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The Only War Worth Fighting For Is the War of the Workers Against the Bosses!

MAY DAY MANIFESTO of the S.W.P.

Workers of America, join with us in celebrating May Day, the day dedicated to the international solidarity of the working class and to the struggle of the labor movement for a better world.

Join with us in pledging on this day that the workers in every country are our brothers, that whether they speak French or German or Italian or Russian or English the workers in all lands belong together in one united band against their oppressors. Long live the international solidarity of Labor against all the bosses, "democratic" or fascist!

Join with us in the firm resolve that, come what may, the American working class will not surrender to the war-mongers; that in the "peace-time" which is still left and in the war-time which the government and the bosses have already planned down to the last detail, we shall continue on every front the struggle of the working class against the bosses and their government. No surrender of labor's rights and labor's just demands in the name of patriotism!

Tens of millions of our brothers have been stuffed into uniforms and guns thrust into their hands—to shoot each other down. Let us dedicate ourselves this day to put an end to this slaughter of workers by workers. If many of us are doomed to die, then let us die in the one war worth fighting for—the war of the international working class against the international capitalist class!

There is no need to repeat this year the warnings which we have uttered on previous May Days—that the capitalist class, in its death agony, will pile upon the workers in addition to the prevailing hunger and unemployment the final horror of war. For the war is now here. Not only in Europe, Asia, Africa, Australia, but also in America.

Roosevelt no longer even makes a pretense of neutrality. The airplane factories of Los Angeles and Connecticut are as closely linked with the Allied war machine as those of Manchester and Montreal. The great daily press, Democratic and Republican alike, is openly taking sides in the war.

War-Like Acts of the Government

The government takes steps hitherto unthinkable before a declaration of war. Hull declares a virtual protectorate over the Dutch East Indies against Japan. Roosevelt "freezes" Danish-Norwegian holdings here, an act undreamed of by Wilson in the similar situation when Germany occupied Belgium in 1914. A "moral" embargo against the Soviet Union is already in full force. The Neutrality Act of 1939, whereby Roosevelt secured from Congress legalization of arms sales to the Allies in return for a provision barring all American ships from war zones, is cynically violated by government-approved "sales" of numerous ships to dummy foreign corporations. New Dealers and Old Dealers, Republicans and Democrats, the dominant section of the ruling class is moving deliberately toward entry into

What for? To help England and France preserve democracy?

A War Between Slavemasters

For every "free" white Englishman, there are eleven black, brown or yellow slaves toiling within the British Empire; for every "free" Frenchman, two or three are openly held in bondage in the colonies. Some 560 millions—one quarter of the earth's population—live in the "democracies" colonies under conditions no less terrible than those in Germany. The Anglo-French alliance is fighting Hitler solely over the question who is to be the slavemaster—that's what the war is about. In waging this war the "democratic" imperialists progressively rob the workers at home of their few remaining liberties.

America's Sixty Families are driving toward war with no real thought of solidarity with the British and French ruling families. On the contrary, they are using the war to push their "allies" out of South American markets and to complete the process of linking Canada to Wall Street in place of London. Washington and London's embassies in Tokyo are at swords' points as they cross and double-cross each other in maneuvers with Japan.

The United States profited by the first world war to emerge as the chief world power. Ruefully remembering that bear hug of Uncle Sam as ally, the Anglo-French imperialists despairingly calculate what the degree of subservience will be which American "aid" will leave them in this time.

America's Sixty Families go toward war solely for their own interests, to add still further to the gigantic share of the world's markets, sources of raw materials and manpower which they already control.

For this is the epoch of the death agony of world capitalism. The richest ruling class in the world is in no way exempt from the agony and decay. The capitalist system cannot even feed its wage-slaves in the richest country in the world. In its own vast markets it cannot sell its products or invest its capital. It is driven by its inner contradictions to find new fields of investment and markets. But the world is already divided, and re-division can only come by force of arms. That is what this war is about.

Hands Off the Soviet Union!

- As the imperialists hungrily cast about for new infusions of blood for their drying veins, their eyes fall upon the Soviet Union. There onesixth of the earth's surface was removed from imperialist exploitation by the Revolution of November, 1917. For 22 years the capitalist world has pressed from all sides upon the Soviet Union; their pressure has succeeded in producing a Stalin, the antithesis of all that the revolutionary government of Lenin and Trotsky stood for. Imperialist pressure has found in Stalin an ally and tool who serves now one imperialist group, now another, according to the pressure exerted upon him. But imperialist pressure has not yet succeeded in breaking down the nationalized property created by the Revolution; consequently it has not succeeded in bringing back into the orbit of imperialism the territories of the Soviet Union.

Despite the degeneration wrought by Stalin, the Soviet Union remains a workers' state, part of the international working class, to be defended not only against Stalin but also against all the imperialists. This duty devolves especially upon the American working class, for more than any other power, America's Sixty Families will determine the turn of the war against the Soviet Union. In the name of "democracy" America's rulers will seek to re-introduce capitalism—it can only be done under the most bestial form of fascism—into the Soviet Union.

Roosevelt Persecutes Trade Unions

A war for democracy? America's Sixty Families are preparing the way by the most vicious and systematic hounding of the trade unions that has ever taken place in this country. Already over 500 union officers are under criminal indictment by the Department of Justice, thousands of others are slated for indictment, the first trials are taking place. In a tricky move to divide and conquer, the government at first proceeded with indictments against AFL unions, but now the first CIO union, the Fur Workers International, has fallen victim to this "trust busting" campaign, its officers speedily convicted. Other CIO unions will soon follow.

And all this is only the beginning. It is an open secret that the government's M-Day plans provide for an outright dictatorship over the unions, imprisonment for strike leaders, etc. The Dies Committee is merely an advance scout for the heavy artillery which is being brought up by the government

the government.

The outlawing and smashing of last summer's WPA strike, the imprisonment of the WPA strike leaders in Minneapolis—that is the harbinger of the future which Roosevelt plans for

all organized labor. That is how he prepares his war for "democracy."

PWA has been wiped out, WPA is cut to the bone. Why? To find additional funds for the army and navy, and to put the unemployed in such misery that occupation as soldiers may appear preferable. M-Day plans provide that the unemployed, the worst victims of capitalism, shall be the first to be used for cannon fodder. All in the name of "democracy."

Despite all the lying propaganda of government and press, radio and pulpit and movies, much of the real truth is clear to the American masses. That is why every poll of sentiment shows majorities opposed to American participation in the war.

But it is not enough to be against the war. The American workers must also know how to fight effectively against the war. That is why illusory notions about preventing war under capitalism, such as pacifism and isolationism, are so dangerous. Those who tell the workers that the present, capitalist United States can stay out of a warring world are deluding the workers. Those who preach pacifism are saying that the workers should not join in the just war of the working class against their oppressors at home. Isolationists and pacifists are thus in reality enemies of the real struggle against imperialist war.

We are not pacifists or isolationists. We believe in really putting up a fight against the war. The only feliable fighters against the war are those who are grimly prepared to fight against war not only in peace-time—when it's easy and safe enough—but AFTER the United States enters the war. We believe in fighting against war not only when the bosses still concede us that legal right, but also when they try to take away that right.

It Is the Fight Against Capitalism

Join with us this May Day in resolving to fight against the war in peace-time and in wartime.

Once you clearly understand this much, the rest follows. The struggle against war is not, as the pacifists and isolationists describe it, a separate task. No, the struggle against war is the struggle against capitalism in all its concrete forms. It is the fight for labor's rights and demands. It is the fight for A JOB AND A DECENT LIVING FOR EVERY WORKER!

Open the idle factories and operate them under workers' control!

A TWENTY BILLION DOLLAR Federal public works and housing program.

For the 30-hour week as a maximum

and \$30 pay as a minimum for all workers on all jobs!

Thirty dollar weekly old-age and disability pensions!

All war funds to the unemployed!
A people's referendum on any and all wars! The right to vote to all 18 or over. Old enough to rote!

No secret diplomacy! Open up the State Department's archives. Let the truth be known!

Build Workers Defense Guards, the only weapon which can defend the workers and their unions and parties from the vigilante and fascist gangs!

For an Independent Labor Party! An end to all deals with boss parties—for a party of the workers, based on the trade unions!

Is there enough money to give everybody a job and a decent living? Sure there is! Wall Street is full of money: EXPROPRIATE THE 60 FAMILIES! The fight against war, we have said, is the fight for all the demands, all the needs, of the workers, in war-time as in peace-time. But that fight requires that all the various demands be unified around a central thought: THE WORLD SOCIALIST REVOLUTION.

The war has demonstrated, if we needed it proved again, that this world is an indivisible whole which must be dealt with as a whole. No country can solve its problem alone, and no working class can do it alone. The workers require a PARTY OF THE WORLD SOCIALIST REVOLUTION.

The party that the workers need is NOT the American sections of the Labor and Socialist (Second) International. There is no basic difference between the Judas Goats of the Second International in Europe, such as Leon Blum and Major Atlee, and their American brothers, such as Green and Lewis, and the patriotic poodle dogs of the Social Democratic Federation.

Nor can the American workers for a moment imagine that the real fight against war can be led by the American section of the "Communist" International of Stalin. The revolutionary struggle against war cannot be waged, it can only be compromised and betrayed, by those who are under the blood-stained banner of the Kremlin.

The American workers need a genuinely revolutionary program and a stainless banner. That is the program and the banner of the PARTY OF THE WORLD SOCIAL-IST REVOLUTION, THE FOURTH INERNATIONAL, whose American section is the SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY OF THE UNITED STATES.

Given, by the accident of history, a little longer time to work in, we owe in return a special responsibility to our comrades in the rest of the world—to the anti-war fighters in Reynaud's dungeons, to those Bolshevik-Leninists who have miraculously escaped with their lives in the concentration camp of Stalin, to our comrades struck down by suppression in the British and French colonies, to the heroic German internationalists hounded by the Gestapo. Whatever time is still left here must be utilized to the utmost.

That means, above all, to appeal directly to you, the workers of America, to steel and harden yourselves for the struggles that lie ahead. We know that if you remain true to your own class interests, if you defend the rights of the working class and fight for its needs, you will conclude by joining with us and our comrades throughout the world—to put an end to this world of war and hunger and insecurity and build a new world of peace, security and freedom—the new world of Socialism!



To Fight Tax on Wages

S.W.P. Calls on Phila. Workers

Push the Campaign for the New Twice-Weekly Socialist Appeal!

All Major Units of G. M. Go For C. I. O. PROGRESSIVES

AFL Loses Out Three to One as Auto Men Clear the Decks for New Drive; Ford Is Stronghold Now to be Stormed

FLINT, Mich., April 21—Homer Martin, ex-labor leader and ex-skypilot, was washed up in the auto industry when General Motors workers joined Chrysler and Briggs in piling up a three-to-one majority for the UAW-CIO in the NLRB elections held last week.

All that's left now unorganized in the automotive industry ever took place in the city. is FORD!

Getting on Bandwagon

Workers' Spirits High

from General Motors.

What They Want

Sentiment in the various di-

visions in Flint for this demand

is on the rise. The Wage and

Hour Foundry Council has put

out a button which reads: "Six

The State government immedi-

tery the bosses are, by proposing

Union's Strong Position

Hour Day & 8 Hours' Pay."

Ohio, had voted previously to that it would be raided, and the affiliate with the CIO if it won Fisher AFL headquarters was a majority of the General Mo- ominously dark on Saturday Mary Beckman, the Stalinist bustors vote. That will leave Ho- was celebrating with a victory statement to the capitalist press,

auto center, rolled up decisive the jitters until they join the years ago. majorities for the CIO. The most CIO. crushing majority in Flint was rolled in at Buick, where the CIO received over 9,000 votes to the AFL's 2,000.

At Buick the AFL early during on the band wagon. the voting gave up hope, and their observers left the balloting room in disgust.

In Detroit, the AFL, demon- have already signed up in the strating its impotence, held up CIO. voting for hours trying to find enough AFL men to serve as observers as required by NLRB regulations.

Very few men voted "neither" on the ballots. Almost evervone wanted a union.

Friday, when the results became known, Flint, the city in hottest, began a celebration that tory by securing a real contract from the union. is still going strong.

Celebrants Leave Plants

Workers in the plants couldn't wait until Friday for the quitting | Hundreds just threw down their hours' pay. tools and hit for the beer halls to drink to the CIO victory.

In one Buick plant a committeeman reports that the men in his division demanded that he call a one-day celebration strike, and all along the lines men were shouting to him to shut her down. ately upon the publication of the ish. GM vote results, showed how jit-

Losers Pay Off

While this spirit of victory pre- a change in the labor relations vailed in the plants, on the out- law of Michigan, to provide for side AFL suckers were paying off debts. One poor devil who bet on Homer was forced to wheel a CIO man down the street in a wheel barrow. A couple of hun-

Saturday was Witch day in can be blazed for all the mass the police. Flint. The most hated Martin production workers, by demandnew face fixed up for him by sev- shop steward system, strict se- union. Great tasks face the union eral CIO enthusiasts.

quarters at Chevrolet, fearful all along the line.

'FOURTH INTERNATIONAL' IS OUT;

REPLACES 'NEW INTERNATIONAL'

PHILA. ILGWU **CLEAN HOUSE**

Vote Out Stalinist Administration which **Nearly Ruined Union**

PHILADELPHIA — A smashing defeat of the Stalinists was administered by the Philadelphia members of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union, in one of the most exciting and spectacular union elections that

The progressive ticket in Local 15, where the Stalinists had con-All major plants in the GM system went CIO. Only about trolled the administration for the five small plants went to Homer. Two of these, in Norwood, last four years, won the election by a huge majority.

A few days after the election, night, while next door the CIO iness agent who ran for re-election and was defeated, issued a mer with his home town, Kan- dance. Once when a group of declaring that "communism" was sas City, for a stamping CIO men walked over to an AFL not the issue in the campaign. hall to look in the window, the She was right, the real issue was Martin supporters called the in the union, ever since she and Every plant in Flint, key cops. They will continue to have her party clique took office four

Why Stalinists Were Hated

Four years of bureaucratic rule Hundreds are signing up in the and corruption! Democracy was CIO every day. Former AFL men something to talk about, but not to practice.

and non-union men, are hopping Workers were constantly hauled before the executive In many cases AFL stewards, board for daring to criticize and committeemen and executive their rights taken away from board members of local unions them. Job discrimination was favorite method used.

Most Militant Elements

This local, the largest of the joint board, was from its very The spirit of the General Mo- inception composed of the most tors workers was never higher. militant elements in the indus-All are now anxious to march for try. Unlike the skilled mechanics Reuther and the coming negotia- who work in the large cotton shops, where there is a constant The men who voted the CIO struggle to maintain union con- and St. Paul. which the faction fight between over the top in the NLRB vote, ditions and standards. The Stal-Homer Martin and the CIO was are eager to chalk up another vic- workers except to alienate them

ing. They want to get something the Stalinists had the brass to the country. whistle to get out and celebrate. out of it. And the thing they need deny this well-known condition. most is the 30 hour week at 40 But the workers are not stooges, and turned away from them in appeal to the Jewish workers on candidates of the progressive ticket were Jewish, with the exception of the business agent, who is Italian. Theirs was Jew-

Enthusiasm Runs High

Tuesday, April 9, the day of off in order to help. They took dred Buick men paraded behind CIO now is in a position to get siasm. But they got on the Stalaction. this pair, having left the plant the best contract with GM that inist nerves so much that one of has ever been achieved. A trail the big shots attempted to call

The progressives won and now Goons suddenly turned up with ing that the corporation provide a big job is ahead of them, not all sorts of facial decorations. for the security of the workers only to put the organization back Paul Treadway, blackjacking all year round, and institute the on its feet but in going forward niority, abolition of the notorious in the near future and the work-The AFL closed up its head- "D" list, and improved conditions ers hope that the newly elected officers will not disappoint them.

The Convention of the Socialist Workers Party—a report and analysis of the background and by George Novack.

International and the war. Soviet-Finnish conflict and the merce interests; on the other, the beginning of war in the Scan-prominent Democrat McDonough, dinavian peninsula.

James P. Cannon, National Secretary of the Socialist Workers Party, who begins a tour of the country next week.

SWP SPOKESMEN TO MAKE TOURS

non's tour begins, George Clarke tacts in each locality. will swing out for a coast-to- Comrade Clarke plans to cross coast tour. Behind him will come the country during the second Complaints were not taken up; two more coast-to-coast tours by month of the Two-A-Week camshops were not visited for Albert Goldman and Farrell paign. months; shop meetings rarely Dobbs. In their wake, other par
Available dates for the speak
Available dates for the speak
Coupon clippers industrialists of 3200 votes cast. In Padvictors, International Coupon industrialists of 3200 votes cast. In Padvictors, International Coupon industrialists of 3200 votes cast. In Padvictors, International Coupon industrialists of 3200 votes cast. In Padvictors, International Coupon industrialists of 3200 votes cast. In Padvictors, International Coupon industrialists of 3200 votes cast. In Padvictors, International Coupon industrialists of 3200 votes cast. In Padvictors, International Coupon industrialists of 3200 votes cast. In Padvictors, International Coupon industrialists of 3200 votes cast. In Padvictors, International Coupon industrialists of 3200 votes cast. In Padvictors, International Coupon industrialists of 3200 votes cast. In Padvictors, International Coupon industrialists of 3200 votes cast. In Padvictors, International Coupon industrialists of 3200 votes cast. In Padvictors, International Coupon industrialists of 3200 votes cast. In Padvictors, International Coupon industrialists of 3200 votes cast. In Padvictors, International Coupon industrialists of 3200 votes cast. In Padvictors, International Coupon industrialists of 3200 votes cast. In Padvictors, International Coupon industrialists of 3200 votes cast. In Padvictors, International Coupon industrialists of 3200 votes cast. In Padvictors, International Coupon industrialists of 3200 votes cast. In Padvictors, International Coupon industrialists of 3200 votes cast. In Padvictors, International Coupon industrialists of 3200 votes cast. In Padvictors, International Coupon industrialists of 3200 votes cast. In Padvictors, International Coupon industrialists of 3200 votes cast. In Padvictors, International Coupon industrialists of 3200 votes cast. In Padvictors, International Coupon in Padvictors, International Coupon in Padvictors, International Coupon in Padvictors, International Coupon in Padvictors, Inter

the branches directly.

disgust. They then attempted to St. Paul S.W.P. Supports the basis of anti-semitism; but they failed, since most of the Only Labor Candidates

the election, the masses of work- recent primaries but only the an answer to his needs. Instead crooks for the benefit of themers packed the halls of the un- highest placing candidates run in the campaign has been a sham selves and the financial bigshots ion. Many of the youngsters took the finals — is calling upon the battle over the validity of a con- whom they represent. The poor workers to vote only for those tract which permitted the pur- have always paid the freight. complete charge, singing and candidates of the Labor Progres- chase of voting machines, over shouting slogans. They filled ev- sive Association who actually are state issues of "open or closed With jurisdiction decided, the eryone with courage and enthu-representing independent labor town", or who shall be Safety

The party's statement says:

"Confronting the relief-cutting, machine now in control of the organizational discipline.

candidates have dealt seriously need for jobs. and frankly with the basic issues

sion for party members only. (See Nat. Com. Statement—P. 8) istration, giving full support to the program of labor."

