## 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.

adequate steps to meet it, no mat- scale for the attack and to hurry

through with the job.

intricate and complete. It is ne-

cessary to build fire-towers for

the guard, redoubts, bomb-proof

efficient lighting, additional alarm

job must be done quickly.

Bob Harte has forfeited his

He accepted his assignment like

We have no doubt that all

Fraternally,

CHICAGO, July 8-Prepara-

tions for the forthcoming con-

vention of the Democratic par-

ty have reached a degree of re-

finement conceivable only in

the moral atmosphere of Chi-

cago. For the last several days,

special details of police have

been assigned to the neighbor-

hood of Madison (Chicago's

skid-road) and Wolcott where

the Stadium is located in which

the nation's assembled Demo-

crats are to meet. Their duty is

a simple and virtuous one: to

brow-beat or shovel up or oth-

erwise remove all the habitual

drunks who ordinarily grace

the pavements there. They shag

those who can still navigate ov-

er to Lake or Monroe; the rest

they lay away for a week or

The reason for this action is

a moot one. Is it done so that

the sensibilities of the nation's

leaders will not be offended by

an unesthetic sight? Or is it in

deference to a possible philo-

sophic moment when one bum,

looking down upon another,

might say, "There, but for the

two in the cooler.

ROOM FOR

FARRELL DOBBS

thought of self.

An appeal for funds at that time secured a very generous response from S.W.P. members, and friends. Undoubtedly they ample time to make sure that will similarly respond now, for they had accomplished their task. all party members and friends But the very existence of a sperealize the seriousness of the situ- cial defense made it necessary for ation and the necessity of taking the GPU to organize on a large

ter what the cost may be. The text of the appeal follows: To All Party Members and

Sympathizers: attempt to murder Trotsky was revamped and made much more Stalin's latest and most serious 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 members of the regular police protection, automatic defense meguard for the purpose of obtain-ing detailed descriptions of the tary architects, recommended by inside of the house and the de-fense mechanism. Others were the Mexican government, have been engaged to assure technical neighborhood and watch the precision in this work Considerhouse for months carefully to able quantities of material are study the movements of the needed. Skilled workmen must be

household. The attackers were well supplied with necessary equipment | Thanks to the prompt response for all possible emergencies of the branches to our first apmachine guns, incendiary and peal, funds were provided to behigh explosive bombs, scaling lad- gin construction and keep it in ders, portable electric saw, etc., progress. But substantial addietc. The thirty members of the tional funds are required to commurder band were dressed in mil- plete the job. It will take approxiitary and police uniforms. Tre- mately \$2,500. mendous resources were necessary for such large-scale prepara- young life for the workers' cause.

After brutally murdering Rob- a soldier and made the supreme ert Sheldon Harte, the secretary- sacrifice with the courage, devoguard who was on watch, the at- tion and selflessness of a revolutackers proceeded toward the tionary fighter. He joins the main objective in their gruesome ranks of our honored dead, but task, the assassination of Com- his name lives on as an inspirarade Trotsky. Hundreds of rounds tion to all. Others have come forwere fired from the machine guns ward to fill the gap left by his into the patio and the house. An tragic loss, others who know that incendiary bomb was exploded in the reward for their services may the house in an unsuccessful at- be death. But, just as Bob did, tempt to burn Comrade Trotsky's they serve loyally and without

Thought They Succeeded Scores of bullets were found members of the party and all embedded in the floor and walls sympathizers will recognize the of Comrade Trotsky's bedroom. Slugs ripped huge gashes in the possible to re-enforce the defense of both Comrade Trotsky. Under the beds of both Comrade Trotsky present world conditions we alone and Comrade Natalia. Powder burns in the mattress gave mute testimony of the assassins standtestimony of the assassins standing at the foot of the bed to fire other obligations to maintain the coup of the c de grace.

Confident that they had accomplished their objective, the at- ders for the defense of Leon tackers fired a final volley and Trotsky payable to Coyoacan departed. But they had failed. Fund, and mail them to Rose their beds; they had quietly con- New York City. cealed 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 prole- CHICAGO MAKES

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 grace of politics, lie I"?

# Socialist Appeal

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

ALL DEFENSE WORK!

TRADE UNION WAGES ON

Vol. IV, No. 29

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



FIVE (5) CENTS

## DEMOCRATS OFFER US FOUR MORE YEARS OF CRISIS, UNEMPLOYMENT

#### Canadian Seamen's Defense Depends On Us This experience demonstrates Union Head Still that the defense must be entirely

Jailed Incommunicado

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

Sullivan was arrested before he had completed presenting the union's demands to a federal conciliation board, which was set up in April when the government forced the union to call off a week's strike against Great Lakes shipping

The arrest was made secretly, the authorities selzing 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.

He is held under Section 21 of the Defense of Canada Regulations, which reads: "The Minister of Justice, if satisfied that with a view to preventing a particular person from acting in a manner prejudicial to the public safety or the safety of the state it is necessary to do so may, notwithstanding anything in these regulations, make an order . . . directing that he be detained in such place, and under such conditions, as the Minister of Justice may from time to time determine."

# Make all checks and money or-

dell Hull.

man of the New World Resettle- of millions of dollars. ment Fund said in his letter:

persecution, from racial intoler- wards a considerable distance of the masses of people, are NOT from political pogroms.

dous in scope that it should be tion. faced by all of the countries in the Western Hemisphere. . . . It is a question of the resettlement of

hearted individuals. riched as they have been in the of the UAW. past with an influx of defenders of democracy, many of whom rank high in the world's hall of

to welcome? etc."

Spanish Loyalist refugees.

## Auto Union Convention Spotlights Weaknesses

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

unions and has set the pace for the Defense Council. movement of America.

ship was in a position to use its next two or three years." ecutive Board members then got from Congress. spoke in favor of such a program and assured the convention that these tasks could and would signal to the union leadership, by further eliminating from all im-

#### Cleveland Program Dropped

A request that the refugee True, as Secretary-Treasurer Wall Street bankers and profitproblem be placed on the agenda Addes reports, the union is in a eers. For the big manufacturers, The intended victims were not in Karsner, 116 University Place, of the Havana Conference when superior financial position than it is easy to secure relaxation of it opens July 20 was voiced this at the time of the Cleveland con- the tax provisions, and to make week by the New World Reset- vention. But this is only a sec- sure that they will make a huge JAMES P. CANNON tlement Fund in a letter to Cor- ondary achievement. Many dec- profit out of the production of repit and even dying AFL un- war materials. Oswald Garrison Villard, Chair- ions still boast of union treasuries

As a matter of fact the UAW "Historically the New World has been marking time since the effect against the working class has been the haven for refugees last convention and has without go on. Taxes on tobacco, on movof the Old World fleeing from question, declined and gone backance, from religious prejudice and from the high point reached by relaxed. The Packard Motor comthe union in August, 1937, at the pany is relieved of tax burdens, "But the problem is so tremen- time of the Milwaukee conven-

