John L. Lewis: An Independent Labor Party Is What the Workers Want

Dear Brothers John L. Lewis, Hillman, etc.:

You boys are the big shots in the CIO, but don't let it go to your head.

We put you where you are, us workers in the plants. As leaders of the CIO, you are supposed to carry out the wishes of the men who put you there for that purpose. We expect you to listen—and then act.

Labor today is at the crossroads. The boss politicians, Republicans and Democrats, the Hoovers and Roosevelts, have given us a swift kick out the back door.

Roosevelt threw us a few crumbs to keep us quiet, and now he has gone visiting where the grass is greener, where Big Business holds sway. He is taking orders from the

Morgans and DuPonts and Rockefellers and their like. The Democrats and the Republicans have not solved our problems. There is still unemployment, still misery, still

starvation in the midst of plenty. WE'RE TIRED OF LICKING THE BOOTS OF CAPITALIST POLITICIANS.

WE WANT A LABOR PARTY! WE WANT A PARTY MADE UP OF THE ORGANIZED WORK-ERS, WITH A PROGRAM FOR THE WORKERS. Roosevelt has launched a program of bullets instead of

bread, guns instead of jobs, war instead of security. We want an INDEPENDENT Labor Party to launch a program of jobs instead of guns, bread instead of bullets!

It's high time you boys stopped hanging around the kitchen door of the White House, looking for scraps like homeless mongrels, and went out among the mass production workers and organized a Labor Party!

We've had our fill of Democrats and Republicans. Nationally they have both flopped. In Michigan they have both been wallowing in one of the most shameful cesspools of corruption and graft this country has ever seen.

In the city of Detroit there is nothing but filth, robbery, cheating, stealing, on the part of the boss politicians. The deeper the grand jury digs the worse it stinks.

The Detroit auto workers ought to launch an aggressive political campaign to clean out the crooked boss politicians Flint, Mich.

and put in an INDEPENDENT PARTY OF LABOR.

We need an administration that will not steal from the people, but an administration that will get hold of the exorbitant profits of the auto magnates, and provide with that wealth, a job and a decent living for every worker. We must do the same thing from coast to coast!

That is what the auto workers want . . . a Labor Party. How about it, boys? Will you go along with this program, or do we have to get a new set of leaders?

Fraternally yours,

Fred, from Final Assembly

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CIO LANDSLIDE EXPECTED IN AUTO VOTE

Maintained On Subways

Transport Workers Force La Guardia to Honor Union's Pact

Mayor La Guardia announced Tuesday, after a conference with John L. Lewis and the negotiating committee of the Transport Workers Union, that New York City would honor the contracts held by the union with the rapid transit lines shortly to be taken over by the city.

The mayor's agreement was incorporated in a letter to Lee Pressman, General Council of the CIO.

This substantial victory of the union was achieved only as a result of the solidarity and determination displayed by the Transport Workers of this city and their threat to tie up the whole transportation system if the city would not recognize their union and continue the contracts which they previously won from the transit companies.

Attempted to Crawfish

For the past week, since John L. Lewis had his first conference with the mayor, city officials have been engaged in a deliberate at tempt to crawfish on the original agreement with the union.

As late as Tuesday morning John H. Delaney, Chairman of the Board of Transportation, announced that he would introduce a resolution into the Board of Transportation on Wednesday morning which would provide that the Board, when it takes over the transport lines, will assume only the terms and conditions of the present union contract which the Board would deem "not inconsistent with constitutional and statutory provisions.'

The union negotiating committee showed how this resolution was a repudiation of the agreement reached with the mayor last week and left enough loopholes for a whole army to march through. The union delegation pointed out that by this resolution the Board would not actually assume the contracts that are at present held by the union but only certain "terms and conditions' of the contract, thus being left free to delete any provisions and terms of the contract which it considered to be "inconsistent with statutory conditions."

Mayor Passed the Buck

It was obvious to all that the mayor had merely passed the buck to John H. Delaney, chairman of the Board of Transportation, in an attempt to get the heat off himself. It was obvious that the mayor was just stalling the union and getting ready once again to doublecross the transport workers of this city.

The union answered in the only language that union-busters ever (Continued on Page 2)

Union Shop The 30-Hr. Week Is Way Out For Auto!

AUTO WORKERS!

On April 17th, 150,000 General Motors workers go to

In every plant they are going to chalk up an overwhelming victory for the United Automobile Workers, CIO!

But don't let a victory in the NLRB ballot lull you into a false feeling of security! You will still have to fight for every single bit

of progress you hope to make. The workers of the Briggs plants in Detroit chalked up

huge majority for the CIO in their NLRB vote. But first they had to go out on strike to secure recognition and a half-way decent contract. And in spite of the magnificent struggle the Briggs workers put up, they STILL HAVE NOT SOLVED THE PROBLEM OF SECURITY, nor have they found a place for the thousands of unemployed Briggs workers.

Just as big a majority was cast in favor of the CIO in the Chrysler plants. But Old Man Keller locked them out, and conducted one of the most vicious anti-union campaigns in the history of unionism in the auto industry. And when the CIO finally got out from under that lockout, practically nothing was gained!

An NLRB victory will assure the auto workers of General Motors many advantages, that is true.

It will show the general public that the CIO DOES represent the workers in GM; it will show the middle-ofthe-road elements in the plants that they will have to join the CIO if they don't want to be out in the cold; it will go a long way toward wiping out the AFL fakers.

BUT AN NLRB VICTORY WILL NOT GET YOU SECURITY.

The leadership of the Auto Workers union has been on the defensive during the last year since the convention in Cleveland. These leaders have been satisfied to try to hold thir own. They have ignored the problem of unemployment, they have ignored the demands of the rank and file for a year-round guarantee of security, they have been fiddling and stalling.

Who secured and held bargaining rights in the plants during the last few months? The militants in every plant who fought battle after battle on thusands of local issues, and forced the management to deal with their committees!

The GM contract, nominally in force, didn't mean a thing. The corporation refused to deal with the CIO, except in those plants where militant workers MADE THEM RECOGNIZE THEIR COMMITTEEMEN.

After the NLRB victory, it is time to march ahead.

The 30 hour week and 40 hours pay will take up the slack of unemployment. Thousands of your brothers are out on the street begging for relief or WPA, men who should be in the plants.

Unless you fight for the 30 hour week at 40 hour pay, these thousands of men will be herded into a huge army of scabs, to take your jobs at scab wages at the first sign of

If you want to protect your jobs; if you want to save the CIO; if you want to establish security in GM plants: Fight for the 30 hour week at 40 hours pay!

Your leaders have put this demand on the shelf. Tomor-' row, they say, they will ask for it. Is the 30 hour week not needed today? Are they afraid to ask GM for what the workers must have?

But you are not afraid! You fought GM to a standstill in the glorious sitdowns of 1937.

You know that GM made a profit of \$183,000,000 in '39, while thousands walked the streets, locked out by the profiteering Sloanes and DuPonts.

Auto workers!—you have been on the defensive long enough. Give the command to FORWARD MARCH— FOR THE 30 HOUR WEEK AT 40 HOURS PAY! from war-ridden countries to

SPIRIT OF '37



U.A.W. pickets holding their ground against the cops at the Cadillac plant of General Motors in Detroit, January 27, 1937. The picket sign in the picture reads: "This line is rough on

SWP Convention Opens In N. Y.

To Settle Dispute on Russian Question And Map Campaign of Trade Union Work

Over a hundred delegates and alternates are making their way to the special national convention of the Socialist Workers Party this week.

Coming by automobile, by rail, by ship, by thumb, comrades from the Golden Gate all the way to New England and from Oregon down to Texas are converging on New York for the opening of the convention on April 5.

Among those representing the various branches of the Coast and the Gulf, teamsters against war. from the Mid-West area, steel workers from Ohio, Indiana structure of the party are expectmilitants from everywhere.

retary of the party, comrade Far-

Settle Russian Question The convention will take a deinitive stand on the question of he attitude to take towards the the duration of the war with re- of the convention. gard to this all-important stand, which has been a testing-stone has, in the pre-convention discusfor the international working sion, showed that while its conclass since the outbreak of the cern with theoretic problems is

International Report

Another highlight of the con-

longshoremen from the West line trenches of the workers' fight

Organizational changes in the and Illinois, cannery workers ed to take place in order to place from California and W.P.A. the party on a war footing. Tightening up on the central task of One of the most important rooting the party in the unions, tasks of the convention will be the convention is expected to the organization of a well-defined make provisions for a strong di- four years of arbitration, Since port, all now have contracts exprogram of trade union work un- recting force at the center and 1934 they have operated under piring at different dates. That is der the direction of the aggresfor a substantial increase in field agreeing in advance to accept arhas made of union solidarity. organizers. The problem of in- bitration of any and all issues creasing the effectiveness of the that arise. Yet during that period press of the party will also be 86 issues have been submitted to dealth with in special sessions.

A Proletarian Party

In every respect, the conven-Soviet Union in the unfolding tion of the Socialist Workers Parworld war. This question has been ty this year is expected to mark months with long deliberations in of the Trotskyist movement in the branches, in which various this country. The proletarian Tough In India Too; points of view have been present- composition of the delegates, giv ed in the most democratic fash- ing vivid testimony to the inion. The convention will draw the crease of party strength in the balance sheet of this discussion trade unions, will undoubtedly and place the party on record for give direction to the deliberations The rank and file of the party

Russian Revolution in Novem-deeply rooted, it is anxious to continue the already successfully begun work of penetrating wide layers of the American working vention will be the report on the class with its program of transiprogress of the Fourth Interna- tional demands. Hand in hand ional under the conditions of war with determining its position with persecution and censorship. Fra- regard to the Soviet Union, on ternal delegates are expected which two main tendencies have

(Continued on Page 2)

Bridges Gives Bosses Notorious 'Peace' Plan

Everything To Be Arbitrated; Bosses Are All For It

SAN FRANCISCO, Mar. 29-

The Bridges proposal is to incorporate present terms of the 1. The drive of Pacific Coast walongshoremen's contract into an agreement which provides that there shall be no strikes or stoppages for the next five years. All disputes as to interpretation of the contract shall be submitted to

Bosses Like It

If the barrage of Stalinist propaganda for this kind of "peace" they were quickly disilusioned. waterfront employers accepted the principle of the plan without a moment's hesitation. In fact, Frank P. Foisie, president the cat out of the bag by reveal-eers, and masters, mates and piling where this "peace plan" real- ots.

