American money he is performing a patriotic act by reducing Japan's foreign exchange balance. Nobody, anyway, would think of calling him a Fifth Columnist.

Stalinist Fakery

The International Executive Board of the United Automobile Workers Union met in Chicago and issued a unanimous endorsement of a third term for Roosevelt.

Strangely enough the Stalinist *Daily Worker* has yet to comment on the UAW board's action. The Stalinists are (still) opposed to Roosevelt. They control many UAW locals. None of them protested the board's action. The board's action was unanimous—but a good contingent of board members are Stalinists.

What's the explanation? Sheer duplicity, sheer Stalinist fakery. Principles are good, but union posts are better. Anyway the Kremlin's seeking a pact with Washington, whereupon all good Stalinists will again become patriots.

The same thing happened when the CIO executive board unanimously adopted its statement supporting the government's defense program.

* * *

The *Daily Worker* waxes wroth at the foul settlement of the demands of the aluminum workers. Its July 14 issue carries an editorial entitled, "National unity hoax hurts the workers." It points out that the Mellon monopoly has made 78 millions in aluminum in the last three years. "And yet," it points out, "the aluminum workers—asking a modest 10 cents per hour increase, which would have only amounted to \$4,000,000 according to the company itself—are chiseled down to a mere 2 cents per hour rise. This is what these 15,000 workers are handed out, after a two-weeks run-around."

Quite true. What the *Daily Worker* DOES NOT point out, however, is that the workers got chiseled down to a mere 2 cents per hour rise because their union, a CIO affiliate, agreed to that foul settlement. The union "happens" to be under John L. Lewis' thumb, and "happens" to carry a hefty load of Stalinist organizers. Hence the *Daily Worker* walks on eggs.

You don't have to imagine what the *Daily Worker* would have said about that foul settlement if the union hadn't been a semi-Stalinist CIO outfit. You merely have to read the rest of the same editorial, which is a diatribe against the International Ladies Garment Workers Union for having accepted a poor settlement for the dressmakers after a two-day stoppage.

The Stalinists will go down in history as the most brazen fakery that ever ruined a union.

In the World of Labor

Paul G. Stevens

British Fourth Internationalists Hold Successful National Confab

Right on the heels of the Emergency Conference of the Fourth International, we receive word that the Revolutionary Socialist League, British Section of the F.I., has just concluded a successful national conference "somewhere in England." Naturally, the meeting took place under ideal conditions. It had as the main point on its agenda the problem of combatting the drive against proletarian revolutionists undertaken by the Churchill government in the wake of the anti-revolutionary actions initiated by the Labour Party bureaucracy. The latter anticipated the reactionary moves of the ruling class by banning, on May 2, the Militant Labour League, left wing Labour organization, to whose work and publications (*The Militant*, etc.), our comrades have devoted their principal attention and effort.

In contradistinction to the pacifists and centrists of the Independent Labour Party, the conference condemned the use of Conscientious Objectors Tribunals as contrary to militant working class policy. It reaffirmed the Bolshevik stand of working for socialist revolutionary aims within the armed forces amidst the masses of drafted proletarians.

"The League had issued a resolution," the report of the conference in the Internal Bulletin of the R.S.L. reads, "concerning the Russo-Finnish war, which took the accepted line of the Fourth International and had put forward the immediate slogan of an embargo on arms for Finland. . . . A brief report on the International was given, including a summary of the American party dispute." The League's actions as well as the stand of the Fourth International towards the Soviet Union were endorsed by the delegates. No minority similar in views to that within the American party was in evidence.

In relation to the main practical task, the attitude to be adopted as a result of the ban against the Militant Labour League, the conference voted for a resolution from which we excerpt the following passages:

"1. This conference reaffirms the basic strategic line of the organization in the building of the new revolutionary party. This consists of work in the mass organizations, the Labour Party and the Trades Unions, in preparation for the radicalization of the masses arising out of the political and economic crisis of capitalism accentuated by imperialist war. . . .

"3. This tactic was based on a Marxist analysis of the current situation and of probable developments in the future. This analysis is in no way altered by the Labour Party ban. What is necessary therefore is not a new strategic line, but a tactic suitable for existing circumstances. . . .

In other words, our comrades have decided to find new means of continuing the tested policy of working close to the organized labor movement, instead of, as some dissident groups propose, deserting mass work for the existence of a sectarian propaganda circle. While maintaining relations with such groups which claim adherence to the F.I., in an effort to bring them into the organization, the conference rightfully refused to countenance any compromises with sectarianism.

USSR Closed to Refugees--- As Stalinists "Weep" For Them

By RUTH JEFFREY

The Stalinist *Daily Worker*, for the past several weeks, has been shedding pious tears over the mistreatment of refugees in France. But for all its depth of feeling, the Stalinist organ nowhere suggests that the Soviet Union rescue these helpless victims of capitalist terror.