#### Ford Still Unorganized

Ford, employing about 25% of many hundreds of thousands of all the workers of the automobile families, including many of the industry, still remains unorgankeenest minds of Europe. It is too ized. There are fewer Ford worktioned committees or generous- the time of the Milwaukee con- taxes, as they recently did by re vention. In spite of all the big fusing to honor the government "There are vast areas in the talk, promises and thousands of order for 9,000 airplane motors. New World that will be enriched dollars spent since the Cleveland that is "Patriotism." When the through cultivation. And the peo- convention, no progress has been shipyard workers went on strike ple of the Americas will be en- made in the No. 1 Organizing Job for a few cents an hour more

#### Fiasco In Parts Plants

The situation is equally bad in the work of organizing the unor-"May we urge in the name of ganized competitive parts plants. our Committee that you request Absolutely no real progress has bosses . . . another set of laws that the Refugee Problem and all been made in this field, so im- for the workers. of its ramifications be put on the portant to the welfare of all the | The National Defense Council agenda of the Havana Confer- parts and accessory workers, in has found it possible to amortize ence? What can be done about spite of the fact that the union the taxes on the Packard Motor transportation? What type of today has a larger number of or- Company. That is, payment is and overturned cars, a dozen "abrogate the terms of the agree- licans began to wend their way refugee is each country prepared ganizers on its payroll than a deferred for several years. year ago. The few small, scat- But every day workers shell for violating the injunction. The company union. Meanwhile the gloom. For what Roosevelt had

(Continued on Page 2)

(Special to the Socialist Appeal) (Special to the Socialist Appeal) DETROIT—The United Auto- DETROIT—Tax provisions will nobile Workers of America will be relaxed by the Federal governhold one of the most important ment in order to overcome the national conventions in its his- ebjections of the Packard Motor tory on July 29 in St. Louis, Mis- Company to incurring the risk of Union and the A. H. Bull Lines, a huge investment necessary for the seamen on this line made the Unquestionably the UAW is the the production of the 9,000 Rolls following gains! \$7.50 per month

to the whole industrial union Press, the Packard Motor company refused to accept the con- of 10 cents an hour. Since the last convention held tract for National Defense bein Cleveland over a year ago, the cause the huge capital investment flat \$10 per month and 10c an union has been free of factional involved might be lost if "the hour increases of the other coast-

full energies on behalf of the growth and progress of the union.

In other words, Packard and Waterman, C & G, and Range the other motor industry bosses Line companies, it is far in ex-The Cleveland convention last are "patriotic" only up to the year, by unanimous motions, point at which a financial loss voted the organization of Ford, might result . . . and then "sound the unorganized competitive business principles" prevail. Aftparts plants, the aircraft industry er all, it's O.K. to be patriotic, and the winning of the 30 hour but not at the risk of a financial week at 40 hours pay as the key loss. Patriotism . . . plus a "legitijobs to be achieved by the union. mate" profit. That is what Pack-All the elected officers and Ex- ard Motor company wants, and

#### A Grim Contrast

While the workers are told to work a longer work week, to dethe picture and the union was free of factional battles. Immediately after the convention, the auto workers gave the service of the production of the plants for t auto workers gave the go-ahead plants for the production of arm- pat on the \$7.50 per month and aments, on the grounds of the 10 cents increases. "insecurity" of the investment, portance in the industry the dis- and because of the terrible possicredited Homer Martin AFL outfit.

bility that bloody world war II with this proposal, explaining the conditions leading up to this

Yet the UAW has made no Packard Motor Company merely \$2.50 a month which was the difprogress along the lines indicated demonstrates again the fact that by the Cleveland convention this government represents the mand and the company proposal.

#### Workers Bear Burden

But the taxes recently put into ies, on thousands of daily needs 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 meant by "Patriotism."

When the Packard Motor comthe work of Fifth Columnists.

#### Equality of Law? That is the Democracy we are

asked to die for. One law for the

The New World Resettlement Fund has just negotiated a contract with the government of past year have been cancelled out tract with the government of past ye Ecuador for the resettlement of by the equal number of organized at the figure of ten billion dol- Lakewood where the Cleveland beat this vicious anti-union com- in Wall Street and among farlars for this session of Congress. police force cannot be turned pany.

## SAILORS GAIN INCREASES IN

#### Secure Raises Despite Sell-out by National Maritime Union

After lengthy negotiations between the Seafarers International most important of the new CIO Royce airplane motors ordered by increase on all coastwise vessels, including the Puerto Rico run, the past three and one-half years According to the Detroit Free and \$10 on foreign runs, plus an all around increase in overtime

While this is not as good as the the SIU, such as the Seatrain, cess 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 SIU negotiating committee came back to the membership conditions leading up to this The quick capitulation of Con-gress to the demands of the ference between the union de-The membership accepted the latter proposal.

The aftermath to this situation was that as a result of the SIU gains, the Curran "leadership" of go up to their coastwise ship- PWA and WPA had given hope the next four years, is continuaowners and plead for an increase, to millions, and Roosevelt camsettling for the additional \$2.50 increase that the shipowners were willing to throw them.

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

The NMU got \$5.00 increase

## 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 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 struggles and the union leader- world situation stabilized in the wise lines under agreement with 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 spirit of 1932 and 1936. After possible and that these same eight years of rule, the Democonditions will prevail during another four years if Roosevelt is re-elected. Circat re- in real life the contrast is scarceforms? Destruction of the ly very apparent. PWA is gone, power of the "economic royal-ness dogs the workers. A majorlonger to be even promises!

those of 1932 and 1936!

delegates seemed to believe that his National Defense Council and it would come to pass! In 1936 the Democrats were as Stimson and Knox in his

riding an economic upturn (that cabinet! collapsed the following summer), paigned with vigorous denuncia- country. tions of the "economic royalists" ing Roosevelt's re-election.

#### But Now?

In Chicago this week, however,

able to explain away the meager-What a marked difference ness of the country's gains in four between this convention and the "economic royalists." On their shoulders he placed the blame. stalemate. In addition, there was Everything Seemed Possible Then Today, however, the Democrats In 1932 the Democrats swore can no longer resort to that alibi. that all that Hoover had stood for Roosevelt will be making no atunemployment, hunger, inse- tacks upon the money-changers. curity-would be ended by the for that would be ludicrous with election of Roosevelt. Even the Stettinius, Knudsen and Budd in such spokesmen of Wall Street

So all that the Democrats can the NMU got up the courage to a decrease in unemployment plus promise, as their maximum for That isn't very much to sweep

whom he would now really drive the country with, and a realizaback. A fast-growing labor move- tion of that difficulty was a sobper month increase on all coast- ment directly took part in secur- ering blanket on the convention. Gone was the unfeigned enthusiasm of 1932 and 1936-the high spirits of assured victors.