"Last June we (the employers) proposed extension of the contract including the seven points upon which Mr. Bridges bases his new peace formula. We have, therefore, been advocating a similar plan for nine

Everything Arbitrated!

But even these points, part of

"The seven fundamental points (are) to be subject to interpretation by the arbitrator insofar as alleged violation of these points are concerned during the life of the agreement." That leaves nothing out of arbitration.

What Arbitration Did But the longshoremen have had rectly involved in marine transarbitration by Bridges. Of these 86 issues the boss has won 62 decisions, the longshoremen only 24. (Continued on Page 2)

Win Militant Strike

Workers of General Motors, Ltd., of Bombay, India, won wage increases of ten to fifteen percent in a strike lasting thirteen days in February.

Over 1,000 workers in the plant, organized in the General Motors Workers Union, went out on strike on February 9, demanding wage increases because of the increased cost of living brought about by the war. Pickets blocked roads leading to the factory and prevented scabs from entering the plant. After two weeks of this, the company gave in.

ILWU Convention **Opens**; Militants For Marine Unity

PORTLAND, Ore., April 1-Harry Bridges' much-ballyhooed The convention of the Interna-'five years peace plan" was pre- tional Longshoremen and Waresented to the Pacific Coast Wa- housemen's Union (CIO), opened erfront Employers Association in North Bend today, with this roll up a landslide vote for the West Coast union faced by two major problems:

2. The need to reconstitute the ers. once-powerful Maritime Federation along its original lines, an preparation for a show-down fight with the bosses.

When the Maritime Federation was founded in 1935, with Harry any maritime workers, Lundeberge of the Sailors Union as its first president, it was based on the seven maritime unions directly involved in marine transportation-longshoremen, marine of the employers association, let radio operators, marine engin-

Stalinists Broke Unity

eraft unions and newly-organized the workers. agricultural set-ups so that they could get a safe voting majority for their class-collaboration poli- had faith in the AFL after its cy. Thereby the Stalinists dealt a neavy blow to the fighting unity of the marine unions, driving out party are automobile workers from Michigan, sailors and those who are already in the front ter:

the present contract, and subject to arbitration in actuality. Sailors Union of the Pacific, all branches of the Marine Firemen, and the Masters, Mates & Pilots. of the federation the powerful ators. Other affiliates brought in tions. by the Stalinists include boilermakers, machinists, shipyard

workers, inland boatmen, fishermen, cannery workers. Of the four unions in the federation dithe sorry mess the Bridges gang

Want Original Federation

Hoping to free themselves from he cumbersome net of this "maritime" federation and avoid the trap of compulsory arbitration, militant rank and filers among the longshoremen are starting a move to reconstitute the original up for discussion for the past six a milestone in the development G.M. Auto Workers Are maritime federation of the seven marine unions. They remember the strength of the maritime federation as it was originally constituted.

Fearing this sentiment, the Stalinists launched a campaign igainst it before the ILWU conention opened. Mat Meehan, C.P. natchet man, led off with a slanderous attack in the March 28 'Voice of the Federation," in which he had the gall to characterize this general rank and file public respect and public confisentiment as an "attempt to dis-

upt the ILWU." The Stalinists expect a safe it will take more than the formal authority of their office to keep the stevedores up and down the cost isolated from their brothers in the other maritime unions.

Main Fight Still Ahead At G. M.

Main Problems To Be Faced After Election

DETROIT-The campaign to United Automobile Workers, CIO, in the coming NLRB elections in the General Motors plants will terfront employers to shackle reach its high point in huge ralthe unions with compulsory ar-April 6 and 7. John L. Lewis, Sidney Hillman and Phillip Murray, are scheduled as the main speak-

> Auto workers are confident in this area that the organization identified with the great sitdowns which defeated General Motors in 1937 will become their sole representative in bargaining with the corporation after April

17. That organization is the CIO. There is no question in the mind of any informed person here that the strike-breaking, dual-union outfit affiliated with the AFL will be completely washed out by the vote of the auto workers. Such a verdict at the elections will be in complete conformity But then, during the "Popular with the prevailing situation in Front" days, the Stalinists flood- the plants where the AFL repreed the federation with old-line sents an insignificant minority of

The Final Touch

Those few workers who still years of disruption and treachery

(See Editorial on the UAW and General Motors on page four.)

and the Masters, Mates & Pilots. to the auto workers were quickly In the present "maritime" fed- disillusioned by the publicity iseration remain longshoremen, sued by the swivel-chair labor cooks, engineers and radio oper- skates for the forthcoming elec-

> In a series of articles purporting to discuss the "issues involved in the General Motors Elections" (AFL Weekly News Service), Green and Co. show their true

> There is little these articles say positively about the merits and achievements of the AFL in the auto industry, because there is precious little to say. But if nothing good can be said in favor of the AFL, a whole bucket-full of mud can be slung against the CIO-so reason Green and Co. The CIO, they howl, is a communistic plot, is merely a stepping stone for John L. Lewis' political ambitions, it denounces President Roosevelt (which no doubt is like sinning against the Holy Ghost!) and besides it doesn't have any money in its treasury. That's Green's tale.

But all this is like the red cape to infuriate the bull-behind it is a treacherous piece of steel. Says the AFL Weekly News Service: "The CIO Communist leadership has involved the auto workers in a sea of troubles. It has alienated dence. It has taken millions of dollars out of your pockets by way of costly and needless najority at the convention. But strikes. It has not tried to organize a union for you. It has tried to mobilize you for a revolution."

Repeats Boss Lies

No auto worker would have to (Continued on Page 2)

Write to us-tell us what's going on in your part of the labor movement-what are the workers thinking about?-tell us what the bosses are up to-and the G-men and the local copsand the Stalinists-send us that story the capitalist press didn't print and that story they buried or distorted-our pages are open to you. Letters must carry name and address, but indicate if you do not want your name printed.

New Recruiting Trick Tried Out In Detroit

While driving down the main thoroughfare here in Detroit, my tears for the terrible conditionseyes came upon—a cannon, large, in Ohio. interesting and intriguing, to say Nor does it seem to me that the least. So clean, so many nice their sympathy would be of any cess. Everyone in Flint pays it rights as the WPA and Unemcruiting campaign" speech. But do. that was already clear from the Toledo, Ohio billboard signs all over the city. "Join the Army," which broke the ground for this method of recruiting. And this is only preparation for more determined methods that will soon follow.

But watch, it may not pass off so slick. They may have their cards thrown in their faces and they themselves cast into the ashcan, these war dealers. It's high time we played another kind of game anyway! F. Bertone the fight. Detroit, Mich.

A Heartening Note About Spain

from a Spanish comrade now in however, publish any material who were such well-known mili- ther progress, they began to turn Mexico there is the following pas- showing the pro-capitalist role of tants as Genora Johnson and Roy their eyes on the notoriously cruel sage which gives us a good in the churches. It carries on a very Lawrence. sight into the situation of the abstract and therefore ineffectual A meeting called for the elec-Spanish revolutionists, etc.

comrades is astonishingly high kind of old-fashioned atheism, stooges. Union by-laws were vio- held at the Welfare offices and through. We get favorable re- the pre-war American socialist in the hall by members of the ing these welfare officials in dealports from Spain-via France, movement, has today completely stooge election committee. A huring with the union. There seened to be an unusual disappeared from the labor move- ry-up count was held and the milamount of solidarity among the ment. workers and peasants. We have been told of one instance where "socialists"—the Socialist party offices. one of our comrades had walked of Norman Thomas and the Soa hundred kilometres to the bor- cial Democratic Federation-in- They carried on the fight. In a der while under suspicion by the clude pious religionists in their few weeks the stooge Workers tion lines kept looking out the authorities; and the peasants, in leadership and have made their Alliance hangers-on drifted off. the most backward section of the peace with the churches. The They did nothing to build the uncountry, shielded him and direct- Stalinists also go in for a good ion. The union membership fell. ed his course so that he would deal of opportunistic catering to But the militants kept plugging police attack the pickets the avoid the authorities. In Madrid, the churches. too, reports have it that there is too, reports have it that there is a high degree of solidarity among tionary socialists, as Marxists, TEAMSTERS' PACT the workers. The oppression is recognize that "religion is the

Ohio Has Okies Like the Joads

Joads?" Businessmen's discussion | Given these considerations, the groups and literary tea societies struggle against religion in genalso talked over the problem eral is necessarily subordinated There was considerable shaking to the economic and political of heads, and many sighs that struggle against capitalism. In such things should exist in demo- the course of that struggle, we

would have a truer sound if the lined up with the capitalists, tend objects of their good intentions to leave the churches-Editor. were not two thousand miles away. These people seem perfectly blind to the fact that right here in Toledo, people are living in conditions that would make those of the Joads seem relatively luxurious by comparison.

On Toledo's dumps you will

find shacks constructed of driftwood and cardboard cartons in which whole families are living. been elaborated, as readers of the They eke out a miserable pittance last two issues of the New Interby going through the rubbish that national have already been able is thrown onto the dump. Paper to judge, the party convention and scrap iron has a certain cash will have the task of overhauling value, you know-but not much. drastically the work of forging Children of 8 and 10, old men and deeper into the ranks of the inwomen, all fight like a pack of dustrial working class. wolves over every piece of metal, every strip of wire that is found. Their whole days are spent rummay be burned away.

most oppressed of Toledo's suffer- 1940 at the Beethoven Hall, 210 ing thousands. What of the hun- East 5th Street, New York City. dreds of families who have not Dinner will be served at 7 p.m. yet been returned to the relief Reservations can be made at 116 from the gentry for them. Only ing ALgonquin 4-8547. An unforamazement—"I wonder how they gettable experience is in store

wrong to expect anything else vantage of this unique opportunfrom the liberal pastors, the busi- ity.

nessmen discussers and the literary tea societies. I haven't the California counterparts are shedding the same sort of crocodile

wheels. Turn this one for aim, great value anyway. What could respect. But not until three or ployed auxiliary. watch the shell feed, etc. Young they do about it? It is to the un- four months ago. men who still get a kick out of ions that we must look for help.

izations and their addresses.