This has been the consistent record of the Stalinist press since the refugee question became a burning issue with Hitler's pogroms against the Jews.

It makes interesting reading today to look back on the excuses the *Daily Worker* fabricated for the exclusion of refugees from the USSR.

Pressed for reasons from their own membership, the Stalinist hacks finally set down, at the height of the Nazi pogroms of '38, an unsteady line.

On Nov. 28, 1938, the *Daily Worker* said, in an article by V. J. Jerome:

"The Soviet Union has at all times offered its territory as a haven to refugees from all the five continents.

"But the operation of this policy has to be understood in relation both to the international situation in the present period, and to the fundamental program of completing the construction of the classless society. . . . One must also realize that there are those Jewish refugees who, though fleeing from fascist terror, are in their class status and outlook, bourgeois or petty-bourgeois, and consequently, may not wish or may not be able to adjust themselves to a Socialist economy and culture. And, of course, everybody realizes that, particu-

larly in the present period, with the second imperialist world war already raging, the greatest vigilance must be observed against the penetration of carefully planted spies and other fascist agents."

It is interesting to note how we answered this in the *Socialist Appeal*, December 3, 1938:

"The Jerome alibi is a gross fraud. He dares not and cannot tell the real truth. For while the Stalinist parties abroad still go on the old line of urging the democracies to make war on the fascist powers, Stalin is already preparing the new line: rapprochement with Hitler, if Hitler will only agree.

"That is the explanation for Stalin's silence on the question of opening the doors of the Soviet Union to the refugees. Hitler does not approve of anyone's opening the doors to the Jews, and Stalin winks Hitler."

The December 17, 1938 *Appeal* also had the following to say regarding the line as previously put forward by Gannes in the Nov. 18 *Daily Worker*:

"According to Gannes, the fault for the failure of the Soviet Union to speak out (on behalf of the refugees) lies primarily with the British Tories. Why and how? Because they were responsible for not inviting the Soviet Union to the Evian conference last summer and will prevent an invitation to future conferences dealing with the problem of the refugees, thus 'barring the USSR from making its enormous contribution to the consideration of the refugee question' (quoted from Gannes)."

"Exactly how, however, the *Appeal* continued, 'the mere inclusion of the Soviet Union in any conference would be able to solve the problem is not made clear by

Our Australian Section Outlawed by Government

From Australian papers we learn that the Communist League of Australia, Section of the Fourth International, has been added to the list of organizations declared illegal by the Menzies government. The action against our Australian comrades was taken without an official decree, the police simply banning them from usual places where they have been holding meetings.

"Members of the Communist League of Australia," says the June 17 Sydney *Telegraph*, "were prevented by police from holding a meeting in the Domain yesterday. . . .

"A crowd of about 15,000 attended the Domain yesterday afternoon. There was a good sprinkling of khaki in the crowd but, for the first time for several Sundays, there was no organized demonstration by soldiers. . . .

"The police were acting under Commonwealth regulations issued on Saturday declaring illegal the Communist Party of Australia and several fascist organizations.

"The Communist League was not mentioned in the regulations. When its members began to set up their platform in the Domain, they were told by Inspector Ferguson that if they addressed the crowd they would be liable to arrest. The Communist Party had made no attempt to hold its regular Sunday Domain meeting.

"Mr. J. Kavanagh, who was to have been chairman of the meeting of the Communist League, said last night: 'Our party, followers of Leon Trotsky, was not on the banned list of organizations. We assumed that we would be allowed to speak. . . . (Telegraph, June 17).

Of course, the newspapers only give as much of the story as the censorship will permit, and a direct report from our comrades has not yet reached here. But several things are obvious even from the *Telegraph's* account: (1) A full-fledged government anti-red drive is under way. In other columns of the paper raids on organization headquarters and homes of individuals are reported. (2) The "spontaneous" actions of "outraged" soldiers did not succeed in breaking up the meetings of our comrades. In a previous issue we had reported that one such action in January was repulsed by a workers' meeting under the leadership of our comrades with complete success. (3) Apparently, as the figure of attendance shows—15,000 conceded by the bourgeois press—the meetings of our League were growing to such proportions as to require government action, if they were to be stopped. (4) Our comrades had also, apparently, taken over the leadership of large numbers of workers formerly under the leadership of the C.P. The chairman of the banned meeting, comrade Kavanagh, is, as readers of this column will recall, one of the leading Communist militants who quit the C.P. in the course of the past year.