Commissioner.

unemployed at prevailing wages. When faced with the direct quesoffice those candidates of the La- Dispatch, April 15, gave a weasal bor Progressive Association who answer, saying "the Labor Prohave accepted its program and gressives are one of a number of civic and political groups which "Despite the sorry spectacle of have endorsed me"—evading ana campaign in which none of the swering how he would meet the possible to keep books on the

"Only five of the labor-endorsconfronting the working class—|ed candidates for City Council deproceedings of the party con-war, unemployment, the right of serve support. Axel Peterson has vention by James P. Cannon. war, unemployment, the light of labor to organize—the Progress- no claim on the loyalty of the Industrial Unionism and Labor | sive Labor Association candidates | workers. Not only has he voted Unity—recent developments of Wenzel, Findlan, Coolgren, Par- against labor on several occafundamental importance in the ranto, Mauer, Wyant, Palarine, sions, not only has he taken the American labor movement are represent the independent politi- initiative in cutting the salaries reviewed and analysed by Far- cal action of the forces of organ- of the organized teachers, but he rell Dobbs, Labor Secretary of ized labor. Now is the time to has in advance repudiated the by the political grafters and their the Socialist Workers Party. | 12ed 1abor. Now is the time to discipline of the labor movement racketeer financial friends, the Autopsy of the New Deal—a own strength and its own solistudy of the transformation of darity and will not be fooled by approval for all his actions, past gle. This was the 2% sales tax. and future.

Trotsky writes on the Second For the militant worker, the calling for jobs for all at trade campaign for mayor unfortunate- union wages, better housing, pro-A New Stage in the War-an ly offers no choice. On the one tection of labor's right to organ-Editorial reviewing develop- hand there is the reactionary in- ize. The Socialist Workers Party political pirates had struck a ments in the Second World cumbent, Fallon, notorious represupports this program as a step first-class squall. The workers War since the conclusion of the sentative of the Chamber of Com- toward meeting the needs of the wouldn't take it any more, they tied up with the national admin-those candidates who stand on ganizations and even liberals be-

May Day Meeting To Launch Campaign Against Wage Tax

PHILADELPHIA — On May Day the Philadelphia local of the Socialist Workers Party is launching a campaign to enlist the support of the labor movement and the working people of this city in a movement to abolish the infamous $1\frac{1}{2}\%$ Wage

The wage tax has produced untold suffering and hardship for the workers of this city. Inaugurated in December 1939 it has already produced a mountain of havoc, only a partial picture of which is told in the following figures issued by the Federal Reserve Board:

The wage tax killed 18,000 jobs. The wage tax killed \$18,000,000 in wages.

The wage tax has killed \$80,-000,000 in retail business which means it has lessened workers' purchasing power by approximately that amount.

But these figures don't even begin to tell the story. They don't speak of the workers earning \$13.00 per week and less, who have to shell out \$10.80 of their wages every year to grafting politicians and their industrialist and banker bosses.

These figures don't speak of the unemployed workers who are forced to work for their miserable \$3-\$6 weekly allotment under the vicious Pearson Act-"the work of starve" bill." The unemployed must pay 11/2 % of this dog's diet into the politician's pork barrel.

The soak-the-poor tax was inaugurated against the known and express desires of organized labor in this city. Two weeks before the adoption of the tax law 1939, G.O.P. chairman Jay Cooke James P. Cannon, National, Comrade Cannon will leave ordered that body to put through tax of any kind.

Workers vs. Bosses

the workers versus the Republic- more than William Albertson, means that the conditions which They didn't vote CIO for noth- took place. Yet in their leaflets ty leaders will be toured through the communicated to the coupon clippers, industrialists of 3200 votes cast. Joe Rodriguez, and department store owners succeeded as secretary treasures. and department store owners succeeded as secretary treasurer ated. whom he represents. The City over Harry Lee, a Stalinist stooge, The Stalinist scoundrels in their Council made its choice. It by a majority of 557. Leo Stenz-desperate effort to win this elecstooged for the vested interests, ler succeeded as organizer with tion carried on the most vicious slapped the workers in the face 200 votes more than Dennis Gits, anti-Semitic campaign, catering Fathers into the pockets of Philadelphia's proletarians.

City Council's action—it was act-ST. PAUL, Minn.—The Social-its policies of indicting union ing true to form according to the executive and all other commitist Workers Party, barred by reg men, slashing WPA, piling up pattern established over the past actionary election laws from run- armaments. From neither of twenty years. During this double ning its own candidate in the these boss politicians can the av- decade the finances of this city April 30 city elections—the party erage worker, faced with the have been regularly plundered by ran a mayoralty candidate in the problem of making a living, get a crew of political gangsters and

Graft Runs Riot

Millions of dollars have been thrown into subways and holes in the ground that have never been ation adopted as one of the used, benefiting nobody but conlabor-hating candidates of the re- planks of its platform a demand tractors connected with the Reactionary Fallon - "Independent" for providing employment to all publican machine. This machine has kept the city in a constant annual financial crisis for the must demonstrate their own po-Martin strong arm man, had a 30 hour week at 40 hours' pay, a to a stronger and more militant new face fixed up for him by sev-shop stronger and more militant litical strength by putting into plank, McDonough in the St. Paul or practically eliminating accounts. or practically eliminating some

First it was the public library. whose budget has been reduced over 40%, making it almost im-

Then it was the school system. Then it was public recreation. Then it was relief for the unemployed—they can't cut this

item much more because it is

almost non-existent by now. Finally, when there was nothing left to cut and something still had to be done to plug up the The measure sailed through the "The Labor Progressive Asso- City Council without stirring a

Labor Stopped That

But before they knew it, the had paid enough out of their own little. Trade unions, workers' or-(Continued on Page 8)

Get Started On the Two-a-Week 'Appeal' Drive

By 'GEORGE CLARKE General Press Manager

The drive to restore the Two-A-Week Socialist Appeal, begun spontaneously at the convention amid great enthusiasm, has been formally launched by the National Committee of the Socialist

The drive sis scheduled to begin on May 1st and continue for 60 days ending on July 1st at which time the Two-A-Week Socialist Appeal will commence publication.

Branches of the party and comrades throughout the country have been primed for the campaign and have been awaiting only the opening gun to get under way. As previously reported in the Socialist Appeal pledges were made, at the very first suggestion at the convention banquet, totalling more than \$4,000. Since then other pledges have been coming through. A complete list of these pledges will be given in an early issue of the Appeal.

Already \$500 of these pledges have been redeemed and word is reaching us every day that more is on the way. Quotas are being assigned to all branches of the party and, as in the first twice-weekly Appeal campaign, there is every indication that we will go over the top in record time. Prizes will be awarded those branches which top the list in speed and amounts.

Preparations are being made to contact all sympathizers of the party to enable them to cooperate with us in this campaign. From reports of those who have visited party friends, it appears that results from this work will be highly gratifying. The revolutionary and class conscious workers have been hard-pressed in this permanent depression, but there is still money among them to back the work that is speeding the Socialist Revolution in the United States.

All that need be done is to go and get it!

Do you need arguments for those who are not already convinced of the necessity of the Two-A-Week Socialist Appeal? Then tell them this:

The flames of the European war are already licking at the front door of the United States. Roosevelt is breaking his neck to get us into the slaughter in double-quick time. There is little time left for openly spreading the message of Revolutionary Socialism to the American workers. But there is time enough to reach the workers in the auto plants, the steel mills, on the ships and the docks, the truckdrivers, and the rest of the proletarians who keep the wheels of industry going. Only these men can smash the plans of Wall Street and bring peace and security to this country. They must be contacted now. They must be contacted frequently.

They must be contacted with a Two-A-Week Socialist Appeal. What class conscious worker will say no to this argument? How can he? Every word of it is truth, demonstrated and

How about it? Let's hit the ball and keep going until the Two-A-Week Socialist Appeal begins to roll off the press!

PROGRESSIVES DEFEAT STALINISTS in the City Council, December 14, IN FOOD WORKERS LOCAL 16

Climaxing three years of or-wrecking crew in this local is of ward. All are watching Walter in the silk dress local, they are Secretary of the Socialist Work- New York before May 15 and the 1½% tax. One week later a ganized struggle, the Progressive major importance to the culinary ers Party, will leave New York will therefore be on tour during city poll of the workers of Phila- New York food workers on April workers of this city, where the shortly on a tour of the main most of the period of the Two-A- delphia, conducted by the Hotel 16 dealt the Stalinist machine Stalinist rule or ruin policy cities as far west as Minneapolis Week Appeal Campaign, helping and Restaurant Workers Union in control of the AFL Hotel and reigned supreme for many years. the branches intensify their ef- (CIO), registered almost unani- Restaurant Workers Union, Local Defeating this crew means the Within a few weeks after Canforts to reach old and new conmous opposition against a wage
lead of the bosses' guild and

the local's elections. The issue was plainly joined: didate for president, got 482 votes the progressives in Local 16

The defeat of the Stalinist ers of this city.

elected 25 out of 34 candidates in the arbitration machinery that the Stalinists stand for in the Dave Siegel, progressive can-culinary unions. The victory of the local will no longer be tolera-

Three progressive business agents succeeded over three Stalin- But the workers of Local 16 show-There was no surprise in the ist stooges. The progressives also ed the way to deal with this elected a decisive majority on the wrecking crew, a way which will soon be followed by all the work-

KU KLUXERS MARCHED, BUT THEY WON'T NEXT TIME, NEGROES SAY

LOS ANGELES-The Ku Klux Klan marched here the first week in April, but the next time they try it they'll need more than their night-shirts to get by.

Hooded and robed, a score of Klansmen started a parade from the steps of the City Hall, marched through the heart of the downtown area, distributed vicious leaslets, and returned to the City Hall, where they disbanded. Along the line of the parade they were joined and supported by other Klansmen. The leaflets called for outlawry of the Communist party. But

they were obviously directed against all labor groups, aiming to further split the working class opposition to war. The question of stopping the Klan provocations was brought

up in the Negro class conducted by the Socialist Workers Party. The class decided to organize a protest. The Negroes—non-party members—helped to write, print and distribute a leaflet defying the Klan, and calling upon Negroes to prepare for action against A mass meeting in the Negro area and other steps to organ-

ize against the next Klan parade are being prepared. Next time the Klan dares to show its ugly face here it will get an appropriate reception from the Negro and white workers.

PHILADELPHIA MAY DAY MEETING

Repeal the 112p.c. Wage Tax Speakers:

ROSE CAREY Member Joint Board, I.L.G.W.U. P. WHITE Former Head Italian Buro of the C.P. DR. NUMAN

Well-Known Leader of Jewish Workers Movement J. SIMMONS Phila. Organizer, Socialist Workers Party

Wednesday Eve., May 1st at 431 W. Pine Street Admission Free Auspices: Phila. S.W.P.

tinues in "Fourth International." 1. An Open Letter to James Readers of "Fourth International" will find that the first number already equals the high standards established in the best days of the old magazine. "Fourth International" includes

in its first issue articles on the

The first issue of "Fourth In- theoretical doctrines of Marxism ternational," the monthly maga- and current political analysis. It zine of the Socialist Workers Par- includes studies of the American ty, is off the press! The title of trade union scene and the latest the magazine is brand new, but international developments and "Fourth International" continues the war. It contains a report and the best traditions of the "New analysis of the recent convention International." The name "New of the Socialist Workers Party. "Fourth International" fea-

International" was stolen from its rightful owners, the Socialist tures the following table of con-Workers Party, by a group of tents in its first bow to the pubrenegades, but its tradition con- lic:

Burnham—an attack on the revisionism and anti-Marxism of the New York University professor, by Leon Trotsky. This document was previously printed in the S.W.P. discusthe Roosevelt administration boss politicians.

5. Progressive Paralysis — Leon

No Choice for Mayor

The Labor Progressive Associ-

ciation has adopted a platform ripple among the bigshots. workers, and calls for election of

≡*b*y R. L. BIRCHMAN≕

War correspondents for the Negro press have referred to the valor and courage of France's native troops and glowed with pride because of the fact that there are a great number of Negroes serving in the French army. They claim that this is an indication of no discrimination. One will hear more of this, when America's Sixty Families more to "save the world for democracy."

see the realities behind the slogan "Liberty, Equality, Fraternity."

Island of Gore in West Africa are citizens. These of seamen based upon a fighting program. natives acquired this status by a historical accident. As a result of the revolt of the Haitian developments know something about the militant role of slaves during the French Revolution, the Paris Assembly, in its Declaration of the Brotherhood the Sailors Union of the Paciof Man in 1794, abolished slavery in the colonies. fic and its struggles for a na-With the hardening of reaction in France against the revolution, slavery was reestablished in 1803. The natives again found themselves the chattels of their white masters. However since freedom about the reactionary role of once achieved is not readily given up, the West the Stalinist waterfront ma-concentrated and here they have Indian Negroes took up the revolutionary strug- chine headed by Harry Bridg- systematically colonized the ungle which had receded in France. In 1848 the French bourgeoisie granted full political rights to es. But the situation existing all persons living in their colonies as a measure in maritime today is so comto prevent revolts against their rule.

Natives in French West Africa born outside St. understanding of it, it is neces-ganization of about 4,500 mem-Louis, Dakar and Gore are not citizens but sub- sary to briefly outline the various bers which, under Stalinist conjects, since these territories were incorporated in- forces in the unions involved. trol, affiliated to the CIO after to the French Empire after 1848, when the Such an outline wil necessarily the longshoremen. The Cooks French bourgeoisie having consolidated their deal mainly with the West Coast, power, saw no reason to extend the rights of because today that is the main can have none, by virtue of their citizenship to the natives. Thus while a million base of the contending forces. and a half natives living in the central area of Senegal are citizens, the sixty millions living out- BRIDGES' MACHINE FACES side these areas are subjects. What is the mean- A NEW OPPOSITION ing of this distinction?

deputy to the Chamber of Deputies in Paris and (CIO) embraces all Pacific Coast led them into a blind alley. share with the whites a certain amount of auton- longshoremen, except a small omy in the administration of Dakar and St. Louis. section, mainly around Tacoma, STALINIST GENERALS LEAD

Sixty Million Without Rights

The subjects have no constitutional rights. But Coast and Gulf. The ILWU also Cooks followed Bridges in signby fulfilling certain civil and military qualifica- has inland and waterfront ware- ing indefinite extensions of their tions they may apply for citizenship. An example housemen on the West Coast. current agreements last Septemis the recent decree issued by the French Colonial From Alaska to San Diego it ber, to be followed by negotia-Ministry. It grants the right to vote to natives numbers some 13,000 longshore- tions with the shipowners, with a who voluntarily enlist for military service—a privileged not extended to those who are con- base of the Stalinist machine in of termination of the agreement, scripted. The French thus hope to stimulate recruiting in their colonies. Natives thus granted citizenship will be exempt, along with other citizens, from such obligations as forced labor, payment of head tax, and other irksome duties—the ed with the end of the Stalinist penalty for being a subject.

France's small number of black citizens only class-collaboration, covered up by have to serve two years in the army and that militant phrases. This policy has service is in Africa. But the millions of black subjects must serve three years in the army and Peace Plan," a policy of longare sent far from home, to Indo-China, Syria, and term agreements and compulsory Europe to die as shock troops for French "democarbitration. The ILWU is now ne-

The French, in order to secure the services of with Bridges "asking no concestheir black colonials in protecting their ill-gotten sions," for a long-term agree- into "negotiations," naturally the gains, throw out sops to the small number of ment, Bridges agreeing to arbi-shipowners responded with a reblack elite in order to more effectively corral the trate everything in the agree- sounding NO to every proposal masses for war and labor services. The elite as ment. citizens have the right to be tried under French the services of a lawver. But subjects are dealt with by political officers and strong opposition from the ranks. chiefs, in accordance with local decrees and sta-Just prior to Bridges' switch from tutes. On occasion, to prove the "liberality" of the AFL to the CIO a powerful wages or improved working conthe mother country, natives are given positions of oposition developed within the un-

One Deputy for Sixty Million!

France with a population of 40 million has 500 as CIO director of the West deputies in parliament, but the more than sixty Coast. That, plus the stupidity of in tailing Bridges' Longshoremen million natives of French Africa have only one. the opposition, saved Bridges' The chiefs and "kings" are not hereditary or skin. elected leaders as before their conquest by France, but are hand-picked stooges, trained by hatred of the Stalinists, made the the French and dependent upon their exploiters fatal error of not going along into for their jobs. They depend for their pay on the the CIO. That made it comparataxes they can squeeze out of the starving black tively easy for Bridges to discredpeasants. They are even more reactionary than it them; and thereafter any voice their white masters.

Blaise Diagne, the first Sengalese to be elected sition to Bridges was stigmatized a deputy and the only African native to reach a as a stooge for the discredited oppost of importance in the French administration, position. Stalinist manipulation of is an example of the role of the citizens as the CIO vs. AFL issue forced unlackies of French imperialism. Diagne served in ions which had been in opposition

cannon fodder. His services were rewarded with the CIO in loyalty to their parthe post of Under-Secretary for Colonies under ent body. Bridges has been thus Laval. He was sent to defend the policy of forced trading on CIO capital ever since labor, which the French rubber companies were he received the progressive manusing in the Congo, at the International Conventue of the CIO to cover his reaction on Forced Labor in Geneva in 1928. In the tionary policies. face of strong sentiment for abolition of the sys- However, the cloak is wearing tem Diagne maintained that it was the "sovereign thin. A new opposition is arising right of France to impose conscription in what- within the ILWU, centered in the ever forms it pleased." He supported it on the Northwest. A few weeks ago the grounds "of the educational value of conscription Seattle local ousted every known

France has good reason to be thankful to her elected a complete opposition France has good reason to be thankful to ner black elite. As George Padmore, writing in Plebs, land local is strong and getting

"This division between citizens and subjects is a deliberate and calculated policy of French im- PROGRESSIVES DEMAND perialism, aimed at aligning the elite with the ORIGINAL MARITIME white ruling class, of which they consider them- FEDERATION OF '34 selves a part. . . . Within the French Empire the The Seattle opposition express-

d-defined division marked out by its rulers be- es the demand for re-constituting ers itself part of the officers corps ween citizens and subjects has served to hold the once-powerful Maritime Fedback the growth of the national liberation move- eration of the Pacific as a central ment far behind the militant level it has achieved body for unions in the marine scious as the other officers in the British African colonies. Not one of the transport industry — Longshore-groups. Negroes purporting to represent their people in men, Sailors, Marine Firemen, the Chamber of Deputies has ever done a single Cooks and Stewards, Masters, thing to advance the cause of the great masses Mates and Pilots, Marine Engin- ficial Association, comprising the of workers and peasants in the colonial territories eers, and Teamsters—and keep- engineers aboard ship, is also from which they come. Not one trade union or-ing out the paper and irrelevant CIO. Extremely unreliable and ganization have they formed, not one cooperative unions through which the Stalin-company-conscious. It does not -nothing. Soldiers or politicians, they have all ists seized control of the Federa- have closed shop agreements exdistinguished themselves in promoting and de-tion and drove out the seamen, cept with a few lines. The San fending the interests of their white masters."

The once progressive slogan of the French Rev- cature. olution-"Liberty, Equality, Fraternity"-is now The Stalinist leadership of the are opposed to Bridges and there but a mask for French colonial despotism.

The Sale of Class Struggle United Around a Program of Class Struggle Drive in Steel

(From the report of the Maritime Fraction to the April 5-9 Convention of the Socialist Workers Party)

One of the most important single tasks in the American labor movement today—especially as the war draws nearer to this country daily—is the building of a national organizacall on the Negroes to sacrifice their lives once tion of seamen based upon a class struggle program. It is a great, historic task. Every step toward it involves struggles Let us tear off the mask of French imperialism, -struggles against the employers and the government, against cast aside the fraudulent claims of tolerance and the class-collaborationists in both the AFL and CIO, and particularly against the greatest internal enemy of the mari-The natives of French tropical colonies are time workers, the Stalinists who, at this time, provide the classed either as citizens or subjects. The na- greatest obstacle to the development of a national organization

Most workers who try to keep in touch with trade union tional organization of seamen, control. San Francisco remains and know also something the stronghold of the Stalinist plex that, even for a general ards (CIO) is a West Coast or-

The International Longshore-The black citizens of Senegal elect their own men and Warehousemen's Union hind the longshoremen, who have who still remain in the AFL In- COOKS UP A TREE ternational Longshoremen's Association which dominates the East the CIO on the West Coast.