I still believe your party is the right party. You ought to have more force. I will send you some

Franklin Wolfinger

ation for the Advancement of They sent in a couple of agents were tamed, and the union lead-Atheism," located at 38 Park to whisper, malign and work ag- ers realized national pressure was tremble every time the WPA Motors workers, however, don't In a letter I have just received Row, New York City. It does not, ainst the leaders of the union, now needed in this field for fur- Auxiliary speaks. campaign.

vicious and thorough, but Franco opium of the people." We recognize that religion is chasn't yet broken their spirit.

Los Angeles

C. C. Feedman is recognize that religion is characteristic opium of the people." We recognize that religion is characteristic.

GAINS UNDER WAR CONDITIONS numerable threads into the service of the capitalist class. But KANSAS CITY—Grim realism drivers now get 60 cents an hour we also were taught by Marx and toward the prospects of war and for a 48-hour week, time and a Lenin that religion will not die a determination that organized half for overtime. away so long as man is not mas- labor shall not be penalized by The second provision, guaranter of his environment and there- war-time conditions are written teeing their jobs to men who re-The showing of the movie, by do away with religion. But the into the provisions of the contract turn from war, has broad impli- What is more, all decisions favor-

know, the most advanced work-Unfortunately, their signs ers, as they find the churches

(Continued from Page 1)

All Invited to Dinner

Our sympathizers and friends maging through the filth of the will have an opportunity for dicity's rubbish. Fires are kept rect contact with the delegates burning constantly so that the coming from all fields of the rubber surrounding copper wire American class struggle at the Dinner being given to greet the But these are only a few of the delegates on Sunday, April 7, rolls? You hear no exclamations University Place, or by telephonfor all on that historic occasion. Still, I suppose it would be We urge every reader to take ad-

ORKERS' ORUM N.Y. Transport Union Retains Union Shop The Flint WPA Union-History Of Growth Through Struggle Struggle Tell us what's going on in your part of the capital arc the workers thinking about? tell arc up to—and the G-men and the local cops— arc up to—and the G-men and the local cops— arc up to—and the G-men and the local cops— arc up to—and the draw the capitalist bress didn't Thion-Wesders Restorn The Flint WPA Union History Of Growth Through Struggle FLINT, Mich.—The story of away, visiting WPA jobs, giving up members and hour out to the capitalist bress didn't the

Auxiliary of the United Auto Workers (CIO), is well worth

slightest doubt but what their of the jobless. It is the story of into effect. successful fight against the un-

When the last UAW conven-

interested. Local union leaders workers in Flint. I would like to know if you gave little or no assistance. could give me the names of or- Strongly CP-dominated UAW loganizations that work against re- cal officers sabotaged efforts by ganizations that work against re- cal officers sabotaged efforts by were then held at the WPA added to the problems of the downers in the back by urging mand of Police Commissioner join the huge army of unemployganizations that work against religion. That expose these misleadreferring unemployed to the Worligion. That expose these misleadligion and solding that the level of 200 man. The dem ers and tell the truth. I would like kers Alliance and aiding that the lay-off of 200 men. The demto have the names of such organ-bankrupt outfit in every possible onstrations were so militant, so

The "Death Watch'

After carrying through a few back to work! militant actions such as the money soon to help you carry on famed "Death Watch," the WPA union began to grow.

At that time the Stalinist and union-wrecking elements figured about its victories. There is an "American Associ- it was ripe for them to step in.

tion of permanent officers was The morale of the Spanish It is worth noting that this flooded with Workers Alliance last week's Socialist Appeal, was Board of the local. itant elements who had built the On the one hand the reformist union were defeated for the main

They did not quit, however.

following provisions:

niority with the company upon

return from service if physically

tiations only.

Union-Wreckers Beaten

And finally they succeeded in protect their unemployed brocareful reading by militants ev- putting new life into the dangerously wounded organization. A It is the story of the struggle new election was held and the or- that incident. against terrific odds to organize iginal builders and militants were

on-wrecking sabotage of the under the influence of Communist WPA local which had won the and its great strikes was a "sea Stalinists and their Workers Al- Party members, the Workers Al- hearts of the auto workers. liance was seated as a fraternal

The UAW top officials were not legitimate CIO union of the WPA mously.

WPA Boss Eats Crow

This victory became news. Men in the shops began to hear more

When the WPA officials locally worthless elements. local Welfare Board.

Buick Workers' Solidarity

The Welfare building, across the street from the Buick plants, was picketed by a militant colorful squad. In the plants, a Buick worker reported, men working on the producwindow, talked the situation over thoroughly, and unamimously resolved that should the

their wrenches and pour out to

A world of significance lies in look twice at this garbage to

thers.

rank and file pressure to take Commerce. On the CIO Council of Flint, some action in support of the

Union Backs Lawrence

were there to explain this fascin- what a threat to union standards tion of the WPA workers and the council, and finally after bit- OF THE INTERNATIONAL sharks; when Green sold out the whole matter of a strike of New ating mechanism. Upon asking the existence of such conditions unemployed into auxiliaries, Flint ter debates, after every trick and AND OF ALL LOCAL UNIONS auto workers to Roosevelt in the York's transportation system what the purpose of the demon- are. This is a job which the Ap- militants immediately set about subterfuge had been tried by the IN FLINT went to his support infamous NRA settlement; when stration was—I got a blunt "re- peal and the SWP must and can to do the job. A half dozen self- Stalinists, the Workers Alliance immediately, issued a joint state- Dillon turned over the Toledo a little April Fool's day fun." He TWU has won the first battle of sacrificing workers began the ar- was shown the door. The WPA ment to the press, and backed up Chevrolet strikers in 1935 to the threatened to break the strike if the present war. But the battle is union took its place as the only the WPA union official unanitender mercies of General Mo- one were called.

well-planned, that the WPA ad- ored to attend and speak at the crimes against the auto workers and keep all personnel and equip- and other provisions of the preministrator was forced to re-auxiliary's meetings, which are scind all 403's and put the men building up to such a point that pening the CIO auto workers the police. An emergency meeting be passed on by the court. La they overflow the hall.

Workers Alliance Finished

The WPA and Welfare officials

are unemployed, are gradually out of the industry. The Reutherjoining up, one of the members of Thomas leadership of the UAW the colored race having been has accumulated a host of prob-A demonstration, reported in elected recently to the Executive

comrades is astonishingly high kind of old-fashioned and stooges. Onlone by taken a considering what they have gone which once played a big role in lated by the distribution of slates great strides were made in train- a result of militant action and of being but, on the contrary, by consistent work, union men are their timidity toward the corporproud of Local 12. Its uphill ation. GM is taking full advanstruggle should be a lesson to mil- tage of this attitude. itants in every area.

Its program is: a job for every worker; at least a \$10,000,000,000 union wages, etc.

until these demands are met.

(Continued from Page 1)

"Grapes of Wrath" caused some- socialist revolution will be made which General Drivers Union Lo- cations. It constitutes an obsta- ing the longshoremen were on sunday sermon to the question, struggle is the task of our party. He contract, which runs from players during the war, for it with preferred gangs, the size of dues to the union in view of its due to the union in view of its dues to the union in view of its due to the union in view of its union men with long traditions codes—already part of a state "22 . . . if this nation is called of unionism. If such a provision law!—and the right to a full day's became part of all union conwork when work is available.

to war the contract shall be re-opened for wage and hour negoreturning body of soldiers could tions the arbitration award has "23. It is agreed that in the event of war, men who are called ent of war, men who are called American Legion, as an anti-ladard union solidarity. These questoff the shop almost daily, but of the shop almost daily. not easily be used, as they were Over and above the specific function of these provisions, they of hiring and the right of the un-against the old union employees. when that was because it was a reveal a grim understanding of ion to discipline its own mem-The first provision makes it how near we are to being dragged bers. These are questions affectpossible for the union, when war into the imperialist war and a ing the life of the union and begins—which means a rise in the class-conscious will to expand la-should never have been submitted part of the union leadership in its cost of living—to demand higher bor's power and gains with no to arbitration.

Union-Wreckers At Work

Because of the general opposi- fight for the most basic demand tion of the rank and file to the of the auto workers: THE 30 method of arbitration, the Stalin- HOUR WEEK AT 40 HOUR ist machine had to undertake ex- PAY. mutual distrust.

Whereas formerly all unions had agreements expiring at the same time, their contracts now have different expiration dates. The main purpose behind this Stalinist maneuver was to destroy the solidarity of the unions so that each would be forced to accept the principle of arbitra-

But as against arbitration, milmanding a program to reconsti- ward. tute the original maritime federa-

hind only the hard-bitten and of sea-green!—when they see the called. results of the NLRB elections.

Negroes in Flint, 90% of whom Green and his crowd are cleaned end but only begin the day Bill lems for General Motors workers not by acting like the "wild-eyed Throughout the city of Flint, as radicals" the AFL accuses them

(Continued on Page 2)

Company Bears Down

In many of the plants here the emergency WPA appropriation; line is being constantly speeded all war funds to the unemployed; up. When workers refuse to acan adequate youth program to cept the speed-up they are either employ all unemployed youth at penalized with a layoff or their wages are cut to the percent of It will not give up the struggle the standard the management claims they are meeting.

In Chevrolet Gear and Axle, seven men were recently penalized for refusal to meet company standards. They were allowed to return to the job a week later on the condition that they accepted company standards. The company made a concession in agreeing to a lower quality of work. But it is out of the men.

failure to help them.