Many journalistic explanations with NO overtime increase at all. almost nothing remained of the 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 else-

#### Charlottesville High Point

Only a month ago, it had seem-

(Continued on Page 3)

## Defense." That is what is CIO Die Casters in 3rd Week keenest minds of Europe. It is too ized. There are fewer Ford workvast to be solved by well-intenders in the UAW today than at pany goes on strike against high

CLEVELAND, July 13-Defy- loose against the workers, is ing anti-picketing injunctions, im- howling for the National Guard, where. Were Roosevelt's prosported plug uglies, and a vicious | The union is showing in court pects what they had been in 1936

here having failed in the past.

lynch campaign in the daily press, that the plant hired professional every delegate-especially now wages . . . that was denounced as the CIO National Association of strikebreakers from Toledo and that Roosevelt wasn't talking Die Casters is putting up a real Detroit, and one of the company "left" as in 1936-would have descrap against the Precision Cast- finks testifying against a picket fied the Heavens in defense of ings Co. In the two-week old was proved to be in jail during breaking the third-term tradistrike here. This is the third the time he was alleged to have tion. But Roosevelt's prospects strike waged against the plant to seen rock throwing by the picket, were very different now. gain union recognition, several While the company claims the attempts by the AFL to organize union has only two or three members in the entire plant, it fights After workers had barricaded against an NLRB election on the ed that Roosevelt had clear sail-

the gates with a mass picket line grounds that it has no right to ing into a third term. The Repubworkers were hauled into court ment now in effect" with the to Philadelphia amid the deepest

# ORKERS' Labor In Minneapolis Observes The First Anniversary of WPA Strike

Write to us-tell us what's going on in your part of the labor movement-schat are the workers thinking about?-tell us what the bosses are up to-and the G-men and the local copsand 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.

Charles Curtiss

For the Los Angeles section

Pacifist Bemoans Our

are using a wrong method.

applied in trade union action.

With best wishes,

Mr. Paisley's "religious paci-

war is indicated, presumably,

by the envelope in which he

sent his letter: its back con-

from that great fighter for a

the source of war, but only

against one manifestation of

capitalism, war-and it there-

dealing with one pacifist group,

tion against imperialist war-

LONG ISLAND CITY

BRANCH

BEER and DANCE

Rainbow Ball Room

10-21-47 Road

(in New York)

SAT., AUG. 3, 1940

CONTINUOUS DANCING

PROFESSIONAL

ENTERTAINMENT

Long Island City

EDITORS.

Baltimore, Md.

"Class Hatred"

Editor:

#### Imperialism Is Not "New or Revolutionary"

dismayed by the rise of the "new" the splinter movements. ians are now called Ethiopians work will be remembered by the and that the rulers of Italy are working class. now called Fascists, these lines We offer our condolences to his might have been written yester- wife and sons.

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 banded knaves,

Drive thy starved sons by thousands from thy shore, Send them to rot in Abyssinian

And hide the cancer festering at thy core?

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.

Egitdio Mattina Easton, Pa.

#### The Death of Frank Halstead

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 People's 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 "Militants, 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

## MINNEAPOLIS, July 14-The labor movement of this city this been in a much stronger position and fight for decent appropriaweek celebrated the first anniversary of the great WPA strike of today.

1939. Some of the leaders of that strike in Minneapolis are still in "If there is still a WPA pro- cause, they said, "The governthe federal prison at Sandstone, serving sentences on the charge of gram at all in the United States, ment can't find the money, the "conspiracy" against the WPA law.

casion in the following terms: "It is difficult to remember that there was a time when WPA employed about three million workclass, with a clear forceful mind. ers, when it paid the prevailing time element. The that the politicians and some sections with a clear forceful mind. After starting the Left Opposi- wage scale, when workers who After starting the Left Opposition movement on its way, com-

rgan of the Teamsters Joint

rade Halstead withdrew from the try were retained on WPA, when many to pard and popular demovement into the role of a sym- some WPA workers made from mand to pardon all the strikers. For the sake of those socialists pathizer. He later joined one of \$70 to \$103 monthly. All that was changed by the Roosevelt-Wood-(even "revolutionary") phenome- In spite of the differences be- rum relief law that went into efnon of Fascism will you please tween himself and our organiza- fect a year ago, and it was in an old travel book, copyrighted the Socialist Workers Party sal- standards that precipitated the in an old travel book, copyrighted in 1905. Except that the Abyssinunderstanding of all the hundreds spontaneous strike of half a milin 1905. Except that the Abyssinunderstanding of all the hundreds spontaneous strike of half a milin 1905. Except that the Abyssinunderstanding of all the hundreds spontaneous strike of half a milin 1905. Except that the Abyssinunderstanding of all the hundreds spontaneous strike of half a milin 1905. Except that the Abyssinunderstanding of all the hundreds spontaneous strike of half a milin 1905. Except that the Abyssinunderstanding of all the hundreds spontaneous strike of half a milin 1905. Except that the Abyssinunderstanding of all the hundreds spontaneous strike of half a milin 1905. Except that the Abyssinunderstanding of all the hundreds spontaneous strike of half a milin 1905. Except that the Abyssinunderstanding of thousands who participated in left to decent jobs at union of thousands who participated in left to decent jobs at union of thousands who participated in left to decent jobs at union of thousands who participated in left to decent jobs at union of thousands who participated in left to decent jobs at union of thousands who participated in left to decent jobs at union of thousands who participated in left to decent jobs at union of thousands who participated in left to decent jobs at union of thousands who participated in left to decent jobs at union of thousands who participated in left to decent jobs at union of thousands who participated in left to decent jobs at union of thousands who participated in left to decent jobs at union of thousands who participated in left to decent jobs at union of thousands who participated in left to decent jobs at union of the participated in left to decent jobs at union of the participated in left to decent jobs at union of the participated in left to decent jobs at union of the participated in left to decent jobs at union of the participated in left to decent jobs at union of the participated lion workers in New York, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Illinois, Michigan, core. Wisconsin, Minnesota, the Dakotas and elsewhere. The strike

> of the Socialist Workers 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 I do not wish to be too rude or Workers Alliance (but not the Al abrupt with you. I appreciate liance nationally), thousands of your noble and self-sacrificing Minneapolis WPA workers joined work for peace. But I believe you

the demonstration.