> Ever since the end of the '34 waterfront strike, which coincid-"Third Period," the Stalinist policy has been consistently one of led now to Bridges' "Five Year fused to go for this extension polgotiating with the shipowners.

Six years of false Stalinist polcy have not gone by without ion against the Bridges machine.

The opposition, blinded by their raised within the ILWU in oppothe last World War as a recruiting sergeant for to Bridges—notably the Shipyard French, recruiting the native tribesmen for Workers Union—to line up with

Communist party stooge and stronger.

ILWU viciously opposes this de- is strong sentiment for withdraw-

mand, knowing that in a reconstimachine in the ILWU, for here the top-flight C.P. leaders are ion with supporters from outside

The Marine Cooks and Stewhave no independent policy and position in the industry. Their natural place is alongside the real power on the ships, the Sailors and Firemen. But under Stalinist leadership they have tailed be-

The Stalinist leadership of the men. Headed by Bridges, it is the clause requiring sixty days notice if they were unable to come to further terms in the negotiations with the shipowners. Bridges did this with the Longshoremen without prior consultation with any of the other maritime unions, putting each on its own.

> The Sailors and Firemen reicy, won concessions and signed

When the Cooks, after signing the indefinite extension, entered ment. What is more, Bridges has tion after that.

This brought the Cooks' memmachine. The Cooks have the worst agreement of any of the unlicensed groups and the membership knows it.

COOKS ORGANIZE AGAINST STALINIST MISLEADERS

The militant members want to do something about it. Logically their interest lies in allying themselves with the other unlicensed groups, the Sailors and Firemen, for their problems are similar. problems which are peculiar to seamen and which do not confront shoreside workers. A progressive group is developing, whose program is based on bringing the Cooks toward closer collaboration with the Sailors and Firemen. The progressives were successful in having the Cooks go on record against Bridges' "Peace Plan." While the Stalinist leadership is still strongly entrenched, a large section of the union is being welded together against this leadership which has betrayed them.

Of the other, and minor, organizations that follow the Stalinist line, not much need be said. The American Communications Association (CIO), covering the ship wireless operators, is Stalinist-controlled. It plays no significant role. Its membership considaboard ship and with few exceptions is as much company-con-

The Marine Engineers Benereducing the Federation to a cari- Francisco headquarters follows the Bridges line. The branches



HARRY LUNDEBERG

al from the CIO to set up an independent union.

While we are mentioning minor organizations, let us include the Masters, Mates and Pilots, which | FACTOR IN INDUSTRY is the same type as the engineers and radio men, but affiliated to the AFL

FIREMEN STILL FIGHTING STALINIST WRECKERS

The Marine Firemen, Oilers, Watertenders and Wipers Association (independent), with a membership of 4,000, has always been closely allied with the Sailors. Controlling steam, the firemen are one of the most strategic units aboard ship. One of the main points in Stalinist strategy has been to drive a wedge between the Firemen and Sailors, to gain control of the Firemen and use them as a weapon to de stroy the S.U.P. Several years ago the Stalinists captured the San Francisco headquarters of the Firemen and rode roughshod over the branches in their desperate attempts to smash the

But Stalinist control did not last long. Firemen progressives Plan." launched the weekly "West Coast sailors. The paper had the suprallied a majority of the member-

The overwhelming majority of shoremen would not support any the membership who had supportover. But it was not, at San Fran- for leadership. cisco headquarters, thanks to beach who, holding ILWU permits, get enough longshore work to maintain themselves. Which means that to keep their permits they have to vote "right" in the Sailors or the Firemen where they are members.

trade union official, he finds him-

A TREASURE-CHEST

116 UNIVERSITY PLACE

important, work closely with the ters, Mates & Pilots, walked out

TEAMSTERS ARE A POWERFUL FACTOR

The Teamsters (AFL) are one of the most powerful groups on S.U.P. LEADS STEPS TO the waterfront. They have been MARITIME UNITY throughout under conservative leadership. Nevertheless, it was the support of the Teamsters in eration once was. It is this atto go through the picket lines, of reconstituting the Maritime that swung the tide for the wa- Federation on its original basis terfront unions

The Teamsters have been in conflict with Bridges since he be- Sailors have taken the lead in able to close collaboration with

Against this background of the ther factors in the marine industry, the role of the Sailors Union of the Pacific can now be seen more clearly.

the Sailors lead the fight against NMU on the East Coast. the Bridges-Employers' "Peace

When one considers all that the Firemen," and one of the main Sailors have done in the last six planks of its program was amal- | years, it is extraordinary to rethe total personnel of its craft in port of all the branches and soon | West Coast shipping. But its class-struggle program, the homship behind it. In the next elec- ogeneity of its membership, its union striking for increased ed the fight against the Stalinist numerical strength. Toward it all machine thought the fight was progressives in the industry look

icy of their Stalinist leadership system in the ILWU, with about the SUP, also headed the Mari-700 men usually on the permit time Federation of the Pacific SIU. list. By a judicious distribution of and all the maritime crafts operthese permits, the Stalinist ma- ated under the slogan: "An inbosses were on the run.

> But then began the Stalinist business of getting control by pushing into the federation shoreside unions not directly engaged in marine transportation. The growing resentment among the Unfortunately, also, the person maritime crafts finally exploded upon whom the Firemen member- at the 1938 convention of the ship counted to eliminate the Maritime Federation, when the Stalinists proved incapable of ful- Bridges machine refused to seat filling the task-Malone, the sec- the Tacoma Longshoremen deleretary. Essentially a conservative gates although having accepted per capita payments from them.

> > NEW YORK, N. Y.

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PIONEER PUBLISHERS

Stalinist influence and, equally | The Sailors, Firemen, and Maswith the Tacoma group. Bridges replaced them with shoreside un-

'maritime' in reality.

ions; the federation ceased to be

In every maritime craft today the men remember what the fedsuch a powerful slogan.

Meanwhile, to fill the gap, the gan moving into the inland ware- forming Joint Councils of Marine houses, over which the Teamsters Crafts in every port. The Stalinhave AFL jurisdiction. When ists have maneuvered the Head-Bridges tried the same trick with quarters of the Firemen back into the Teamsters that he had used the "maritime" Federation, but passing out permits in return for to follow, so that in three of the support, the Teamsters retaliated major ports, Portland, Seattle by issuing a retiring card to ev- and San Pedro, the Firemen are ery teamster working on a long- with their natural allies, the Sailshore permit. As the conflict with ors, in the Joint Councils of Mar-Bridges became more acute, the ine Crafts, together with the Teamsters became more amen- Teamsters, the Masters, Mates & Pilots and the Puget Sound ILA longshoremen. The real economic S.U.P. IS MOST PROGRESSIVE strength on the waterfront is obviously on the side of these councils, whose existence clearly exposes the fact that Bridges' "maritime" federation is nothing but a caricature of the original.

Union, never got a foothold on of the Stalinist leadership of the deal out even-handed justice. the West Coast. The SUP also "National" Maritime Union, like-SUP LAUNCHES SEAFARERS

INTERNATIONAL UNION

the final alarm signal to the SUP Davey and called in the troops. tion the progressives won, and uncompromising stand at every ports and to the State Federait a factor in mar-International charter as the Seafarers International Union of L. Lewis' appointment of Bridges result of the whole previous pol- shoremen. He maintains a permit Lundeberg, secretary-treasurer of on the East Coast and the Gulf, which were now taken into the

In the last two years a whole West Coast Sailors and Firemen. In his call for an organization drive in the inist leadership in the NMU.

On the fundamental questions self in agreement on many issues And this came on top of the of the government fink hall and with the Stalinist class collabora- | Shepard Line dispute, when the fink training the SIU has a simition line. As proven by the exper- Stalinist National Maritime Un- lar policy to that of the SUP. ience of the Sailors, the only ef- | ion tried to break the Sailors | With that as a foundation and fective way to eliminate Stalinist and Firemen's contracts with with the support of the West influence is by pushing ahead that line, and the Tacoma Long-Coast section, a militant developwith an aggressive class struggle shoremen had, supporting the ment of the SIU is in the cards. program. The Firemen's branch- Sailors and Firemen, successfully The recent contracts signed by dues coming in, are literally forc- the organization drive succeed. ing the development of new opburning necessity.

The conditions won by the Firemen and Sailors on the West Coast show the way to their brothers in the East. A national organization of Seamen based on a fighting, class-struggle program, can and must be built.

LOCAL NEW YORK All members of Local New York and the YPSL are instructed to attend an important membership meeting, Thursday, April 25, 8 p.m. sharp, Beethoven Hall, 210 E. 5th St., N.Y.C.

YOUNGSTOWN, Ohio, April 21-More than 2,500 steel workers with their wives and children crowded into the Central Auditorium on Sunday afternoon and many more hundreds stood outside listening to the report of Philip Murray, chairman of the Steel Workers Organizing Committee on the Supreme Court decision in the famous Republic Steel case. Murray reached the high point of his speech in a declaration that the SWOC will now put on a new organization drive which will not cease "until every last steel workthe '34 strike, when they refused tachment that makes the slogan er in every last steel mill in this country is a member of the SWOC."

The Supreme Court decision means that the Republic Steel Corporation must reinstate 5,000 men whom it had discharged for union activity, pay them \$5,000,000 in back wages, disband the company unions, and cease interfering with the workers' right to join a union of their own choosing. Thus ended the famous Republic Steel case, three years after the bloody Little Steel strike.

In order to advance from this point on, it is, on the Sailors and Firemen, of the Fireman branches all refused Little Steel strike and learn its lessons. however, necessary to recall the events of the

Why Little Steel Was Lost

Seventy thousand men in seven states were on strike in 1937, 35,000 on strike in the Mahoning Valley alone. The truck drivers of Youngstown went on a three day sympathy strike when the troops came in. The rubber workers of Akron came down in hundreds of cars to aid in the struggle, mine workers joined too. The tremendous might of labor united and fighting was shown in that strike. Why was it lost?

The steel workers will forget only at the cost of further defeats how the SWOC leadership foolishly placed so much faith in Governor Davey during the 1937 Little Steel strike, and asked But strength on the Pacific for the National Guard to be sent in to "preserve The SUP is unquestionably the Coast is not enough to assure the order". The troops came in—and in two days most progressive force in the survival of the Sailors and Fire- opened the mill gates and escorted scabs in maritime industry. Its fight men. The East Coast and Gulf armed trucks through the picket lines. Can any against the union-taming pro- must be organized, and on a mil- steel worker forget that? There are those who ram of the U.S. Maritime Com- itant basis, or the shipowners and would like to pass over this misleadership of a nission is a historic landmark of the government can utilize the great strike, but the steel workers cannot afford American labor. Thanks to the othe coasts to destroy the West to let these gentlemen do it. The martyrs of the SUP the government's fink hir- Coast unions. The U.S. Maritime Memorial Day Massacre, of the Poland Avenue ng halls, established on the East Commission succeeded in estab- riots, of the Massilon and Canton terror, will not Coast with the consent of the lishing its fink hiring halls on the be really avenged unless the steel union rids it-Stalinist-led National Maritime East Coast with the cooperation self of any ideas that government institutions

The 1937 strike was lost because the leaders of has led the fight against the gov- wise the fink training ship pro- the SWOC failed to prepare it. They rejected the ernment's "training ships," de- gram. When the Shepard Line, policy of militant strike struggle which alone signed to turn out scabs for a two years ago, as advance scout can win conditions for the workers, and instead future showdown between the un- for the rest of the shipowners, lobbyed in Washington and in Columbus, spendons and the government, which tried to break its contracts with ing most of their time "around the conference considers the merchant marine an the Sailors and Firemen, it got table". They failed to give union publicity to the auxiliary to the navy. Likewise crews and a "contract" from the strike and didn't even issue a strike bulletin or paper. They held no mass meetings, except on the picket lines, and no parades. They tried to run the strike from the top and didn't even elect a strike committee from the ranks of the work-The Shepard Line dispute was ers. To top it all off, they relied on Governor

gamation of the unlicensed call that the SUP embraces only lies and extend the organization ing on Sunday showed that the leadership of the nationally. At the time the SUP SWOC learned little. The meeting was occupied was an independent union, al- with lengthy preliminaries in which the leaders though it retained its affiliation praised each other in the most extravagant manto the AFL Labor Councils in the ner. The most disgusting point was reached when John Owens, President of the United Mine Workfor improvements in the agreement. What is more, Bridges has tion after that.

| Sounding NO to every proposal mopped up completely in the election against class collaboration either with government or entitional Seamens Union, of which the SUP had originally been part, Philip Murray who "was placed on earth to serve was placed on earth to serve itime out of all proportion to its the 1928 convention of the land humanity", finally burst out with the statement the 1938 convention of the AFL that he and the workers in the audience "are the SUP applied and secured an happy to be sitting at the feet of this great character, this Christian gentleman, Philip Murray".

For progressives in every craft North America. The AFL had for the leaders in the plants, who kept every last ion against the Bridges machine. This brought the Cooks' member the time when Harry chartered several federal locals swood lodge in existence during these three years after the defeat.

Ouestions That Must Be Answered

Phillip Murray in his speech took up the queschine is able to maintain a size- jury to one is an injury to all." series of revolts have taken place tion of unemployment which has become a chronable number of seamen on the Those were the days when the within the Stalinist National ic condition in steel more than anywhere else, Maritime Union, notably in the and shouted "what is Congress going to do about Gulf. The Gulf had always been it?" But he himself said nothing in regard to the most militant section of the what labor should do about it, and was silent on NMU and the section most sym- the question of the 30 hour week, which could be pathetic with the policies of the a real step in decreasing unemployment.

Many of the rebels are now in mills Murray warned against wild cat strikes the SIU but, unfortunately, the and strikes in general, saying "go back to the remaining old-line AFL officials mills, sign up the workers in the union and then from the former federal locals come and put it up to me and see what I'm gohave not known how to profit ing to do about it". He assured the workers that from the revolts against the Stal- he, Murray, will take care of their problems for them, will negotiate contracts for them, and will not leave them in the lurch.

In order to take advantage of the Supreme Court decision to gain real conditions for the steel workers, the steel workers must make the SWOC their own union, a democratic union. It must be based on a militant program which relies only on labor's strength.

It must place no reliance on government agencies and on government officials. The union must es, however, remain free from tied up several Shepard ships. the NMU, giving way to the employers on all key questions in a the serious battles that must come on the picket desperate attempt to keep the line in the strikes. Only along these lines will

position movements within the NMU. Real union organization of the East and Gulf coasts is a IN YOUNGSTOWN, OHIO

"WORLD SOCIALISM or WORLD WAR" will be the subject of an address by David Stevens, Youngstown District Organizer of the S.W.P., at the May Day Celebration to be held on Wednesday, May 1st, 8:00 p.m., at 1231/2 E. Federal St., Youngstown, Ohio.

The celebration will include other brief talks, a dance, refreshments, entertainment and revolutionary workers

Colonial Workers Are Refusing to Bear the Burdens of War

British Soldiers Shoot Down Blacks

Negroes of Africa, in Plight as Tragic As that of Jews under Hitler, Fight **Back in Militant Strikes**

York TIMES (April 4) reported whites or in the mines in order to that in Northern Rhodesia troops pay the taxes. killed ten natives and wounded twenty others when they fired on judged by the number of convictcopper mine strikers. The shoot- ions under them. In Rhodesia ing started when 3,000 strikers, they rose from 8,940 in 1927 to who have been out since March 19,773 in 1935 and have been on 17 to enforce demands for a 25 the increase since. per cent increase in wages with a further 5 per cent to cover the rise in the cost of living, tried to prevent 150 strikebreakers from dinance classifies as punishable drawing their pay.

miserable conditions, exploitation without leave, refusal to carry and oppression hardly equalled out instructions, neglect of duty, elsewhere. Politically these na- etc. The punishment is one month tives are completely disfranch- imprisonment or more, and fines. ised, and economically are rethe Jews under the swastika.

Racial Laws Enforced

The liberties of the natives in ing companies. employment are restricted. The main laws are the Pass Laws and the Masters and Servants Ordinances. The Pass Laws are a series of ordinances detailing a dozen or more passes that the natives must in various circumstances secure and carry with them.

tract, giving details of tribe and mines, there is a rigid Color Bar They include the labor conpay, which has to be stamped by Act, which prevents them from ing heat of the Indian mass movethe employer each month-providing him with a useful weapon; job. the "special pass" required by a native moving from one district to another; the night pass which after the hour of 9 p.m.; and the receipt for the current poll tax.

the mines.

duce enough to feed themselves. ing companies refused to increase The natives are thus forced to wages.

A special cable in the New work on the plantations of the

The effect of these laws can be

Slaves Are Profitable

The Masters and Servants Oroffences the breaking of a labor Back of this strike is a story of contract, absence from work

Enormous profits are extracted duced to the status of slaves. from the mines of Northern Rho-Robbed by the British of their desia. The value of copper pro lands, deprived of all means of duced by the mines in 1938 was economic existence, taxed in or- £8,210,000. Out of this aggregate, wages, herded into reserves and the bulk to 1,800 European emcompounds, the lot of the natives ployees, who received £1,250,000. of South Africa, and the Rhodes- The 15,000 Africans employed in ias is no less tragic than that of the most ardous labor earned among them \$500,000. This latter figure includes the cost of food, housing, etc., supplied by the min-

Coolie Wages

The natives are thus paid a shillings to 23 and a half shillings nationalist movement. (\$1.30 to \$5.00) a month. Although the native workers are in an overwhelming majority in the holding any skilled or unskilled

The natives are denied all benefits of labor legislation, such as Workmen's Compensation, Una native needs if he is abroad employment and Old Age Insurance, the Shop Hours Act, etc.

General Strike in 1935

This is not the first time that All of these passes cost the na- the native copper miners have tive cash and especially the poll gone out on strike. All the native tax, which must be paid under miners went out on a general penalty of additional fines or im- strike in May, 1935. The soldiers prisonment at hard labor. In or- opened fire and killed ten natives der to pay the poll tax and other and wounded others. The miners taxes and at the same time sup- were supported by the native doport themselves and their fami- mestic servants employed by the lies, the natives must produce Europeans. The strike at that crops for the market or work in time, like the one now, had a definite political character. It But the natives have been rob- protested the policy of the govbed of all their best lands and ernment of Northern Rhodesia, herded into reserves where the which increased the poll tax from land is hardly sufficient to pro- 10 to 15 shillings, while the min-

West Indian Negro Dock and March 1, by the Nagpur Textile Workers Union. This step was Plantation Workers Striking

Three trade unionists in Port-lacts in any manner may be prejincrease in wages to meet the inof-Spain, British Trinidad, were udicial to public safety and de-creased cost of living. A meeting convicted in March on a charge fense." Persons detained under of the Provincial Trade Union of violating the war regulations; this emergency law in British Congress was called to consider the Emergency Defense Act. The colonies are denied right of ha-steps to help the general strike men were arrested for demon- beas corpus but may make represtrating in sympathy with strik- sentations to an Advisory Coming employes of the Trinidad mittee appointed by the Gover-Electric Board at Belmont in defi- nor. In Trinidad this committee ance of the ban against the as- is comprised of one Negro judge semblying of more than ten per- and two local whites.

Shouts of "This is an example of British justice!" greeted the judge as he fined the workers \$15 Butler's efforts, has made reeach or 21 days in prison, at the markable progress in Trinidad. "good" conduct henceforth.

flag during the demonstration ones and O'Connor, another of the defendants, denounced the judge and British justice.

The Amsterdam News report-

"With attempts by the local government, hiding behind its so-called war powers, to crush the strikers and deny their demands for higher wages and humane working conditions, the people of the city and country as a whole are aroused to the point of violence, a dispatch stated. But British oppression continues to keep the working masses at a starvation level of existence while it takes everything it can get to fight a war in distant lands, it concluded."