In Fleetwood, where the situa- correct. tion is better than in most GM plants, the factory operates five But on all fundamental ques- days a week, but workers with several years seniority are walktions included the right to re- wherever possible the manage- list of subs received since the last spect picket lines, union control ment is favoring new men as report—we hope you remember The Basic Cause

> The lack of militancy on the daily relations with the corporations arises almost directly out of its failure to wage a militant

traordinary measures to sell the Without this solution—which "peace plan." Under cover of one would in itself solve the ticklish of the most intensive agitation questions of seniority, working selves. The first convention resocampaigns they have ever con- conditions, etc.—there can be no lution by each and every delegate ducted, the Stalinists maneuvered real solution to the problems of must be: "Subscriptions come the separate maritime unions into the auto workers. The tremena position of relative isolation and dous unemployment of workers in the auto industry is the most

union. Everywhere in Detroit and in brought many good comments Flint workers are seeking a more but results are still to come. Nick fundamental treatment of their Lyons writes from New Haven: problems than mere change in "The special offer is a very good bargaining relations with the cor- one and I'm going to do my best poration. And everywhere the to get some of these trial offers feeling is arising, and it will not in the hands of our contacts." be downed by soft speeches, that there must be action for the 30 hour week at 40 hour pay if the SPECIAL AUTO EDITION itants, inside the ILWU are de- auto workers union is to go for- This week we are printing

tion of the real marine unions for these big auto centers. The auto the coming NLRB elections in a show-down fight against the workers will fight—they need on- General Motors for distribution for the paper when it is really ly leadership and a program. at the big CIO rallies in Detroit needed.

tinued full preparations for the ing a final judicial decision and calling of a city wide strike. It the provisions of the contract held an emergency meeting on affected will be performed in Monday night of the 500 members the meantime." of the union executive board. know that it was borrowed di- They announced the setting up of By this time union officials, rectly from the propoganda files special strike headquarters in the demonstrated beyond doubt that the unemployed, to interest the elected by overwhelming majori- both locally and nationally, in the of the National Manufacturers different sections of Brooklyn and the mayor is in a combination employed workers in the plight ty. A campaign of action was put UAW-CIO had been forced by Association or the Chamber of the Bronx and the organization of with the Wall Street bankers in That the auto workers union the uptown Empire Hotel.

Mayor's Strikebreaking Plans As late as Monday, Mayor La the backs of the poor people and of troubles" for the AFL big shots is true to the last word. Guardia, phoney friend of labor, the labor movement of this city, When Roy Lawrence, sit-down When the auto workers threw sent a letter by special messenger veteran and WPA union presi- Green's Mr. Dillon into the ash- to union headquarters, advising demonstrated that the Transport dent, was attacked in the reac- can after he had kept the auto the union officials that the differ- Workers Union can gain real se-The WPA union delegates to tionary Flint Journal for alleged- workers disorganized in pre-GIO ences between the city officials curity and achievements only by the council put up a battle to ly threatening to use violence days by feeding the newly organ- and the union were purely "imag- relying on its own strength, courshaving, dressed in full regalia, They must be made to realize tion made provision for organiza- oust the Workers Alliance from against relief heads, OFFICERS ized workers to the craft union inary" and suggesting that the age and solidarity. "was not really serious and just tors; when Green, acting in uni-

To back up this vicious policy, Today a full page in every issue son with every anti-labor boss La Guardia issued the unprece- employed at the present time on of the Flint Auto Worker, weekly and banker and vigilante in the dented order placing ten city de- the city's elevated lines who will A series of demonstrations organ of the local UAW-CIO, is country, stabbed the Flint sit- partments under the direct com- be dumped out into the street to Speakers from all local unions to deal with the CIO; when Mar- partment heads to keep their de- elevated lines begin. of the UAW-CIO now feel hon- tin committed a hundred other partments open 24 hours a day There are still the closed shop -when all these things were hap- ment at the complete disposal of sent union contracts which must were a "sea of troubles" for Mr. of police commanders, held Mon- Guardia, the rest of the city ad-Green, and there isn't a doubt in day night at Police Commissioner ministration, the judges of the The Workers Alliance member- any auto workers' mind that both Valentine's office, outlined police courts, and the whole gang of caand more about the WPA Union ship has transferred en masse to the face and bellies of Green and strategy to attempt to smash the pitalist politicians are not interabout the militancy of its leaders, the UAW-CIO local, leaving be- his lieutenants will be the color union strike when and if it was ested or sympathetic to labor but

To further intimidate the trans- the deadly enemies of labor. The real problems for General port workers, notices were posted at all I.R.T. subway stations of reason to be proud of their initial an injunction obtained in 1932, victory. But this initial victory prohibiting the workers from in- must not make them over-cocky. terfering with the receiver's pos- The unions must now begin a session or management of the great campaign to use all possi-I.R.T. or any of its properties. | ble influence and pressure upon Mayor Backs Down

> the intimidations, the union ranks and to see that jobs at equal pay held firm and late Tuesday the are guaranteed to the 4,800 union mayor was forced to withdraw members employed on the elehis previous union-busting pro- vated lines. Only the same solid-

> he mayor was finally compelled and powers of the union itself to give in writing was:

provisions of the contract it great fight.

Anti-Labor Conspiracy The present controversy has a special press headquarters at a vile conspiracy to achieve unification of the city's transport

system at the expense of and on

The last two weeks have also

Battle Not Over

It is unquestionable that the

There are still 4,800 workers.

serve the Wall Street bankers, The Transport Workers have the courts to honor the full con-But in spite of the threats and tract including the closed shop, arity, the same militancy, the

The precise formulation which same reliance upon the strength that won the initial victory, will "When a ruling is made by carry the transport workers the board affecting any of the through to final victory in this

This being special convention and in Flint, Branches in St. Loui certain the men will be forced to week for the party there isn't is, Los Angeles and Cleveland will raise the quality of their work much to report because most of also receive copies for distribubefore long. In this way the com- the comrades have their eyes tion at GM plants in their localipany is driving more production turned towards New York. But it ties. The special edition hits the has a good side in that we can nail on the head in dealing with In Ternstedt's, women workers see from the enthusiasm from the the vital issues facing the auto were cut ten cents per hour until incoming delegates that Appeal workers. Results of this distribution of the unions by changing the employers here. Sunday sermon to the question, arouse these great masses to the unions by changing the workers arouse these great masses to the unions by changing the workers arouse these great masses to the unions by changing the workers arouse these great masses to the unions by changing the workers arouse these great masses to the unions by changing the workers arouse these great masses to the unions by changing the workers arouse these great masses to the unions by changing the workers arouse these great masses to the unions by changing the workers arouse these great masses to the unions by changing the workers arouse these great masses to the unions by changing the workers arouse these great masses to the unions by changing the workers arouse these great masses to the unions by changing the workers arouse these great masses to the unions by changing the workers arouse these great masses to the unions by changing the workers arouse these great masses to the unions by changing the workers arouse these great masses to the unions by changing the workers arouse these great masses to the unions by changing the workers arouse these great masses to the unions by changing the workers arouse these great masses to the unions by changing the workers arouse the workers arou thing of a stir in certain Toledo by tens of millions of workers cal 41 of Kansas City has second the constitutes an obstation of workers cal 41 of Kansas City has second the constitutes an obstation of workers cal 41 of Kansas City has second the constitutes an obstation of workers cal 41 of Kansas City has second the constitutes an obstation of workers cal 41 of Kansas City has second the constitutes an obstation of workers. Results of this distribution of workers can be constituted as the constitutes an obstation of workers can be constituted as the constitutes an obstation of workers can be constituted as the constitutes an obstation of workers can be constituted as the constitutes an obstation of workers can be constituted as the constitute of the constitutes an obstation of workers. bilities ahead—and they are 100%

SUBSCRIPTIONS

The first thing literature long time ago.

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pressing problem for the auto SPECIAL SUB OFFER

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several thousand copy special edi-The spirit of 1937 is present in tion of the Socialist Appeal on

Detroit put part of the money right on the line: "Enclosed find money order for the special auto edition," they write, "the money was raided at the last party meeting, almost everyone (including the new members) contributing."

Early this week we received a big check from St. Paul which pays up their special edition in full. The convention delegates will give us more detailed information on distribution and we will report it in next weeks' Ap-

THE HONOR ROLL

Not all the blows of reaction can drive our devoted sympathizers away from the Fourth International. We deeply appreciate their contributions.

From Oakland, Calif., A. R. writes: Enclosed is \$10 to cover my press security pledge... The steady swing to reaction and utter confusion in most people's minds make the N.I. and S.A. more important than ever. I certainly appreciate them nowadays more than I ever did.

From Washington, D. C. M.B. sent us a five spot and apologized that he couldn't raise more on his watch.

George Stern, Appeal columnist, came through with twenty-five dollars! We hope that the comrades who like his excellent column would follow his example in coming through

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NEW YORK, N. Y.

S.P. Delegate Supports Pro-War "Silence" at Session of 2nd Int'l

Dan and Abramovich In Involved Dispute Over the Degree to Which They Want To See the Soviet Union Defeated

On the front page of the March ies of Poland. 30 issue of the Call, official organ "This report," continues the of the Socialist party (the Nor- bulletin, was followed by a very man Thomas group), there is a profound discussion on the inter-"report" of the first meeting of national situation which took up the Executive Committee of the most of the meeting." In the Call Labor and Socialist Internation- this "profound discussion" is not al since the outbreak of the war. even mentioned!

Inasmuch as Devere Allen, a member of the Norman Thomas FOR BOURGEOIS FINLAND group, attended this meeting as an official representative, the Both the Call and the bulletin tive Committee.

The Call does not offer even the slightest comment on:

(2). The failure of the Executive Committee to condemn as to make up for this lack. traitors and renegades those of bourgeois governments.

(3). The Executive Committee's support of the Allied camp edited by Abramovich, eulogizes of imperialists in the second World Wars now raging in Eu- to analyze it. The conference met,

(4). The fallure of the Executive Committee to pass a single ose events which have taken place resolution. Not one!