turned out to be the most popular

movement of mass protest ever

"It is ironical to recall how The real hope for peace lies in those who today protest so much the religious pacifist method as their love for "democracy" treat-I wish I could help you see the last July. How the WPA authoried the Minneapolis WPA strikers religious basis of all true peace, ties refused to close down the so that you would stop fomentprojects in the manner customary ing hatred against the "Boss in disputes; how Roosevelt and class." But unless you do stop it, Yet none the less shalt thou most I have no time to read your their opening salvos in the camican workers that "You can't John Paisley strike against the government." We recall the revelations that FBI agents were sent into Minnefist" method of fighting against tains an "anti-war" declaration better world, President Coolidge! That example is typical of pacifism in general: it does not fight against capitalism,

#### Proud of Labor's Record

ers and sisters.

fore necessarily denles that "But labor's memories of that is shown by the following figures: capitalism and war are inexstrike and its aftermath are not tricably tied together. Thereby altogether dark. It is with tremendous pride that union men and women can recall how recognition with the mendous pride that union men and women can recall how recognition with the mendous pride that union men and women can recall how recognition with the mendous pride that union men and women can recall how recognition with the mendous pride that union men and women can recall how recognition with the mendous pride that union men and women can recall how recognition with the mendous pride that union men and women can recall how recognition with the mendous pride that union men and women can recall how recognition with the mendous pride that union men and women can recall how recognition with the mendous pride that union men and women can recall how recognition with the mendous pride that union men and women can recall how recognition with the mendous pride that union men and women can recall how recognition with the mendous pride that union men and women can recall how recognition with the mendous pride that union men and women can recall how recognition with the mendous pride the mendous pride that the mendous pride that the mendous pride the mendous pride the mendous pride the mendous pride that union men and the mendous pride it serves to defend capitalism. This issue of the APPEAL carries an important article the Committee on Militarism in Education. The struggle against pacifism is a very important opposition; how unions throughout the country sent in generous ent wage rates rose from 102 in part of the struggle for an efcontributions to the Central La- 1914 to 130 in 1918 they actually feetive working class mobilizabor Union's WPA Defense Com- fell 25 points because the cost of mittee—how the defendants and living which stood at 103 in '14 the Defense Committee attorneys were able to prove to the satising this same period the profits faction of every fair-minded per-of the U.S. Steel Corporation rose over four hundred and fifty milture of the government's persecution and the innocence of the government's victims. We recall how the strong arm of labor was able as Baltimore, Bath, Maine, etc., the strong arm of labor was able rent rates rose 65%. In Detroit at the last moment to snatch 125 rents went up 380% by 1918! workers out of the clutches of District Attorney Victor Ander-

## **BAKERY DRIVERS** WIN SIX-WEEK STRIKE IN OHIO

LORAIN, Ohio-Showing some was almost unobtainable. ery drivers won a six weeks' school children were made with strike at the Spang Baking Com- paper soles that had to be repany here. Working as a part of placed on the average of once the Cleveland Bakery Drivers every ten days.

drivers. After organization of the bak-ery drivers of other companies in Lorain is completed, the Spang DURING THE LAST WAR contract will be reopened with The working class did not like resolutions. This week we see the UAW. The U.S. government, un- auto workers for the critical days 100% pro-Roosevelt line. agreement which will bring con- peaceably accept them as their has adopted still another resolu- and the Wall Street bankers, has ushered in the new period by sell- people are finding themselves in those which prevail among Cleve- torians call the period from 1916 must be organized! land bakery drivers. This should to 1918 one of "turbulent indusbe the beginning of a real organ- trial unrest." During that period izational drive in Lorain which is there were a total of 11,430 the most backward of the small strikes and 336 lock-outs.

if the government has not yet government hasn't got the GOING WAY UP! An editorial in this week's NORTHWEST ORGANIZER, militant dared to draft and regiment the money." jobless into the army, if the new Council, commemorates the oc- son and the federal government; 8-months' relief bill provides jobs how labor throughout the nation for an average of 1,900,000 work-White House with demands that selves and above all, thank the tive elemency. It is to the eternal WPA strike of 1939 taught the tions of the labor movement didcannot venture safely.

> "The workers and unemployed "The fight made by organized of the United States, like all manthe 1939 strike were sound to the entrance of the United States into that war, impelled by the laws "It is always better for organ- of capitalism and the desire of ized labor to resist stubbornly the wealthy American industrialnew repressions of the enemy, ists and bankers for new colories, new markets and spheres of in-"The Minneapolis labor move- vestment, will bring about vast ment did well to throw itself with changes in the status of the unfervor into the fight. Naturally, employed and the problems that there were not and could not be confront organized labor.

any assurances beforehand that APOLIS'S in the nation, five sixteen billion dollars for the war ernment. more cities where the labor move- machine-more money than the ment took a progressive and re- federal government has spent for Makers! sponsible attitude towards their relief in the entire last six years, unemployed brothers and sisters, much more money.

the strike would have been won "How very wrong and cowardly "For Union Wages and Condi-

hands down, and organized labor were those politicians and fake tions on all Government Defense and the unemployed would have liberals who refused to demand Jobs!"

tions for the unemployed, be-

"The money was there all right the almost daily war appropriations now reveal this clearly. It not care to appropriate it for the use of the unemployed, it was just

APPEAL SALES

500 to San Francisco!

500 to Los Angeles!

100 to Youngstown!

the Appeal-and the warm recep-

very anxious to take advantage

of the offer of 500 copies of the

Appeal at a reduced rate. It might interest you to know that

very extensive plans for circulat-

ing the Appeal have been made

and the comrades are very de-

termined to see these plans car-

ture of our movement.

PLACES ITS ORDER

SAN FRANCISCO

ried out.'

500 to Boston!

400 to St. Paul!

100 to Toledo!

accord them.

"In the struggles to come, may the toilers everywhere take new courage from the memory of the labor in defense of union stand- kind, are now confronting one of brave fight conducted last year, ards was a thousand times justi- the darkest and most reactionary and vow anew to resist tyranny

"On this first anniversary of the Great WPA Strike of 1939, organized labor dips its banners been carrying on mass activity pressure, these still constitute a at the grave of Emil Bergstrom, victim of Bloody Friday at the than to give up the battle without new sources of raw materials, 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, "In the last few months alone, with those brothers still incarcerthe fight would be won. But had Roosevelt has asked for and Con- ated in prison, and with the famithere been FIVE MORE MINNE- gress has united in giving him, lies of those jailed by the gov-

"Against War and the War-

"For Jobs at Union Wages for

## What the Last War Taught their opening salvos in the campaign to psychologize the American workers that "You can't

months.

