# Socialist Appeal

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

We propose that the regular 1940 session of the Congress of the United States shall enact emergency legislation to put into immediate effect the following:

1. Appropriation of \$10,000,000,000 to provide, at once, jobs on housing and other public works projects for unemployed workers. 2. Amendment of the Wages and Hours Act to provide throughout private industry and public works a

maximum work week of 30 hours and a minimum weekly pay of 30 dollars.

3. 30 dollar weekly old age and disability pensions.

4. Appropriation of \$3,000,000,000 to guarantee either maintenance at school or jobs for all youth.

Vol. IV, No. 7

NEW YORK, NEW YORK, FEBRUARY 17, 1940



FIVE (5) CENTS

# WHY IS SUMNER WELLES GOING TO EUROPE

# Big Business Backs Lewis Blasts Roosevelt Newark Manager Plan

S.W.P. Backs Campaign of Organized Labor In Opposing Proposed City Changes

On Tuesday, February 20, a referendum is being held in the city of Newark, N. J., to determine whether the City Commission form of government shall be changed to a Council-Manager form.

The AFL, the CIO, the unemployed organizations and the Socialist Workers Party have called on the workers of the city to go to the polls that day to vote NO on the referendum.

Big Business For It Big Business in Newark, headed by the Chamber of Commerce and the Broad Street Association, is behind the move to change the Big Business spokesmen say AT JAMAICA form of city government.

they can reduce the high tax rate of \$4., which is bringing ruin to the small home-owner and shop keeper, by installing a City Council of 9 and an "efficient" City Manager who would reduce waste and save money. They propose to replace the present City Commission of 4 (1 died recently) by an election, to be held four weeks after February 20, of a City Council that would be "controlled by business men." They claim also that this will put an end to "graft and corruption" in the ger and the cold-blooded refusal

Their Real Plan

But it is clear that the real aim relief whatsoever, seventeen men cf Big Business is not to help the women, and children sat down in small business man, but to install the local Bureau at 88-83 Van a clique which will make certain Wyck Avenue, Jamaica, Thursthat the tax burden hits Big Bus- day, Feb. 8, and refused to move. iness even less than it does now. They want a government that Weinberg, ordered the demonwill be friendly to the corpora- strators out, Mrs. Angelina Brutions and the real estate specu- no, mother of six children shoutlators, Public Service and Pru- ed out defiantly, "You feed my dential Insurance and the like. | children then I'll go home, not be-

They want a City Manager fore." The Bureau authorities who will cut relief, who will re-called the police. Then Miss Weinfuse to appropriate any city mon- berg and her assistant; Miss ey for WPA projects, who will Breslau, laughed and joked with cut city services, who will reduce the police while waiting to see wages, who will cut appropria- whether the unemployed workers tions for the library and the hos- would get frightened of the police pitals, who will cut wages of the and go home. Not one person school-teachers and the lower moved. All the demonstrators raid city employees. In other were then arrested and hauled (Continued on Page 3)

# Lewis Is Right-But What Is He Going to Do About It?

bunking the "New Deal.." Lewis turned the leadership say is: spotlight on "America's Problem No. 1" unemployment.

'Well, why not do something about it?"

didn't tell us what to do about it, or what he agricultural workers and working farmers, is going to do about it.

you a job unless you force the politicians to

But how to force them — that's the ques-

nor anybody else has given a single reason that a Labor Party should fight for today. for thinking that another deal with the Dem- | "Why not do something about it?" Lewis

John L. Lewis roasted Roosevelt to a stopped. What every militant in the labor turn last Saturday. It was a good job of de-movement wants to hear Lewis and the CIO

"Eight years of the New Deal have demonstrated that the working class of this Halfway through his speech, Lewis asked country has nothing to gain and everything the right question—the burning question: to lose by supporting capitalist parties. It's time to build our own Labor Party. The in-But Lewis didn't answer that question. He dustrial and white-collar workers, and the together with their wives and sons and He did say: "Isn't it now apparent that daughters, constitute the overwhelming mathe politicians' answers are not going to get jority of this country. They should run it."

That's what the working people of this country are waiting to hear!

A Labor Party that will fight for a job and a decent living for every worker — open At the United Mine Workers convention, the idle factories - operate them under Lewis graphically described how, in the deal workers' control — a Twenty-Billion dollar with Roosevelt, the labor movement got the federal public works and housing programdirty end of the stick. He made clear that he a \$30-weekly minimum wage—a 30-hour ruled out the Republican party. That's fine, weekly maximum-all war funds to the un-But then he ended by projecting another deal employed—a people's referendum on any with the Democratic party. Neither Lewis and all wars—these are the kind of demands

ocratic party won't turn out like the last one. asked that question. Let him answer it as Lewis has gone half-way and then the workers want him to answer it!

# Envoy to Probe for **Anti-Soviet Front**

F.D.R. Sending Welles Abroad To Make Soundings Among Belligerents For New War Alignments

What will be the real mission of Sumner Welles in Europe? President Roosevelt has announced that he is sending his Under-Secretary of State to Europe to report "on present conditions in Europe.'

Pressed to give more details, the President said that only he and his Secretary of State, Cordell Hull, would be privy to Welles' "findings." It is apparently none of the people's business.

But within a few hours matters became a little clearer.

## ANTI-LYNCHING BILL HEARINGS **ADJOURNED**

#### Anti-Labor Loophole Slipped Into House Version of Bill

After hearing eight witnesses, hree of them from Texas and all favorable to the bill, the subcommittee of the Senate hearing testmony on the Anti-Lynching Bill adjourned sine die. Texas Senator Tom Connally, most vociferous opponent of the bill, presented no witnesses, though he had widely publicized his intention to have a large number testify in opposi- in the wind. tion to the bill. Some of the material he himself read into the record was supplied him, Connelly said, by Mrs. Jessie Daniel Ames, president of the Southern Wom-chief manipulator in relations en's Association for the Preven-

### Anti-Labor Loophole

The more progressive supporters of the bill are making an this portion deleted, creating a

With the bill pending in the Senate, Maryland state police were being held as material witnesses in the slaying of a farmer war. by unknown men. Statements of a 30 hour week at 40 hours pay, and state police concerning the stretches a grandiose picture of

Although both the Democratic nd Republican parties have given the bill half-hearted support (this is election year and Negroes form the balance of power in If union leaders fear that the more than a dozen states), the Those who were handed a war of attrition, wearing them30 hours at 40 hours' pay slogar leaders of neither party have probationary periods of one selves out in a constant and wide- is not feasible, that GM cannot given an unequivocal statement

> "Mr Garner has been on the public payroll all his life and at least half his life has been spent in Congress. He MUST know how to talk, and if so, why doesn't he himslf say the nice things about Negroes that his paid Negro henchmen say he says? . . . Like Mr. Roosevelt, he can be depended upon to say nothing definite and specific to encourage Negroes for fear of scaring off white sup-

based on class unity across racial ernments." were mothers and grandmoththe Flint plants. Usually the corinability or unwillingness of the
lines, can afford to take a clear
poration backs down, after a
lines, can afford to take a clear
stand, need not be afraid of given Roosevelt an "idealistic" Roosevelt that the American peo- greatly, and suggested that fight has been waged, lays the conduct a real offensive in Gen- "scaring off white support."

The most striking fact of the Welles mission—which was immediately commented on in Europe, especially in London — was the fact that he will go to Rome,

Paris, Berlin, and London - not

to Moscow. Then when Roosevelt on Sunday addressed the delegates of the American Youth Congress on the White House lawn, he openly attacked the Soviet Union, declared that "98 percent of the American people" were supporting Fi**n**land.

Add to this the fact that Welles is sailing together with Myron Taylor, named as Roosevelt's personal emissary to the Vatican, and the fact that the Vatican's whole effort in the war is aimed at bringing about an anti-Soviet coalition, and one begins to get more than a glimmer of what is

Welles-the evil genius behind the bloody regime of Machado in Cuba and the State Department's with the totalitarian dictatorships

of Latin America—is going to Europe to sound out the possibility of shifting the focus of the war from internecine conflict among the imperialists into a war of the powers against the Soviet Germany is a necessary part of this project.

### Hull Chimes In

Simultaneously with the Welles mission, Secretary Hull revealed that the Washington government is already engaged in many-sided duction of armaments," after the

America's Future Role Behind these empty phrases of supreme ruler and arbiter of a war-exhausted world. These negotiations are undoubtedly one of the first phases of Washington's assertion of its dominant place in world politics. But at the same time they have a more immediate purpose: to introduce American pressure upon the neutrals in their policies toward the war at the present time, to force them into the war alignments with which Welles will be dealing primarily during his European tour.

Isolationists Collapse Little opposition to Roosevelt's scheme is to be expected from Congress, as was to be seen this week when "isolationist" sentiment collapsed in the Senate and the bill to provide an additional \$20,000,000 for Finland was adopted. There was a round of applause when Senator King declared he favored the bill "because Communist Russia threat-Only a workers' party that is ened to destroy this and all gov-

# C.I.O. LEADER AGAIN LASHES

OUT AT F.D.R.

Challenges Him On Job's and Chance For Youth

WASHINGTON, Feb. 11 -John L. Lewis was an easy winner over Roosevelt in that debate here yesterday. It was a pity that the two of them were not battling it out on one plat-

The president had bumptiously told the youth they weren't sufficiently-informed to adopt a resolution against war loans to Finland. He had termed "twaddle' the proposition that such loans would lead to America's involvement in the war.

Lewis told him off: "It might interest the President to know that the recent convention of the United Mine Workers of America, with 2,400 delegates lief authorities to give them any in a deliberative convention in Columbus, representing a membership of 600,000 members and more than 3,000,000 members of dependent families of those 600,-000 men, adopted the same kind When the case supervisor, Miss of a resolution on Finland And I wonder if the president could call the resolution adopted by the UMWA 'twaddle.'

"Those resolutions (against loans to Finland) are symbolic WOMEN WPA of what is in the hearts, not only America, but of practically every citizen. They represent the of the young men and women of ery citizen. They represent the constant and the conscious and subconscious fears that, in some way, the politicians and states! men of this country and the warring world will in some fashion drag our country into their war,

and it's a protest. "It is a protest, and after all, who has a bigger, greater right to protest against war or any part of war, or the diplomatic intrigues of war, or the subtle politics preceding war, than the young men who, in the event of war, would become cannon fod-

Lewis was even more bitingly effective in commenting on the people without job opportunity,' for whom Roosevelt had no an-

"You listened to the president today, when you came away you didn't know where to get a job if you needed one; he didn't tell you that if you waited a year there would be a job for you, he didn't say that if you waited five years there would be a job for you. Because, apparently, he didn't know, and if he doesn't know, he finds himself in the same fix that you were on the Finnish question."