SOME THINGS THE "CALL" DIDN'T MENTION

why the Call chose the eloquence VERY GOOD QUESTION! of silence rather than speech, let | But "shouldn't the Second Inus outline briefly the main events ternational be indicted," queries at the conference. We use as our the Abramovich editorial, inasfirst source of information the much as this session could be held "International Information" bul- only five months after the outletin of the Second International, break of the war and then adnoting that under date of "end of journed without adopting or December 1939" the LSI in its passing a single resolution? (The previous bulletin made the fol- Mensheviks are at least capable, lowing announcement to its read- in distinction from the Call, of

ning of the war to interrupt the worker.) Isn't such a lapse, he sublication of our International asks, absolute proof of "the im-Information' and its supplements. potence and internal decomposi-As we do not yet know when we tion and the complete loss of any will be able to resume our pub- international solidarity," a demlications, we cannot accept any onstration of "its inability to play subscriptions for the year 1940." an active role in the actual events

The next bulletin is dated Feb- or the future development of ruary 26, 1940, and reports the mankind?" conference. Apparently the officials of the Second International simple affirmative. consider that the sole action they But the Mensheviks-and we have taken since the beginning presume the silence of the Call of the second Worll War was signifies solidarity with these such an outstanding service to bootlickers of the imperialist the Brussels meeting, the unani-mously side by side with political the Allied imperialists that it de-warmongers—maintain the con-mous vote for the new president, prostitutes Leon Blum, Paul served their breaking silence with trary. Leon Blum in Populaire unanimity of support for the Al- Faure, Abramovich, the Social a special report, even though even hails the Brussels sessions lied camp of imperialists, etc., Revolutionary Chernov, Zyrom

"Camille Huysmans was unan- tional socialism! imously elected President in place The fact that the outbreak of ity "does not flow from the fact pink. With an eloquent silence of J.W. Albarda who had entered the second World War stunned that the sections of the L.S.I. are they maintain their pretense to the Dutch government on August the Second International into permeated to a greater degree radicalism, a pretense that is only 9." The unanimous vote indicates complete paralysis for five with international proletarian sol- a measure of their distance from Devere Allen's approval of Huys- months is argued away by Leon idarity and class loyalty than the Europe. They can afford to be mans and hence—in view of the Blum with an analogy. In 1914-18 parties of the Second Internation- radical in their silent negative eloquent silence of the Call—the the life of the International was al in 1914-18." Why does the or- way this far from the battlefields approval of the Norman Thomas completely disrupted for a whole ganization enjoy such unity, group. Huysmans was the secre- number of years. Today it is dis- then? Abramovich confesses that still only on the edge of the contary of the Second International rupted only five months! "One this is due to the fact that there flict. up to 1914 and "during the war." can even say," declares Blum, are no "socialist parties today He was one of those who helped "that the outbreak of the war standing on the other side" of the lead the workers into the last and then the Bolshevik revolution military barricades which divide World War as cannon fodder and in Russia so disintegrated all the Europe into two hostile camps." tries, such as China, India, the hence is eminently qualified to living elements of world socialism act as a leading official of the that the re-establishment of the Second International in the pres- International became possible on- pletely silent about "the profound mentioned by the speakers since ent imperialist slaughter.

ident, was not present at the oppressed peasants and workers this meeting, at which represent- labor aristocracies breed Second conference. As an official member meant nothing to Blum except an ative Devere Allen sat unani- International parties. of the Dutch government, he was adverse influence on the power, busy aiding the imperial cabinet prestige, and finances of the buin repressing the workers and co- reaucracy of the Second Internalonial slaves of Holland. Henri tional. de Man, who also resigned from a similar job with the Belgian complete paralysis and four years government, was also absent. The of barren efforts, internal dissensilence of the Call on the actions sion and split" a lapse of five of these two renegades is one of months was not a real interrupthe hoary customs of the Second tion at all. International: never attack any Both Abramovich and Blum member who betrays the working then join in chorus that after all, class and takes a post in a bour- looked at in a certain light, there geois government - who knows, wasn't any interruption whatso-

situation in Finland and a report difficulties." of the delegate of the Bund on the | As for the "unity" displayed at

By JOSEPH HANSEN | situation in the occupied territor-

Call is well acquainted with what do mention, however, that Keto's happened there. The article re- report was a success, "every ports, however, nothing beyond speech" expressing complete unthe following sketch: that the animity on aid and support for meeting was "exceptionally well Finland. We are unable to check attended," that it was held from on this point, as there was no "Feb. 23 to Feb. 25" at "Brus- roll call vote on the Finnish quessels," that there were "repre- tion since there was no resolution sentatives" from various coun- on it, but no one would think of tries in addition to Devere Allen, accusing the Call or any other oramong them being Leon Blum, gan of the Second International that there was a discussion on of inaccuracy on such a matter. Poland and on Finland, and that Support of one bourgeois governthe meeting made some changes ment or another has long been in the personnel of the Execu- a condition of membership in the Second International.

While no resolutions whatsoever were passed by the confer-(1). The failure of the Execu- ence, the comments of the Rustive Committee to meet for five sian Mensheviks who had a delmonths after the war broke out. egate at the conference, like the silence of the Call, can be said

In a leading editorial of its its members who accept posts in March 5 issue, under the title "Socialist International Stands United," Sotsialisticheski Vestnik, the conference and then proceeds exclaims the editorial, and exchanged "views on those grandiin Europe for almost a half year and which may in the near future encompass the whole world and determine its destiny.'

In order to understand better THEY ASK A VERY,

seeing that this question is bound 'We were forced at the begin to be asked by the class-conscious

We answer this question with a

ly in 1923." The smashing of the discussion" on the international no one represents such countries J.W. Albarda, the former pres- capitalist class in Russia by the situation. Reporting the views of in the Second International. Only

Abramovich agrees with Blum

you may be the next to get an ever. Contact between all the sections of the L.S.I. was "never The agenda drawn up by the for a moment broken" and the secretary, Freidrich Adler, was sessions of the Executive Com-"abandoned" without any discus- mittee at Brussels really constision whatsoever "in view of the tuted a genuine session of the Incomplete modification of the cir- ternational "if not in a formal cumstances brought about by the sense then in substance." And if war" and the conference listened there was a little delay, such deto a report by W. Keto on the lay is accounted for by "war time

MOLOTOV SPEECH SHOWS KREMLIN Russian Mensheviks In SEEKS TO REGAIN MIDDLE GROUND Split Over Attitude

SOFTER TONE ADOPTED TOWARD ALLIES AND A COOLER ONE TOWARD HITLER Toward Soviet Union

By FELIX MORROW

A comparison of Molotov's March 29 speech on foreign policy to the Supreme Soviet with his speech on the same subject to the same body five months ago provides some significant con-

The most significant changes are those in the tone employed toward Germany on the one hand and toward the Allies and the United States on the other.

In his Oct. 31, 1939 speech Molotov devoted a good third of his time to indicting the Allies as responsible for the war and whitewashing Germany; he cited the persecutions of the French Communists, "the curtailing of political liberties in England, the unremitting national oppression in India," the Allies' "profoundly material interests as mighty colonial powers . . . which make possible the exploitation of hundreds of millions of people," their "fear of losing world supremacy that dictates to the ruling circles of Great Britain and France the policy of fomenting war with Germany," etc. Roosevelt's intercession with Kalinin on behalf of Finland was answered with a sharp reference to the United States' oppression of the Philippines and Cuba. Turkey's treaties with the Allies were termed "entering the orbit of the developing European war," and there was more than a hint of threat in Molotov's query "whether Turkey will not come to regret it. . . .'

Very different is the tone in the latest speech. It is true that it says the Allies "declared war on Germany under the pretext of fulfilling their obligations toward Poland" and calls it a war to dismember Germany; but this is done in a sentence or two and there are no more references to the dictatorial methods of the democratic-imperialists at home or in the colonies. Despite the rich proof at his disposal, Molotov's indictment of the anti-Soviet role of the Allies in Finland is couched in extremely calm, even defensive terms. There are no further tart remarks about American imperialism; instead, an offer to increase imports from the U.S. if American authorities do not put obstacles in the way. The tone toward Turkey does not repeat any note of reproof but instead points to the existing nonaggression pact. Rumania, unmentioned five months ago, is assured "there are no grounds for any deterioration in Soviet-Rumanian relations.'

Even the gathering Anglo-French colonial armies under Weygand in the Near East, plainly a move unfriendly to the Soviet Union, and which if the Kremlin so desired could be the peg on which to hang an all-embracing indictment of the Allies, is merely the subject of a single paragraph in which, naturally enough, the Soviet Union is stated to be exercising vigilance and prepared for counter-measures. This is further softened by a declaration that "the fantastic plans attributed to the Soviet Union of a Red Army 'March on India,' 'March on the East' and the like . . . are such obvious absurdities that one must completely lose his senses to believe such absurd lies.

No More Boasts of German Alliance

What makes even clearer the contrast in the tone of the two speeches is to add to the differences enumerated above those concerning Germany. In the speech five months ago the Hitler-Stalin pact was declared "bound to have its effect on the entire international situation . . . Here development has proceeded along the line of strengthening our friendly relations, extending our practical cooperation and rendering Germany political support in her efforts for peace." Collaboration between the German and Red armies in Poland was boastfully described: "one swift blow to Poland, first by the German Army and then by the Red Army, and nothing was left of this ugly offspring of the Versailles

Molotov even went so far then as to declare "that a strong Germany is an indispensable condition for a durable peace in Europe." Those who wish otherwise fail to see that their attempt "may end in disaster for them."

Nothing comparable to these statements is contained in Molotov's latest speech. There is a perfunctory reference to the "new, good relations" with Germany, which "have been tested in practice in connection with events in former Poland, and their strength has been sufficiently proved." But this is skillfully belittled by this significant passage:

"Attempts have been made to justify these hostile acts (of the Allies) toward our foreign trade on the grounds that by trading with Germany we are helping her in the war against England and France.