By MARVEL SCHOLL

The Fight Was Right

a struggle.

apolis, disguised as unemployed cost of living was one of the con- every section of the country. Ari- During that period capitalism workers and directed to the sew- tributing factors to the greatest zona's four leading copper coun- could still afford to grant the MINNEAPOLIS ing project to spy on the strikers, wave of strikes which have ever ties were tied up for three concessions they demanded. To- REPORTS -And we recall the mass indict- struck this country. Real wages ments by a federal grand jury for dropped while apparent wages the flimsy charge of "conspiracy," rose-living costs so far outthe arrests of strikers in the mid-stripped the increases in wages oil per month, or one-third of the is fast falling to pieces. dle of the night, the astronomical that by the end of the war real bail figures set, the trials before wage rates had dropped 25 points. several weeks.

relation to both the cost of living and the profits garnered by the United States Steel Corporation

Thus we see that while appar-

same proportion!

a family of five was allowed only bad that the officers of the union two pounds per week. White flour have even stopped making promtwo pounds per week. White flour have even stopped making prom-

while on the part of AFL unions tically out of sight for many tempting to forget the unpleasant in this open shop town, the bak- working class families. Shoes for subject altogether.

by this method.

centrated in the large industrial BUT THEY'LL OUTLAW During the last war, the rising centers of the East, but struck STRIKES THIS TIME

nation's output, were tied up for

Northwest during the summer of

Apparent cost Real Profits of the the Great Lakes stopped 64 vessels carrying wheat and iron ore

increase was more than 200%. Italist class.

day the story is different. Instead The California oil fields which of a rising capitalism, we have much inspired by the results of Tell your contacts not to let

Roosevelt, as spokesman for the capitalist class, knows full take to their places of work to ly good for another six monthsthe sentencing of 32 of our broth- real and apparent wages stood in lumber workers of the Pacific well that the only way the pass out to fellow workers. Very and it'll be the best dollars' worth 1917 saw 70,000 men fighting for the projected war with its present neighborhoods for subscriptions." nies! higher wages, union recognition, able to whip the labor movement economic system intact, is if he is A strike among the seamen on to a pulp before the country is sent into the war.

The present wave of legislation against the aliens, the WPA fense of the strike victims in the 1917 112 142.1 79 544,994,879 the War Labor Board. This same against unions—all these are only very teeth of the government's 1918 130 174.4 74 500,808,116 agency stopped a strike which fore-runners of what is coming. would have tied up the entire The persecution to which the larailroad system of the country, bor movement will be subject mind-to break the back of the movement-to destroy the threat

## Auto Union Convention 77%, food 62%, rent (average) Spotlights Weaknesses

(Continued from Page 1)

ises and excuses for the lack of automobile industry.

Airplane Campaign On Paper

Local No. 52, these drivers won | Huge fortunes were made by UAW conventions, the UAW In. fight for the 30-hour week but, in the Morgan-DuPont "National Unfortunately they can expect recognition, pay increases, and speculators who cornered the ternational Executive Board and practice, believes it to be nothing Defense Council." vacations after the union threat- markets on needed commodities the CIO Executive Board on the but impractical moonshine, and This shameful sell-out has al- From the top officials to the lowened to pull the company's driv- and held them until the prices immediate necessity of launching sidetracks the fight at every op- ready borne its first fruit in the est business agent all are becomers in Cleveland. The CIO steel went up. Income tax returns for a nation-wide organization cam- portunity, as revealed in the re- form of the rotten agreement ing 100% pro-Ally. Even some of workers in Lorain also stood 1917 show that there were thou- paign to organize the key air- cent negotiations on the last GM signed at General Motors, ram- the outstanding leaders of the ready to cooperate with these sands of new millionaires created plane and aircraft industry. The agreement. fact still remains, however, that the union is no further along on the road in this job than it was at the time it first adopted its the idea of negotiating a joint these conditions and they did not International Executive Board der the leadership of Roosevelt that lie ahead. Instead, it has But the contradictions these

30-Hour Week Dropped

And yet the winning of this ready accepted membership on TO BOSS PRESSURE

program is a life and death ques- the advisory committee to Sidney tion for the workers in this in- Hillman. The militant, powerful these gentry as they do with all dustry, which is rationalizing and auto workers union has thus, scabs and strike-breakers, but for re-rationalizing its production ev- without the consent of its mem- this they need to be organized At least half a dozen resolu- ery year. The International lead- bership, been committed to sup- politically in a labor party as well tions have been passed by the ership gives lip service to the porting and giving its blessing to as economically in their unions.

In the last months a new all-The strike wave was not con- on the 30-hour week. In direct vi- eyn Hillman, a Vice-President of appear next week.)

#### NEWARK'S ELECTION CAMPAIGN NEEDS APPEALS

JULY 20, 1940

Newark, N. J. -"The Newark branches are doing well with the Appeal. We are trying out an experiment, and will let you know the results soon:

"Some of the branches do their house-to-house work on a wide scale by going into one neighborhood one week, and then moving Pushing the APPEAL with un- on into a new neighborhood the precedented enthusiasm, the com- next. The others are concentratrades of nine branches, to date, ing on one neighborhood alone, throughout the country have going through with the paper drastically increased their bundle one week, and then the next havorders. Week after week they take ing talks with the workers. Both by storm working-class districts, methods are bringing good refactories, mills, union halls-al- suits.

ways pleasantly surprised by the "The attitude of the people we excellent reception the workers come across is on the whole still anti-war. Although here and there This is not a new experience to we do come across a few who the comrades in auto, who have have been won over by the war with the Appeal for months. But real minority among the workers.

even the auto comrades are taking a big step forward today: have more than paid for our first previously aided financially by the two 500-a-week bundles. We ex-National Office. The live-wire pect to keep this up, and in a Detroit Branch now informs us short while to pay off our back that it will assume complete fin- debt as well.

"At the next meeting of the ancial responsibility for its 500a-week bundle! We look forward District Committee we are going to hearing from Flint and Toledo. to take up the question of in-The way the comrades through- creasing our bundle again, as the out the country have rallied their paper is invaluable in our camforces to build the circulation of paign for George Breitman for U. S. Senator from New Jersey." tion given them by the workers SUB DRIVE

#### is an inspiration and a fore- GOING SLOWLY shadowing of the successful fu-

Subs continue to come in steadily, but at a discouraging low rate. It is to be hoped that the large scale house-to-house work will result in an increase in subs San Francisco, Calif.—"We are in the near future.