Again and again Lewis re turned to the economic plight of the young generation of today: "He (Roosevelt) said also, by implication, that perhaps there is too much furor being raised

years ago young people also wanted jobs. Some answer! "How much does that mean to one of you who needs a job? . . How much does that mean to those of you who have plans to get married and live the normal life of Americans? . . . And how many years of interruption to your normal plans will you enjoy? . . . How many

years must you wander and

hope that you will have an op-

portunity here in your native

land to live the normal life of

a normal citizen?" His speech was, in rough form an accounting of the bankruptcy (Continued on Page 3)

For 13 in Mpls; 1 Gets 45 Days Jail

ers convicted in the third suspended sentences and were elections."

week, when it quashed the re- General Motors Corporation. maining indictments against the 125 WPA strikers who had not yet been on trial.

cause ten, twenty and thirty Richards, Marie Morgan, ron, eighteen.

As the court opened, De-

(Continued on Page 2)

# Action Needed to Win 30-Hr. Week at General Motors

Company Is Trying To Wear Men Down tion of Lynching. With A War of Nerves and Words

nounced by the tops of the United Automobile Workers (CIO), viso that lynching "shall not be which gingerly places on the shelf all the real demands of the work- deemed to include violence occurers, reveals the usual trade union bureaucrat's error of placing ing during the course of picket- Union. The infliction of a decisive MINNEAPOLIS, Feb. 10 It is of course absolutely necessary for the CANALOGO of Representatives, the bill had an energetic campaign to win the coming NLRB elections in Gen- of Representatives, the bill had -The fourteen women strik- eral Motors. But how can they be won?

WPA trial were sentenced impending lay-offs, and of the key, which is pledged to fight on plight of the "4,000,000 young this morning in Judge Math- demands upon the corporation, kind and righteous employer. ew Joyce's courtroom. Thir- are not going to be satisfied with

placed on probation for peri- Militants who realize the imnie Kohn, drew 45 days in week at 40 hours' pay, and the and related demands NOW and

Guerilla Warfare

While this game of delay and evasion goes on in the CIO leadership, the ranks are engaged in

fense Attorney Tom Davis of its opportunities, has not hesi-tated to provoke these little hours in half at least, as a result rose to point out to the judge fiare-ups. Cases of minor discrim- of the additional employment of that most of the defendants inations against well-known un- a hundred thousand workers. were mothers and grandmoth- ion men are quite numerous in It is possible that due to the ple "will hold strictly accountable probationary sentences be given. whole matter at the door of some eral Motors, initiative for action That's the Socialist Workers Par- Soviet Union, and he is making petty foreman, or administrative

FLINT, Mich.—The General Motors program of "action" an- effort to keep in the bill the pro-

faith not in the militant action of the ranks, but in some kind of ing or boycotting or any incident military defeat upon Hitlerite legal machinations, in this case the National Labor Relations Board. in connection with any 'labor dis-It is of course absolutely necessary for the UAW-CIO to wage pute". As passed in the House Union and non-union men, acutely aware of their insecurity, of loophole to turn the law against

teen of the women received a merely verbal program, promteen of the women received ised by the leadership "after the
men. They cannot keep this up now from a mob of 1000 white the appropriate the appropri ods of one year to eighteen perative necessity of the CIO months. The fourteenth, Min-winning NLPB elections will demands which all agree are espress for action on the 30 hour sential.

government's retreat of last guarantee an election victory and niority system, etc., would easily sional opinion.

about jobs for young people, be- year are Bertha Gates, Pearl spread decentralized battle with afford it, let them look at the on the bill. As a Pittsburgh Cour-In plant after plant union mil- 1939 will be about \$200,000,000. Harriet Munson, Ida Dunlap, In plant after plant union into These profits now are poured intents in various departments are Lois Viens, Sigrid Asunma, fighting to secure and maintain to the coffers of the DuPonts and Myrtle Squarcello, and Mar-seniority rights, struggling ag-Morgans. If the UAW-CIO would garet Schoenfeld. Dorothy ainst speed-up, demanding a cut conduct a militant fight, and dein hours from 40 to 30 before mand the turning over of these Green, Ann Wisdom and widespread layoffs begin, in or- profits to the men who produce Stella Ross got fifteen months der to keep a greater number of them, they could provide jobs for probation, and Nellie Wald- men at work over a longer period 100,000 unemployed at a guaran-

imperative need of making strong error, and plays the part of the

Serious organizational meas-

The suspended sentences not in the vague future. A vigor- for a systematic shop steward rescue were obviously made with the future role that American imcame as no surprise, after the ous campaign TODAY would system, for a hard and fast se- an eye to the effect on Congres- perialism expects to play the role and rapidly rally the General Motors workers, guarantee first of all the NLRB election, and end in certain victory for the UAW-CIO. Company Has the Money

> facts. General Motors profits for ier editorial puts it, Company Provokes Flare-Ups | most \$500 a year to the income The corporation, always aware of all workers now employed by

(Continued on Page 2)

the working class.

But meanwhile these constant acted with unusual speed Wedmen. They cannot keep this up men from a mob of 1,000 white the announced purpose of making forever. Their militant action men, who had broken into the "preliminary inquiries relating to must be organized into a corpora- county jail at Snow Hill and a sound international economic tion-wide offensive to achieve the seized the women. The women system . . . and world-wide reguaranteed shop steward system ures to prepare for a fight for the governor, the county sheriff

## (Continued on Page 2) Behind the Lines

By GEORGE STERN

turned to the Near East where Levant now total some 300,000, large-scale Allied preparation for not counting the army of Turhostilities has become visible.

oil—the oil of Iraq and Iran and the oil of the Soviet Caucasus. War waged in the Near East would be war waged by the Allies against the Soviet Union, war waged for the oil that

tween the Black and Caspian Just as the war in the West represents a continuation of the conflict between Anglo-French imperialism and German imperialism, war in the Near East would be a continuation of the unsuccessful Anglo-French war of intervention against the Bol-

spurts from the ground be-

sheviks 20 years ago. And for such a war the Allies, superficially at least, are far better prepared. Turkey, which fought with the Kaiser's Germany last time, is now on the other side. The sprawling desert and oil-rich lands of the old Turkish Empire are now in the hands of perialism. Britain (Egypt, Iraq, Saudi Arabia, Palestine) and France (Syria and Lebanon). The British pull but would probably accompany the strings of the puppets that its extension on the European rule Iran and Afghanistan, al- fronts. The Soviet-Finnish war

their power is not uncontested. war preparations in the eastern an imperialist attack on the Sovi-Mediterranean during the past et Union. week have been: 1. The arrival of a large ex-

peditionary force of Australian and New Zealand troops, landing 2. The visit of Gen. Maxime

eral Staff quartered at Cairo.

The veering vane of speculation. 3. The open announcement in over the war's next phase has Paris that Allied forces in the The Near East, in the language the Allied side as soon as war of world power politics, spells out reaches that part of the world.

Refused To Leave

Were Given Food

In desperation because of hun-

of the New York City Home Re-

Until Children

4. Turkey's act in seizing Ger- swer. man-owned shipyards at the Black Sea end of the Bosporus and in expelling some 80-odd German technicians working in Turkish arsenals, munitions plants, and with the Turkish army and navy.

These, and a large number of previous indications accumulating steadily in the months since the war began, show clearly that whatever the turn takes in the West, the Allies are preparing once more to extend their search for plunder into Soviet Russia. They would seek the double goal of cutting off a vital possible channel of oil supply to Germany and of swelling their own war chests -and simultaneously dealing a heavy blow to the Soviet State whose destruction remains one of the prime aims of world im-

The outbreak of war in the Near East would not preclude, though in both these countries would assume more clearly its essential place in the scheme of The principal indices of Allied things as the opening phase of

What role Germany - and Italy-will play in the new turn of the war wheels-remains to be seen. To help shape this role may well be the prime purpose Weygand, French Near Eastern of the "informational" trip commander, to the British Gen- Sumner Welles is making to

get you a job?"

Suspended Sentences

the city workhouse.

# A New Chapter Begins in American Labor History: What Is at Stake In the Fight on Labor Unity?

By E. R. FRANK

John L. Lewis took a fall out of Roosevelt in their ex- questionably so considers himself. a decade ago, when the AFL, change on the question of labor unity. In Washington on Sat-Tobin remains an ardent New its membership. He is convinced urday, Lewis read with malicious pleasure the reply he had president of an important labor that the CIO with its centralized sent last October to the president's "peace" proposal; that took union, and that is why his unity authority, its industrial union care of Roosevelt's assertion that Lewis had not deigned to aims are so different from those structure and its modern and agcare of Roosevelt s assertion that Lewis had not delighed to of Roosevelt. That is why Tobin gressive methods of organization reply. What is more, Lewis was able to repeat his proposal of is putting the squeeze on the will achieve huge gains in memlast year: labor unity by the simple method of each CIO unit AFL Executive Council to "give bership in the coming period and being chartered by the AFL, with all "questions of detail" and make peace with the thus establish unquestioned hegesettled within the joint organization-i.e., an organization in which the CIO forces would have a decisive voice.

Progressives in the labor movement, whether in the AFL

or CIO, must clearly understand why the only worth- craft unions drop their stiff-neckbor movement is that in which the labor movement.

which policies shall possess the cil. Tobin envisages today a Council. hegemony of the labor move-united labor organization, strong- HOW LEWIS ESTIMATES ment; the industrial unions un- er and more aggressive than the THE COMING PERIOD der Lewis, Murray, etc., or the old craft unions under the domtwo groups of men, to be sure old line AFL craft unions. Tobin the American and European war American working class. But this conflict originates from the different type of unions that the two sets of leaders control, not merely an expression of personal dislike or hostility.

#### THE KIND OF UNITY ROOSEVELT WANTS

Roosevelt is not interested in a united labor movement because of solicitude for the welfare of the American working class. His interest arises solely out of his war program. He fears that the makes more difficult the realization of his goal: to reach a definite understanding with the top machine. Roosevelt is working for a united labor movement that conditions deplorable. The deindustrial workers who make up industries constitute the nerve centers of America's war machine. Roosevelt wants to mobi- In other words, which no one program? "... find out the facts

#### THE MEANING OF TOBIN'S UNITY DEMAND

Roosevelt Peace crusade.