Uriah Butler, the crippled la-

Trade unionism, as a result of same time imposing a \$50 bond Today there are 18 trade unions. upon each to guarantee their Collective bargaining is developing on a permanent basis in the Alloy Donawa, one of the de- major industries and promises to fendants, had raised a large red extend to the less well-organized higher wages and against the re-

Oil field workers have just won a further wage increase of two ents per hour plus a war bonus of one-half cent per hour for every five points rise in the cost of living. Workers now receive ing to the job and skill. Out of the governors use of the job and skill. Out of the job and skill out of the job and skil about 9,000 oil workers in Trini- clause of the Jamaica Constitu- now, with the world being re-di- eral develops. That they do not dad, 8,000 are organized.

Kingston Dockers Strike

In Kingston, Jamaica, British West Indies, workers on three importance" clause, the governor docks went on strike, demanding orders the members of the Legis-48 cents an hour and an eight lative Council to vote with the hour day, charging that since government on any question 1938, they have been paid 20 which is considered essential to cents an hour and forced to work the maintenance of British aueleven hours.

bor leader is still held in "pre- last week in February of the In- members, a sort of House of ventive arrest" at a concentra- dustrial Trade Union led by Bus- Lords group in the Legislature, is tion camp on Nelson Island. But- tamente "called upon the work- used to vote down the elected ler is held "as a native whose ing classes not to allow hypocrit- members.

Together with Workers at Home They Workers of Shanghai Will Smash the Rule of Slaveholders

One after another the leading spokesmen of the British and French Empires repeat reassuring speeches about the "unity" of their empires with the motherlands in the European death struggle for domination of the world's wealth.

Anthony Eden the other day contrasted the barbarism of Hitler's domain with the "equality of development" under British rule. But behind these empty phrases lies the harsh hunger of 500,000,000 black, brown, and yellow peoples, held in the iron vise of a rule no less barbaric than that of Hitler.

It is this rule that Hitler seeks in this war to grasp for himself. It is this rule that the British Empire is fighting to maintain. That is the sum and substance of the war.

But if the peoples of Asia and Africa had only the choice between Hitler and the British there could be no hope left at

all for a freer world to come. Fortunately they are not confined to these choices. They have the alternative choice of fighting and winning their own freedom, of uniting in a socialist commonwealth with the workers of the Western world and setting out with them to build a new kind of world from which war and oppression shall be forever

Although the war is only a few months old and the struggle is only in its first stages, there is already ample evidence that this fight for freedom is on its way. It is not the fight for Britain against Germany, or for Germany against Britain, but the fight of all the oppressed peoples against all the rulers who hold them in subjection.

The British Empire, greatest imperial conglomeration of them all, the product of five centuries of wars, massacres, rapine, and successive seizures of the resources of vast areas of the five continents, is already displaying great rents in its fabric.

India, greatest of all colonies, a nation of 375,000,000, is once more pregnant with revolt. The workers of India have already shown in great mass strikes that they do not intend to take on their knees the war lash of the British raj. Under the pressure of these great masses, the Indian nationalist movement is advancing into an era of fresh open struggle against Britain. In the House of Commons last week, a government spokesman warned that this movement will be met with force. He said Britain would not and could not give India its independence. He was right. The Indian people will have to take it.

Not even wartime censorship has been able to conceal completely the growth of unrest among the colonial peoples. Strikes in all parts of the empire from Africa to the West Indies are beginning to reveal what really lies behind the "unity" of the great domain. In these unfolding struggles the determination of the black, brown, and yellow peoples of the world to cease being the packhorses of Western capitalist civilization grows and in the end will prevail.

They, and not Hitler, Chamberlain, Reynaud, Daladier & Co. shall say the final word in this war. As the workers of Britain, France, Germany, and the warring countries of the near future, the United States, Italy, and the rest of Europe, raise their heads in struggle against the war makers, they will find their most powerful support in the struggles of the subject peoples in the colonies. In the combination of these two currents lies the future hope of society.

der to compel them to go to work for the Europeans at starvation while £1,750,000 went in wages, Indian Masses Answer British Masters With Waves of Militant Strikes

coolie wage of from 7 and a half pressure force behind the Indian previously.

When you read about Gandhi February 26 by the Joint Board ing wage increases. a "civil disobedience campaign"

Despite the wartime censor-"Times of India" of Bombay, in almost daily reports of these strikes. Here are a few of them: Over 1,000 workers at the Gen-

eral Motors, Ltd., Bombay, organized in the General Motors Workers Union, were on strike for 13 days in February. The workers won 10 to 15 percent wage increases. The workers picketed the

The strike of over 3,000 workers at the brick kilns at Cawn- creases. pore ended following the granting of wage increases.

At Dacca, the management of the textile mills declared a lockout after 6,000 workers went out on strike. Forty of the strikers were arrested for picketing.

A general strike was called for March 1, by the Nagpur Textile taken after the mill owners refused to grant the demands of the union for full restoration of wage cuts and for a 35 percent of the textile workers.

On February 14, the workers in the weaving department of the

ical Imperialism to fool them in the colonies.'

Jamaica "Okies" Strike

In Jamaica the workers on the various farms of the United Fruit Company went out on strike on April 2 and latest reports are that the strike is rapidly spreading, The workers are striking for pressive actions of the officials of the company.

Jamaica is faced with a constitutional crisis because the governor used his veto to retain the tax commissioner for another two years. The elected members "paramount importance" for nearly three centuries and of course, by how the war in genthe tion.

British "Democracy"

By invoking the "paramount thority and prestige. The com-A speaker at a meeting the bined vote of the government

coming around to talking about of Representatives of the Ahmedabad Textile Labor Association, are preparing for a strike and against the strike. The strike is considerable list of these Indian 1923 and involves over 100,000 creases the municipal sweepers January and February, published wages. "The view is held in milk-strike on February 21. agent circles that the strike de-

der to prevent scabs from enter-ing the factory. I,200 workers including clerks are action to secure its demand. A demand for a 40 percentage of the participating. The main demand | A demand for a 40 percentage of the participating of the

continues according to latest re- action.

in which vultures begin to swoop

We're witnessing now a sim-

ilar sort of scene, with the

Great Powers hovering hun-

grily over the Dutch East In-

dies, waiting their opportunity

to sink their claws into it as

soon as Holland is laid pros-

Chief of the waiting vultures

are, of course, the U.S. and

Japan, both of which have now

served notice upon each other

and upon the world that they

intend to have the final say

That the great archipelago

stretching 3,000 miles across the

After both Japan and the

U. S. had issued statements

about the "status quo" of the

islands — (neither one, of

course, means a Dutch status

quo)-the Netherlands govern-

ment announced that it has

"neither demanded nor would

accept protection for the is-

lands whatever its source" and

asserted their ability to defend

South Seas is lost to Holland

about the fate of the Indies.

trate by war in Europe.

By ROBERT L. BIRCHMAN | Victoria Mills No. 2 in Bombay ports. The Government Labor offi-Since the war began, India has staged a sit-down strike, demand- | cer advised the workers to accept peen swept by a wave of militant ing wage increases. Workers in a small wage increase but they strikes that constitute the real Mill No. 1 struck a few days demanded more. All the workers at the Job Press, biggest press in A general strike was called on Cawnpore are on strike demand-

A resolution demanding the cost of living. clared by the Textile Labor As- payment of a 30 per cent wage sociation will be a tough and pro- increase as of December, 1939, reports that 15,000 municipal struck for increases from their longed struggle." Two of the was passed at a general meeting street cleaners in Calcutta are \$17 (Mex.) per month wages. strike leaders have been arrested. of the Bombay Port trust Em- still out after a week's time. They This, together with rice allow-Latest reports are that the sit- ployees Union on February 19. went out on strike demanding a lances, represents a wage in U.S. down strike at the Saharanpur The resolution states that there 25 percent rise in pay. Cigarette Factory at Cawnpore, has been a 40 per cent rise in the United Province, which began on cost of living since August, 1939. BRITISH HAVING TROUBLE roads leading to the plant in or- February 15 still continues. Over The union is preparing for strike IN CEYLON, TOO

> of the workers is for wage in- wage increase was made in a re- February 27. solution passed at the annual The strike at the Lallamal Har- meeting of the B.B. and C.I. Raildeodas Cotton Textile Mills in waymen's Union of Bombay. Both Governor to the Inspector-Gener-Cawnpore started on February 11 unions are preparing for strike

Behind the Lines

The Struggle Between Japan and U.S.

Over Which Is to Plunder the Indies

By GEORGE STERN:

Stories and the screen have themselves against any attack,

opments in Europe.

In the press of both coun-

tries this immediately unloosed

a flood of accusations and coun-

ter-accusations that both gov-

ernments contemplated seizing

the islands at the first favor-

able opportunity. Both, of

course, were right. The word

"protection" has taken on a

new meaning, especially since

the Allies and Germany both

set out at about the same time

to "protect" Norway.

April 17 which stated:

"There is some doubt that

the United States would at-

tempt to protect [there's that

word protect again!] the Dutch

possessions unless Holland

ceded them under a protecto-

rate. This would give the

United States an exclusive

right which no government

could contest except at risk of

made familiar to us the manner likewise whatever its source.

The latest report available on the strike of over 150,000 textile workers in Bombay that started early in March indicate that a majority of the workers are still out.

reopened after the Easter Holiyou know he is feeling the scorch- after a ballot of the membership latest reports are that the strike days, disturbances occurred behad been taken in which not one of textile workers at Ujjain in its tween the strikers and the "loyal member was reported as voting seventh week is still going strong. workers." A government law now by the Shanghai Municipal Coun-Receiving no favorable reply to forbids picketing except by two cil struck for and won additional ship, it is now possible to give a the largest in Ahmedabad since their notice demanding wage in-persons at each mill. Only 24 out rice allowances. Other strikes struggles of recent months. The workers. The workers are de- and menial servants at Shalapur work. The workers went out on Wing On textile mill, the Brimanding a 25 percent increase in formed a union and called a strike demanding a 25 percent tish-American tobacco company

The New York Times (April 1)

All the Ministers in the State participating. The main demand A demand for a 40 percent Council of Ceylon resigned on

> The resignations are a protest against the support given by the al of Police, who declined to accede to the request of the Minister of Home Affairs that he should instruct police officials to consent to postponement of the trial of the leaders of a strike on the Mooloya Estate. The Ministers wanted a postponement until a Commission, appointed by the Governor at the request of the State Council, had made public its inquiry into the shooting by the police of one of the strikers. It is expected that there will be

demand for dissolution of the Ceylon parliament.

Both Foreign Minister Arita The plantation owners and big and circle over a man lost in a and Secretary of State Cordell business interests in Ceylon are wilderness waste, waiting to Hull issued statements declaring now urging the British Governbounce down upon him for the in almost identical terms that ment to recast the constitution of further, in complete disregard of the war efforts". Ceylon and make it less liberal Burmese opinion, passed laws and The last reports available east as soon as life leaves him. neither country wanted to see the status quo of the rich East Indies than the present one. changed as a result of the devel-

JUST OUT!

Defend Just how far U.S. imperialism will go to prevent the wealth of seems a foregone conclusion. The the Indies from falling into Ja-B4 ALBERT GOLDMAN vided by the greater, more pow- mean to do so out of any altruerful plunderers, the time has istic motives was stated quite come for them to be displaced. bluntly in a Washington dispatch The Dutch capitalists realize this to the Journal of Commerce on

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In Militant Strikes

Face Guns and Bayonets of Invaders and Other Powers in Broad Revival of Union Struggles for Living Wage

Shanghai, scene of a minor in- | rooms congratulating sharedustrial boom because of the inreased demand for domesticallyproduced goods, has also been the cene in recent weeks of a sharp evival of working class activity. This period has been marked by series of important strikes, ought with the dogged militancy o characteristic of the Chinese

Strikers in Shanghai not merey have ordinary police to contend vith but come into almost immediate direct conflict with soldiers and marines of the powers who have divided the city into "defense" zones. The Japanese, Italian, British, French, American marines and troops are used reg- of those now living and threatularly to eject sit-down strikers ens the generations unborn." and to patrol struck plants.

ployes of a British-owned omni- imported. bus company which won a 30 percent wage increase and a fixed price on rice bought through the rual report of the Shanghai Mucompany. The strikers in this nicipal Police published the last case were tear-gassed out of the week in February, there were 96 bus depot by Italian marines strikes involving 24,628 workers called in by the British-dominated in the International Settlement as Municipal Police. The depot was compared with 21 involving 6,149 in the Italian "zone." A few days workers in 1938. Forty-six of the earlier the same Italian marines 96 strikes were directly connected used their tear gas bombs to with the wages and cost of living drive sit-downers out of the plant | problem; the others were linked The Times of London (March of the American-owned China to the same problem in one way The textile workers in Shalapur 29) reports that when the mills General Edison Company.

Other Notable Strikes

Some 2,500 laborers employed of 64 mills were able to start were occurring at the Chinese wage increase to meet the rising plants, and along the water-duplicated in one degree or anfront where dock workers of the other in all the principal indust-Shanghai Tug and Lighter Co. rial centers seized by the Jap-

equivalent of less than \$2 a On March 2 the China Weekly

Review said editorially:

"Industrial plants and enterprises, in nearly all their main branches, made record profits last year, while on the clear cut showing of the competent authorities the producers of this profit have never been worse off. While company chairmen have sat in comfortable board

holders on exceptionally successful working years, hungry crowds have been raiding rice shops in the often vain hope of purchasing a little of the food whose price has soared way beyond the reach of their slender pocket-books. Investigators have ascertained that workers in the Western District, largest industrial area of the city, are now reduced to living on rice alone-and not very much of that. Vegetables, meat and fish-not to speak of such luxuries as fruit-are utterly beyond their reach. Malnutrition is beginning to sap the strength

Rice is now more than four Despite these odds, the strikes times the price at which it could have been growing in numbers be bought prior to the hostilities and effectiveness. The most rec- in 1937. There have been huge ent report to reach here is of a increases in nearly all commodistrike on Feb. 29 of 2,000 em- tes, both locally produced and

Strikers Quadruple In Year In 1939, according to the an-

or another.

It is from such beginnings, rooted in the starkest necessity known by any workers in the world, that the re-grouping of the Chinese workers in the imperialist-occupied centers will take place-indeed, is already taking place.

The situation in Shanghai is

Three years of war and the heavy heel of the would-be conquerors have not obliterated the will to live and in this will deep within the Chinese working class the Japanese and all other exploiters, Chinese, British, American, French, confront the force destined to overcome them all. The Chinese worker has rigen again and again, re-formed his shattered ranks and organizations, and plunged forward into struggle. He is doing it again today in

Burma Protests Forced Role As Supporting Britain's War

adopted measures curtailing the form us that in spite of the powers and activities of the Bur-strong action taken by the auma Government." The resolution thorities the strike was continudemanded "that Burma should be ing. One can gather, from the recognized as an independent na- speech of Sir Shenton Thomas, tion entitled to frame her own constitution and further that ments and High Commissioner of suitable action should be taken, the Federated Malay States, at in the immediate present to give the Legislative Council in Singaeffect to that principle in regard pore on February 12, that there to the government of Burma."

In Singapore, main naval base ment against the increased cost of British Imperialism in the Far of living. The Governor stated: East there have been important strikes recently. From the meager press reports it appears that what was described as only a strike among dock workers employed by the Harbor Board was, in fact, a movement of much larger proportions.

The Jan. 18 London Times mentioned casually that three to four hundred workers engaged in the hospitals also struck. Workers in a cane factory beseiged four English officials of the factory and fought the police who had been summoned to release the officials. using bottles as missiles. The Times correspondent declared emphatically that the strikes would "not hamper naval work and shipping will not be affect-

And yet before two days had passed, it was reported that "the

The House of Representatives strike was hampering military of Burma passed a resolution on work" and that "it was impos-February 24 protesting that the sible for the government to tol-British had included Burma in the erate acts of this kind." Many of war between Great Britain and the strike leaders, all Chinese, Germany "without the consent of were behind prison bars charged the people of Burma and have with the offense of "prejudicing

is a growing trade union move-

"We have evidence that trash which is circulated among the labor classes is often violently seditious. Many recent strikes were planned not by the workers but by subversive organizations. Every power we possess shall be brought against the enemies of the state. They a disciples of those against whom the Empire is now fighting. I warn them that sedition is one of the most serious offenses it is possible to commit in war time. Singapore is not a hot bed of sedition-a small minority wants to lead the people to violence and unrest and, be cause of what may happen if this insidious and malignant disease is not cut off now, I By CARL O'SHEA

operate the way they want to.

Fail to Discredit Union

ORKERS'

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

give no grounds for confidence.

How to Win Workers Away from Stalinism

When the Communist Party ization based primarily on the warned. changed its line from Popular labor movement, in particular Frontism, many of us expected to trade unions and trades councils, see a substantial break in its in addition to liberal friends of ranks. But in the New York trade civil liberties, is needed in Cana- Hunger Goads Man, unions, this has not been the case. da. The Watson Committee mem-True, in many unions, especially bers are unanimously of the opiin the culinary unions, it has be- nion that such a movement must come more isolated from the grow up WITHOUT DELAY. broad masses of workers because | To this end, the committee has of its break with the elements been negotiating with the Toronto who formerly cooperated with it. branch of the Civil Liberties Un-But among the advanced and ra- ion for affiliation. But the comdicalized workers, especially the plete silence and inactivity of the young and inexperienced ones, the Union, and in particular its recnew line has made the Commu- ent rightward re-organization, nist Party more attractive.

For one thing, it is now being Moreover, its social composition persecuted by a government is such that it has no contact which is dragging us into the with the labor movement. war. For another, its pseudo- For this reason, the comradical and pacifist slogans have mittee has decided to carry on a plausible sound. "Peace, jobs, independently and to contribute and Security" seems to be good its resources and energies to-

stantial growth in the unions. This successful unless you and others universal saying, "Look out for Local 544. is because its radical words are co-operate to the fullest possible No. 1." But from that to a revounaccompanied by any change in extent. For example, the convoktheir trade-union line. In the cu- ing of a conference is out of the as some might think. most reactionary class-collabora- ganizations get behind it. What the liberals say, is to deprive the very activities that organized tionist policy, working with the is your opinion? Will you kindly humans of the opportunity of ever labor honors the union for (3) bosses' association, failing to en- raise this in your organization reaching that stage. force union conditions, giving in and or write us in any event, ex- Chicago, III. to the bosses on such vitally im- pressing your views? We should portant questions as union-hiring be grateful to hear from you. and job-security.

For this reason the ranks of tee is without funds and some the progressives fighting the mis- small donations will help us to To Be Done, Need Faith leadership of the Stalinists and carry on. We cannot afford to distheir friends are constantly grow- solve. The work we have done on Editor: ing. But the rank-and-file of the the Watson case has justified it-Communist Party and its sup-self, but it is only one case of porters who are, by and large, many. Will YOU render further No, they will not go to war. But among the most militant and help? class-conscious workers, remain Nearly everyone agrees that shoulders and say: But what can supporters of the party and of its the war time Regulations need you do? You have to go any way. A Letter from Milwaukee

ever. The contradiction between opinion is organized for that purwords and deeds will undoubtedly pose. A national civil liberties bring breaks and splits. But in defense movement is the answer. pose starts it?—A wrathful god, order to hasten the process, and Wherever it is possible we shall perhaps? or fate? win the Stalinists' militant sup- be glad to send a representative porters to the Fourth Interna- to discuss the whole question with that. A few do who have been tional, our party and its press you or your organization. should be directed toward the Stalinists along the following

1. The Socialist Appeal must carspurious nature of the Communist Party's new radicalism. It should show the contradic-

tion between word and deed. 2. It must carry articles revealing the pacifist and anti-revolutionary nature of such "antiwar" slogans as "The Yanks are not coming," and "For Peace."