We are not as yet in a position to know what course of action our Australian comrades are contemplating under the new conditions. But our knowledge of them and of the daring and courage which made possible their recent progress makes us confident that they will know how to surmount the new obstacles on their path, how to retain their contacts with the militant Australian workers, and to find the path toward building the party of the proletarian revolution in Australia. Our warmest greetings of solidarity to the Communist League of Australia!

Workers Cannot Be Isolationist With Regard to War

By ALBERT GOLDMAN

Too many class-conscious workers accept and spread the idea that since the war now raging in Europe is an imperialist war, therefore it is not a war in which the American workers should be interested. All that the American workers should do is to struggle for better conditions in this country and forget about what is going on across the Atlantic.

Such an attitude towards the war might be termed working-class isolationism. As sincere as this attitude is, it is far from being correct.

It is obviously true that the war is a bankers' war, a war in which rival imperialist forces have hurled millions of human beings into terrible misery and cruel slaughter for nothing more than their own profits. It is obviously true that the working masses will gain nothing out of their sacrifices by the victory of either side.

But it is not true that the American workers should not be interested in the war. It is not at all correct to say to the American workers: Let them fight and die over in Europe; we here are interested only in the struggle against the boss.

That is a form of isolationism to which the American workers dare not fall victim. If they do they are doomed to be sucked into the very imperialist war which they fear so much and which they think they can avoid by simply concentrating their efforts on the struggle at home.

If there is one simple truth that should sink into the mind of every worker it is that capitalism has developed to a point where not a single capitalist nation in the world can erect a wall around itself and thus succeed in leading its own existence without taking into consideration what is going on in the rest of the world. Before Hitler came to power he shouted loudly about autarchy, about making Germany a self-sufficient nation, but now he demands more and more living room by which is meant more and more countries to exploit. Imperialism has bound the whole capitalist world together economically and he who does not see that is blind to reality.

Three Kinds of "Isolationism"

Three types of isolationism exist in this country. The only type that is really entitled to the name is the one represented by the sincere person who thinks that the United States proper is perfectly able to shut itself off from the rest of the world and to create a self-sufficient economy with democracy prevailing in every loophole. According to these people, who have eyes that do not see, a beautiful paradise can be created in our country keeping fascism and social revolution beyond the frontiers.

If you talk to them about capitalism with its surplus products, its unemployment, markets, the necessity for investment of capital and such other regrettable but real things, they can only shrug their shoulders and point to the riches of this country as evidence that it needs no contact with the rest of the world. These people are completely oblivious to the real forces dominating the capitalist system.

The other types of isolationism are in reality forms of American imperialism. Most modest of all "isolationists" is the one who is satisfied with the Western Hemisphere. He would leave Asia, Europe and Australia strictly alone.

The third type of "isolationist" insists on adding the Far East as a section of the world designated by God and nature as specially reserved for American imperialism.

The world is, however, too small to permit the American "isolationists" peacefully to retain control over the Western Hemisphere and the Far East. There are other imperialist countries to reckon with. The far-seeing capitalists and their intellectual henchmen understand that any kind of isolationism is impossible and that the interests of American capitalism extend throughout the world. As against any of the "isolationists" Roosevelt, whose policies are clearly based on the supposition that the United States must play a dominating role in the whole world, is one thousand per cent correct.

Workers understanding and accepting the international character of the capitalist system will of course not accept Roosevelt's policies even though they reject the idea that isolation is possible for American capitalism. Understanding the true nature of capitalism, advanced workers will not counsel the masses to interest themselves only in their struggles for better conditions and to pay no attention to the war in Europe.

War Inevitable If Capitalism Remains

For it is as certain as anything can possibly be that if the workers permit the capitalist system to exist in this country, the war which is now confined to Europe will engulf them. If it will not be the present war it will be a continuation of it in the form of a third imperialist war.

It is therefore necessary for every worker to think seriously of the problem of how to stop the war in Europe. This can not be done by an attitude of indifference; by simply saying that we must stay out of it and concentrate our attention on the struggle for better conditions in this country.

We must of course fight for better conditions. It goes without saying that we must exert effort to prevent the capitalist government from dragging us into the war. Yes, we must do our utmost to prevent any social gains from being destroyed under any pretext.

But to confine ourselves to that struggle is not sufficient. Should the workers accept the idea that it is simply their task to fight the boss here and not pay any attention to the war they will end up where the French and British workers finished. They will have the war whether they like it or not and they will lose all their gains in addition.

The American workers must face the bitter truth. They must intervene in the war in Europe. They must try to transform that war into a real war against fascism. And that can be done only by destroying capitalism in the United States.

Yes, this is a bankers' war. But it is a war killing millions of workers; it is a war which is bound to reach us. It is a war which we must stop. And we can stop it only by overthrowing the capitalist system which is responsible for it.