Tobin's recent attack against gressive action. "less than a dozen men" who are purpose than the Roosevelt peace solemn words: campaign. Tobin's call-to-arms is an attack primarily upon the reactionary clique that runs the AFL Executive Council and was so understood and received by the

#### THE KIND OF UNITY GREEN WANTS

Green, who has the responsibility of the AFL national office and while kind of unity for the laof the demands of the CIO.

who has no base in any International union, fears even more The Teamsters Union and Tob- than the other old line craft unthe industrial unions will re- in have travelled a long way since ion officials, the eventual decay of the 1934 San Francisco coven- the AFL unless the labor split is main the leading tendency in tion, when Tobin denounced the healed and the federation is al-"rabble and riff-raff" that were lowed to absorb the young blood The split neither originated nor attempting to invade the AFL. of the modern industrial unions. is it continuing today because of Tobin today heads a powerful Just the same he, like the craft the personal hostility of Green or semi-industrial union of 400,000 union clique, to which he has tied Lewis or any other individuals. men; he is, in a way subject to his fortunes, fears the new un-Such an explanation is only for the same influences and pressures bridled masses of proletarian little children. The split originated on the basic question of or- Because of the changed status of itself. The AFL leadership want file itself. They must condemn "Your boy, Archie, can march off ganizing the unorganized indus- his union, Tobin's whole labor unity, but unity with the assurtrial proletariat of America's philosophy and approach is today ance that the new unions will much closer to that of Lewis than keep their place, pay their per part of Roosevelt or any other to war. The split continues today over to the policies of Tobin's col- capita taxes and not challenge The split continues today over leagues of the Executive Countenance of the

Lewis is convinced that the tagonism exists between these semi-industrial unions and the duction industries, feeding both the most advanced section of the

We believe that a democracy

owes a basic obligation to its

citizens to provide them with

opportunity to work and

achieve a progressively higher

standard of living. . . The AFL

to incorporate in their plat-

program for the elimination of

And what is this constructive

Cut a notch in the Council's belt.

sarv to restore business con-

fidence. We urge that all gov-

ernment actions that tend to

discourage business expansion

Yes, ves, we heard that before.

The Republican National Com-

mittee, the National Manufactur-

ers Ass'n, the American Cham-

ber of Commerce has been din-

ning that tune in our ears for a

decade. But what about the un-

employed, the jobs, the idle fac-

tories? ". . . we urge Congress to

create a national advisory

council on unemployment which

would have representatives of

government, business, labor

and consumers. Such a coun-

cil could bring about unity of

purpose and unity of action on

But suppose the members of the council couldn't agree among

themselves? Suppose labor is

voted down by "business" and

"government"? Suppose labor

doesn't like the program? Sup-

pose there is a lot of speeches

and no program? Ah, well! A

fine effort but perhaps the times

are not auspicious for "unity of

Fatience! There is something

positive. "Organized labor has

action" and "unity of purpose."

a constructive program."

The victory is already won.

widespread unemployment."

ment. Firmly convinced that the conscious tribute to the militancy future is with the CIO, he is de- and heroism of these women. policy vested in the leadership of the industrial unions.

capitalist politician. They will first, upon the old line craft union officials, in order to force ination of the Hutcheson-Frey- power divided somewhat evenly coming period will be marked by hands of the industrial unions workhouse, friends showered her Woll clique. A bitter personal an- between the new industrial and a huge expansion of all mass pro- and the industrial proletariat—

# is a logical compromise candidate for the leadership of such a united labor organization and ungrowth of the last war period of Tobin remains an ardent New its membership. He is convinced Dealer, but he is above all the president of an important labor that the CIO with its centralized Sentenced in Mpls.

(Continued from Page 1) fendant before him.

His observations were an un- pressing along this line.

The "better element" in the courtroom nodded approvingly. Mrs. Asunma stared unrespons-

ively at the judge. The courtroom, as usual, was through a united labor organiza- packed with strike sympathizers. tion, with the hegemony in the As Minnie Kohn was taken to the with cigarettes and money.

Presidential Pardon Possible The Workers Defense League on February 2 called upon Presi-

that the Central Labor Union's reason except that there is too seen a Socialist Appeal? Why? WPA Defense Committee is also much of that social democratic

termined not to subordinate the This one, he said, still believed seize the opportunity with both order because the weather is too CIO unions and their freedom of the arguments of the strike lead- hands, in the hope such a gesture cold. What an alibi! Would you action to the majority of the ers were sound and convincing. would enable him to represent say that to a group of striking AFL Executive Council, come That one believed herself to be himself as the genial friend of workers as your alibi for not what may. He wants unity and a persecuted. He couldn't see how the unemployed. New Dealers in showing up on the picket line? united labor oranization with the a third could be so ladylike and the union movement are banking Not if you had an ounce of rebel upper hand and the determining yet so militant on the picket line. on the President coming through blood in your veins! When it came the turn of the with a pardon, believing that Can your attitude to the Ap-Finnish woman Sigrid Asunma such an executive act will arm peal be any different than your Progressives have the task of he commented that she was un- them with an argument to pro- attitude to striking workers? explaining to the membership the cooperative. Skillfully bringing in tect Roosevelt against the bitter You answer that question for full meaning of the unity cam- the Soviet-Finnish war, Judge criticisms of the thousands of un- yourself. If the branches that paign. The progressives must Joyce suggested that Mrs. Asun- ionists and unemployed and will have cut their bundles think it fight for a united labor move- ma must be glad she is living in aid them in their drive to merge should be different, send us your ment, achieved only by the action the United States, not exposed to the Farmer Labor Party with the reasons and we'll print it in big arguments." Men Start Serving Terms

Fifteen of the men strikers to their internal aftairs on the school, he doesn't have to march sentenced last Saturday were taken from Minneapolis Thursday morning to Sandstone where they will serve periods of from 90 days to eight months. Ralph Core and Charles Connors, who received lighter sentences, remain here to serve their time in local penal institutions.

Tuesday in Washington the Senate appropriations sub-committeee held a hearing on confirmation of Glotzbach and Stolte, the two strike-breaking WPA officials promoted by President Roosevelt following the WPA strike of last July. Roosevelt promoted the pair after they had aided in crushing the strike here. At that time, Farmer-Labor Senator Ernest Lundeen, acting at the behest of the Minneapolis Central Labor Union, was able to block confirmation of the promotions in the United States Sen-

Early in January the President again sent their names to the Senate. The line-up on the Glotzbach-Stolte case is quite revealing. Governor Stassen, Democratic Congressman Ryan, Colone Harrington and Senator Shipstead, renegade Farmer-Laborite. re all siding with Roosevelt against the Minneapolis union movement and Senator Lundeen. Robley Cramer, editor of the Minneapolis Labor Review, Central Labor Union organ, appeared before the Senate sub-committee Tresday to deliver the Central Labor Union's protest against the will come from locals of the through the ranks . . . and a new

Governor Barold Stassen had written to Washington charging that "unsound left wing labor leaders who were back of the WPA strike are behind the present apposition to Clotzbach."

"Followed President's Orders" Colonel Harrington, in announcing his support of Glotzbach, confidence has been destroyed. The one potentially progressive said the man only carried out the poor banks have been forced between Dan Tobia and the arch. the instructions of himself and President Roosevelt in keeping the WPA projects open with the

Democratic Representative Ryradicals in Minneapolis in order to bring their political will to bear on the politics and personnel

Senator Shipstead, to whom the ment, had the gall to say: "I nomination should be confirmed."

waved aside the objections of organized labor and confirmed the two appointments. However, Farmer-Labor Senator Lundeen has announced he will take the floor in the senate next week to oppose the committee's report.

A Good Lesson New Deal followers in the la-

bor movement find themselves in in the case of Glotzbach-Stolte. Now this false policy and estimate has led them to the end of the road, where they find Glotzvelt's true role in initiating and his relatives. supporting the attacks on the un-

Red Sundays are a sure-fire proposition for increasing sales of the Socialist Appeal. This isn't agitation—its the gospel truth. Boston proved it to the hilt. Since they started on Red Sundays, they've increased their bundle or-

der by 100 copies per issue.

| dent Roosevelt to pardon all the The judge summoned each de-convicted strikers. It is believed the example of Boston? Not a the country which have never disease. — "it-can't-be-done-itis." Some labor leaders estimated That's what we think when a that President Roosevelt would branch asks us to cut its bundle from a ship in the gulf:

sell the Appeal if it's too cold to the San Francisco worker. And sell it on street corners. Here we'll be glad to print any critiare the contents of an attractive cisms or comments our seamen leaslet issued by the N.Y. Lower friends may have on the paper. East Side Branch to the "Laun- Meanwhile, how about our comdry Workers of the East Side":

copy of the Socialist Appeal, a working class newspaper. "In it you will find the story behind the headlines—the news that the boss press doesn't

dare to give-the news that's

'not fit to print'. "This week it contains a story on the laundry industry which will be of interest to you. "Every week it contains stories direct from the picket

lines and the fields of labor's struggles. It exposes the drive of America's Wall Street masters to take us into the Second World War.

"Read about labor's fight for better conditions, political rights and against war every

week in the Socialist Appeal. "Send us news of your shop and your union-your grievances and your victories. We will print it.

"Our salesmen will be in front of your shop every Tuesday and Friday. Read the Socialist Appeal—five cents a

copy." Why should there be any drop in circulation when there are thousands and thousands of Why can't every branch follow shops and factories throughout

> We've received the following letter from a ship's delegate.

"Enclosed find m.o. of \$1.00 for a six-month subscription to the Socialist Appeal. We subscribe to a good number of working class papers and at our last ship meeting your paper was added to our list upon a recommendation from C.W. at San Francisco who stated it was 'the foremost working class paper in the country'. Well, we may not agree with him but we are always willing to hear, read other workers'

We're sure that the Appeal will There are a thousand ways to live up to the recommendation of rades, friends and sympathizers "This is a free introductory who are sailing the seas, following the example of the ship's delegate on the Gulf? Make this your motto: An Appeal subscription on every ship!

> We don't like to print this record. But it's true. The only way we can change the copy is by you changing the facts. Appeal subs for the last two weeks:

Los Angeles
Philadelphia 2
San Francisco 1
Chicago 3
Boston 3
Kansas 1
Washington, D.C 1
New York City 5
Akron 1
St. Louis 1
Youngstown 1
Toledo 2
Berkeley 1
· -
• Total24
· •

day of growth will dawn for the

teeth in it! Demand action now!

# the two sets of leaders control, the different interests involved, the different policies pursued, and the different policies pursued, and not merely an expression of per-Issues for Workers are Ignored

By GEORGE CLARKE

The Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor has finished its grave deliberations under the warm Florcontinuation of the labor split ida sun. It labored and labored and produced -- a mouse that even the rodent family would be ashamed to claim its own.