"It does not take much to see that these arguments are not

they no longer have any subscrib- as a major achievement on the Abramovich sighs with a slightly ski, Grimm, etc., etc., would have road of consolidation of interna- sour note. Don't let's fool our- drained the Norman Thomas selves, he says in effect, this un- group of its last vestige of parlor

and with American capitalism As for socialist parties of the

colonial and semi-colonial coun-African and South American No wonder the Call was com- countries, etc., they were not

the Executive Committee to take In comparison to "five years of Greet the Delegates

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worth a brass farthing. One has only to compare the USSR with, say, Rumania. It is known that Rumania's trade with Germany makes up half of her total foreign trade and that moreover the share of her national production in Rumania's exports to Germany, for example, of such basic commodities as oil production and grain, far exceeds the share of its national production in the Soviet Union's exports to Germany."

It is a far cry, this belittling of Soviet-German trade, from the boastful declarations in the speech five months ago.

Unmentioned in the earlier speech, Italy comes in for some sharp blows now. In addition to a denunciation of Italy's support of Finland, the speech goes to considerable length, apropos of a contrast between Anglo-French policy in Finland and Albania, in denouncing "Italy's predatory action in forcibly subjugating Albania without the least regard for its population of over a million people." This, coming at the moment when the Nazi rulers of Germany are attempting to secure an agreement between Italy and the USSR, on policy in the Balkans to shut out the Allies, is a plain indication that the Nazis are not having success in getting Stalin harnessed in a tandem team with Musso-

Result of Finnish Events

It appears obvious that the change in tone is the result of the five months' test in Finland. The earlier speech had said, "We do not think that Finland will seek a pretext to frustrate the proposed agreement." Instead came war, with serious reverses for the Red Army, powerful support for Finland from the Anglo-French bloc; instead of occupying Finland as the Kremlin decided when the war began—the Kuusinen "Peoples Government" could have no other meaning—the Kremlin was more than glad to call a halt beyond Lake Ladoga and forget Kuusinen. Molotov had smiled skeptically when, the morning the Second World War began, the Polish ambassador had said he expected the Anglo-French declaration of war shortly; not until it felt the Anglo-French blows in the Finnish events did it finally become clear to the bureaucrats in the Kremlin that the pact with Hitler was not going to save them from Allied blows!

Molotov's speech does not represent a definite shift in basic policy. Throughout, the Kremlin's policy has been based on the fixed desire to keep out of the major war; not because the Kremlin's inhabitants are pacifists—these fellows are no more pacifistic than Ivan the Terrible!-but because they fear the consequences at home in the course of war: the rising tide of revolt. And unlike the imperialist powers, the Kremlin, however corrupt and bureaucratic, is not driven toward war by the contradictions of an imperialist economy.

A New Attempt to Veer and Tack

Molotov's speech indicates, however, this much of a change. Up to the Finnish events the Kremlin was extremely confident that its pact with Hitler had assured the USSR a position in between the warring camps; in grateful return for the pact, the Kremlin was emphasizing its political support of Hitler's policy, extension of economic collaboration, etc., and was doing so with cocksure conviction that the Allies were impotent to interfere with the Kremlin's plans for strengthening its defenses against any future moves of Hitler. The events in Finland rudely destroyed this illusion.

For the coming period, therefore, the Kremlin, having burnt its fingers in Finland, will attempt to move more cautiously between the two camps. It will seek to edge away a little from Hitler in order not to sustain further blows from the Allies. But, having placed its fate entirely on maneuvers between the imperialist camps, which is simply another way of saying that it pursues a course of supporting one imperialist camp against another, the Kremlin's attempt to steer clear of the war will bring upon it more and more pressure from both camps, and first and most pressing will be Hitler's pressure.

(A second article on Molotov's speech will appear next week.)

Behind the Lines

By GEORGE STERN

Signs of a new British deal | partly at the expense of China. with Japan are beginning to appear. If it is actually signed, sealed, and delivered, the results will be of the utmost importance in the further development of the war.

It is a notable fact that although Washington came out with a declaration of non-recognition within a few hours after the launching of the new puppet government of Wang Ching-wei in Nanking, neither London nor Paris have as yet followed suit. In Tokyo there is already quiet rejoicing on what is taken as a virtual split among Japan's three principal imperialist rivals for the exclusive rights to plunder China.

Other signs of a British diplomatic shift are not lacking. On March 28 in Tokyo the British ambassador, Sir Robert Craigie, declared in a speech to delighted Japanese dignitaries that Japan have much to gain and little to and Britain are "ultimately striv- lose. They will be able to contining for the same objective—
namely, lasting peace and the
tegic positions in China and at
tegic positions in China and at preservation of our institutions the same time play off the Brifrom extraneous and subversive tish against the Americans, and influences." He saw no insuper-the Russians against both the able obstacle to the establishment of "full harmony" in the national policies of the two countries.

On March 31, the financial pages of the New York Times carried a report unpublished elsewhere of a remarkable deal between the British and Japanese governments involving the sale of about 1,000,000 barrels of crude oil produced by British companies in Iran to Japan. One cargo of 100,000 barrels is already enroute, the Times said. Since up until now Japan has done most of its oil buying in California, news of the transaction has produced angry mutterings in Washington.

and partly at that of American imperialism. Oil is one of the most important elements in the against Japan, and Britain is already displaying an indecent readiness to fill in the threatened gap in Japan's sources of supply.

What the British want is clear enough. They are ready to forego, TEMPORARILY, their resistance to Japan's continental policy in return for aligning Japan with Britain's more immediate war concerns. This would involve, mainly, Japanese compliance in the extension of the blockade to the Pacific, aimed primarily against Soviet ports which have become the trans-shipment point for goods bought in the United States and destined, the British believe, for Germany.

The Japanese, for their part, others. For the Japanese it is a break in the almost total diplomatic isolation in which they have been languishing since the Stalin-Hitler pact was signed.

For the American war-planners, it is another dose of the British double-cross which they had to swallow in 1932, when the British supported the Japanese invasion of China for the same reason that they helped nourish Hitler—as a weapon against the Soviet Union. In these circumstances, the

Allen Attends First Session of Executive Since Outbreak of War: Socialist Call Maintains Eloquent Silence Too

By JOHN G. WRIGHT

the Russian Mensheviks, that is, bearing on the question of defeat their leading center, has split on ism. the question of the attitude to- Abramovich's argument in ward Stalin's regime. Theodore summary form is as follows: Dan has resigned as chairman and left his post as one of the of politics by other means, then two editors of Sotsialisticheski "totalitarian war is the continua-Vestnik (Socialist Courier), the tion of totalitarian politics"; Menshevik organ published in Paris. Yugov has resigned as for the violent overthrow of a secretary. Abramovich is now totalitarian regime is military deprovisional chairman and sole ed- feat; therefore, tor, B. Dvinov the new secretary.

to Stalin and the Soviet Union. gime."

Dan and Abramovich, who remained defensists under the Czar faint with surprise at Abramovand under Kerensky, have finally ich's conversion to violence and become "defeatists." Abramovich lest he conclude that therein lies wants to go the whole hog. Dan the crux of the differences beapparently has reservations. As tween Abramovich and Dan, we ervations do not at all flow from ports the thesis of "violent overany deep desire on his part to de- throw" (totalitarian regimes canfend the remaining conquests of not be overthrown in peace-time the October revolution, but rath- or peacefully, they both agree). er from his hopes that a possi- THEY BOTH WANT bility still remains of bringing A "PALACE REVOLUTION" the Soviet Union back into the Furthermore, this "revolution" orbit of the democratic imperial- so ardently supported now by ists. Abramovich thinks the only Mensheviks is a "palace revoluway to attain this is by "uncon-tion." Or, as Abramovich so aptditional defeatism." Dan believes ly puts it: ". . . Of all the forms the more realistic policy to be of violent overthrow of totalitarthat of "conditional defeatism." ian dictatorship the most proba-

years, the Mensheviks have rec- in our literature the highly-qualognized in Russia "elements of ified label of 'palace revolution.'" socialism." Insofar as Stalin marched shoulder to shoulder Dan himself acknowledges that with "democracy," they were "de- "history, sad to say, has apparfensists." In other words, they ently left no other way out save vere "defensists" yesterday for for a palace revolution." A Menhe self-same reason that they shevik sheds tears even when conare "defeatists" today.

THEY CHANGED THEIR STAND AFTER HITLER-STALIN PACT

was complete harmony in ap- war policies." praising Stalin's rule as the "rule Despite his tears, Abramovich of a nationalist-imperialist clique, is very optimistic. He lists variwhich has completely broken ous "palace candidates" to rewith the proletariat and with so- place Stalin, and concludes that cialism and has degraded itself all of them (including Voroshilov) to the level of Hitlerite Nazism." would be compelled to be very,

ovich, "have unanimously recog- a palace revolution, even with Vonized that his (Stalin's) regime roshilov at the head, he argues, has completely broken with revo- must unavoidably catapult Russia American threat of an embargo lution and socialism; that his re- from the present coalition with gime is the greatest enemy of the Hitler into an alliance with the working class and has become Allies. And what could be more transformed into the rule of a na- "progressive" than this to a Mentional - imperialist Bonapartist shevik?. clique, on the same plane as Hitlerism, with its fate tied irrevo- gressive" character of such a cably to Hitlerism." (Sots. Vest- change. He simply refuses to chenik, March 5.)

broke out. Dan and Abramovich sheviks"-in Dan's eyes. lined up solidly on the side of the A SAMPLE OF 'democracies," where they still THEIR POLEMIC remain despite their differences. found both of them unconditional Dan's position: supporters of Mannerheim's "democracy" and "independence." Abramovich reminds Dan that od must serve us but so as not Dan himself 'wants with all his vainly to obscure controversial is-

years! They have a principled dif- of 'dialectics' to cover up lapses ference. At least Dan claims it and irreconcilable contradictions is. Abramovich, on the contrary, in one's own position . . . It is imbrands as artificial Dan's "at- permissible to see in Soviet Rustempt to construct some sort of sia a totalitarian state . . . and difference between 'principled de- at the same time to seek in this featism' which he (Dan) advo-social order of state slavery 'elcates towards Hitler, and some ements of Socialism' which must other kind of defeatism, appar- be 'sustained' until the world soently 'tactical' defeatism . . . in cial revolution. It is impermissible which oppresses the country." glaring inconsistency, to insist on movich's.) Abramovich, it ap- two aggressors . . . advocating pring maneuvers of the U.S. Pa- pears, holds that there is only towards one of them, the Third cific fleet may constitute a warn- one kind of defeatism. Dan ar- Reich, principled defeatism, and ing to Britain no less than to gues there are various kinds. Ab- towards the other, the Soviet Un-It seems very definitely to sug- Japan, a warning that American ramovich is ready to concede to ion, a restricted, temporary and gest that the British and the Jap- imperialism this time intends to Dan that there is a "difference" conditional defeatism. anese are striking a new bargain, play its own hand in its own way. between Germany and the Soviet What style! What thought!