It must show the complete inadequacy of the Stalinist slogans: "For Jobs, for Security." It must counterpose our Transitional Program.

We must expose the Communist Party on the question of methods; how we are to win our demands. In this the Communist Party has changed least of all. It still depends upon combinations with one or another pettybourgeois or labor-faker. We must counterpose to them the mass action of the workers independent of and against the captalist class and its government.

These articles should be pub- preach that there aren't only two stick together, that's all. lished in pamphlet form and concentrations be made on sales and ers and the bosses. No, there is, distributions to Stalinist workers. if you please, a third camp. The

letarian sections of the Commu- mists and teachers." On the Board make us go. nist Party to our revolutionary of Directors of the new body, Fraternally,

New York

Frank Watson Freed In Canada

Editor:

We are very pleased to announce that Frank Watson has after serving six months of his cian. Yeah! Ask every union chine guns and the tear gas and sentence for an alleged violation officer who has to deal with him! all that stuff. Canada Regulations which took deral Solicitor General; i.e., part machine guns and the tear gas, place early in September of 1939. of the machinery of the Depart- and the airplanes, even? It's us The committee contributed all its ment of Justice which, as you that makes them, not the big funds toward the payment of his may have heard, is now on a shots. They only own them. How fine of \$300.00. The kind help and union-busting campaign. Then will they make new ones without encouragement from the labor there are a raft of professors of us to make 'em for them? movement and liberal minded economics--Schlichter, of Business Oh, yeah—sure. If everybody

of the war indicate the pressing Dartmouth—who teach daily that We wouldn't have to go chasing need for a NATIONAL organiza- capitalism is the ordained system half way across the world to die. tion to guard our democratic of society but who, by definition And maybe things could be a Buffalo, N.Y.

Fibeing technicians, are impartial fird-campers.
Two erstwhile "revolutionists" Fink's in Law Suit Proves Only That Minneapois third-campers.

of being technicians, are impartial

provide a left face for this crew— Max Lerner (he just reconsidered Marxism in the Nation, he was one of the most useful stooges the Stalinists had) and George Soule, editor of the New Republic who, believe it or not, wrote a book entitled "The Coming American Revolution" in the dog-days of 1932 Here's just one example of what these people are going present four-day recess in the to do. It's point 8 of their pro- trial of the finks' suit against gram: "Working toward the in- General Drivers Local 544, it is crease of production through the possible to make an estimate of joint formulation of methods for the three weeks' of testimony unleashing creative attitudes and which attorney Arthur Anderson performance at all levels, both in has presented for the finks in management and among the Judge Carroll's courtroom. rights. Flagrant repressions con-

rights. Flagrant repressions continue unabated and will grow worse unless labour and liberal a concept of the continued of th worse unless labour and liberal a concrete situation, workers af- 544, go on the stand. Anderson opinion is ORGANIZED to check fected write in about it to the informed the newspapers yesterthis totalitarian trend. An organ- APPEAL, so we can all be fore- day that he expects to finish his ty. C. T. union will present its rebuttal.

San Francisco, Cal.

Then Comes Social Visión

to proclaim that the economic period during which he had an ing the union, with a great show man is a metaphysical abstraction accountant examine all the books of righteousness, for practices is disproved by the fact that the and records of Local 544, has not that are common to every decent feeling of desperation is the goad found a single fact which casts labor organization, and that, in which leads to revolution on the discredit upon Local 544, its Local 544's case, have been pubpart of millions. Perhaps those members or its officers. living in America do not yet en- Undoubtedly now aware that tirely understand how pressing is the employers and the finks who the effect of unfulfilled need for retained him had told him a mess the elementary things of life, as of fantastic lies about the General the masses of Europe have had Drivers Union, Anderson has experience. The conditions of eco- tried to make the best of a bad wards the promotion of a truly nomic distress produce a naive situation by using the courtroom Nevertheless the Communist national defense organization kind of economic determinism in as a sounding-board to echo every Party cannot experience any sub- However, this work cannot be the uncultured and there is the old and discredited charge against

To say that ideals come first, as Condemnation of Local 544 for

Selma Stein ed or donated money to sister

In the meantime, our commit- | Workers Know What's

COMITTEE

Look Out for This

"Impartial Body"

As a union officer I have re-

ceived an announcement from a

new body, "Collective Bargaining

Associates", formed, it says,

proving relations between labor

contending groups—the work-

therefore, there are to be five

representing labor, five represen-

ing the employers, and five re-

Now let's see who these third-

campers are who, the program

tells us, are "without a direct

stake in the matters at issue."

One of the sponsors is John M.

Carmody, Federal Works Agency

Administrator. He isn't a bosses'

Another is Francis Biddle, Fe-

presenting the third camp.

"with the avowed purpose of re-

Editor:

bargaining."

Wm. Brown, Sec'y

I meet a lot of people, when I take around APPEALS, who say, that Skoglund was born in Swed-other labor organization. the next minute they shrug their And they laugh, maybe, and say: revising-yet nothing is done. This, of course, cannot last for- Nor will it be done until public you socialists can't stop it. No. body can stop it.

Then I ask:—what do you sup-

Not many people say yes to which they are exploited.

those big shots, all right. They torium. have to obey it, don't I? They as the daily papers put it. don't ask me when they start a war. But I have to go.

ducing industrial warfare, im- of my family.

usual class-collaboration stuff: n't we? That's all right, he says, but "The periods of warfare in industry must come to an end. Industrial warfare is as silly as people around here? They don't wars between nations", etc. etc. want to organize. They don't paign of Hoan could not be dis-Like all class-collaboration pro- know what it's all about. Lots of grams this one turns out to them are foolish. They wouldn't backed campaign of Zeidler, Zeid-

> But if they did stick, could stay out of war then? Maybe.... Oh NO!—there'd be the younger man.

With a serious approach to our third camp consists of "techni- the whole bunches of cops, and task, we can win the best pro- cians such as engineers, econo- maybe national guardsmen to They'd still have more power than us?

> That's right. Isn't there anyway we could have more power than they? Maybe, if you got ALL the poor

people in the country together. And then?

Yes, but you couldn't. But if you could? Why, then, maybe you could beat those big shots. But even

man, oh no, he is only a techni- then, they'd still have the ma-Just a minute,—who makes the

people is sincerely appreciated. Economics, Harvard University, could get together like that, ev-The experiences of the first half | Feldman, of Industrial Relations, erything would turn out swell. | action. But the bond is there for

(Special to the Socialist Appeal, MINNEAPOLIS — During the cialist Workers Party.

Anderson has also "revealed" illness or death. The case is to be continued

> Anderson has further shown that Farrell Dobbs is now a mem- when Local 544 officials travel on ber of the Socialist Workers Par-

What all this has to do with the finks' suit against Local 544 Aside from Kelly Postal and neither Anderson nor the daily son who has examined the laws Carl Skoglund of Local 544, the papers, which work hand-in-glove of the International Brotherhood only witnesses to date have been with the finks in trying to smear of Teamsters, the by-laws of Lofinks and employers to testify the union movement, have exthat Local 544 won't let them plained,

Some "Disclosures"

Having failed to find what he The efforts by liberal thinkers Anderson, despite the six-week has used the device of condemn- in the book. licized by the union itself.

> For instance, Anderson will bring out that the union purchased \$50 worth of tickets to the annual Central Labor Union picnic, and carry on as though this were a sin against mankind. Or Editor: he will "prove" that 544 spent \$250 on the union's annual Christmas Party for kids-or that 544 donated \$100 to a food workers' Brown, \$100 to a union in Albert Lea whose hall had been wrecked by deputized thugs, etc.

unions without the consent of the of Local 544, and in the monthly to their strategic location on the bered that the militarist officers' made common cause with the financial reports which are pre-Anderson and the boss press pre-Typical of Anderson's redbait- sent them as though 544 were ng activities has been his lengthy caught red-handed in some dreadexamination of Carl Skoglund, ful crime. And of course to the way were stunned by what ap-544 president, during which the employers it IS a crime for any peared to be a double blow-invafinks' lawyer has brought out union to show solidarity with any sion and treason. Even workers

en, that he was expelled from the | Anderson has also proved that Communist Party in 1928, and Local 544 does whatever it posthat he is a member of the So-sibly can to come to the assist-publicity given the union by the ever attended a meeting of the

Truck Drivers Union Is Loyal to Labor

the fact-known to readers of the The finks' lawyer has also re-Northwestern Organizer and the vealed that Local 544 pays 10c labor and socialist press of the per member monthly to the Minnation—that V. R. Dunne, while neapolis Teamsters Join Council in Mexico on a vacation several building fund, and a similar ayears ago, paid a visit to Leon mount to the Northwest Organ-

> He has further proved that union business, the union pays their traveling expenses.

All of this, you may say, is ABC, known to any literate percal 544, or the labor and socialist driver. press. But from Anderson's presentation, ballyhooed in the employer-controlled press, one would gather that the General Drivers shotgun in his car and another It is quite evident in court that sought in 544's books. Anderson Union was guilty of every crime gun in his office, for use against

Labor Supports 544

ance of its members in case of daily press has served to influence a section of middle class opinion against Local 544.

But the more Anderson "disclosed," the firmer the labor movement supports 544. At its last meeting the Minneapolis Central Labor Union unanimously reaffirmed its confidence in 544 and its officers, members and policies.

The last 544 stewards' meeting gave the officers a vote of confidence. So did the last 544 membership meeting.

Typical of the characters that have testified against the union is Eli Joseph Graves, owner of a local coal vard who hired a fink

Carries A Shotgun

Graves admitted he carries a union organizers.

When John Goldie, union at-No doubt the prolific anti-union torney, asked Graves if he had fascist Silver Shirts. Graves replied: "No, but I've often thought

I'd like to.' Another employer testified that 544 had made him pay double the amount of back pay due his driver when this boss had chiseled onthe union wage scale. Local 544's union agreement provides for this penalty against chiseling employ-

Union Pamphlet On Sale The pamphlet "Behind the 544 Suit", published by the Northwest Organizer, is now available to those who wish to read the true history of the fink suit against the General Drivers Union, copies of the pamphlet may be purchased at the Northwest Organizer office, 253 Plymouth Avenue N., Minneapolis. Minnesota, for 5c each, with special rates on bundle

Norway's Officers Preferred Hitler To Labor Government

through the Oslo Fjord, through often witnessed in other and more such as Horten and Droebak tion, however, is not so difficult All these expenditures have which, while not impregnable, to find. been regularly listed in the books still were sufficiently strong, due mountain sides, to challenge ef- caste is pretty much the same Fascist dictator. After all, had sented to the membership—yet fectively any battleship. But everywhere, whether of Prussian Hitler not reinforced his guaranthese fortresses remained silent.

> No doubt the workers of Norof Norwegian origin in this coun-

try felt stunned and expressed Treason in Norway became the bitterness mixed with a sense of urrent topic of newspaper co- shame. How could it be? Treason lumns and conversation following in military circles in a land of enemy of the labor government, the Hitler invasion of that little peaceful pursuits such as Norcountry. It seems strange: the way, which was not otherwise time could be afforded than the German fleet had penetrated up given to ordinary corruption so its narrows, past fortifications powerful nations. The explana-

> or of Napoleonic tradition, whe- tee to German capitalism of no ther in a Fascist nation or in a strikes, by destroying the trade democratic capitalist nation. The unions and driving their leaders officers' caste of necessity iden- into exile? tifies, its interests as bound up with those of the capitalist sys-

Officers Pro-Capitalist

It is true that Norway had only small army with a small officers' caste, not harboring so many labor remained decisive. Fair of the remnants of feudal nobility. But Norway has also had a to strike a blow at labor—even labor government for a number of years, supported by the majority of the population. It is in this ontradiction presented by a labor government existing alongside of conscript army officered by militarists who were ardent supporters of the capitalist system, that the explanation for what is called treason must be found.

Impossible Straddle

some respects, at times, a little tenure reconciled itself to the exploitation of labor. It governed within the framework of this system. But as a labor government it had to be concerned also about labor reforms. Thus the Norwegian workers enjoyed certain privileges, among which were old age pensions, insurance for unemployment and sickness, vacations with pay, extensive cooperative enter prises and a relatively good standard of wages. To make up for these reforms taxes were relatively heavy in the higher income brackets and supported by measures cutting a bit into profits. In other words the labor govmunicipalities much larger than ernment tried to tread the narrow path of the "golden middleway", balancing itself between labor reforms and certain restrictions upon capitalism.

First of all it should be remem-

Bided Their Time This the officers corps could

never forgive. It remained the only biding its time. What better protection of Hitler's bayonets to settle accounts with the hated labor government and drive it into exile? Some of these army officers immediately translated their sentiments into action and

Thus we have here once again a stern lesson in the realities of the class struggle. These army officers threw their hypocritical patriotism to the winds; it was now useless to them, only their allegiance to the exploiters of means or foul, anything would do at the price of subservience to a greater imperialist power.

The Only Alternatives A labor government cannot for

long maintain itself on the extremely narrow margin between the classes in conflict. It must eventually decide entirel one or the other class. To put it more accurately: This is but one more lesson showing the workers This labor government was of the alternatives: defeat and dethe Social Democratic type and in struction by their "own" or foreign capitalists, or a government to the left. It had during its which is genuinely labor, which is based on the destruction of continued existence of capitalist capitalism—a revolutionary government.

> Chicago, Ill. Wm. Simmons

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Red-Baiting Falls Flat

About the Defeat of Dan Hoan

they blame all their troubles on cialist" Mayor of Milwaukee for and he's a lawyer too, so he don't ting the veteran Socialist offi-FRANK WATSON DEFENSE a god instead of on the society in 24 years, turned over the office need to be afraid." to the 38-year old Republican boy, Carl Zeidler. In the afternoon, the do you think Zeidler will turn But most workingmen who talk Carl Zeidler. In the afternoon, the

And do the workers of Milwaukee feel any bitterness? No-Why do you have to go? I ask. they don't feel bitter. They elect-Because I'd damn well get shot ed Zeidler by an overwhelming if I didn't—or jailed and starved vote. Why did they? Well, as thing—and made it worse." Toanyway. And no one to take care several workers expressed it to day about Zeidler they are sayme: "Funny in 24 years not a ing: "By next year we will know But how is it that they can single young man comes forth to what Zeidler is good for." shoot you or put you in jail? It's be leader of Milwaukee." Is this improved techniques of collective because they have the power and the workers' independent reason-The program attached to the I are together, for instance, we be? Again no. It's the so-called stantly being deceived and cheatyou are alone, isn't it? If you and ing as to what a mayor should the bosses.

> his campaign propaganda did the tinguished from the big-businessler received the workers' vote.

One worker tells me: "Oh Hoan!

whole lot better right here. But you don't know what you're up against, if you think you can get all the working people together. Sure, I'll read your paper. Here's a couple cents for the can. It's all I can spare.

not, says the same thing. Lot's of the reasons for Hoan's defeat. people say the same thing. Lots Its news-report on the election of people feel the same way. was unbelievably grotesque. Mo-There's a bond between us and destly hidden on an inside page, pare the grave seriousness of the them. By convincing them that it and with a one-column head entionists out of them. Not only by to Hoan's office", it read: argument, though, but also by showing them we're a party of

Member-at-large

mayor at \$12,500 a year and he | some, 32-year old former choir On Tuesday noon, April 16, never did spend much on him- boy, Carl Zeidler, sang his way made so hopeless by poverty that Daniel Webster Hoan, the "so- self." And another adds: "Yes, into the mayor's office, upset-

ry more articles exposing the 135 Inglewood Dr., Toronto, Can. at all are something like this greatest inaugural splurge ever out?" The answer reminded me man:—He says, Sure, I know its held took place in the City Audi- of Marx's dictum that workers learn best from their own exkeep on making money, too— Daniel Webster Hoan turned perience. For the several workers while people get killed. — So over the office "with any bitter- I was talking to carefully exwhat? When they make a law I ness of the campaign forgotten," plained to me that Heil was elected as governor over a year ago "because we wanted a change." Now, however, they say: "Heilwhy he's the biggest liar that ever stood in shoes. What has he done, after all his promises. No-

> From this it should be plain that the workers, though conannouncement is made up of the have more power together, have- "clever" campaign propaganda of way out. Once they lay their Though not particularly clever, hands on a real revolutionary program, the one and only means iob. Because the "socialist" cam- to an answer for their ever-increasing problems, they will know what to do with it.

> > The workers of Milwaukee are clear on what the Socialist party to choose between, so they chose of Mayor Hoan stands for. Bethe name of socialism has been What do the workers say about discredited by 24 years of capital-Hoan now that he is defeated? ist rule under a socialist label. On this question they are doing That makes more difficult the job will get no further with capitalist some real independent thinking. of acquainting Milwaukee workers with the REAL socialist pro-He is all right—pretty smart guy gram, the revolutionary program he made \$350,000 wages as of the Socialist Workers Paty. But the job can and must be

> > > H. ADAMS Milwaukee, Wisconsin

(Needless to say, The Call, organ of Hoan and Norman Thom-And the man next door, like as as, made no attempt to analyze

> "Mayor Daniel Webster Hoan, in all his 59 years, 24 of which were spent as Milwaukee's mayor, made one mis-

take: he never learned to sing. "So last week a blonde, hand-

cial by a vote of 119,960 to 99,845.

and the singing soirees he put on for the edification of the voters, political dopsters were more inclined to attribute the mayor's defeat to his long occupancy of the post, rather than to Zeidler's campaigning.; . . . " 'This election, Hoan said,

'was won on the promise of giving youth and the unemployed " 'The real tragedy of these rainbow promises will come

when youth and the victims of

world-wide industrial break-

down awake to the fact that

they have followed a false hope.

We had better seriously con-

template what their state of mind will be at that time. "Known as the dean of American mayors, Hoan was the confidant and adviser of city executives at the helm of Milwaukee. Hoan indicated that he would take a vacation and then consider several flattering offers from Milwaukee law

firms." (The Call, April 13) Mr. Hoan in other words, predicts that the capitalist mayor methods than Hoan did-with the same capitalist methods!

One more gem should be added. from an editorial in the same issue of The Call, entitled "Dan Hoan's Record": "It is to be chalked up as a

gain for the Socialist and Farmer-Labor movement that Hoan as an individual leader will be free to contribute in larger state and national fields to the building of a socialist influenced farmer-labor political

We ask every reader to comworker's letter from Milwaukee can be done, we'll make revolu- titled, "Ex-choir boy sings way with the grotesque flipness of The Call on the significance of the election. It is the difference between one who takes the class struggle seriously and a crew of petty-bourgeois shysters preaching sewer socialism.

-EDITORS.

In the World of Labor Christian Front Trial Portends the Wide

= By Paul G. Stevens===

A Controversy Regarding the Facts on France

We have received this week a letter from Marceau Pivert, leader of the French Socialist Workers and Peasants Party (P.S.O.P.), respecting some facts we have printed in this column recently about his party and its actions against the revolutionary minority within it. Since comrade Pivert, who is at present in this country, challenges our information, we feel it is our duty to air the controversy before the readers of the Socialist Appeal. We confine ourselves here to the bare essentials. Should further developments require it, we are quite prepared to go further lengths in proving that every bit of information printed here, on French matters as well as in general, is based on sources whose reliability is

The letter of Marceau Pivert and the reply by the author of this column follow below:

Pivert's Letter

The Socialist Appeal 116 University Place New York City

April 16, 1940

Comrades:

Once again, in your issue of April 6, you make such a fantastic presentation of events in regard to the Socialist Workers and Peasants Party of France (P.S.O.P.) that a simple comparison of this article with that of December 2nd suffices to characterize your method. Yesterday, you announced that your friends had captured the leadership of the P.S.O.P.; today, you are obliged to confess that this leadership was struck by the suppression. You use this occasion to slander the imprisoned militant revolutionists. You accuse them, in a word, of having capitulated at a time when they have remained faithful to their Party, to its program, and when they are brutally condemned for having courageously carried out its decisions in time of war. You find in that an occasion for irony. Nevertheless, you cannot be unaware of the terrible conditions in which they are placed, as, for instance, the tubercular Emile Rouaix, former general secretary of the Party. Enough said! We merely register our opinion that your incurable pretentions to the monopoly of revolutionary action leads you to the use of the same methods as Stalinism in relation to other sectors of the working class movement which are not subservient to your exigencies. But bluff and lies can last only a limited time. Before the French proletariat, all accounts will some day be reckoned.