With good whiskey and mellow cigars plentiful, the punofficialdom on putting the unions jabs of America's craft unions leaned back in their plushy into the strait-jacket of his war hotel chairs and pondered the state of the nation. They found easy, brother! This is the Exec- A touch of progressivism was

will be headed by a servile and pression is still with us after cowardly leadership, willing to ten years — lingering on like act as the agent of the War Department inside the labor movela bad dream. Capital lies idle ment. That is why Roosevelt is by the billions in the banks. today putting the squeeze on Business stagnates, there is no calls upon both political parties Lewis and through Lewis on the expansion, factories are idle. the unruly, the untamed, the ag- Ten millions are unemployed. forms this year a constructive gressive type of unions, whose And with it all, the nation tec-

lize public opinion against the can deny: America remains in and face them courageously. . . CIO industrial unions in order to the death grip of the most in Ascertain just how many men force them to subordinate them- tense social crisis in its history. and women willing and able to selves to the servile, house-brok- Patch-work schemes won't work work are unemployed through no en bureaucrats of the Frey-Woll- any more. This is a time, obvi- fault of their own. . . Find out Hutcheson stripe. This is the ously, for bold men with bold the extent of unemployment meaning and the aim of the programs. The leaders of 4,000,- among our youth and among 000 workers, who are most seri- middle aged workers." In short: ously affected by the crisis, take a census. The government should call out the might of or- should easily comply with this ganized labor for immediate ag- demand as this is census year.

They should, yes-but the old. "responsible for the division of old men of the Executive Council eight million men" and his call have another idea of what should jobs for the unemployed in pricessation of hostilities between part of valor" is a hoary princithe two labor organizations, has ple frozen in their bones. To the enough jobs to go around"? an entirely different meaning and waiting world they uttered

"Unemployment still is the most acute domestic problem of the nation. . . the American Federation of Labor refuses to entire AFL leadership. Tobin is accept the idea of chronic or demanding, in effect, that the permanent unemployment. . . .

provides a positive and prostep to be obtained? Action,

strikes, demonstrations? Take it anti-Soviet crusade. day." And that's that.

on the New Deal. The statement against the unions. bears the startling title: "A Call for United Action."

There has been too much "tin-

Tom Dewey and Senator Vanden-

But there was "condemnation the CIO issue.

long felt that the shorter work | of Soviet-Nazi imperialism" week without decreases in pay in line with the ideological preparations for intervention on the gressive offset to the natural. side of the Allies. There was an displacement of workers by the exhortation to the government introduction of labor-saving to extend a loan to Finland to purchase arms and war materi-How is this most necessary als in this country. Green and Co. join with both feet in the

utive Council of the American added to the deliberations by the Federation of Labor. "The AFL strong onslaught on Thurman will continue to press for the Arnold, who was condemned in five-day week and the six hour | bitter terms for invading the independence of the trade union Four days later, apparently movement. Nevertheless, the slowly recovering from the shock statement shied away from placof this radical declaration, ten ing blame where it properly beaders led by Hutcheson and longs — Franklin Delano Rooseunlimbered 5,000 solid velt, initiator and instigator of words of Republican indignation the "anti - trust" prosecutions

That's the story of another kering" with business. Public AFL executive council meeting. confidence has been destroyed. The one potentially progressive to finance the government. This between Dan Tobin and the archunrestricted "experimentation" reactionary Hutcheson. All the has provoked strikes and labor newspapers report is that Tobin strife, Taxes are much, much too challenged Hutcheson's right to aid of the police. high—in fact the suffering Sixty
Families are being bled to death.
Too many g— m radicals, too
much "innovating."

On the No. 1 seat on the council, and that it nearly came to a fist fight.
Undoubtedly, however, other issues are involved, which may become public at next week's the council and the coun On the question of war, the become public at next week's Council was united. "The US meeting of the executive board of But what then? ". . . provide (must) maintain strict neutrality the international Britherhood of and keep out of European wars." Teamsters. Tobin is reported up and demand" the complete proverb "discretion is the better But how, when in the words of Roosevelt's hurried moves to- out of the AFL. That step, conthe Council ". . . there are not wards US entry into the war, not sidering the enormous power of osevelt's policy that WPA worka word about turning the US into the teamsters, might under cer-"We demand," the Executive an Allied arsenal, not a word tain conditions weigh the scales Council whispers meekly after about the American zones of decisively in favor of the CIO. It's WPA Defense Committee had off to the Jamaica Station House continental influence, not a word a pity that Hutcheson and Tobin mailed a copy of Glotzbach's where they were booked. berg, that those in authority take about the huge armaments prodidn't actually come to blows, as strike-breaking record urging the senator to oppose his appoint-Day plans to strangle the labor Hutcheson did with Lewis at the

# AT JAMAICA

local militancy.

(Continued from Page 1) Won't Feed Children

Bruno and his wife, Angelina, San Francisco convention over have heard of no complaint are the parents of six children. against Glotzbach. I think his They applied for relief at the beginning of January and have been The senate sub-committee given a run-around by the Bureau ever since.

The Bureau refused to consider the case, unless the Brunos sold an old 1930 Chevrolet car they bought several years ago second

Mrs. Bruno did as she was ordered, getting \$12 for the car. Now the Brunos and their children are still denied any relief and a horribly embarrassing position faced with an immediate eviction

### Others Arrested

bach and Stolte still supported by a life-long resident of Jamaica. their lawyer. They will be tried in President Roosevelt, Colonel Har- Hicks is 63 years old, absolutely rington, Congressman Ryan, and destitute and applied for relief for "disorderly conduct". Governor Stassen. The situation two months ago. He is still being may be a bit amusing, to those refused relief while the Bureau lied about the defendants in its who always understood Roose- attempts to force him to live on account of the story. It attempt-

employed. But more important, Pace, a sick and penniless 64 year ers by reporting that they were the situation provides another old shoemaker. Pace, a skilled seeking a "larger relief allowair-tight argument for labor to worker, used to make shoes for parties and strike out on the Now he cannot get any work, the Relief Bureau has denied to all ruthlessly reject both old boss the rich, costing \$25-30 a pair. road of an independent labor rich, through their agents in the these unfortunates any relief Bureau, deny him even money for whatsoever.

**WORKERS JAILED** 

Action Needed to Win 30-Hr.

(Continued from Page 1) | of the Sit-Down wave will spread

Strikes of a major character organization of the auto workers.

ave been narrowly averted in Militants! Don't wait for the

every Flint plant, several times NLRB to hand you a worthless

during the last few months. The piece of paper. Once you win the

corporation has been forced to NLRB elections, the CIO will

recognize the CIO Committee- have to start at the beginning

men as bargaining agents and again, to force the company to

representatives of the men, by sign a new agreement with some

Should the seething discontent Don't wait for the slack season!

of the ranks manage to break The whole CIO movement

through at some point, in some awaits the action of the auto

important GM plant . . . the days workers. FIGHT NOW for the 30

of 1937 will be relived! the Spirit hour week at 40 hours pay!

Week at General Motors

food or medicine. Also arrested was Massimo Di Bernardo, 49 years old, of 117-58 140th Street, Jamaica. He is unemployed, and has to support himself, wife and fourteen children. Two of his older children work, thereby providing for the family income \$16 a week between them. The Bureau is attempting to make this family of sixteen human beings, live, pay their rent, eat, and buy clothing upon the pitiful sum brought in by the two youngsters.

Support for these workers and leadership in their struggle for 🤝 relief was given by the Unemployed and Relief workers League 151-06 Beaver Road, Jamaica. Arrested at the Bureau in sympathy with the demonstrators were David Cowles, Organizer of the League, Harry Harrison, Chairman of the Grievance Committee, Gabriel Strouthos, Alfred Lynn, Gustave Galanos, Andrews, and Anna Key.

### "Disorderly Conduct" Charge

In the Brooklyn Night court, Magistrate Matthew Troy denounced threateningly "subversive elements" and "organized Also arrested was Richard mobs" but was persuaded to re-Hicks of 106-28 Union Hill|Street, |lease all defendants in custody of Queens Court Thursday morning

The Long Island Daily Press & ed to cover up the brutality of Also arrested was Guiseppe the treatment given these workance". The bitter truth is that the

# February New INTERNATIONAL

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The "LABOR WITH A WHITE SKIN. CANNOT EMANCIPATE ITSELF WHERE LABOR WITH A BLACK SKIN IS BRANDED" — KARL MARX. Negro Question ■By J. R. JOHNSON

The United Mine Workers condemned the Scottsboro frame-up as an attack against the entire Negro race and recommended support of federal anti-lynching legislation to pave the way for extending the benefits of democracy to Negro

The United Mine Workers have had if not a perfect-we live in a capitalist world-a long and honorable history in its dealings with Negroes. Both white and black workers need to study its history closely. Just after the failure of the 1919 strike the miners in the northern fields of West Virginia, making a drive for unionization, recognized that their only hope was the success of their brothers in the southern part of the state, who were then under heavy attack by the coal-owners. They formed an armed group of 8000 men, of whom 200 were Negroes, and marched upon the southern counties. The federal government interfered and stopped the march. But the unity in action, as a class, of these black and white workers is comparable to the tremendous class solidarity displayed by the black and white workers in the Chicago race riots of 1919. There were lynchings and race riots in 1919. But in that perlod of labor upheaval the militant workers of both races were getting closer together, foreshadowing the mass moovement into the CIO, the greatest step forward the Negroes have made in this country since the abolition of slavery threequarters of a century ago.

#### Negroes Early Played a Role

The UMW, from its beginning in 1890, encouraged Negroes to join. In northern West Virginia, Ohio, and western Pennsylvania, Negro miners held offices such as president and secretary, although greatly outnumbered by whites. Often the solitary Negro member of a local was president or secretary, this because he could speak and write English at a time when many of the foreign born could not.

In 1900, in the Flat Top Coal Fields, there were about 18,000 miners, 9000 white and 9000 black, all members of the union. In 1920 there were 25,000 Negro members of the UMW, though by 1927 the number had dropped to 5000. When Lewis began the drive for the CIO, the traditions and experience of the UMW in the Negro field were powerful factors in helping to bring the Negroes in. Today it is estimated that there are 80,000 Negroes in the UMW. In 1937 George Schuyler of the Pittsburgh Courier wrote that in Local 12068 of the United Mine Workers there were only four or five Negroes out of 68 members and yet all the officers were colored.

After a year and a half of work in the Alabama fields 23,000 miners were organized, about 14,000 of them Negroes. Whites and Negroes met in mixed meetings. Officers and committees were chosen equally from both races. The white usually had the more important places but this was due to the influence of the social system in the South. It would be easy to show that all has not been perfect in the relations between the races in the union. But one old Negro miner, a miner for 33 years, a union member for 25 and secretary of Local 2950, has said that "The United Mine Workers of America has done more to remove hatred and prejudice in the labor movement and to restore harmony and good will between man and man than any other agency in the country."