The past two weeks brought in

total of or properties.	
St. Paul	7
Los Angeles	4
Boston	3
Chicago	3
Omaha	2
Minneapolis	2
And one each for Allento	wn
oungstown Toledo Roches	ter

Houston, New York, Michigan, Minnesota, California, and South Mpls., Minn.—"We are very America.

supplied eight million barrels of today an economic system which our APPEAL house to - house the war pressure get them down! work. Workers are reading the Tell them that in this fair demopaper, some get extra copies to cratic land the Appeal is certain-United States can come out of shortly we plan to solicit the they ever collected for 100 pen-

## Fifth Column Hysteria staunchly organized labor acquitted itself in rallying to the deted strike victims in the 1915 102 105 97 104,433,846 In Chicago a strike among the ted itself in rallying to the deted strike victims in the 1917 112 142.1 79 544,994,879 the War Labor Board. This same against unions, all these are only

column drive has taken a ridicu- umnists.' lous turn, with the Sheriff announcing that Milton Lake, Young Peoples Socialist League, source of the industrial water telling the high-school students to supply in the valley, is being beware of the imperialist war, are guarded by men armed with torn down by orders of the local heavy double-barrelled shotguns police because, according to the ready to take "immediate action local newspaper, "they suspect against suspected saboteurs." fifth column activity." Milton Lake, besides being a reser-

olation of the instructions of the post in the National Defense fifth column elements by direct

President of the UAW has al-

med down the throats of the auto Youngstown truck drivers union, workers under the guise of na- long regarded as the pillar of protional defense necessity.

important problem confronts the nothing to prepare and steel the to the war for profits and the tions of well over ten billion dol- river of the Wall Street war ma- twinges at least. They find that

(A second article on the

YOUNGSTOWN, Ohio, July 12 voir, is also the site of an amuse-"Fifth columnist" is hurled al- ment park and of many picnics ready at everyone who speaks and swimming parties and more against the war or who questions than one young couple has re-Britains' role as the savior of turned lately telling stories of "democracy." In Youngstown the armed guards stealthily creeping latest development of the fifth up on them "looking for fifth col-

Already the leaflets of our

The war veterans, the American Legion, the Mahoning County Bar Association have organized a the CIO has already accepted a "sixth column"-"to deal with militants they will attack first.

#### UNION OFFICIALS SUCCUMB

The workers will deal with little help from their leaders. gressive unionism in this district. The union leadership is doing are now capitulating in advance

> in the Democratic Party they sit down beside the very bosses they ers have the decisive voice.

#### OUT TODAY! Manifesto of the Fourth International The Imperialist War

**Proletarian World Revolution** 

and the

A 48-page pamphlet on — CAUSES OF THE PRESENT WAR ROLE OF U.S. IMPERIALISM WHAT NAZI WAR SLOGANS REALLY MEAN RESPONSIBILITY OF 2nd & 3rd INTERNATIONALS WHAT TO DO NOW!

A COMPLETE PROGRAM! A CALL TO ACTION!

3c per copy to all branches of the S.W.P. 5c per single copy Published by the:

SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY 116 UNIVERSITY PLACE NEW YORK, N. Y.

cities in the Cleveland area.

They also prevented the coal once the war is under way will miners in Pennsylvania and Ala- be designed with one purpose in bama from striking. From April 6, to October 6, trade union and radical political 1917 there were 3,000 strikes. The wage increases as a result of these strikes amounted to 65% which the organized labor move--in some industries the rate of ment today holds out to the capi-

The average increases in commodity prices were - clothing cidentals 50%. In many cities where war industries were concentrated the landlords raised the increase and the raise was in the same period.

of the first signs of life in a long | Clothing and shoes were prac- progress in this field and are at-

ditions here into harmony with patriotic lot. Economists and his- tion that the aircraft industry pushed through record appropria- ing the auto workers down the must certainly cause a few

rent every time there was a wage shops lost by the union during the Cleveland convention, in flagrant Council under the leadership of action." When we remember the disregard of the requests of nu- Knudsen and Stettinius. Thus a strike-breaking role these self-A conference called on the merous large GM locals to live up huge, labor-hating, union-busting styled patriots played in the Lit-Butter retailed at one time during the war at \$1.25 per pound. Sugar sold for 35c per pound and a 100% fiasco. The situation is so the leader of the later of the

#### The New Danger

lars for the Army and Navy, in chine. preparation to plunge into the Particularly disgraceful is the World War to establish the sup- problems facing the St. Louis have been fighting for years, that record of the union top leadership remacy of U.S. Imperialism. Sid- convention of the UAW will these bosses, not the union leadNegro 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 everincreasing 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 guerilla 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 guerillas. Although native forces are mainly officered by their own fellow countrymen, they have an evergrowing 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

"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-inchief 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

The maximum of support must coming world battles. be arranged as quickly as posthe aid of England and France, pensable! e unquestionably had the backing of the most powerful sections of the capitalist class. Had the would have been a walk-away.

New Foreign Perspective of a war and of a different time- Barkley's speeches followed suit.

Hemisphere as its base of opera- too enthusiastic. ions. Instead of the problem of sending to England and France is many airplanes and munitions of German imperialism.

Roosevelt Now Dispensable That changed perspective topoled Roosevelt from his pedestal as the man of the hour. That changed perspective transformed he Republican convention from the gloom of its preliminaries to new-born hope of success by the time Willkie was nominated. 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 perspecive involves the need for "peaceful" maneuvers with Hitlerized Europe; Roosevelt is too hope-

#### On the eve of the German attack on the British Isles, Britain is maneuvering in a hasty and the Sunlit Shores of desperate effort to ward off Japanese blows on its wholly unpro-CLOVE LAKE tected Asiatic flank. Last week

TASTE . . the Proletarian Meal of Tomorrow PLAY . . . the games of

today LISTEN & DANCE . . . to the music of yesterdays immortals

SUNDAY, JULY 21 MEET AT SOUTH FERRY 10:30 A.M.

Take Bus No. 6 to Clove Lake (near Silver Lake) Auspices: East Side Branch

Whatever their particular reasible for France and England, sons, all the authoritative spokesity of Roosevelt in office was a choice about the presidency tominor price to pay for continu- day that they did not have on ity and acceleration of his for- June 10. Hitler's first successes ville speech, pledging "the mater- Europe out of American calcula-

#### Roosevelt Recognizes Change

changed. France capitulated, and European wars." Though, upon reactionary role of the Stalinists the possibility of Britain holding examination, it is meaningless as in the trade unions. out became slight. In that event- a commitment against sending uality, the American capitalist soldiers overseas-he could still class had to drop the perspective send them for American wars!of immediate aid to Germany's it would never have been uttered opponents. For without Britain by Roosevelt had the situation not tinction between the two is slight and France as fortresses from changed so drastically since his which to fight Germany, America Charlottesville speech exactly a had to think of a different kind month before. Bankhead and they are given credit for-what

Unable to offer the masses Instead of preoccupying itself more than a continuation of their with providing arms for France present plight, and shorn of their and Britain, American imperial- talking-point of an immediate naism must think now first of tight- tional emergency-no wonder the y organizing the entire Western delegates at Chicago were none

Best None Too Good They drafted Roosevelt because as could be manufactured within he was still their best candidate; the next few months, the exclu- who else could they put up? But sion of England and France from they had the distinct feeling that he war problem becomes one of the new situation. Twice Rooselonger view, of organizing velt had provided the best-pos-America as the direct challenger sible fig leaf for their partythat incredible bloc of Southern ity machines and workers' votes.