With socialist greetings, Marceau Pivert

P.S.: Because of a discretion (which you will no doubt be incapable of understanding) I will refrain from discussing your information in regard to Lucien Weitz and Daniel Guerin. One thing, however, is certain; that is, that they have not been expelled from the Party.

Our Reply Marceau Pivert

Dear Comrade:

April 18, 1940

Your letter of April 1 is at hand and has been

turned over to me for reply. First of all, I am sorry that the first occasion

for contact between us is one which involves a dispute on minor matters of fact. However, let us hope that we will be able to straighten out these lesser disagreements and establish a relationship that will permit of a fruitful political discussion between you and us.

tured the leadership of the P.S.O.P.." A reading by force, the theft of munitions cation. of that column will reveal that we announced and other government property." nothing of the sort. We merely said that rumors had reached us to the effect that some of the leading Freemasons in the P.S.O.P., including yourself, had been expelled by the leadership of the organization with the participation of Jacquier, the secretary.

This information I received by word of mouth from a reliable Spanish militant passing through the States at that time. I have since checked the information with the comrade in question and he insists that that information was correct for that time. Furthermore, I have received direct word from France substantiating that same information. Should you persist in denying that the incident occurred, I shall furnish adequate evidence.

The expulsion of the Freemasons and yourself was later revoked. Just how that was done and how the Right Wing in your party resumed control is not as yet clear to me. Under the conditions under which our correspondence with France—which, let me assure you, is quite ample and quite regular in other respects-is being carried on, it is impossible to check on every detail at once. But we will get around to clearing that their use in the WPA strikes in joined the Christian Front is not new house for \$5,960. up, too, in good time.

Next, you say in your letter:

"Today you are obliged to confess that this leadership [the Right Wing of the P.S.O.P.] was struck by suppression. You use this occasion to slander the imprisoned militant revolutionists. You accuse them, in a word, of having capitulated at a time when they have remained faithful to their party and its program," etc.

Let me remind you of the actual facts:

1. In the April 6 issue of the Appeal we called attention to the arrests of three of the leaders of the P.S.O.P. To my knowledge, that is the first publicity given to these arrests in the United States. We consider that kind of publicity a duty inspired by international working

In this respect, it seems to me that, instead of complaining, you should commend us for reacting more quickly and with greater efficiency than others.

2. Solidarity with our co-fighters against French imperialism in the P.S.O.P. leadership cannot and must not blind us, however, to mistakes made by them, some almost fatal. Such blindness, to our mind, could only nullify that

3. We said about the imprisoned P.S.O.P. leaders in the April 6 Appeal that they "refused to straight on this also. What we find ironical, as prepare for illegal work and insisted on carrying on as if the war had not broken out." of the bourgeois government. Not that—but the

Is that slander, comrade P vert? Do you criminally stupid policies of kowtowing to the deny this fact? If you do, I am quite ready legality of that same government; policies purto furnish undisputed evidence in this respect, sued by your friends who, by refusing to prepare which I am sure you have at hand also, by now. for illegal work, thereby not only endangered the

4. You say of the leadership of the P.S.O.P. (re- lives of the revolutionary militants in the rank ferring, of course, to those who have the formal leadership and have expelled the militants One last point—with regard to my information of the "minority") that they have remained on Lucien Weitz and Daniel Guerin. Nowhere in

By JOSEPH HANSEN

The trial is now on-and its real meaning and purpose are becoming apparent. It is preparation by the U.S. government, as part of its war plans, for an intensified drive against agents were employed. labor. It is preparation to ac-

of provocateurs as an official method of the FBI. Avoiding an attack against the of the National Guard in his spare real fountain-head of the Chris- time, by profession a junior civil tian Front, Father Coughlin and engineer of the New York Cen- him expense money (about \$25 a he served wine and food paid for tian Front, Father Coughin and signature of the financial backers, the FBI is tral Railroad. He was born in week) and \$75 every two weeks by the government while he encunningly making a bid for fav. Ireland 36 years ago, came to this during his leave of absence, and gaged them in leading conversaorable publicity for its infamous country in 1926. His father, he paid his wife \$34 a week to comtions as FBI agents listened use of that most perverted and has admitted, was a sergeant in pensate her for taking a leave of through dictaphones and made degenerate of human beings—the the Irish Royal Constabulary oft—absence from her job with the recordings of the conversations. The law who lives with him and his agent-provocateur. Thus the FBI en assigned to do secret service Queens Electric Light and Power FBI agent Wacks testified that he wife, a person named Minnie Kazagent-provocateur. Thus the FBI of assignment as a supplied to the British Government." Company—in all avowedly about was hidden in the attic of Healy's nowski, was not employed by the movement, where it has doubt- friends" in the Royal Canadian lessly already planted them by Mounted Police.

faithful to the party program. Allow me to

correct you. In the same issue of the Appeal

"In fact they (the P.S.O.P. leaders) had

voted to expel the revolutionary minority be-

cause the minority [demanded] that the party

carry out in action its resolution for revolu-

tionary struggle against war (revolutionary

defeatism), adopted at the last convention of

Do you deny that the St. Ouen Congress of

your party officially made revolutionary de-

Do you deny that, instead, the "leadership"

of your party carried out a social-pacifist pol-

icy? Who was it, then, that remained "faithful

to the program of the party"? Are you going

to oblige me to republish the well-known docu-

ments in this matter also? I am quite ready to

In any case, I regard it as the highest duty

of a revolutionist, while maintaining complete

solidarity with those struck down by imperial-

ist suppression, to state the real facts. That is

Finally, you object that we "find in that (the

arrests) an occasion for irony." Let me set you

that you refer to, my column says:

the P.S.O.P."

all I have done.

featism the party position?

custom the public to the use

Minneapolis. It is therefore of clear. According to one admission J. Edgar Hoover, chief of the first importance to study the he was invited to join and serve FBI, arrested and indicted 17 trial of the Christian Fronters— as a machine gun instructor by the confidence of the members of As to the actual matter under dispute, allow members of Father Coughlin's despite the fact that these defendance on the confidence of the confidence of the confidence of the Christian Front, to get them me to state the facts as they are. You say that in Christian Front last January for dants are the mortal enemies of Action Committee, the name used attached to him as a bosom friend my column in our December 2nd issue of the "conspiring to overthrow the labor—in order to see more clear- to designate the 17 defendants. and then to provoke them into Appeal, we announced that our "friends had cap-government of the United States ly how the FBI practises provo- According to other admissions, he some action or declaration which So far, the government has sions may be true. On the witness FBI hidden nearby. utilized the testimony of only one stand he reported that after join- With expense money furnished provocateur, although the FBI ing he got in touch with the by the United States government, the locker of John F. Cook, one agent in charge of the case, Peter FBI, that he reported to his su-Healy bought his "friends" roast J. Wacks, admitted on the wit- perior in the railroad company pheasant at \$2.50 a plate, liquor structed Healy to go along with

> His Father One, Too This provocateur is Denis A Healy, an expert machine-gunner

was sent in by the FBI. Both ver- was recorded by agents of the ness stand that at least 15 more that he was doing work for the for parties, invited them to din-FBI, Whatever the circumstances ner at his home where the FBI not succeed," he hastened to exthe FBI paid for his initiation fee agents were hiding. and the company cooperated by giving him a leave of absence.

Government Use of Agents Provocateurs

Was Well Paid

a Packard and later a Mercury Healy talked in the basement

the column mentioned have I said that these two as a "contact mike" to a meeting cate there was anything back of specific persons are among those actually named of the Christian Fronters in the their questions, it may be asas expelled. I do not know whether they are, in dining room of Healy's home.

It may be that your friends who are left in charge of the party are attempting a sorry maneuver to split these two excellent militants from Christian Fronters to Narrows- lin thesis that the Roosevelt govthe rest of the minority. But in vain—that shabby burg, New York, for target pracmaneuver will not succeed. The fact is that the tise with rifles, FBI agents hid istic. P.S.O.P. minority, including Guerin and Weitz den in the shrubbery of a nearby have, as stated in that column "joined in a body hill made motion pictures of the with the Committees of the Fourth International defendants with the aid of a cam-(our French section) for joint work in the build- era equipped with a six-inch tele- provocateurs by the FBI is of ining of a united party on the program of the photo lens. Wacks testified also terest: In September of 1939 im-Fourth International." Let me assure you that I that they had made sound record- mediately after war broke out in have word from Guerin himself to this effect and ings of the conversations at Europe, President Roosevelt is-I am ready, if you oblige me, to substantiate that which Healy talked with his sued an order requiring investiga-

Your reference to the condition of comrade Rouaix and others of your comrades now under States should enter the war." arrest is, of course, in spite of the fact that you manipuated this situation very crudely against us in place of an argument, of deepest concern to apparently unable to install their tober 10. It would be interesting us. We are prepared, let me assure you, in spite of the deep-going differences existing between us, to join with you at once in a close collaboration to bring immediate aid to all of our French present, the subject discussed. Roosevelt, were sent into the laclass war prisoners, as well as to the comrades These notes he transferred to a bor movement? How many applinow hit by the spasmodic spread of the war in notebook to which he referred cations of would-be provocateurs other countries. We are prepared to discuss this constantly during the heavy were officially approved by the with you, and others of the F.O.I. (International cross-examination from the attor- FBI during this period and their Workers Front Against War), either informally news of the defendants. or formally, and await word from you at your earliest convenience

Assuring you of my most cordial respect, I remain,

Fraternally yours,

Provoked Fascist Moves

Healy's technique was to gain

For his services, the FBI paid dence. He often invited the Christian Fronters to his home where house listening through a device occasion, testified Wacks, he and

Joined Target Practice

When Healy went with the "friends" about a "campaign of tion of 'subversive activities" by sabotage in the event the United the FBI. The FBI began paying

At meetings of the Christian admitted in court) for expense Fronters where the FBI were money as a provocateur on Oclistening and recording devices, to see the secret files of the FBI. Healy took down notes on his How many provocateurs, folcuffs as to the names of those lowing the order of President

The extent to which Healy inveigled the Christian Fronters into incriminating actions is shown by the note which Ernecke left in the basement where he hanged himself. According to the police, this note (signed) Paul G. Stevens mentioned that Healy had giv-

en him one gun and told him where another could be bought for \$1.

The FBI apparently instructed Healy on every move.

Agent Helped In Robbery

When some of the Christian Fronters plotted to steal some ammunition and equipment from of the defendants, the FBI inplain, "because all the things they In constant touch with the FBI had sought had been removed agents, Healy arranged methodic- from Cook's locker. The agents ally for them to gather their evi- did not want to involve me in

Defendants Red-Baiting

The lawyers for the defendants have attempted to link Healy with the Stalinists. They have persistently demanded, for exam-Healy, however bought himself called the detectaphone while him if he is acquainted or related the hundreds, as indicated by The story as to how Healy automobile. He is also buying a with Claus Ernecke. On another Transport Workers Union. Healy Special Agent Charles Gannon the lawyers failed to introduce listened through a device known any evidence which would indicribed to an attempt of the Christian Front to cry persecution from "Communists" and "Reds,"

Agents In Unions?

One other aspect of the use of Healy \$25 a week (the amount

names added to the government pay roll?

During the coming period trade unionists must watch with the utmost caution for these wolves in the pay of those out to crush the labor movement as an obstacle in the path of the war machine.

The Struggle for a Proletarian Party

By JAMES P. CANNON

National Secretary, S.W.P.

(The following article is the second chapter of a pamphlet written by comrade Cannon to sum up the seven-months' discussion in the party on the question of the Soviet Union and the "organization" question. The pamphlet was published in the Internal Bulletin. Now that the Third National Convention of the party has settled the disputes by a decisive majority, this article will acquaint our readers with the party's estimate of the dispute. In the next issues of the APPEAL we shall publish other chapters of comrade Cannon's pamphlet—Editors.)

11.

A New Stage in the Development of American Trotskyism

The body of doctrine and methods known as "Trotskyism" is indubitably the genuine Marxism of our time, the heir and continuator of the Bolshevism of Lenin and the Russian revolution and the early Comintern. It is the movement known as Trotskyism and no other that has developed Bolshevism in analyzing and interpreting all the great events of the post-Lenin period and in formulating the program for the proletarian struggle and victory. There is no other movement, there is no other school that has answered anything. There is no other school that is worthy of a moment's consideration by the proletarian revolutionists. Trotskyism, embodied in the Fourth International, is the only revolutionary

But the road from the elaboration of the program to the organization of firm cadres, and from that to the building of mass parties of the Fourth International, is difficult and complicated. It proceeds through various stages of evolution and development as a continuous process of selection, attracting new forces and discarding others who fail to keep step. The American section of the Fourth International is right now in the midst of a crisis in this evolutionary process. If, as all signs indicate, we are moving toward a radical solution of the crisis, it is to be accounted for by the speed at which world events are marching and the immensity of their scope and the sensitivity of our party to their impact.

The second world war, no less than the first, strikes all organizations and tendencies in the labor movement with cataclysmic force. Our own organization is no exception. Like all others, it is being shaken to its foundations and compelled to reveal its real nature. Weaknesses which remained undisclosed in time of peace are rapidly laid bare with the approach of war. Numerous individuals and whole groupings, whether formally members of the Fourth International or sympathizers, are being submitted to the same tests. There will be casualties, which may seem to indicate a weakening of the movement. But that is rather the appearance of things than the reality. Trotskyism is the veritable doctrine and method of proletarian revolution; it reveals its true substance

most unfailing in times of crisis, war, and revolutionary struggle. Those who have assimilated the program, the doctrine, the method and the tradition into their flesh and blood, as the guiding line of struggle, cling all the more firmly to the movement under the pressure of the crisis.

It is only those who took Bolshevism as a set of literary formulas, espousal of which gave one a certain distinction in radical circles without incurring any serious responsibilities; those who adopted Trotskyism as a form of "extreme radicalism" which never went beyond the bounds of sophisticated debate—it is such people who are most inclined to falter and to lose their heads under the pressure of the crisis, and even to blame their panic on that same "Trotskyism" which simply remains true to itself.

Everybody knows the crisis has dealt heavy blows to the imposing movement of Stalinism. With the signing of the Soviet-Nazi pact the flight of the Stalinist fellow travellers began. They could stomach the Moscow Trials but not the prospect of coming into collision with the democratic government of U.S. imperialism. After the Soviet invasion of Poland and then of Finland the flight of the fellow-travellers became a rout. This wild migration attracted wide attention and comment. We ourselves contributed our observations and witticisms on this ludicrous spectacle. Up to now however, we have remained silent on an analogous phenomenon in our own "periphery." The flight of the more sophisticated, but hardly more courageous, intellectual fellow-travellers of American Trotskyism has been scarcely less precipitate and catastrophic.

With the approach of the war Trotskyism as a doctrine and as a movement began to lose its "respectability." Many of the intellectuals, sniffing danger, arranged a somewhat hasty and undignified departure. In truth, there is not much left of that considerable army of drawing room heroes who used to admire Trotsky's literary style and confound the less intelligent periphery of Stalinism with nuggets of wisdom mined from Trotsky's writings. The collapse of the Trotskyist "cultural front" was taken by some people, especially the ex-fronters themselves, to signify a collapse of our movement. In the journals of the class enemy to which they promptly attached themselves some of them have already worked up courage to write about Trotskyism as an "outmoded sectarian tendency." However, it is they who are "outmoded," not the movement of the proletarian vanguard, Trotskyism.

The petty-bourgeois intellectuals are introspective by nature. They mistake their own emotions, their uncertainties, their fears, and their egotistic concern about their personal fate for the sentiments and movements of the great masses. They measure the world's agony by their own inconsequential aches and pains. Insofar as our party membership consists in part of petty-bourgeois elements completely disconnected from the proletarian class struggle, the crisis which overtook the periphery of our movement is transferred, or rather, extended, into the party.

It is noteworthy that the crisis struck the New York organization of the party, thanks to its unfavorable social composition,

with exceptional force and virulence, while the proletarian centers; of the party remained virtually unaffected. The tendency of the petty-bourgeois elements to flee from our program and to repudiate our tradition is counterposed to a remarkable demonstration of loyalty to the program and to the party on the part of the proletarian membership. One must indeed be blind not to understand the meaning of this differentiation. The more our party revealed itself as a genuine proletarian party, the more it stood firmly by principle and penetrated into the workers' mass movement, the better it has withstood the shock of the crisis. To the extent that our party has sunk its roots in proletarian soil it has gained, not lost, during this recent period. The noise we hear around and about our movement is simply the rustling of the leaves at the top of the tree. The roots are not shaking.

The evolution and development of American Trotskyism did not proceed according to a preconceived plan. It was conditioned by a number of exceptional historical circumstances beyond our control. After the initial cadres had accustomed themselves to withstand the attacks and pressure of the Stalinists, the movement began to take shape as an isolated propaganda society. Of necessity it devoted an inordinate amount of its energy to the literary struggle against Stalinism. World events, one after another, confirmed our criticisms and prognoses. After the collapse of the Comintern in Germany, the failure of the successive 5-year plans to bring "socialism" in Russia, the monstrous excesses of the forced collectivization and the man-made famine, the murderous purges and the trials-after all this, which Trotsky alone had explained and analyzed in advance, Trotskyism became more popular in petty-bourgeois intellectual and half-intellectual circles. For a time it even became the fashion. Party membership conferred a certain distinction and imposed no serious hardships. Internal democracy was exaggerated to the point of looseness. Centralism and discipline existed only in the program, not in practice. The party in New York was more like a sophisticated discussion club than a combat party of the proletariat.

The fusion with the Muste organization, and later the entry into the Socialist Party, were carried out with the deliberate aim of breaking out of propagandistic isolation and stagnation and finding a road to wider circles. These actions brought hundreds of new recruits to the party, and gave us the possibility of expanding our activities. But the successes also brought their own contradictions. The membership of the Socialist Party in New York, including its left-wing and its youth organization, was primarily petty-bourgeois in composition; and, despite their good will, were not easy to assimilate. If our party organization in New York had been much larger, and predominantly proletarian in composition, the task would have been much easier. As it was, some of the new forces from the S.P. complicated the problem of proletarianizing the party and contributed fresh recruits to the petty-bourgeois clique of Abern.

At the same time, thanks to our deliberate orientation toward trade union work, the party in other centers of the country was developing in a proletarian direction. Penetration into the trade unions was bringing into the party fresh elements of proletarian fighters; and the contrast between the proletarian centers and the New York organization flared up in numerous skirmishes before it finally exploded in the present party crisis.

The approach of the war, with its forewarning of heavy difficulties and sacrifices for members of the party, brought with it a restlessness and dissatisfaction among many of the petty-bourgeois elements. These sentiments found authentic expression in a section of the leadership. They began to translate their own nervousness into exaggerated criticism of the party and demands upon it which could not be fulfilled in the circumstances. After the signing of the Stalin-Hitler pact, the opposition became more articulate. It began to express itself in the form of a fight against our program and, eventually, in a revolt against the whole doctrine, tradition and method of Marxism and Bolshevism.