At the Columbus convention there were six official bands, one of which was the Logan County Band, composed of Negro high school boys and pursuing his political maneuvers with Senator Wheeler, included the band among those who went to meet the Senator at the railway station and accompanied him to his hotel. Lewis stated that he specially wanted to honor the band, each member of which was a son or a daughter of a member of the UMW. Their expenses had been paid by the local unions in Logan County.

At the convention an important speech was made by William Dickerson, of Barkly, West Virginia. He asked for support to the passage of a Federal Mine Inspection bill to prevent such disasters as took place in Barkley on January 10, when 91 men were lost, 16 of them Negroes, Dickerson was a member of the rescue squad. Dickerson is a young man of 25, graduate of West Virginia State College. He studied business administration but was unable to find any opening. He went to work in the mines, identified himself with the working class and was soon elected recording secretary of Local 6420. In this lodge there are 480 members, of whom 25 only are

### Why There's Unity in West. Va.

Now what is the underlying cause of all this? Nothing less than the geographical construction of West Virginia. Yes, the geographical construction of West Virginia. Before the Civil War the states of Virginia and West Virginia were one. Eastern Virginia consisted of the rich flat plains. on which flourished the cotton plantation system. In the West, the highlands, the population consisted of small farmers who had no slaves and were oppressed by the rich Bourbons of the low-

In 1861 the slave owners naturally went with the South. The farmers of West Virginia saw their chance, refused to go with them, organized a separate state, and fought with the North. White men all, they took sides not according to race but on account of their economic interests and the social and political ideas which flowed from them. Since that time the two states have had a steadily divergent history in regard to their attitude to Negroes. The hard life, the equalizing conditions of labor in the mines, have forged a unity, one of the most powerful in the never-ceasing battle against race prejudice in

When the fight for the CIO came, the UMW took the lead and has accomplished work of outstanding importance in the history of labor and of Negro labor in particular. Their support of the anti-lynching bill is a great gesture of solidarity to the Negro people. But it is more than that. It shows us that, along with our fight for the bill in Congress we must never lose sight of our main aim, the creation of such conditions as would enable whites and Negroes to work together in conditions from which will flow social and political equality. Those conditions are what we call the socialist society.

# Why We Should Defend the Soviet Union The American Youth Congress.

their program.

Our policy of unconditional de- against the capitalist or imper- titude to it. fense is based on the fact that lalist world is applicable to the nationalized property constitutes war in Finland. the foundation of the Soviet WHO WAS "AGGRESSOR" against the capitalist world. DISTINCTION BETWEEN

sity of defending the Soviet Union unconditionally against tacked; but we never swerved from our policy of unconditional defense of the Soviet Union. Some people thought we were inconsistent; but they failed to unsocial institutions" based upon lowered. the October Revolution. Just as

a revolutionary worker makes a

distinction between his trade

STALIN AND U.S.S.R.

Unconditional defense has never meant and could not possibly Red Army in every engagement into which Stalin sees fit to lead Cincinnati, etc. it. If that army were to be used

the G.P.U., was used in Spain to Murphy (State Secretary of the

It is only when the Red Army is fighting a capitalist enemy and against imperialism means ex- in the saddle in City Hall. actly what it says: whenever and wherever the Soviet Union is involved in any struggle against a capitalist enemy we are for the would like to see them go, only defense of the Soviet Union, regardless of the causes or circum- too bluntly without losing their stances that led to the war.

BUREAUCRACY AND

NATIONALIZED PROPERTY Is the Stalinist bureaucracy interested in defending nationalized property? It is a bureaucracy of the degenerated workers' state based on nationalized property, and the interests of that bureaucracy are bound up with the nationalized property, which it must defend in order to preserve its existence. Green and Lewis are "labor lieutenants of

nor the bureaucracies led by tax rate in a way that wouldn't The Bulletin is available in or the trade unions.

A principle that our party has taught and shall continue to teach is that the workers must program on this point, which it never turn over the task of re- is putting forward again this moving the Stalinist bureaucracy year, is briefly as follows: to the capitalist enemy. They must reserve that privilege and 000 in the city budget goes for duty for themselves because the debt services, the largest single destruction of the Stalinist item in the budget. That is, to bureaucracy by the capitalist en-pay for past bond issues, and to emy can lead to nothing but re- pay interest on bond issues. actionary results.

mankind. Marxists considered the first attacked whom. The fact is not the determining factor. development of the productive that in 1914 Germany began the FINLAND AN OUTPOST forces as the basic criterion of actual hostilities by launching an OF IMPERIALISM and the substitution of national- ing at his conclusion that the war result of a victory of the counmarkable rate has been proved in both imperialist camps to fol- man and then by the Allied im- on the opposite side. by the great industrial growth low the policy of revolutionary perialists. It is this state which

Since its birth our party has of the general principles men- of the Fourth International an outpost of imperialism, and a whole feels threatened. stood for the unconditional de- tioned above and in the first ar- states and the statement can not its struggle against the Soviet fense of the Soviet Union against ticle of this series, in order to be challenged successfully. Not Union is, in the last analysis, a the capitalist world. And for arrive at a correct conclusion as the violation of neutrality or struggle of the imperialist world stances, suddenly revived and exmany years before the existence to the policy which a class-con- threats or an invasion by any against the Soviet Union. of the Socialist Workers' Party, scious worker should follow. In particular country but the under- To convince oneself of that the Trotskyists considered that other words, it is necessary to lying economic and social factors simple fact, it is only necessary echoing the Pope, called for a idea as absolutely essential to ask if the slogan of unconditional and the probable consequences of to consider the reaction of the Christian army to fight the Sovi-

state and for us nationalized DOESN'T DECIDE QUESTION crime later. But in determining for the present because Hitler property is a tremendous step In the first instance it is essen- our attitude while the struggle needs Stalin's support. In the and death struggle against Franforward in the development of tial to exclude the factor of who is actually going on that factor whole capitalist world, outside of

defense of the Soviet Union the war should determine our at- capitalist world to the invasion et Union. The humanitarian This does not mean that we in Germany the sympathy of the defending the "democracy" of condone the invasion of Finland ruling class is entirely with Finby Stalin. I shall deal with this land but this sympathy is muted responsible for the embargo Mussolini, have not hesitated to Union. progress. That the destruction of attack on Belgium was a matter | Once more we remind the read-show on whose side their symcapitalism in its period of decay of indifference to Lenin in arriv- er that Finland was born as a pathies lie and this fact alone IMPERIALISTS SEEK THE should almost be sufficient by it- DEFEAT OF THE USSR ized industry permits the produc- was an imperialist war and that ter-revolution led by Mannerheim self to indicate to a class-contive forces to develop at a re- it was necessary for the workers and supported first by the Ger- scious worker that he should be

that has taken place in the Sovi- defeatism. The fact that Ger- is at war with the Soviet Union. Czecho-Slovakia, Poland, the oth- against the Soviet Union by et Union, and this in spite of the many attacked Poland could not Simpletons of the Socialist Par- er imperialists grumbled a little France and England. Bolder im-Stalinist leadership. The uncon- possibly lead any revolutionary ty and lackeys of the capitalists because a rival of theirs had the perialist voices in those countries ditional defense of the Soviet Marxist to urge the workers to in the Social Democratic Feder- nerve to do things in such a high- are demanding just that: but Union means the unconditional defend the reactionary Polish ation will point to the fact that handed fashion. When Ethiopia more cautious counsel may condefense of nationalized property state. For Marxists the charac- representatives of labor and the was invaded by Mussolini there tinue to prevail. Nevertheless, the ter of a war "is determined not farmers are in the Finnish gov- was also a tempest in a tea pot. passing of every day, it is becomby the initial episode taken by ernment. But Marxists under- But when Stalin invaded Finland ing more clearly recognized that itself but by the main moving stand that the real rulers of the the reaction was altogether dif- the Finnish-Soviet struggle is one Through all the years that we forces of the war, by its whole country are the capitalists and ferent. For the simple reason of the fronts of the war, in fact

the war between the Soviet | quences to which it finally | cably tied up with the imperialist | Soviet Union and any part of the Union and Finland in the light leads". This is what the thesis world. Finland is a buffer state, imperialist world, imperialism as

> The League of Nations, dead as a dodo under ordinary circumpelled the Soviet Union in one day. The Spanish fascist press, of Finland. It is certain that even Herbert Hoover, took the lead in Mannerheim. Roosevelt, who was against Loyalist Spain in its life co, is assuming the leadership in Germany, all the "democrats", the movement to help the Finnish including the Pope, Franco and capitalist army defeat the Soviet

Conditions are such as to make inadvisable, at the present mo-When Hitler invaded Austria, ment, an open declaration of war have been insisting on the neces- development and by the conse- landlords, and these are inextri- that in a struggle between the today the only active front. Daladier and Chamberlain have stated openly that much more help has been sent to Finland than the average citizen is aware of and that still more aid will be

> And is there any revolutionary worker naive enough to believe that Chamberlain and Daladier are interested in saving democracy, Finnish or otherwise? Can there be the slightest doubt that the imperialist world looks upon Finland as its protagonist?

forthcoming.

-whether Stalin succeeds in his designs (as seems more probable) or gives up his attempt to lies will openly declare war on peace can be patched up between Hitler and the Allied imperialists "Well, why not do something and a combined atttack made upon the Soviet Union-no matter what may develop in the near future, it is certain that right now His effectiveness in answering the struggle in Finland is essen-Roosevelt almost evaporated aft- tially the beginning of a struggle

be overjoyed?

A class-conscious worker can The answer to this conference be fairly certain that what will proposal was given by Lewis him- bring joy to the imperialists, to minating that section of the Red to get them out of the way by and favoritism for the rich under self when he said, in this same the Hoovers, Roosevelts, Chamberlains and Daladiers, has nothing in it that is good for the workers.

The only conclusion that the class-conscious worker can possibly reach is that, as between the Red Army connected with and, in its own way, defending the Soviet Union based on nationalized property, and the Finnish capitalist army connected with and representing the imperialist world, he must favor and work ganization, by your work, by for the victory of the Red Army. Analyzing all the factors involved, the slogan of unconditional defense of the Soviet Union is applicable in the present struggle in Finland.