Union as such, i.e., as countries, The "Foreign Delegation" of but that this difference has no

(1) If war is the continuation

(2) A preliminary condition

(3) "We must strive for the Abramovich and his friends are most complete and ruthless mili-'principled defeatists" in relation tary defeat of the Stalinist re-

They refuse to draw any distinc- "From this it does not, of tion whatever between their "de- course, follow at all," continues featist" policy toward Hitler and Abramovich, "that we want the their policy toward Stalin. Dan, atomization, dismemberment, on the other hand, seeks to es- bankruptcy or enslavement of our tablish "subtle" distinctions be- country or any of its various secween his attitude toward Hitler tions. On the contrary, we will s "against Stalin and the Soviet fight might and main against this."

Lest some innocent reader we shall presently see, Dan's res- hasten to add that Dan, too, sup-

Formally speaking, in recent ble appears to be that which bears And Abramovich swears that

fronted by "history" with such a revolution!

Dan, however, is a pessimist. He warns against any illusions. When Stalin signed his pact It would only mean that "anothvith Hitler on August 30, 1939, er Bolshevik clique will come to Dan and Abramovich concluded power." That is why a different t was necessary to reevaluate "defeatist" approach is necessary. their attitude toward Stalin whom He does not want to wait for a they have always identified with military defeat but seeks rather the Soviet Union. There were no to liquidate Stalin's regime "by disputes among them as to what means of inner forces" and was involved in this reevaluation. make the "revolution" a lever for As Abramovich writes: There the defeat of Stalin's "criminal

"All of us," complains Abram- very progressive. Why? Because

Dan does not contest the "prorish any illusions that a Voroshi-Unanimity was preserved when lov will behave better than a Stalthe second world war actually in. After all, they are both "Bol-

P. Garvey, a "principled defeat-And the invasion of Finland ist" argues as follows against "What we need is clarity! The

instrument of the Marxist meth-

heart a debacle and a defeat for sues; so as not to cover up semi-Stalin in his brutal assault on assertions, immediately accompanied by qualifications; so as not to linger and temporize, which only paralyzes action . . . Our times demand forthright answers Why, then, have these good to the accursed questions. It is riends split? And after all these impermissible under the cloak relation not only to the Soviet to want the defeat of the Soviet Union as a country but even to- Union in the war against Finwards the Stalinist regime (!) land—and at the same time, with The ironic exclamation is Abra- a subtle distinction between the

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FIGHT WITH THE SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY FOR:

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Roosevelt's War Plans

The whole policy of the Roosevelt government since the outbreak of war in Europe has made this country a virtual "non-combatant belligerent" on the side of the Allies. Roosevelt has publicly declared a policy of backing the Allies to the hilt and although his favorite phrase is "measures short of war" there is no doubt whatever that he would and will plunge this country into war when the time is ripe.

That is why Nazi publication of Polish official documents, quoting William C. Bullitt, U.S. ambassador to Paris as saying that this country would get into the war later on, created only a

In Washington the documents were promptly denounced as "forgeries." This would be a natural accusation, since all the big boss governments have in their time used proved forgeries to serve political ends. Correspondents in Berlin who viewed the documents, however, were, in the words of the New York Times dispatch, "inclined to accept them as genuine."

The documents consisted mainly of reports by Polish envoys abroad on conversations with American diplomats. Count Potocki, Polish ambassador in Washington, reporting a talk he had with Bullitt in 1938, quoted him as saying: "If war were to break out, we certainly would not participate in the beginning but we will in the finish." Joseph Kennedy, ambassador at London, was credited with taking part in securing the British guarantee to Poland. Roosevelt himself was quoted indirectly as urging the Western powers to abandon the Munich policy of compromise with Hitler.

Obviously it needed no documents issued at Berlin, forged or otherwise, to establish these well-known facts. As the Herald-Tribune remarked on March 31: "The remarks in the German White Paper could be forgeries from beginning to end and still reflect his (Roosevelt's) true sentiments accurately." The Tribune hastended to say that it agreed with Roosevelt's "objectives" in foreign policy but deplored his "methods."

The Republican and isolationist opposition to Roosevelt has kept hands off the Nazi "White Paper" because it sees no political capital to be gained from quoting Nazi-sponsored documents against Roosevelt. And the Republicans, on their part, are no less pro-Ally in the war than Roosevelt, and the War Deal would like nothing better than a chance to tar its domestic opponents with the Nazi brush.

But the essential fact needs no Nazi documents, authentic or false, to serve as proof. The Washington administration is trying to commit the country to a virtual belligerent position in the war. Under the screen of promises to keep us out Roosevelt is planning to drag us in.

The GM Elections

The Socialist Workers Party is wholeheartedly in favor of the CIO in the NLRB elections in the General Motors plants on April 17. The CIO is the only progressive force in the industry, the genuine representative of the workers in G.M. and in the auto industry generally. The "union' of William Green and Homer Martin in auto has no real existence outside the swank hotel rooms of the AFL organizers. It is a power only for disruption and for dirty deals with the motor barons. A vote for the CIO is a vote for an auto workers union and against the anti-labor cor-

The union must win in order to exist, and in winning the election as sole bargaining representative it will be in a much stronger position to make the corporation live up to its agreements.

Yet the biggest problem will not be solved by the election-it will only be brought into the foreground. Immediately after the voting negotiations will begin for a new agreement. In these negotiations the union must come face to face with the most vital issues, just as it confronted them in Briggs, Chrysler and other auto corporations in the past period.

In both Briggs and Chrysler, the UAW-CIO carried the NLRB vote by sweeping majorities. Still these powerful locals were compelled by the obstinate attitude of the corporations to strike -in Briggs even before the NLRB electionin order to obtain an agreement which in any way satisfied the needs of the workers. The strikes were militantly conducted by the Briggs and Chrysler workers and ended in agreements that seemed to bring "victories" to the union men. The "victories" were not durable or basic. The union had not struck for demands that would relieve unemployment and insecurity. As a result the Briggs local is today lost in a hopeless maze of seniority problems and the Chrysler workers are questioning the advisability of the long tie-up.

The strikes were necessary and justified. The persecution, is truly amazing. mistake lay in the failure to cope with the main problems of unemployment, insecurity and the the fascist Colonel La Rocque, has been calling low annual wage. Until an attempt is made to threats against our comrades daily. Recently, the grapple with these problems, the UAW motor renegade socialist L. O. Frossard—now a minister will operate only on one cylinder. Yet no one liament, calling for more drastic government acneed look into a crystal bowl for the answer. He has merely to read the proceedings of the last UAW convention one year ago in Cleveland.

At that convention, the delegates unanimously went on record favoring the 30 hour week at 40 two years each. Comrade Lucien Weitz, the nahours pay. That demand is the only logical and Socialist Youth League (JSOP)—who had been practical answer to the problems of the auto arrested before the outbreak of the war itself workers, especially the auto workers in General Motors. By cutting down the hours, thousands of auto workers will be re-employed, the most difficult seniority knots untangled, greater secur- revolutionary Minority (including Lucien Weitz, ity for those employed will be obtained and the danger of degeneration of the unemployed into a scab army will be reduced to a minimum.

delegates of hundreds of thousands of auto ironical. For the latter, a combination of free workers instructed their leaders to act in favor of masons and pacifists, refused to prepare for illethe 30 hour week at 40 hours pay. But the leadership did not act for the 30 hour week, it did not regime had been installed. In fact, they had voted mobilize the union to fight for the 30 hour week, Minority, demanding that the party carry out in it did not demand the 30 hour week from the corporations. It did not carry out the mandate of

have its opportunity again to meet in a room with expulsion of the revolutionary defeatists and all the management of General Motors. It will be PSOP could not save them from Daladier's axe. faced in that room with a choice that may make even strong hearts waver. Yet it must make the leadership of Daniel Guerin — best known in America for his brilliant work, "Fascism and decision, there is no escape.

will accept any kind of agreement they can get Committees of the Fourth International for from the corporation, provided of course it on the program of the Fourth International. makes certain concessions in bargaining rights and working conditions. And then they will attempt to force it on the G.M. workers on the grounds "it was the best they could get" under of the USSR have shown their disregard for the conditions where "the union is weak." Following have practiced the politics suited to the imperiwhich they will come to the UAW convention on alist democracies. Now they are following a poli-July 29 and demand to be re-elected to the Ex- that they are themselves becoming more and ecutive Board because of this "great victory." . . | more a small minority cut off from the working

OR: they will take the bull by the horns—demand from General Motors that it grant the 30 wards defeat or towards increased enslavement hour week at 40 hours pay and proceed to mo-proletariat has chased out its capitalist oppressbilize the union for the eventuality that the cor- ors; as such it remains the butt of all the hate poration refuses to come across.

termine whether they are union leaders or just tries can save it. Once the people of the USSR office holders. But whatever they do, the last are freed of the menace of imperialist attack, word belongs to the rank and file in the G.M. they will be able to chase out their treacherous leaders and install their own dictatorship and, and the other local unions.



In the World of Labor

= By Paul G. Stevens =

Heavy Sentences for the Revolutionary Anti-War Fighters

We have just received the January number of L'Etincelle, the illegal organ of our Fourth Internationalist comrades in France. The regularity with which this little sheet is appearing, under the most harrowing conditions of government

Thus, L'Etincelle reports, the entire press, from the paper of the pacifist Paul Faure to that of for a "clean-up" campaign. The radio blares its in the Reynaud cabinet-made a speech in partion against the Fourth International.