It would be utterly absurd, however, to characterize the party crisis as the result merely of political differences of opinion. We would not touch the core of the problem if we confined ourselves to a "political" characterization of the fantastic proposals and flip-flops of the opposition. Serious political struggles, such as these, are an expression of the struggle of classes; that is the only way to understand them. The leaders of the opposition, and a very large percentage of their followers, have shown that they are capable of changing their opinions on all fundamental questions of theory and politics over night. This only demonstrates quite forcibly that their opinions in general are not to be taken

The driving impulses behind the opposition as a whole are petty-bourgeois nervousness at the prospect of impending struggles, difficulties and sacrifices, and the unconscious desire to avoid them at all costs. For some, no doubt, the frenzied struggle against our program and our tradition is simply a device to mask a capitulatory desertion of the revolutionary movement in a cloud of dust and controversy. For others, their newly discovered "political position," and their endless talk about it and around it are an unconscious rationalization of the same inner compulsion. In such cases it is not sufficient to stop at a political characterization of the outlandish propositions of the oppositionists. It is necessary to expose their class basis.

The present crisis in the party is no mere episode. It is not to be explained by simple differences of opinion such as have occurred at times in the past, and will always occur in a free and democratic party. The crisis is the direct reflection of alien class pressure upon the party. Under this pressure the bulk of the petty-bourgeois elements, and the petty-bourgeois leaders, lost their heads completely, while the proletarian sections of the party stand firm, and rally around the program with a virtual unanimity.

From this we can and must draw certain conclusions:

(1) It is not sufficient for the party to have a proletarian program; it also requires a proletarian composition. Otherwise the rogram can be turned into a scrap of paper over night.

(2) The crisis cannot be resolved simply by taking a vote at the convention and reaffirming the program by majority vote. The party must proceed from there to a real proletarianization of its ranks. It must become obligatory for the petty-bourgeois members of the party to connect themselves in one way or another with the workers' movement and to reshape their activities and even their lives accordingly. Those who are incapable of doing this in a definite and limited period of time must be transferred to the rank of sympathizers.

We stand at a decisive stage in the evolution of American Trotskyism from a loosely-organized propaganda circle and discussion club to a centralized and disciplined proletarian party rooted in the workers' mass movement. This transformation is being forced rapidly under pressure of the approaching war. This is the real meaning of the present party struggle.

Order Out of Chaos—By Leon Trotsky

The article printed below was issued as a pamphlet by the Supreme Council of Soviets in Moscow in 1919. It was written at the front lines of the Civil War by the head of the Red Army. It is particularly appropriate today when Europe and the world has once again been plunged into the bloody chaos of the Second World War.-EDITOR.

From the lands where they were hurled by the German plunderers, German soldiers are streaming homeward. The German soldiers are attacked by half-baked Polish regiments; they are disarmed and sometimes beaten. The Anglo-French and the Americans tighten their death-grip on Germany and take careful count of her feverish pulse. This does not prevent them from demanding that her government send the remnants of German troops to engage Soviet Russia in battle and prevent the latter from liberating territories occupied by German imperialism.

The Belgians, whose country was only yesterday crucified by German imperialism, are today seizing purely German Rhenish

Semi-pauperized, Roumanians, despoiled by their ruling swindlers, whose capital is alternately the prey of Germans and the Anglo-French, are themselves seizing Bessarabia, Transylvania

Trans-oceanic American regiments sit on the tip of our famine-stricken and icy North wondering why they were brought

The streets of Berlin, only so recently proud of its severe orderliness, are swept by the sanguinary waves of civil war. (1) French troops have landed in Odessa; (2) while great areas of France itself are occupied by American, English, Australian, and Canadian troops who treat Frenchmen like they would

Poland, resurrected after almost a century and a half of oblivion, strains with a kind of feverish impatience to engage the Ukraine and Prussia in battle and provokes Soviet Russia.

American Colossus Bestrides Europe's Ruins

The American President Wilson, a philistine and hypocrite on whom the white stitching still shows, an oily (Quaker-vegetable-oil) Tartuffe criss-crosses blood-drenched Europe as the supreme representative of morality, as the Messiah of the American Dollar; punishing, pardoning, and arranging the fate of the peoples. Everybody beckons to him, invites him, implores him: the king of Italy, the reigning, perfidious Georgian Mensheviks, the debased and solicitous Scheidemann, the mangy tiger of the French middle class, Clemenceau, all the strong boxes of the London City and even Swiss midwives. With his trouser-cuffs primly turned up, Wilson walks over the bloodpools of Europe with the blessings of Wall Street that has so well played the last stake of the European lottery, he unites Jugo-Slavs with Serbians; appraises the crown of the Hapsburgs; between two pinches of snuff rounds out Belgium at the expense of plundered Germany; and ponders the possibility of drafting orang-outangs and baboons to save Christian culture from the barbarism of the Bol-

Europe resembles a madhouse. And at first glance it seems as if the inmates themselves are unaware half an hour in advance whose throat they will cut and whom they will next embrace. But in the stormy waves of this chaos one irrefutable lesson is to be discerned—the criminal responsibility of the bourgeois world. Everything now occurring in Europe was prepared for during the past generations, by its economic system, its state relations, its system of militarism; by the morality and philosophy of the ruling classes, by the religion of all the priests. The monarchy, the aristocracy, the clergy, the bureaucracy, the bourgeoisie, the professional intellectuals, the masters of wealth, and the rulers of states-it is they who have prepared and are preparing those incomprehensible events which make old "cultured", "Christian" Europe seem like a madhouse.

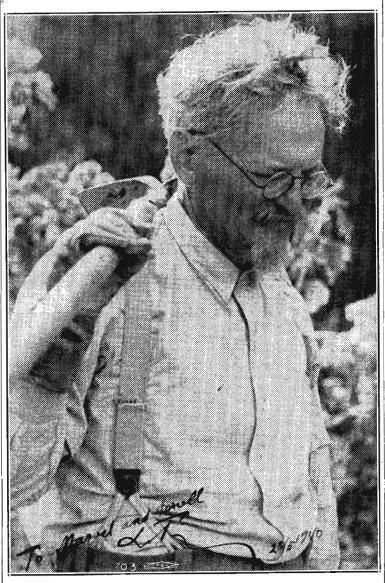
Imperialism, Nationalism, Communism

The European "chaos" is chaos in form only; in substance expressed in it are the supreme laws of history which is now destroying the old to make way for the new. The population of Europe now uses the very same rifles in fighting for different tasks and different programs which correspond to different historical epochs. Basically they are reducible to three: Imperialism, Nationalism, Communism.

This war began as a gang-fight between the great capitalist bandits over seizures and the division of the world-this is precisely the sum and substance of imperialism. But in order to plunge the many-millioned masses into the struggle, to bait them against one another, to fan in them the spirit of hatred and fury, "ideas" and "moods" dear to the deceived and doomed-todestruction masses were required.

This hypnotic medium at the disposal of the imperialist bandits was provided by the idea of nationalism. The reciprocal bond of the people who speak one and the same language, belong to one and the same nation—that constitutes a great force. This bond did not make itself felt so long as people lived a patriarchal life in their villages or provincial regions. But the more bourgeois production developed, the more it tied village to village and the provinces with the cities, all the more did the people drawn into its maelstrom learn to value a common tongue—this great medium of material and spiritual communion. Capitalism sought to entrench itself first and foremost on a national foundation and engendered powerful nationalist movements: in atomized Germany, in dismembered Italy, in harrowed Poland, in Austria-Hungary, among the Balkan Slavs, in Armenia. . . .

By means of revolutions and wars, by hook or crook with a hole here and a patch there, the European bourgeoisie solved part of the national problem. A unified Italy, a unified Germany, without German-Austria but, by way of compensation scores of kings, were created. The peoples of Russia were bound together by the steel tentacles of Czarism. Austria and the Balkans were convulsed by a bitter internecine struggle of nations who were



doomed to live in close proximity but were incapable of establishing peaceful forms of collaboration.

Capitalism Plunges Into Slaughter

Meanwhile, capitalism quickly outgrew the national framework. The national state served it only as a springboard for the leap. Capitalism soon became cosmopolitan—at its disposal were world-wide means of communication—its agents and servants spoke in all tongues and it sought to plunder the peoples of the earth regardless of their language, color of skin, or religion of their priests. While the middle and petty bourgeoisie, together with broad circles of the working class, still continued to remain in the atmosphere of national ideology, capitalism developed into imperialism, into an urge for world domination.

The world slaughter from its very beginning presented the terrible spectacle of the combination of imperialism with nationalism; the omnipotent clique of financial capital and heavy industry succeeded in harnessing to their chariot all the feelings, passions and moods produced by the bond of nationalism, by the unity of language, by common historical tradition and above all, by common existence in a national state. Taking to the highroad for robberies, seizures, and manslaughter, the imperialists of each contending camp proved capable of instilling in the popular masses the idea that the struggle presumably involved national independence and national culture. Just as bankers and big manufacturers exploit small shopkeepers and workers, so imperialism subjected completely to itself the nationalist and chauvinist feelings and goals by pretending that it was serving and safeguarding them. It was this terrible psychological charge that fed and sustained the great slaughter for four and one half vears.

Communism a Unifying Force

But Communism emerged on the scene. It had in its time likewise arisen on national soil simultaneously with the awakening of the workers' movement at the very first and still uncertain beat of the capitalist machine. With the doctrine of Communism the proletariat opposed itself to the bourgeoisie. And while the latter soon became imperialist and a force for plundering the world, the advanced proletariat, on the contrary, became internationalist and a force for world unification.

The imperialist bourgeoisie represented numerically an insignificant minority of the nation. It maintained itself, it ruled and dominated so long as it was able through the ideas and moods of nationalism to keep broad petty bourgeois and working masses in thralldom. The internationalist proletariat constituted another minority at the very opposite pole. It had every justification for believing that it could tear the majority of the people from the spiritual yoke of imperialism.

But up to the last great slaughter of the peoples even the best and most perspicacious leaders of the proletariat never suspected how powerfully the consciousness of the popular masses was swayed by the prejudices of bourgeois state rule and the habits of national conservatism. All this was revealed in July, 1914, which without exaggeration became the blackest month in world history; not only because kings and the stockbrokers were able to unleash the war but because they succeeded in gaining inner sway over hundreds of millions of popular masses, duping them, spinning a web about them, hypnotizing them and

Internationalism which had for decades served as the official banner of the most powerful working class organization, seemed to have disappeared instantaneously in the fire and smoke of the world slaughter. Later it re-appeared as a weak and flickering

psychologically drawing them into their murderous enterprise.

tiny flame among disconnected, isolated groups in various countries. All the learned and the unlearned priests and lackeys of the bourgeoisie tried to depict these groups as the dying remnants of utopian sects. But the name of Zimmerwald (3) had already evoked echoes of alarm in the columns of the entire bourgeois press. The revolutionary internationalists marched along their own road. Above all, they gave themselves a clear accounting of the causes underlying the events.

Betrayal of Official Social Democracy

The prolonged era of "peaceful" bourgeois development with its day-to-day struggle of the trade unions, with its reformist petty-foggery and petty parliamentary squabbles created a many-millioned organization, opportunist at the top, which curbed with heavy chains the revolutionary energy of the proletariat. By dint of historical events the official social democracy, born under the sign of the social revolution, became transformed into the most counter-revolutionary force in Europe and in the whole world. It became so intertwined with the national state, its parliament, its ministers, its commissions; it became so accustomed to its friendly enemies—the bourgeois and middle class parliamentary swindlers-that at the outbreak of the bloody catastrophe of the capitalist system it could perceive nothing save—the threat to national "unity". Instead of calling upon the proletarian masses for an assault against capitalism, it called them to defend the "national" state. This social democracy of the Plekhanovs, Tseretellis, Scheidemanns, Kautskys, Renaudels, and Longuets, mobilized in the service of imperialism every national prejudice, all the slavish instincts, the entire scum of chauvinism, everything dark and corrupt which had accumulated in the souls of the toiling and oppressed masses during centuries

It was clear to the party of revolutionary Communism that this colossal historical blackmail would terminate in a terrible collapse of the ruling cliques and their retinues. To evoke in the masses a martial upsurge, a readiness for self-sacrifice, and finally even the mere ability to spend years in the filthy stinking mud of the trenches, it was necessary for the rulers to arouse in the masses enormous hopes, monstrous illusions. The disillusionment and embitterment of the masses would inevitably assume proportions commensurate with the scope of this deceit. The revolutionary internationalists (they were not yet called Communists) foresaw this and upon this forecast they based their revolutionary tactic. They "steered a course" toward the social revolution.

Internationalism Versus Imperialism

Two conscious minorities—the imperialist and internationalist-declared a war to the death against each other. And before their combat was transferred to the city streets in the shape of open civil war, it unfolded in the consciousness of millions upon millions of toilers. These were no longer parliamentary conflicts. which even in the best days of parliamentarism educated the masses only to a very limited extent. Here the entire people, down to its darkest and most inert depths, were seized by the steel claws of militarism and violently plunged into the mael-

Imperialism was challenged by Communism which said: "You have now shown the masses in action what you really are and what you are capable of doing. My turn is next." The great combat between Imperialism and Communism is decided not by paragraphs of reform, not by parliamentary ballots, nor by the strike reports of trade unions. The events are written in steel and every step of the struggle is sealed with blood. This alone predestined that the struggle between Imperialism and Communism would not be settled within the limits of formal democ-

The Solution Cannot Be Postponed

. To solve the basic tasks of social development through universal suffrage would, under present conditions, when all questions are posed point-blank, signify a cessation of the struggle between the mortal class enemies. It would mean an appeal to an arbitrator in the person of those intermediate and primarily petty bourgeois masses who either have not yet been drawn into the struggle or are participating in it semi-consciously. But it is precisely these masses who were deceived by the great lie of nationalism, who were bled white by the war, who have lost their heads and only seek for a way out, who are subject to the most diverse and contradictory moods—these masses cannot be accepted as authoritative arbitrators by Imperialism, all the less so by Communism, nor even by themselves. Why then not temporize and postpone the solution of the dispute until the bewildered intermediate masses come to their senses and draw all the necessary conclusions from the lessons of the war? How? In what way? Artificial interludes are possible in combats between athletes; on the arena of a circus or on the tribune of parliament-but not in a civil war. The more aggravated all the relations, all the needs and all the misfortunes become as a result of the imperialist war, the less objective possibility there is for leading the struggle into the channels of formal democracy, the simultaneous and universal counting of noses.

"In this war you, Imperialism, have shown what you are capable of and now my turn has come. I shall take power into my hands and show the still vacillating, the still bewildered masses what I can do, where I can lead them, what I want and can give them."

This was the slogan of the October insurrection of Communism: this is the meaning of the terrible war which the Spartacists have proclaimed against the bourgeois world on the streets of Berlin.

day. In many cities they won ers of Chicago were brought to their demand, and in others they trial as a result of this deliberate succeeded in appreciably cutting plot of the Chicago bosses to break the movement. Four of the

stration there had many far- This was the bosses' answer to the workers' militancy. The bosses of Chicago, their BECOMES INTERNATIONAL

were ready to take to the streets But contrary to their expectafirst demand was for a ten hour the United States and Canada to fight for their needs, it was tions, the Haymarket Riots, in-The history of May Day is the history of the organized day. In 1821, without the benefit | (later simplified to the American necessary for the bosses at all stead of killing the labor moveof any organization, a group of Federation of Labor), passed a costs to curb and kill the organ-ment, only increased its tempo. AFL set aside May 1, 1890 as On May 3 the police fired into another day for mass strikes on was brought ou that the "normal" bor Union, organized as a federathe point of the picket line at the McCormick the eight hour issue. During the

Deering plant, killing four and same year, the International wounding scores of the strikers. | Workingman's Congress, the Sec-On May 4 a gigantic mass ond International, decreed that meeting at Haymarket Square May 1, 1890 should be an interprotested the brutality of the po- national working man's holiday, May 1, 1886 is a day which will lice. The meeting was peaceful when all those who toiled for inception, May Day as a workers' and demonstrations today include tries had to grant it. In 1837 long be remembered by both the and just about to adjourn when their living should come out on holiday has been recognized as a (1) international working class President Van Buren finally de- workers of the world and the em- suddenly the police attacked the strike for the eight hour day and political institution. The struggle solidarity, (2) universal suffrage, creed that all government employing classes. In every large crowd. Someone threw a bomb, for other important political iscity in the country workers laid killing a sergeant. When the sues for which the workers of the

The imperialist slaughter has erupted into a civil war. The better the capitalist war has trained the workers how to handle rifles, the more decisively are they beginning to apply these rifles for their own goals. However, the old slaughter is not yet liquidated; here and there new bloody clashes along the old national and state lines still flare up and threaten to spread into a new conflagration. At the moment when Communism is already celebrating its first victories and is fully justified in not fearing isolated defeats, the yellow tongues of nationalist flames still erupt from underneath the volcanic soil.

Inferno of National and Social Conflict

Poland, only yesterday herself strangled, dismembered, torn and bled white-Poland seeks today in a final and belated drunken fit of nationalism to plunder Prussia, Galicia, Latvia and White Russia. Meanwhile, the Polish proletariat is already building its Soviets.

Serbian nationalism seeks a robber's satisfaction for ancient slights and wounds in territories settled by Bulgarians. Italy grabs at Serbian provinces.

The Czechs, who have just freed themselves from underneath the German-Hapsburg boot, drunk with the pseudo-independence proffered them by the mighty sharks of Imperialism, are violating the cities of German Bohemia and massacring Russians in Siberia. The Czech communists are sounding the alarm.

Wall Street Is Growing Uneasy

Events pile on events, the map of Europe changes uninterruptedly, but the most profound changes are occurring in the consciousness of the masses. The very rifle which was yesterday used in the service of national imperialism serves today in the same hands the cause of social revolution. Wall Street, which has long and skillfully fanned the European bonfire so as to enable its bankers and industrialists to warm their hands at its flames, now sends to Europe its chief clerk, its supreme broker, its methodical rogue, Wilson, to investigate at first hand whether things have not gone too far.

Only recently, the American millionaires laughed in their clean-shaven chins and rubbed their hands: "Ha-ha! Europe has become a madhouse, Europe is exhausted, bankrupt; Europe is becoming transformed into a cemetery of old culture. We shall tour its ruins, buy up its treasured monuments; lavishly tip the august scions of all the European dynasties! European competition will vanish. Control over industrial life will pass completely into our hands, and the profits from the whole world will begin flowing into our American pockets."

But, at present, the snide chuckle is beginning to stick in the throat of the Wall Street Yankees.

The Communist Order Raises Its Head

Amid the European chaos, the idea of a new order, the Communist Order, is raising its head ever more imperiously and powerfully. In the clash and din of bloody imperialist, nationalist and class conflicts, the peoples most backward from the revolutionary standpoint are slowly but unswervingly beginning to fall in step with those who have already left their first victories behind them. From a prison of the peoples which Czarist Russia was, it is turning before our very eyes-with the liberation of Riga, Vilna, Kharkov-into a free federation of Soviet Repub-

There is no other way out, no other road for the peoples of the former Austro-Hungarian empire and the Balkan peninsula. Soviet Germany will enter as a member into this family which sooner or later will include in its ranks Soviet Italy and Soviet France. The transformation of Europe into a Federation of Soviet Republics is the sole conceivable solution of the needs of national development of great and small nations, which is not detrimental to the centralist requirements of economic unification-first of Europe and then of the whole world.

Bourgeois democrats dreamed in their time of a United States of Europe. These dreams have found a hypocritically belated echo in the speeches of the French social patriots in the first period of the last war. (5) The bourgeoisie proved incapable of unifying Europe because it could counterpose to the unifying tendencies of economic development only the dividing will of

Only Socialism Can Unify the World

To unify the peoples it is necessary to free economic life from the fetters of private property. Only the dictatorship of the proletariat is capable of bringing the demands of national development into their natural and legal boundaries and embracing all nations in a unification of working collaboration. This unification will take shape precisely as the Federation of the Soviet Republics of Europe on the basis of the free self-determination of the peoples dwelling there. There can be no other solution. This alliance will be directed against England should the latter lag behind the continent in her revolutionary development. Together with Soviet England the European Federation will direct its blows against the imperialist dictatorship of North America so long as the trans-oceanic republic remains the Republic of the Dollar-so long as the triumphant snorting of Wall Street is not turned into its death rattle.