That is the conclusion that the Socialist Workers Party has ar-

But the defense of the Staliners followed in the days when the Soviet Union was led by Lenin actly in what way revolutionary workers in the Soviet Union and

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# C.I.O. LEADER

(Continued from Page 1) mental distinction between the taking it out of the hides of the so much interest: Declare a mornant any politicians or any statesmen who undertake to involve this the Finnish-Soviet war may be country in a war in Europe or a

> Lewis' speech was, indeed, so same kind of policy in Newark homeowners. This enables the definite an accounting of the conquer Finland; whether the Alcarrying out in almost every oth- their property. At the same time tion inevitably posed itself on from doing that; or whether a er city where they installed the the corporations and big busi- Lewis' lips and was uttered by

But He Gave None

For to that key question Lewis the Soviet Union. had posed himself, he gave a fal-

speech answering Roosevelt:

"Isn't it now apparent that the politicians' answers are not going to get you a job unless you force the politicians to get you a job? You know, after all, you young people of this country, labor, the common people, are only going to get that degree of consideration from the politicians and from our public representatives that you force them to give you, by your oryour crystallized articulate voices and by the fact that you expect to fight for your rights

Two different and mutually contradictory elements were mixed in that speech of Lewis, like gether but representing two en- sion that every revolutionary tirely different epochs of history worker who follows the principles -one, Lewis' position of these of revolutionary Marxism will past years as a "left wing" of recognize as correct. the Democratic party, the other, Lewis' voicing of the anguished ist-controlled Soviet Union redemands of the masses at this quires different tactics from stage of the permanent economic those which revolutionary work-

It is significant that this speech and strength of the trade unions. cialist Workers Party and other Stalin—Twin Stars" and "Again was at least as sharp as his and Trotsky. In the next article It is undoubtedly true that labor organizations put forward and Once Again on the Nature of statement at the UMW convention, thereby committing Lewis still further to a fight against Roosevelt. Undoubtedly Lewis in Finland should defend the destill wants to settle the issue generated workers' state. within the confines of the Democratic party. But with each enthusiastic response of the workers to these statements, it beand not an argument for refus- They preferred to take the easi Book Store, Grand St.; Rand comes more difficult for Lewis to retreat. Thereby the road opens Russian Revolution' toward really independent labor pelitical action.

ANNOUNCEMENT

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# A Masquerade

It Was Packed With **Dubious "Organizations"** To Make Up An Imposing Body of "Delegates"

Institute" of the American Youth Congress:

By ERNEST ERBER Here are a few of the pertinent facts and highlights of the February 9-12 "National Citizenship

1. REPRESENTATION: Some 4.600 "dele-

gates" registered who, the AYC leaders claimed, represented over four million young people. About a thousand or so were delegates from various bona-fide national and local organizations in which members of the Young Communist League are active. Among these organizations were Stalinist-dominated AFL and CIO locals, Industrial Girls Clubs and Business and Professional Women's Clubs of the Young Women's Christian Association. Then there were delegates from the Stalinist peripheral organizations: American Student Union, youth sections of the Workers Alliance, the International Workers Order, the International Labor Defense, the Finnish Workers Federation, Armenian Workers Federation, etc. Then came delegates from hundreds of organizations with dubious names like the Modern Youth Group, the Williamsburg Youth Center, the Streamlined Dance Group, etc. In a word, the vast majority of the "delegates" were members or sympathizers of the Young Communist League.

2. PROCEDURE: The entire two-day "Institute" was controlled by the top leadership of the AYC with a firm hand. Neither speakers nor resolutions were permitted from the floor. "Discussion" was organized by having delegates submit a slip of paper with their name and organization to the platform. A "Trotskyite" delegate had as much chance of getting by the committee on the platform as a snowball in hell. Ushers and police took care of anyone attempting to speak from

3. PRESIDENT'S SPEECH: The delegates paraded down Pennsylvania Avenue in a drizzling rain on Saturday morning, displaying banners with all the slogans which the Stalinists are currently stressing, "The Yanks Ain't Coming," "For the American Youth Act," "Not a Dime for Mannerheim," "Keep America Out of the Imperialist War," and so on.

The parade ended on the White House lawn, arrangements been made for an address by President The delegates waited for a half hour in a rain that had become a downpour to listen to Roosevelt denounce the Soviet Union as a dictatorship. in no way different than any other and call for American support to Finland. The speech brought slight response from the delegates. At one point the crowd began to boo, and the radio operators were forced to cut out all microphones except those into which the President was speaking di-

The thousands of YCLers were a sorry sight as they trudged back, wet, cold and miserable after Roosevelt's tongue-lashing.

4. THE LEWIS SPEECH: John L. Lewis decided to address the Congress only on the day before he spoke. Speaking to the delegates only some three hours after the President, Lewis' speech was greeted with thunderous ovations. The bitter sarcasm he poured upon the President's remarks appeared as vindication to the delegates for the abuse they had suffered in the

5. TREATMENT OF AUBREY WILLIAMS: Coming right after Lewis' eventful speech, the speech of Aubrev Williams, director of the National Youth Administration, received scant attention from the press. Williams devoted the first part of his speech to the economic needs of youth and surpassed any of the invited speakers in the "radicalism" of his demands. He referred to the \$500,000,000 appropriation requested in the American Youth Act as "insufficient" and called for billions of dollars to finance a program to "rehouse America" and "put youth to work at usefuloccupations." However, when, at the close of his remarks, he sought to justify his action of turning over the NYA lists to the Army Recruiting Office. he was greeted with such a storm of boos and hisses that it became impossible to continue his speech. He explained that he had nothing against militarism as such but that "militarism must be subordinated to democracy." This brought forth renewed booing from the young Stalinists, who, only a half year ago, printed articles in the "Young Communist Review" on the advantages of life in the U.S. Army.

6. MRS, ROOSEVELT'S SPEECH: Visibly nervous and tense, Mrs. Roosevelt answered a series of questions at the session on "The International Scene" on Sunday night. Her remarks were the climax to participation in the previous sessions and an active support to practical arrangements. Over a hundred delegates were put up at the White House, in addition to other hundreds that she provided with accommadations at the homes of Mrs. Cordell Hull and other wives of government officials, at army barracks and a girls school, and through negotiations with the hotel managers association to lower rates.

Mrs. Roosevelt grimly sat on the platform through speeches by Frederick "Blackie" Myers, Communist Party whip in the National Maritime Union, an Indian "nationalist" named Luis Perez of the "Brotherhood of Cuban Youth," and other speakers who followed the political form of the current "Daily Worker" attacks upon Roosevelt. After the first speaker of what the chairman announced would be a panel of five youths on the subject of "How the War Affects Me" had concluded with a continuation of the attacks upon Roosevelt as a war-monger, Mrs. Roosevelt, without waiting to be introduced, strode to the rostrum and prepared to speak. The chairman solved the situation by simply announcing, "I present, Mrś. Eleanor Roosevelt."

## imperialism we have been the most consistent and implacable opponents of the Stalinist regime, from the revolutionary point of view. Every important policy pursued by Stalin we at-OUT AT F.D.R.

derstand that we make a funda- expert" who will save money by that the bonding houses don't get mental distinction between the taking it out of the hides of the so much interest! Declare a mor-Soviet Union as a "complex of the tax burden of the rich will be year!

Did It Elsewhere

against workers in the Soviet want to be able to get their share lars taxes owed by the N. J. Bell Union who were striking for bet- of the patronage, gravy and job Telephone Co. We say: Reassess Union who were striking for betto the parameter of the overthrow the bureaucracy, we Both the regular (Hague-Byrne) iness assessments, lowering the would naturally do our utmost Democratic organization and the small man's assessments! would fight against that Red Arwould fight against that Red ArRepublican) machines in the City Hall.

In many and an early proposed at the world over, including those would fight against that Red Arrepublican) machines in the City Hall. When part of that Red Army, together with Finance Director

> this maneuver. Estimate of Incumbents

The Socialist Workers Party thus protecting the Soviet Union has made it clear throughout the from that enemy that we favor campaign that its opposition to and work for the victory of the the change in no way means sup-Red Army. Unconditional defense port or defense of the men now

The City Commission at present is made up of men who have not gone as far as Big Business because they can't put it over support among the small business men and workers

But, by themselves, they have gone pretty far. Franklin's man, Malady, the overseer of the poor, has already begun a widespread slash in the relief rolls which may go as high as 20%. The Commission has slashed hospital services in the last year, cut appropriations for the library, etc.

Most important of all, they are capitalism" in the ranks of la- the ones who are responsible for bor; but they are compelled to the high tax rate which has endefend the trade unions against abled Big Business to get a position is out. The current issue the bosses because their very ex-|strong following among the contains several articles by Leon istence depends on the existence "small men." Last year, the So- | Frotsky including "Hitler and neither the Stalinist bureaucracy the only program to reduce the the Soviet State."

tax rate. SWP Tax Program The Socialist Workers Party (SE).

1. Almost 1/4 of the \$40,000.-

We say: Let the banks and bonding houses go without some It is only necessary to analyze of that money this year! Call in bers by card only.

(Continued from Page 1) the city's bonds and refinance words, they want an "efficiency them at a lower interest rate, so

2. The assessments on property at the present time are aimed war in the Pacific." They want to carry out the at the small businessmen and union and its reactionary leader that Big Business succeeded in real estate sharks to take over Roosevelt regime that the ques-City Manager form. They want to nesses got their assessments re- him: have meant that we support the put into effect what they put in- duced by \$100,000,000 in 1937. to effect in Trenton, Yonkers, Murphy was willing, for example, to compromise for a half Incidentally, of course, they million dollars, the million dol-

would naturally do our utmost Clean Government Republicans So the Socialist Workers Party tering answer. After his drama-(majority in Essex County) have declares that its opposition to the tic description of the plight of reaction of the imperialists to a If the Red Army were to be reactically no influence in City referendum is meant in no way the unemployed as "America's defeat of the Red Army by the If the Red Army were to be Hall, which is controlled chiefly as support of the present City No. 1 problem" he proposed . . . Finnish capitalist army? Would ers attempting to establish an by the Mayor Ellenstein (indeers attempting to establish an by the Mayor Ellenstein (indeers attempting to establish an by the Mayor Ellenstein (indeers attempting to establish an by the Mayor Ellenstein (indeers attempting to establish an by the Mayor Ellenstein (indeers attempting to establish an boundary Public Works side by side by side with an unsparing by head already and the local land of the counter revolutionaries ers attempting to establish an of the major Enclosed that side by side with an unsparing he had already proposed at the the world over, including those

For A Labor Ticket There can be graft and corrupsuppress the Spanish revolution- AFL). Unable in the past to tion under both forms of governists, we were in favor of exter- shake these machines, they hope ment. There can be high taxes both forms. There can be antilabor legislation, there can be relief cuts, there can be library and

> hospital appropriation cuts under both forms - and there are What is important is the proram that the officials represent. V/hat is needed is labor candidates carrying out a strictly labor program, fighting against the bosses and their parties and machines in the interests of the

workers. The Socialist Workers Party calls on the workers of Newark to defeat the City Manager Plan, and to prepare to build a party of their own and run a straight as Americans." labor ticket in their own interests.