Last week we reported the arrest of a new group of sixteen French Trotskyists. Now we learn from our French paper that two comrades previously arrested, the youth leaders Bourdois and Chuvin of Marseilles, have been sentenced to tional secretary of the Workers and Peasants -has had an additional sentence of four years

Recently the leaders of even the "moderate" Workers and Peasants Socialist Party (PSOP)which had "purged" itself shortly before of the Daniel Guerin and the Trotskyists-have been seized by the government.

Revolutionists Break with P.S.O.P.; By the solemn decision of the convention, the Join Forces with 4th International The arrest of the PSOP leaders is, in a sense,

gal work and insisted on carrying on as if the war had not broken out and as if no dictatorial to expel the revolutionary Minority because the action its resolution for revolutionary struggle against war (revolutionary defeatism), adopted at the last convention of the PSOP, had pointed out that such action was possible only by illegal means and had proceeded in the localities where Now the leadership of the UAW will soon it was in control to act accordingly. Even the the "legalism" of the free mason leaders of the

The revolutionary PSOP Minority, under the Big Business"-and Lucien Weitz, as well as the Trotskyist comrades who entered that party a EITHER: Reuther, Thomas and the others year ago, have now joined in a body with the joint work and for the building of a united party

> Among the items carried by L'Etincelle is a brief article on the war in Finland, from which the following are pertinent excerpts:

> "The situation is clear: once again the leaders cy which aids the Fascist countries. That shows

"The country which they are thus leading toneverthelesss remains the country where the and greed of the imperialists. The Red Army, supported by an as yet too feeble industry, does The choice Reuther and Thomas make will de- not suffice for its defense. Only a powerful and free anti-capitalist movement in the other counupon a revitalized technical base, they will be

able to introduce real socialism, the socialism of

A Resolution of the Belgian Revolutionary Socialist Party

We have just received a resolution on the same subject from the Revolutionary Socialist Party (PSR), the Belgian section of the Fourth International. Excerpts follow:

"The aim of the campaign launched by international finance capital around Stalin's aggression in Finland is clear: to realize an imperialist united front against the USSR and to attempt thus to save the capitalist regime undermined by its own contraditions. .

"The real crime of Stalin. We are not among those who approve Stalin's action in Finland. From the first day we have said that this aggression is a crime. But wherein does Stalin's crime lie? Is it in the employment of military force, in the violation of frontiers? No. These are the criteria upon which the social democrats, the anarchists and the petty bourgeois base their condemnation of Stalin. . . . What gives the aggression of Stalin its reactionary and criminal character is the fact that it has been launched without the least regard for the sentiments of the Finnish workers and of the world proletariat. By his high-handed manner, his cynicism, his contempt for the conscience of the workers, Stalin is weakening the USSR and the proletarian cause, throwing the masses of workers into confusion. In doing so, he plays into the hands of the

"Precisely by the example of Belgium we see however, with what facility formal neutrality gives way to a system of imperialist pacts and how a war 'for national defense' is turned inevitably into a peace with annexations (the annexation of Eupen and Malmedy as well as of the former German colonies) . . . That does not mean that we approve of the annexation of Finland by Stalin. On the contrary, we are opposed to it. We are for the independence of Finland, but of a Soviet Finland. To be for the independence of bourgeois Finland at the same time as one is for the revolution in Finland-that is a contradictory position. The victory of the bourgeois Finnish army would inevitably signify the strengthening of the capitalist regime in Finland and the dictatorship of Mannerheim.

The ideal thing for the Finnish workers to do would be to get rid of the Finnish bourgeoisie and at the sametime to escape Stalinist anenxation and the bureaucratic oppression which will result from it. But since this aim is hardly realizable by virtue of the unfavorable relationship of forces, they must choose the lesser of two evils: the victory of the Red Army. It goes without saying that they must utilize this victory profitably by pushing forward the expropriation of the Finnish landlords and capitalists, by getting close contact with the Soviet workers in order to ally themselves with them against the Stalinist bu-

"The future of humanity lies in the world organization of production on the basis of socialized property and planning. In spite of Stalin, this acquisition of the October revolution still exists in the USSR and it is the absolute duty of the Soviet workers as well as of the workers in the entire world to defend it . . . The overthrow of Stalin and his clique undoubtedly remains an imperious necessity for the Russian revolutionists, more imperious still because of this war which places the USSR in an extremely dangerous position. But the Soviet revolutionists can carry out that task only by proving themselves the best defenders of the USSR. A defeatist or just an indifferent attitude on their part can only reinforce the political positions of the bureau-

Almost without international contact and working under the tremendous handicap of illegality and censorship, our Belgian and French comrades have reacted to the complicated events of the unfolding war with the same clear revolutionary attitude as our sections overseas. The Marxist program, it is evident, is an indispensable guide in stormy times and a guarantee for coordinated

Japan's Puppet Wang Reflects Master's Plight

After nearly three years of costly and exhausting warfare and a dozen false starts, the Japanese imperialists have finally set up a puppet government to "rule" the territory they have conquered in China. Shaded in on a map, this territory appears to comprise about one-quarter of China-all the main industrial centers, all the railroads, virtually the entire coastline, the principal fertile valleys—with a population estimated at about 185,000,000.

Actually, the reality is much less impressive. The power of the puppet government is measured by the thin line of Japanese guns and bayonets guarding the long lines of communication that thread the conquered territory. Within those lines that power has not yet been able to assert itself unchallenged. Beyond those lines the main Chinese armies, still strong and intact, continue to resist the Japanese conquest.

The puppet government emerges from a situation of military stalemate. The Japanese army command has, indeed, already announced that it intends to advance no further. But even its attempts to broaden the foothold it won with great difficulty around Canton and Nanning in the Southwest have proved fruitless. Again and again sizeable expeditionary forces have been forced to return ignominiously to their bases at Nanning, Swatow, and Amoy, after finding the interior impenetrable.

A Japanese Admission of Defeat

What the Japanese militarists really hope for out of the new Nanking regime is a bridge to peace with Chiang Kai-shek. They have abandoned all their loudly-proclaimed intentions to wipe out every vestige of the Kuomintang. Instead, the puppet government is launched with all the Kuomintang trappings. It takes the same name as the Kuomintang government, the same general form, the same flag, the same titles and labels. Wang Ching-wei, puppet-in-chief, assumes the title of "acting president," pending the "return" of the official president, Lin Sen, from Chungking.

This amounts to a Japanese admission of defeat. The Japanese now want the cheapest and quickest way out of the quagmire. The European war is already casting its shadow into the Pacific and the Japanese realize that they have to preserve their military strength for the greater tests that lie ahead. They can't throw their weight around in wartime diplomatic and military-political maneuvers so long as they remain bogged down in China.

Through their puppet government they hope, therefore, to re-establish some kind of "peace" in China through a deal with Chiang Kai-shek or some of his Kuomintang associates at Chungking. Secondly, they hope to use it as a diplomatic lever in their relations with France, Britain, and the United States, especially in the intricate bargaining that is going on to determine Japan's precise position in the war, its position toward Germany, and its position toward the Soviet Union.

Wang Ching-wei's Record

Meanwhile, to head their miserable little puppet government, the Japanese imperialists have accepted the services of the onetime leading "leftist" of the Kuomintang, Wang Ching-wei.

There is a rich subject here for the student of political personality. Wang is a man who in his time has professed to accept the most radical of political programs and who for a period of years was regarded as the chief spokesman of the radical petty bourgeoisie of the country. He was swept along on the crest of the great mass movement of workers and peasants which almost succeeded in bringing about the revolutionary transformation of China fifteen years ago. In 1927 he became the "most reliable ally" of Joseph Stalin.

When Chiang Kai-shek, then another of Stalin's revolutionary luminaries, turned on the mass movement and crushed it, Wang, after a brief period of clinging to lesser generals, finally crawled like the proverbial whipped cur into Chiang's camp. Side by side with Chiang from 1932 to 1937—with a few brief intervals of exile decreed by his master-Wang took part in the brutal regime of terror and repression and bloodsucking which ruled as the Kuomintang government at Nanking.

When Chiang and some of the other generals finally took up arms to resist the Japanese invaders who threatened their own power, Wang deserted again and crawled this time . . . to the Japanese, for his final and crowning act of capitulation.

As a political force, Wang has long since been spent. He lived off the capital of his 1927 radicalism until his entry in Chiang Kai-shek's camp lost him the little genuine prestige he had left, even among his petty bourgeois associates. Even his new masters, the Japanese, hold him in supreme contempt. When and if they make their deal with Chiang Kai-shek, Wang will complete the final cycle of his career by being kicked away again. By that time there will be no causes left for him to betray.

HORROR ITEM

Senator Vandenburg, (R., Mich.,) says that "a Republican victory this fall is inevitable unless Providence has forsaken our country."

STATE OF THE NATION

Twice convicted of nonfeasance and misfeasance, president Dr. Charles S. Miller of Slippery Rock (Penn.) State Teachers College was sentenced to pay the costs of the case by a judge who praised him for developing the college and turning out an undefeated football team.

Peggy McEvoy, in her column "That's Hollywood," reports the following:

"A DUDE RANCH FOR DOGS

"This institution offers the following allurements to owners of pampered canines. 'If your dog is a husky fellow, he'll enjoy every minute of the sportsif his vitality is low, see how quickly he'll respond to the invigorating mountain air and our marvelous

Dog Lovers are also finding some food for thought in this ominous query in a Tailwagger ad: "Does your doggie have D.O.? (Doggy Odor)." They are warned: "D.O. is a monstrous setback to a dog's personality."

Brother John, picturesque figure on Los Angeles' skidrow, is taken to the police station after he was seen giving money to his companions. "I'm feeding the hungry," he said. "I'm tired of having money. I wanted those hungry men on Main Street to be fed." Naturally all right-minded people thought the man