tenance of the status quo. That Democrats. isn't much. And the more farseeing of the delegates under-

## (Continued from Page 1) sighted businessmen who saw eye to eye with Roosevelt on foreign policy. | Continued from Page 1) | Iessly labeled as a friend of Hit-ler's foes; a man starting with a clean slate would be more useful in the preliminary rounds of the ler's foes; a man starting with a clean slate would be more useful in the preliminary rounds of the ler's foes; a man starting with a clean slate would be more useful in the preliminary rounds of the ler's foes; a man starting with a clean slate would be more useful in the preliminary rounds of the ler's foes; a man starting with a clean slate would be more useful in the preliminary rounds of the ler's foes; a man starting with a clean slate would be more useful in the preliminary rounds of the ler's foes; a man starting with a clean slate would be more useful in the preliminary rounds of the ler's foes; a man starting with a clean slate would be more useful in the preliminary rounds of the ler's foes; a man starting with a clean slate would be more useful in the preliminary rounds of the ler's foes; a man starting with a clean slate would be more useful in the preliminary rounds of the ler's foes; a man starting with a clean slate would be more useful in the preliminary rounds of the ler's foes; a man starting with a clean slate would be more useful in the preliminary rounds of the ler's foes; a man starting with a clean slate would be more useful in the preliminary rounds of the ler's foes; a man starting with a clean slate would be more useful in the preliminary rounds of the ler's foes; a man starting with a clean slate would be more useful in the preliminary rounds of the ler's foes; a man starting with a clean slate would be more useful in the preliminary rounds of the ler's foes; a man starting with a clean slate would be more useful in the preliminary rounds of the ler's foes; a man starting with a clean slate would be more useful in the preliminary rounds of the ler's foes; a man starting with a clean slate would be more useful in the preliminary r

Wall Street agreed, and continu- on this: they have a freedom of a simple question. There is no La- with the use of the National ployed and the farmers, could win bor Party, thanks to the trade Guard. This time the exhortations the election. union bureaucracy. To vote for fell on deaf ears. eign policy. On June 10, the day made Roosevelt indispensable; pointless even to militant work- brought out to the primaries if labor movement for granted, as Roosevelt made his Charlottes- Hitler's further successes, wiping ers; for the Socialist party of they were being asked to support something they had in their pockial resources of this nation" to tions, make Roosevelt quite disalien to the workers. As for vot- crat, wasn't enough to bring main group they were worried The changed perspective for ing for Browder, the realization them out. situation remained as it was that foreign policy had to be recog- that the Communist party is not FARMER-LABOR DEFEAT day, the November elections nized by Roosevelt himself, before a free agent for workers' action, SHOULD TROUBLE the convention opened. His July but an obedient tool of the Krem- DEMOCRATS 10 message to Congress contained lin, used for reactionary ends, has that lawyer's formula: "we will pervaded the militant workers. But the situation quickly not send our men to take part in Too many of them have seen the

> Faced, then, by little more than a choice between Roosevelt and Willkie, won't the workers vote for Roosevelt? Even if the disand the masses in the trade unions understand this better than 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

#### LESSONS OF THE

OHIO PRIMARIES food for thought. In the chief nor Benson," warning that the already been the governor. proletarian centers of that state, workers and farmers were not. The atmosphere around the American calculations meant that their best was none too good in labor-indorsed men uniformly going to assure the election. We Democratic campaign today is failed to win the primaries. Des- pointed out that the watered- reminiscent of Benson's 1933 pite the backing of the CIO and down program of the Farmer-La- campaign. The alert analysts of AFL (in some cases of both), bor Party-by that time it was the Democratic party will be lospoll-tax Bourbons, corrupt big- actionary candidates. They could Democrats, working with them ing about this problem—a probeasily have been elected by the nationally in return for state lem which is insoluble for any But all they could offer the masses of workers who were reg- support-was not going to inspire capitalist party or, for that matworking masses, now, was main- istered in previous elections as the workers and farmers to turn ter, for any party committed to

The difference between the labor-indorsed candidates and their stood it well enough. Even if the opponents was not sufficiently workers don't have a real alter- inspiring to galvanize the work-The lavish praise heaped upon still vote with their feet. If their union leaders designated as men during the early days of enough of them do, Willkie will "friends of labor." In previous

supplies through Burma would

stop-for a period of three

The new situation places the

Chinese government at Chung-

king on the sharp end of the

spike. The resistance of Chiang

Kal-shek and Co. to the Japan-

ese has been based upon the

support of the U.S. and Bri-

tain. If that support defaults

now-as seemingly it must-

Chlang will have to seek a new

He need not at all turn at once

angular situation involving Ger-

many, Japan, and the Soviet Un-

ion leaves him still with ample

room for maneuvering. Germany,

be it remembered, never entire-

ly severed its friendly connections

with Chiang even after it entered

Secondly, there is the con-

tinuing source of supply from

the Soviet Union, The Japan-

ese are not likely to succeed in

pinching off the last remaining

road from the outside world in-

to the unoccupied portions of

China, the road from the Sovi-

et Turkestan frontier. Nor is

Stalin likely to stop playing

along with Chiang at a time

when renewal of Soviet-Japan-

ese strife seems not far off. The

fact that the Soviet Union and

Germany are latently in con-

flict despite their pact provides

the canny Chiang and Chung-

king with a perfect set-up for

keeping his own pot boiling.

play along with the British

"peace." Chiang Kai-shek has

too little to hope for now from

making terms with Tokyo.

pact with Japan.

British Maneuver to Stave Off Japanese

Action Before German Assault

by GEORGE STERN

er from the East, began putting broad advantages they see open-

the heat on. Their first step was ing to them.

to choke off the Burma supply

route to China, just as they have

already closed the rail and road

links between French Indochina

Japanese forces began ring-

ing the south China British

citadel of Hongkong. The Bri-

tish authorities there, thrown

into a real panic, started evac-

uating their women and child-

ren. On July 13 the British

yielded and announced that

and the Chinese southwest.

Will the great majority of the for "friends of labor" like Gover-orientation of the Farmer-Labor workers vote for Roosevelt? At nor Davey who broke the "little party, a new program of bold de-America's fortresses in Europe, men for big business now agree first glance this may seem to be steel" strike shortly afterward mands on behalf of the unem-

> Norman Thomas cannot but seem They could only have been these proposals. They took the Thomas offers them neither a mil- bona-fide labor candidates - and et. nor a revolutionary way out; its Party. Anything less than that, centrated their attention on the middle-class gentility makes it even a union-card-holding Demo- more prosperous farmers, the

Minnesota trade unionists can offer testimony which can only add to the fears of the Demo-crats. With the onset of the economic crisis, Governor Olson led sections, voted for Stassen. the Farmer-Labor Party to one ment and the farmers?

they were defeated by openly re- little more than a left wing of the ling many a night's sleep worry out for Benson. Only a radical re- the existing system.