The Socialist Workers Party has also announced that in the two geological layers mixed to- rived at, and that is the concluevent the City Manager Plan is carried, it will immediately place in the field an independent workers ticket for City Council.

RUSSIAN BULLETIN OUT ...

The Bulletin of the Russian Op-

Green or Lewis defend the inter- hurt the "small man" and the New York at the following book ests of the workers and their in- worker. But Ellenstein-Franklin stores and newsstands: Modern stitutions effectively. Their pol- & Co. refused to accept it, be- Book Store, 27 University Pl.: cies weaken those institutions cause it would have meant a Foreign News Depot, Times Sq. But that is a reason why the real fight against the big bonding Bldg.; Biederman's Book Store, workers should get rid of them, houses and insurance companies. 2nd Ave. at 12th St.; Meisel's ing to defend the workers' state er way, the way that boosted the School Book Store, 15th St. and 5th Ave.; 3rd Ave. and 14th St. (NW); 6th Ave. and 42nd St.

> **NEW YORK PARTY** MEMBERS, Attention! DOWNTOWN LABOR CENTER

There will be an important Party membership meeting on SUNDAY, FEBRUARY 18, at 8 P. M. sharp, at GERMANIA HALL. 160 3rd Ave. (near 16th St.), New York City. Admission for Party and YPSL mem-

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

Editors:

MAX SHACHTMAN FELIX MORROW

General Manager: GEORGE CLARKE

Assistant Manager: SHERMAN STANLEY

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

"Reentered as second class matter December 4, 1939, at the post office at New York, N. Y., under the Act of March 3, 1879."

### FIGHT WITH THE SOCIALIST **WORKERS PARTY FOR:**

- 1. A job and a decent living for every worker. Open the idle factories-operate them under
- workers' control. A Twenty-Billion dollar Federal public works
- Thirty-thirty-\$30-weekly minimum wage-30-
- hour weekly maximum for all workers on all jobs. Thirty dollar weekly old-age and disability
- Expropriate the Sixty Families.
- 7. All war funds to the unemployed.
- A people's referendum on any and all wars.
- No secret diplomacy.
- An independent Labor Party.
- Workers' Defense Guards against vigilante and
- 12. Full social, political and economic equality for

## Leon Sedoff

Tomorrow will be the second anniversary of the death of Leon Sedoff. To this day the circumstances of his death remain a mystery. He had gone to the hospital for a comparatively minor operation. Then he was dead, under extremely suspicious circumstances. All efforts to find out what had happened ran up against the resistance of the "democratic" French government; it was then still in the hey-day of the Franco-Soviet pact.

As Ignace Reiss, before being murdered by the Stalinist GPU in Switzerland, had revealed, the GPU was out to murder Sedoff. They succeeded, we believe, and succeeded, thanks to their relations with the French government, in blocking any investigation of their crime.

Our youth movement remembers Sedoff particularly as their first great contribution to the adult movement. He was, indeed, still a young man-33 at death. His father, Leon Trotsky, has commemorated him in an unforgettable pamphlet. But Sedoff, with his own brain and heart, built the monument by which he will be best remembered: the Bulletin of the Russian Opposition. He edited it and wrote for it and saw to it that it hit its mark, reaching not only Russian-reading revolutionists throughout the world but penetrating also past the GPU into Stalin's domain. Leon Sedoff fought Stalin and paid for it with his life; but his work will put an end to Stalin and the darkness which Stalin spread over the land of the October Revolution.

### The Irish Martyrs

The hanging of Peter Barnes and James Richards, soldiers for Irish freedom, has been followed by a new heightening of the struggle against the British overlords in Ireland, and that is as it should be. The best way to honor these Irish martyrs, and the long line of those who died as they did at the hands of British imperialist murderers, is to free Ireland.

The British imperialists are trying to smear the movement for Irish freedom as instigated by Hitler. The great Irish revolutionary socialist, Jim Connolly, answered the same kind of slander during the last war, with an immortal slogan: "Neither King Nor Kaiser," and hung it across the Transport Workers Hall in Dublin. We can not think of an equally perfect slogan; but the thought, "Neither Chamberlain nor Hitler," is clearly a part of the real revolutionary movement in Ireland today.

## Still Going Down

To pick up from where we left off, last week, in our comments on the development of the new

The New York Times business index showed last week an acceleration of the decline of production, dropping from 103.1 to 101.5.

The index of *Time* magazine, which attempts to estimate long-range factors rather than the week's production, was down below the figure for the same time last year!

Steel operations for the week were scheduled at 68.8 per cent of capacity, the fifth consecutive decline of the year, a drop of 200 per cent of capacity during the five-week period.

We're headed for a deepening of the economic crisis. These jobs in private industry that Roosevelt promised on January 5, when he brought in the budget with WPA slashes and PWA wiped out, haven't come into existence. Instead, more men are being fired each week.

And the same Democratic and Republican congressmen who are bent on passing Roosevelt's starvation budget, have the gall to appropriate money for "poor little Finland"!

## Fascist Cops

After Mayor La Guardia had indignantly denied a number of times during the past year the persistent report that a large number of New York policemen were members of Coughlin's fascist Christian Front, pressure finally made it necessary to investigate. Police Commissioner Valentine ordered each policeman to fill out a questionnaire. New York papers carried on Tuesday "unofficial and incomplete returns": at least 1,000 of the 19,000 men in the Police Department were self-admitted members of the Christian Front. And for every one that admitted it, how many were members but didn't admit it? And for every member, how many were sympathizers of the fascist storm troops?

Yet, we are told, in the struggle between fascism and the labor movement, we should look for protection to . . . these policemen!

The labor movement will build its own Workers Defense Guards and smash the fascist gangs wherever they raise their heads—or it will go down under the boots of the storm troopers.

## The Anti-Lynch Bill

(Statement of the National Committee. Socialist Workers Party)

Once more the question of a federal antilynching law is before the Senate. The House of Representatives has already passed the bill and now the Senators from the South are prepared to filibuster it to death.

It is not because the bill in and of itself is so dangerous to the rule of the white aristocracy in the South that the southern Senators are determined to kill it. Its provisions are not so serious, even if enforced, to strike terror into the hearts of the lynchers and prevent all lynch-

class, anxious to keep the Negroes under complete subjection, refuse to give up one particle of their "rights" to do everything and anything to the Negro masses. They are determined to retain those "rights" at all costs, including that of lynching the Negroes whenever they see fit.

An anti-lynching bill might constitute the first opening in the wall which the Southern ruling class has erected against any tampering with their right to exploit the Negro masses. Should this bill pass, Negroes might be encouraged to demand that they actually be given the right to vote, and that the provisions of the National Labor Relations Act be applied in the South as well as in the North. They might also demand the abolition of child labor in the South and the right to receive an elementary education. The southern ruling class fears anything that might improve the condition of the Negroes and consequently opposes any bill which may have that

The Republicans and Democrats of the North have come out in favor of the anti-lynching bill. Every Negro and every white worker should understand that these Republicans and Democrats vote in favor of the bill only to use the Negroes as a political football and not actually to protect the Negro against the rule of the southern whites. If the northern Democrats and Republicans were really anxious to give the Negro his rights, they could find enough to do in the North.

The Socialist Workers Party is in favor of the enactment of the anti-lynching bill and calls upon all the workers, especially the white workers, to rally behind the movement in its favor. Workers should not depend upon the politicians; they should organize meetings, adopt resolutions in the unions, and flood every Senator with letters and telegrams, urging passage of the bill.

The Socialist Workers Party declares, however, that the problem of the Negro in the South will not be solved by the enactment of an antilynching law. There are no lynchings of Negroes in the North and yet the Negro continues to live under the most miserable conditions. The problems of the Negro workers, as well as of the white workers, will be solved only when they join in a common struggle against the white capitalist rulers of this country and when they succeed in taking over governmental power and establishing a socialist society which will guarantee equality and plenty for all, regardless of race or creed.

Until such a socialist society is established, the Negro and white workers should join in a struggle for every immediate gain. The antilynching bill represents a step forward. Organize to demand its passage!

# In the World of Labor

= By Paul G. Stevens ==

Purge in the Mexican Communist Party

The Mexican Communist Party is to hold an 'extraordinary'' convention next month. This onvention is being called for the purpose of undertaking a thorough-going purge of the present leadership of the organization.

In the "theses" for the convention, entitled 'The National and International Situation and the Tasks of the Party." we begin to get an inkling as to the why and wherefore of the purge. While the situation has been extremely favorable for growth, the "theses" say, it has not been taken advantage of "because of the sectarianopportunist (sic) line of the leadership of the party which did not have sufficient vision to grasp the development of the revolutionary movement in our country and the possibilities of formng a mass party of the proletariat."

What is involved, obviously, is the sacrificing of a number of scapegoats in the leadership for carrying out the pro-"democratic" line which the Kremlin has now thrown overboard. From another paragraph in the document we are given the impression that this number is going to be

"Right now . . . there is proceding a cleansing, rom the top to the bottom, of our own ranks, eliminating from its midst all (underlined in the original) the wavering and alien elements from the party, who because of the false political line and the lack of revolutionary vigilance have infiltrated its ranks.

Among the leaders to be purged, we are informed, are Vicente Guerra, Arturo Ramirez and Manuel Lobato, all members of the Central Committee. Guerra was a member of the all-powerful ecretariat and Lobato an alternate to it. Ramirez is the leader of the Mexico City district organization which forms the core of the party. They are charged with any number of crimes in the usual Stalinist fashion-from "facilitating and protecting the work of Trotskyist spies" inside the organization to making pacts with the Right Wing presidential candidate General Almazan. Even a group of free masons was allegedly under their wing. But their gravest crime, it seems, is an opportunist capitulation to President Carden-

Of all the charges made, the last one mentioned seems to be most significant. The contradictory character of the charges is quite in line with Stalinist practices and it is always necessary to wade through all the verbiage of these allegations and to sift them carefully for an indication of the real purpose. In this case it is quite apparent that all else outside of "capitulation to Cardenas" is just the usual dressing. In a pending break with Cardenas lies the essence of the purge.

Apparently, a large number of functionaries of the Mexican C.P. has been resisting the change of line in consideration of the rather comfortable positions that the backing of Cardenas and his pro-democratic orientation has afforded them. So that in reality, the convention will be a sort of a showdown between the pro-Cardenas and the pro-Moscow functionaries.

It is not excluded, however, that in the rank and file of the party a movement to break with But the representatives of the southern ruling | Stalinism in a revolutionary direction may develop as a result of this situation.

Fruits of the "People's Front" in France

Among the lesser crimes of the "People's Front" in France was the Stalinist rehabilitation

Magistrates and Labor Laws

Among the states, New York is especially

noted for its progressive labor legislation. In

1886 the first law regulating hours of work of

New York women employees was passed. In the

fifty-three years since then, largely because of

the pressure of the workers themselves, a struc-

ture of labor laws has been slowly built up—laws

limiting the hours of work of women and minors,

laws providing for sanitary inspections of fac-

tories, laws providing for medical care and in-

surance benefits, at the boss's expense, in case

The laws are fine—as far as they go, at least.

But it appears that in New York City they are

simply not enforced. The Consumers League of

New York has issued a report entitled, The City

Magistrates and the Labor Laws, which every

trade union and labor organization should study.

This covers all labor cases heard in the city's

Magistrates' Courts over a period of three and

half years (January, 1934 through June, 1937).

Two out of every three of the employers who

were brought into court charged with violation

of the labor laws got off without any punishment

whatsoever. The fines imposed on the remaining

third averaged \$18. "In economic terms," the re-

port notes; "this means that the profits accruing

o violating employers were left virtually intact.'

Why did two-thirds of the employers get off

vithout even a fine? Was it because they were

found not guilty by the magistrate? No, most

of them were found guilty as charged. But they

of industrial disease and accidents.

of Leon Jouhaux, social patriotic leader of the General Confederation of Labor (C.G.T.) in the last war. Jouhaux was not only dressed up as a militant fighter but feasted as a staunch friend of Soviet Russia, in Moscow no less than in

But there is no gratitude in Jouhaux' heart at all. No sooner had the war broken out than he took up his old post as French imperialism's chief war-booster in the ranks of labor. Of course his C.G.T. denounced Soviet Russia and supports Daladier's campaign against it. That in itself is what was to be expected from the first. But the U.P.—and all other press agencies as well—is able to announce now that "the French General Confederation of Labor which for years has had a pronounced left wing tendency bitterly denounced Russia as well as Germany today.'

The "pronounced left wing tendency" -- that is the gilding of Jouhaux by Stalin's popular front policy. His denunciation of the Soviet Union is only the fruit of that policy.

#### German "Socialists" in the Service of Imperial France

We have become quite used to the abominable patriotic antics of the social democratic politicians of England, France, etc. They act no differently than they did in the last war. Only the German social democracy does not repeat its performance of 1914. But that is not through any change of heart on its part. Hitler has simply refused to give it a chance to do its part.

Somewhat ludicrously, the German social democrats do manage, nevertheless, to be true t color. They have remained social patriots-but are now on the side of the Erbfeind, the "heredi tary foe" they helped fight in the last war. From France issues their miserable propaganda for a "socialism" that is to be introduced into Ger many on the bayonets of French imperialism. In turn, they print at the masthead of their official organ, the "Neue Vorwaerts," an inscription in large type: Journal Anti-Hitlerien. Daladier's anti-Hitlerism, it appears, is just as acceptable to them as their "socialism" is to Daladier. They have become, to use the phrase of one of our German comrades, "social patriots in reverse."

But they are not alone in the ranks of "social patriots in reverse." Among them are to be found also the heroes of the centrist S.A.P. (German Labor Party), the erstwhile pride of the so-called "London Bureau" and-Willie Munzenberg, for a long time a pillar of German Stalinism and its foremost Trotsky-baiter.

Until long after the Moscow trials, Willie continued to condone every atrocity committed by the Kremlin butchers. It was only after Moscow cut off financial support and invited him for one of those visits which cost scores of other German Stalinists their lives, that Munzenberg became violent anti-Stalinist. But Willie apparently knows how to make anti-Stalinism pay just as well as he knew in the old days how to work the Moscow racket. Now he publishes a paper in Paris called "Die Zukunft" (The Future), as the 'organ of the Franco-German Union." It goes without saying that the paper's line is such as to gain only plaudits from the French general staff. Collaborators on it include half a dozen other German ex-Stalinists, old wheelhorses in

the Munzenberg publishing schemes. Business as usual, seems to be his slogan.

paid no fine because they were let off with sus

pended sentences. One magistrate found guilty

46 employers in one session. He fined one of these

\$20 two \$10, three \$5, and he let the remaining

These are the same magistrates whose high

salaries and political corruption have been a

scandal for years, the same dispensers of "jus-

tice" who daily hand out heavy fines and jail

sentences to strikers, pickets and left-wing dem-

onstrators. It is time the unions did something

about the perversion of justice in the city's Mag-

As this is written, the War Deal's campaign

to lend Federal funds to "poor little Finland"

(what about "poor little WPA", now suffering

aggression without any Mannerheim Line to fall

back on?) seems to be on the verge of suc-

cess in Congress. The liberal-isolationist bloc is

meeting this first real test by-joining the ene-

my and whooping it up for war loans to Finland.

line is bluntly expressed in the Kiplinger Wash-

ington News Letter for January 27: "Pressure

for credits to Allies is increasing. Congress is

sour on such credits now, but many sophisticated

Congressmen privately admit that the move to

expand Export-Import Bank and lend to Finland

is a step towards some sort of financial aid to

Poor Little Finland today means Poor Little

the Allies at some later period."

British Empire tomorrow.

What is behind Roosevelt's Poor-Little-Finland

40 off scot free with suspended sentences.

The First Step

**L**heir by James Burnham

# Government

FDR Is Thinking Of Next November

It is a key principle of realistic political analysis that the foreign and domestic policies of governments are inseparably linked, that they are, in fact, for the most part simply two phases of the same policy. It could hardly be otherwise. The basic problem for each government is to run the state institutions, which it administers, in the interests of the ruling class of the given nation; to uphold against all enemies the social structure upon which the power of the ruling class rests. This problem confronts the government equally on the domestic and the international arena. Foreign policy (including war) is the attempt to solve this problem as it is posed externally, just as domestic policy is the attempt to solve the same problem in-

Most liberals and reformists try to obscure the link between foreign and domestic policy. Up until recently some of them used to tell us that they "approved Roosevelt's New Deal" (his domestic policy) but disagreed with his "aggressive" foreign policy. Now many of them are reversing. They say that they object to his internal measures (cutting down of relief, drive against civil rights, prosecution of labor unions . . .) but are in accord with his "peace" and "neutrality" program in external affairs.

Social-patriotic support of wars is often founded upon a pretended separation between foreign and domestic policy. During peace, the social-patriot criticizes the government, even calls for oxisting it and putting a labor government in its place. Internally, they admit, the government (Daladier's, for example!) run by bourgeois parties acts for the bankers and the industrialists, and against the masses of the people. But beyond the borders the government changes its spots: there it acts as the representative of "the entire nation." Consequently (as in France and England today) the social-patriotic parties vote unanimously for the government when it comes to prose-

#### New Deal and War Deal

The general rule that foreign and domestic policies are linked applies, of course, to the Roosevelt government. Roosevelt was not a Dr. Jekyll when proposing New Deal laws to Congress and a Mr. Hyde when sending a note to Japan or intervening in Mexico. In both types of action, he proceeded from the same premise in the effort to solve the same problem.

The transition from New Deal to War Deal, which began in October, 1937, swung into high a year ago, and will be completed with the entry of the country directly into the war, can be understood as a shift in emphasis. During the New Deal the emphasis, the weighting, was on internal measures as the primary mechanism for solving the problems of American capitalism; the War Deal means the realization that the internal measures have failed, and the consequent shifting of relative emphasis to external measures.

The shift is symbolized by the difference in the way that Roosevelt is looked upon by most people. Until a year ago he appeared primarily as a national reformer on the home front. More and more he now figures as the bearer of the country's destiny on the international scene.

However, the linkage between domestic and foreign affairs does not stop merely because of the shift of emphasis. Major stress on external measures came about as a result of the breakdown of preceding internal measures; similarly the current external measures react upon the internal situation.

This is true for American society as a whole, and in relation to the government's basic problem of upholding capitalist rule. It is true also for Roosevelt's narracy, as party politician and as an individual.

The enormous, swollen bureaucracy (Federal, State and local), the Democratic party and Roosevelt as a person have very important special interests of their own, in addition to and sometimes in conflict with the interests of the ruling class which they serve. Roosevelt knows that, just as formerly these special interests depended chiefly on the showing made internally, so now they depend first of all on the showing made externally. Roosevelt knows that his own political fate, and the fate of his wing of the Democratic party, and the jobs in the bureaucratic apparatus, are being decided by "foreign affairs."

I believe that this background must be kept in mind if we are to evaluate correctly many of the recent moves which Roosevelt has been making in foreign affairs-including his flirtations with the Vatican, the particular manner in which he has been handling the Soviet-Finnish war, and the junket of Sumner Welles.

If the war had not started, Roosevelt would I think. have been washed up by now. He took an almost unalloyed beating from the regular Congress last year, and from the opposition wing of his own party. But the war put him back on his feet. His rating in the Gallup Poll made an unprecedented jump in September and October. At first his advisers apparently thought that the

United States would declare war within six or eight months, and that he and his followers would ride back into office as the only adequate war leaders. With the war developing as no one expected, they have become puzzled. Will they campaign, in the party convention and the election, on a "he kept us out of war" platform or with a "unite to win the war" slogan? They can keep both roads open provided (1) the war increases in seriousness and extent and (2) Roosevelt is made to seem the only man who can handle the war crisis, whether or not this country is formally a bel-

The first condition will take care of itself, without any pushing from Roosevelt. The fulfillment of the second is a congenial task for so accomplished a demagogue as Roosevelt. He and his publicity staff constantly reinforce the impression that he is indispensable: his war moves and his "peace moves" are alike presented with that twist.

Some of these moves, like the armament appropriations, the pressure on Japan, the drive in Latin America, the munitions sales to France and Britain, are altogether serious parts of the general war preparations and would be undertaken by any administration, Democratic or Republican. In the case of others (the overtures to the Vatican, the trip of Welles, and even the policy on Finland), we observe a great gap between the grandiose words and the insignificant actions. (With all the talk, Finland has got next to nothing that it needs from this country, and probably is never going to get much.) It is reasonable to suppose that in these latter moves, at least one of Roosevelt's eyes and maybe half of the other is on next summer's Chicago convention and November's election day to follow.

## ANTI-WAR MEETING

SPARKS IN THE NEWS

≡ by Dwiaht Macdonald ≡

# How Close Are We to War?

Speakers:

JAMES P. CANNON and SARAH RICE
Nat'l Secretary, Socialist Workers Party

. SA'RAH RICE
Former Yorkville C.P. leader

Friday Eve., February 16, 1940

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