Benson's "brain trust" rejected

about.

Stassen won the election by whopping majority. The more prosperous farmers voted for him despite all the efforts of Benson The neglected workers and poor er farmers either did not vote a

What is more, an analysis of victory after another. After his solid working class wards in Mindeath his successor in the party, neapolis showed that good union Governor Benson, was able to men, militants, had in many cases score an enormous electoral ma- voted for Stassen. Men who jority. When Benson ran for re- would not dream of violating a election against the Stassen Re- union decision in the economic publican machine in 1938 the field, men who were ready to go Benson machine took for granted on the picket line at a moment's an easy victory. Didn't they have notice, had voted against the unthe support of the labor move- ions' appeals. Why? It is hard to put it in a few words. They were The progressive trade union sick of Benson, outraged by his leaders in Minneapolis knew bet- disloyalty toward the unions, dister. They warned the Farmer- gusted by his pretense of being a Labor politicians, but the latter friend of labor. That Stassen dismissed the warnings with irri- would be no better they could The recent primaries in the tated contempt. The Socialist well understand, But faced with heavily industrialized state of Workers Party of Minnesota is- a choice between the two, they Ohio have given these analysts sued an "Open Letter to Gover- got even with the s-o-b who had

## Youth Congress Shows men 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 Drop "Anti-War" Line

The half-turn taken by the attack of enemies from with-Stalinists, publicly recorded at out and against betrayal from the American Youth Congress within, as in France. We are sessions at Lake Geneva, Wisconsin, July 3-7, was reported in last | measures may be necessary for week's Appeal. Some further details now available may help to our inalienable rights and liberindicate the exact significance of ties to which we are entitled 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 What the British want is to "Declaration of the American gain time. What the Japanese Youth Congress on National Dethe Japanese, dazzled by the want first of all is an end to fense" includes no specific proprospects opened up for them by their bogged-down war in China nouncement against economic aid the disappearance of British powin order to be free to exploit the 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 orienta-

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 ple of our own and other lands." in supplication to Japan. The tri- 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.

into its famous anti-Comintern proposed for the American Youth under discussion. (It looks at this Congress, like all other Stalinist writing as though the Democratic institutions, will continue to ped-Lash, spokesman for the pro-Roosevelt forces, was arguing that the anti-conscription resolution did not provide for emergencies, such as invasion of the

#### STALINISTS MEET LASH

HALF WAY-AND MORE It was then that Mac Weiss Young Communist League president, proposed that the anti-con-No, Chungking is not likely to 'declaration"

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

prepared to support whatever such defense of our nation and 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 dec laration: leaving the way open to American participation in a new finding a just cause—under the Munich at the expense of the peo- 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 COM-The one specific peace activity BINES IRRECONCILABLES

Pending that Stalin-Roosevelt Congress, anti-conscription, was agreement, the American Youth convention is going to take this dle a mixture of the post-Hitler proposal for its own!) Joseph 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 ti.e., from Britain and France to Germany), with a "demand" for colonial independence! It resolves "that the Sixth American Youth scription resolution be prefaced Congress stands opposed to the by the "declaration on national transfer of colonies from one defense." That was more than power to another, and supports satisfactory to Lash, for here are the fight of colonial peoples to the two key paragraphs in the secure their independence." That "and" connects two absolutely incompatible propositions! It is therefore the fitting symbol of the present stage of the Stalinist

# Social Democrats

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 bourgeoisdemocratic 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. Leeon 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 vesterday 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 the workers' organizations, today holds power 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

#### 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 Petain; 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."

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## 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

"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'Rvan as a more or less professional superpatriot. 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-blueism. 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 control 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

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-Stalinized 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 fakers that ever ruined a union.

## In the World of Labor

#### 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 illegal 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

"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 attiude 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 strategical 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 accentlated 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 strategical 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.

#### 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 vesterday. .

"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 Fergusson 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!

## 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 pog-

roms against the Jews. today to look back on the excuses the Daily Worker fabricated for cist powers, Stalin is already prethe exclusion of refugees from paring the new line: rapproche-

the USSR. Pressed for reasons from their own membership, the Stalinist hacks finally set down, at the Stalin's silence on the question of

38, an unsteady line On Nov. 28, 1938, the Daily Worker said, in an article by V.

"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, evlarly 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 It makes interesting reading on the old line of urging the dem- alone: First, ocracies to make war on the fasment with Hitler, if Hitler will to the Jewish victims of Nazi only agree.

"That is the explanation for height of the Nazi pogroms of opening the doors of the Soviet woos Hitler.'

> The December 17, 1938 Appeal also had the following to say re-8 Daily Worker:

"According to Gannes, the fault for the failure of the Soviet Unwith the problem of the refugees, cialism! thus 'barring the USSR from

erybody realizes that, particu- the problem is not made clear by ders!

the apologist for the Soviet bu reaucrats. Can it be that Stalin has a plan which he is ready to spring at a conference? Why wait for an invitation to a conference? . .

"How simple it would be to show up the hypocrisy of the capitalist world by presenting a feasible plan and actually offering to assume responsibility for carrying it out!"

Gannes and the Daily Worker supplied the following reasons for the Soviet Union's inability to act

To have the Soviet Union "iso latedly attempt to grant asylum barbarism" would be to prove Hitler's contention that the Jewish people are communists.

Second, The Soviet Union is not Union to the refugees. Hitler does in a position by itself "successnot approve of anyone's opening fully to undertake so gigantic a the doors to the Jews, and Stalin problem as that of the Jewish refugees." (The Appeal of Dec. 17 tore through this alibi: "What is there to prevent the Soviet garding the line as previously put leaders from stating that they forward by Gannes in the Nov. will assume responsibility commensurate with their ability to offer asylum?")

Third, Not only are the British ion to speak out (on behalf of the Tories to blame for the USSR's refugees) lies primarily with the failure to act, but the Jews also British Tories. Why and how? must assume part of the blame Because they were responsible for because "no leading Jewish ornot inviting the Soviet Union to ganization has requested of the the Evian conference last sum- USSR that the growing number mer and will prevent an invita- of Jewish refugees be permitted tion to future conferences dealing to emigrate to the Land of So-

The depth of Stalinist degenmaking its enormous contribution eration can be seen mirrored in to the consideration of the refu- the story of Stalinist refusal to gee question' (quoted from provide asylum for the Jewish refugees-and all other anti-Nazi "Exactly how, however, the refugees. What cheap hypocricy Appeal continued, "the mere in- for them to set up an outcry now clusion of the Soviet Union in any about French mistreatment of conference would be able to solve suffering exiles within her bor-

## 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

#### 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 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

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 wokers 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.