Bloody chaos still stands over Europe. The old is combining with the new. Events pile up on events; and blood accumulates on blood. But from this chaos, ever more resolutely and boldly emerges the idea of the Communist Order from which the bourgeoisie will be saved neither by its Versailles conspiracies, nor its hired gangs, nor its voluntary flunkies of class collaboration and social patriotism, nor by the great trans-oceanic patron of all the capitalist stranglers.

It is not longer the spectre of Communism that hovers over Europe as was the case seventy-two years ago when the Communist Manifesto was written-it is the ideas and hopes of the bourgeoisie that are being transformed into a spectre. Communism now strides over Europe in flesh and blood.

(1) Comrade Trotsky is referring to the January 1919 uprising of the Berlin workers and soldiers. It was provoked by the treacherous policy of the social democratic government of Ebert and Scheidemann. The government had issued an order removing the incumbent independent social democrat from his post of the Berlin chief of police. The workers replied by mass demonstrations. Within 24 hours a general strike was declared. The movement was headed by a revolutionary committee composed of Karl Liebknecht, Ledebour, and Scholtze. This committee had the support of the Spartacists and of the Berlin organization of the Independent Social-Democrats. The authorities began negotiations with the workers and at the same time mobilized military forces from bourgeois youth, White Guard students, and non-commissioned officers of the old Hohenzollern army. On January 11, under the leadership of Noske the bloody suppression of the workers' uprising began. On January 15, Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg were murdered by the officers convoying them to prison.

(2) The landing of the French troops in Odessa took place early in January 1919, as part of the general Allied plan to aid Denikin against the Soviets.

(3) The Zimmerwald conference was held in Switzerland in September 1915 on the initiative of the Italian Socialists. The Left Wing at this Conference headed by Lenin issued a manifesto to the workers of the world calling upon the armies then fighting for imperialist aims to turn their guns against their own bourgeoisie.

(4) With the outbreak of the revolution in Germany, the German troops occupying Esthonia, Latvia, Lithuania, White Russia and the Ukraine rushed home; and the Red Army was able to advance without meeting any serious resistance.

(5) For the current version of this "dream" one need only refer to the bourgeois press, especially of the Allied camp.

Began How May

May Day, 1940, marks the fiftieth anniversary of that first working class. great international working class holiday when the workers of States. From the very beginning union in the world was organized every nation went into the streets, on May 1, 1890, to strike of the factory system here, the in Philadelphia by the Mechanics before that, however, the first May Day had been celebrated in the United States.

| Control of the Federation of Organized Trades and Labor Unions of Organized Trades and Unions of Organized Tr

labor and revolutionary movement of the world, its rises and cordwainers in New York went on resolution setting May 1, 1886 as ized labor and workers' political In 1889 the convention of the downfalls, its martyrs, its leaders—and its mis-leaders. A strike. During the trial of their a day for mass strikes for the movement. study of that history contains many valuable lessons for the leaders for conspiracy later, it eight hour day. The National Laworkers of today.

The first gigantic May Day strike occurred on May 1 1886, in the United States and grew out of more than fifty

shorter work day. From its very | Slogans for May Day parades | were so great that many industo establish the legal limit for a (3) the ending of colonial oppres- ployees work ten hours a day. working day to eight hours was a sion, (3) the right to the streets, political battle. To this original (4) the freeing of political pris- won on a more or less widespread streets to fight for the legal es- lice and four workers were dead. demand, as the years passed, oners, (5) the right of political scale than the workers took up tablishment of the eight hour Most of the militant labor lead-

and economic organization for the the cry for an eight hour day.

from nineteen to twenty hours. During the next two decades the number and militancy of the strikes over the ten hour day

Knights of Labor, had all passed resolutions and organized their forces around this demand. years of previous struggles by many political issues were added. the number and militancy of the strikes over the ten hour day

The issue was never lost sight of, militancy of the workers' demon- others went to prison. May Day began in the United from 1827, when the first trade working day for these men was tion of trade unions in 1866, the First International, and the

Scarcely had this demand been down their tools and took to the smoke of battle cleared, seven po- world are still fighting.

down their hours of work. But it was in Chicago that the unionists-Spies, Engel, Parsons, strike centered. The size and the and Fisher were hanged. Many

reaching effects.

May 1, 1890 saw one of the (Continued on Page 8)

SOCIALIST APPEAL

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FIGHT WITH THE SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY FOR:

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

War in the Pacific

Step by step this country is being shoved by the Washington government closer and closer to war against Japan in the Pacific.

Secretary of State Cordell Hull last week warned Japan not to occupy the Dutch East Indies and on April 24 the well-informed Washington columnists, Pearson and Allen, said in their "Merry Go Round";

"The Hull warning to Japan is subject to various interpretations, but that given it by established usage is that if Japan does not heed the warning it means war. Nations do not usually stick their necks out to tell another nation what to do without the risk of war. So, write it down as certain that if we get into war, it will be through the back door of the Pacific."

But far more specific and authoritative was the blunt statement made on April 22 before the Senate Committee on Naval Affairs by Rear Admiral J. K. Taussig, a former assistant chief of naval operations and at present commander of the Fifth Naval District at Norfolk, Va.

"I cannot see how we can ultimately prevent

being drawn into war on account of the Far Eastern situation," Admiral Taussig said.

He cited the famous Tanaka Memorial outlining Japanese expansionist aims and declared: "In the Far East, a situation has arisen which definitely threatens our national interests. . . . I cannot see how we can escape being forced into eventual war by the present trend of events."

By "our interests" the plain-speaking admiral means the interests of American investments, trade, imperialist power. Just what these have to do with the interests of the workers of the United States nobody troubles to say, because they have nothing to do with them. The whole country is to be asked to line up for the slaughter to defend and expand the "interests" of the handful of bankers and big business men in the Far East, six to ten thousand miles from our

Of course, both Hull and the Navy department immediately issued disclaimers of responsibility for Taussig's plain talk. But just imagine an admiral in active service, a former chief of the naval staff, making public statements like that without the nod from Roosevelt.

The government isn't really going to rebuke Taussig for declaring that "we" are going to have to fight Japan and should, to that end, make a pact at once with Britain, France, and Holland, and spend a couple of billions more of the people's money for bigger and bigger warships.

The government isn't going to rebuke him because, the fact is, he expressed the real intentions of the government, and his public statement was probably deliberately designed to test public reaction.

Let that public reaction be made plain and made fast. The workers of the United States' have no "interests" to defend in the Far East. Their interests lie with the Chinese and Japanese workers who will defend them in common against the capitalists of those countries, and will defend them all the better if the American workers concentrate on breaking up the imperialist war plans of our own boss rulers right here at home. And we can do that first of all by organizing to fight the vast drive of union repression that the government has already started as a wartime measure and by fighting for jobs and for the 30-hour week at a \$30 minimum. That's OUR fighting front. Let's get busy on it!

IT WASN'T NAILED DOWN!

Herbert Fleishhacker, 68-year-old former president of the Anglo-California National Bank, is given a clean bill of health by Harry S. Young, his attorney, who is defending him against the federal indictment charging him with misappropriating \$55,000 from the huge bank he once controlled. "He has taken nothing to which he is not entitled," declared Young.

"Lent," says the Minneapolis Star Journal editorially, "teaches many things to those who observe it, and among the most important, is self-denial, the discipline of oneself for a 40-day period. It is a beneficial budget. It conveniently had no form of therapy to make ourselves, once in awhile, do without'—to refuse ourselves certain pleasures we | Whereupon the City Council | habits, puts backbone in our character, proves we with no discussion whatever. Uncan say 'no' to ourselves and be obeyed." Aren't the like other taxes, this one has no reliefers and other unemployed the luckiest persons time stipulation. It must stand ever! They have Lent all the time.

How May Day Began

before, more political in charac- bor Day," in September.

The Gompers regime in the

loyalty to their holiday. The AFL ers would remain at work for nost gigantic demonstrations of top leadership did everything in the defense of "their" countries. international working class solid- their power to divert the celebra- Not so in the United States.

arity the world has ever seen. In tion of May Day on May 1 to most industrial centers in Eur- May Sunday. They tried to already in the world war, the ope and the United States, the change the character of the day workers and revolutionary eleworkers poured into the streets, from one of strikes and street ments within the Socialist Party ready for the inevitable fight with fights with the police to picnics, went into the streets to protest the police. May Day was born as parades, tournaments, and pagan international holiday with the eants. But the workers wanted in Cleveland was set upon by the blood of many workers to baptize May Day to remain what it was police. One man was killed and a mass demonstration for politic-

Through the next decades May al, social, and economic solidarity Day became a day of dread for between the workers of the all of the governments and their world, and that is what it repolice. Every year the demonstra- mained. Finally, the AFL leaders it will never be, by the bosses. It tions grew larger than the year tried to shift altogether to "La- is the one day on which, above

leadership of the European work- to freedom—and that is struggle ing class succeeded in averting a to the death against the bosses AFL did its best to stifle the May Day strike. They pledged of the world and the economic

In 1917, with the United States

another wounded May Day is the Workers Day.

It has never been legalized, and all, the workers demonstrate their class-consciousness, their realiza-In 1915 the social democratic tion that they have only one road spirit of the workers, and their their governments that the work- system under which they rule.

Philadelphia SWP Appeals to Unions To Organize Fight Against the Wage Tax

(Continued from Page 2)

gan to make things hot for the Republican bosses with one strations, mass meetings and ax was repealed.

In 1939 the city-owned gas works was put in bock to the tune of \$42,000,000 and the crisis was staved off for a time. But not before Cooke had stuck his five figures."

Now They Try This

taxes by the time 1939 came to have suffered in silence. a close. Taxing property and real estate in the higher brackets was ruled out-this would hit the people who had plenty of money and that would never do! Suddenly they hit on a grand idea: the wage tax. Here was a proposition that discriminated against no one — treated rich and poor alike. The man that made ten million and the WPA worker, the billionaire and the relief slaveall of them had to pay the same percentage. The principle of equality—no less!

The next job was to put over

the 1½% tax painlessly without fuss or commotion. A "Citizen's committee" was formed with Gates, member of the Board of Directors of the Penna. R.R. as its chairman. Representatives of labor unions were invited to participate. The committee "investigated" and "investigated" until the day came to balance the other idea than the wage tax. until repealed.

Labor Caught Asleep

was all. The City Council just ig- A "repeal the Wage Tax"

dig deeper in the pork barrel. hand into this seft pie and ex- around the necks of the work- can be organized for the antitracted for himself \$100,000 in ers like a millstone. Nothing is commission for himself for the being done about it despite redeal. "That man will get ahead", ports of civic groups urging they say in this town, "because economies upwards of \$3,000,000 he never steals anything under to substitute for the wage tax.

And that's just the point! No-

ng the working population dry once finished the sales tax.

for four months. It's time to call The labor movement, the trade a halt. The Socialist Workers unions had been caught sleeping Party calls upon all unions and round after another of demon- at the switch. No demonstrations, workers' organizations to organno actions, no picket lines as ize a mass movement that will other pressure actions. The sales there had been at the time of the throw the wage tax in the ashsales tax. They just tried to get can and along with it the City's a few petitions signed and that Stepfathers who made it law.

nored the workers and went on to movement can sweep the city by storm. Every union, every work-The wage tax still hangs where poor people live and work wage tax movement.

> It was done with the sales tax! It can be done with the wage tax!

The Socialist Workers Party, body has forced the City Council Philadelphia local, calls upon the to do anything. Labor leaders workers of this city to set afoot Still they had to find more have done nothing. The workers the picket lines, mass demonstrations and mass actions that will The wage tax has been wring- finish the wage tax just as it

GREETINGS ARRIVE FROM THE FRENCH SECTION OF 4th INT'L

THE COMMITTEES OF THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL (French section of the Fourth International) address their fraternal greetings to the workers of all countries who are struggling to transform the imperialist war into a civil war.

We salute our brothers of the Fourth International everywhere-in the French Colonies, the British Colonies, and PAR-TICULARLY OUR BROTHERS, THE FOURTH INTERNA-TIONALISTS OF GERMANY, OF BOHEMIA, OF POLAND AND OF THE U.S.S.R.

We greet especially warmly Leon Trotsky, in whose person Stalin, Hitler and Daladier hate the living symbol of the revolution in progress!

We call upon the comrades in America and in all sections in those countries which have not yet entered the war, to come to the support of the revolutionists of the belligerent countries to render them the aid which they sorely need.

We reaffirm our profound faith, more than ever, in the proletarian revolution which will soon sweep from the world that rotten capitalism which is leading the workers to slaughter. We call upon all the sections of the Fourth International to close have learned to accept as our own. It overhauls our passed the tax by a 17-3 vote their ranks more closely than ever and to prepare for the revolutionary battle!

Paris, France

CENTRAL COMMITTEE. COMMITTEES OF THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL

Why We Publish "Fourth International"

(REPRINTED FROM "FOURTH INTERNATIONAL") This is the first issue, Volume I, No. 1, of Fourth International,

the new monthly theoretical organ of the Socialist Workers Party. Fourth International will defend the program, ideas and tradition which The New International can no longer represent. We owe our readers an explanation for changing the name of our official magazine.

The New International was the official theoretical organ of the Socialist Workers Party, American section of the Fourth International. The magazine had been in existence since 1934 and was published regularly with the exception of the period when the Fourth Internationalists of this country held membership in the Socialist Party. At all times The New International was the property of our organization. It voiced in its columns the official position of the Trotskyist movement, as a section of the International Communist League and later as a section of the Fourth, International. The policies of the magazine were determined by our National Committee. The editors and business staff of the magazine were appointed by and subject to the decisions of the Party. The New International was financed by the nickels and dimes and dollars of the worker members of the party and its sympathizers. Its deficits were paid by the party. The New International was an integral part of the international Trotskyist movement and its American section, the Socialist Workers Party.

By a breach of trust, morally and legally equivalent to a misappropriation of funds by a financial officer of a workers' organization, Burnham, Shachtman and Abern, who held posts on The New International by party appointment, and who were trustees for the party in The New International Publishing Company, have usurped the name of the magazine and attempted to appro-

priate its mailing rights as their personal property. These turncoats, defeated in the party convention after a free and democratic discussion in the party, have sought to revenge themselves on the proletarian majority of the party by stealing the name and the mailing rights of the magazine entrusted to

SPEAKERS:

their management, and attempting to cash in on its tradition. An issue of The New International has appeared under the auspices of these ex-Trotskyists. A casual reading of the forged copy is sufficient to convince any reader that it is not The New International they have known, but a miserable counterfeit.

The old New International defended the program of the Fourth International; it was the chief medium for the publication of the theoretical contributions of Comrade Trotsky, and was honored throughout the world as the theoretical protagonist of the Marxism of our time, i.e., "Trotskyism." The counterfeit New International, stolen in sneak-thief fashion from the party that owned it and paid for it, and published behind its back in the dark of night, has nothing in common with the traditions of its name and its past association.

Those who know the revolutionary traditions established by the magazine, those who appreciate its great work in the ideas of Marxism throughout the world cannot fail to be revolted by the publication of The New International under revisionist and anti-Trotskyist auspices. This feeling of revulsion must have been augmented by the appearance from the pen of Burnham under the heading "Archives of the Revolution," of a foul attack on the Marxist doctrine and method and on the author of most of the rich material in Marxist theory which in the past appeared under this heading.

There is no doubt that by every political and moral right The New International belongs to the Socialist Workers Party as represented by its convention majority. There is likewise no doubt, competent attorneys have assured us, that all legal rights to the magazine, its name, its subscription lists and its second class mailing rights belong entirely to the Socialist Workers Party, and that Burnham, Abern and Shachtman would stand in any litigation as betrayers of financial trust and common thieves. No classconscious worker would censure us for taking legal action to protect our rights in this case. Obviously, we are dealing here, not with an ideological dispute but a case of petty-larceny. Neverthe-

A Statement by the National Committee of the Socialist Workers Party

less, we have decided to forego any legal action. We are washing our hands of The New International and launching a new magazine, Fourth International, for the following reasons:

I. It is not worthwhile for us to spend time and effort in legal struggles over property rights which could only divert energies and resources from more serious and important activity.

2. We do not want our irreconcilable political struggle against the turncoats to be obscured or confused by squabbles over a magazine's name and property rights. Our aim is, in every respect, to distinguish ourselves from the ex-Trotskyists, and to eliminate every possible point of identification with them.

3. The once-glorious name of The New International has been irretrievably sullied by its appearance for one issue under the auspices of these betrayers of its tradition. The program of the Fourth International, the great theoretical contributions of comrade Trotsky, the Marxist message of our party, cannot appear under its dirtied name. We want no deception, no confusion, no mixing of banners. We need a clean banner which will truly express what we stand for and at the same time sharply distinguish us from the prostituted New International. They stole it. They have already identified its name with their own treachery. Let them keep it, and let the whole world know it is henceforth their magazine, not ours.

Our magazine is Fourth International! It alone is the theoretical organ of the Socialist Workers Party and of the Fourth International!

Fourth International will fill out all the unexpired subscriptions of The New International. The subscribers of The New International are entitled to get what they paid for-a theoretical organ of Bolshevism. We feel politically and morally responsible to give it to them by sending this magazine for the full time of the unexpired subscriptions.

We appeal to all readers who sympathize with the principles we stand for to help us maintain this magazine by subscriptions and

Lead the Youth Or Fascists Will By LOU COOPER

The Unions Must

In a recent poll in San Francisco, unemployed youth were asked what they considered to be the cause of their unemployment. A surprisingly large group answered that they considered the trades unions to be the cause of their unemployment. Is this the attitude of many unemployed youth throughout the nation?

Every labor man should be vitally interested in the answer. Why? Because the lesson of Germany, in particular, is that the unemployed youth, locked out by capitalism are the easiest vict.ms of fascist demagogy and propaganda. This fascist propaganda directs its lying attack not against the real cause of unemployment, capitalist chaos caused by private ownership of the means of production—but against the labor unions. The fascists say, the trades unions with their closed shops and semority rights have locked you unemployed youth out of industry. Trades urions are a racket, they shout.

The end result of this lying attack in Germany was that Hitler built up an army of young unemployed who hated the trade unions with all the fierceness of their untamed emotions and who ruthlessly took the lead in the merciless crushing of the trade unions when Hitler came to power. The trade unionists in Germany learned too late that it was the elementary duty of every liberty-loving labor man to combat the vicious lies of the fascists.

How Youth Can Fight for Jobs

What's the first thing we should attempt to have unemployed youth understand? Capitalism, in its present period of stagnation and decay, provides too few number of jobs for labor, and that's where the fault lies! Unemployed youth must understand that it's the greed and profits of the Sixty Families that's responsible for their locked-out condition. The wheels of industry are not rolling because under private ownership industry must work at a profit or else it rots and men starve.

How can unemployed youth alleviate this condition? By attempting to fight the trade unions that are attempting to maintain the present number of jobs for labor and get some security for the men on the jobs? Absolutely no! The unions are not responsible for the existence of the huge army of unemployed. Unemployed youth must direct all their fire against the owners of industry, the Sixty Families, and their government in Washington.

Open the idle factories of the nation and give us jobs! That's the slogan around which the unemployed youth should rally. And once they want to put teeth into that slogan they'll realize that only union control of newly-opened factories could insure a decent standard of living and security on the job.

Furthermore, immediately, unemployed youth must demand that the Sixty Families provide Three Billion Dollars for jobs for all youth. The attack must be centered on those who have locked youth out and can afford to pay.

Unions Must Accept Responsibility
Who will present this program to the unemployed

youth? Obviously not the Sixty Families nor their stooge Roosevelt who keeps on cutting appropriations and hasn't even thought of putting the idle factories to work. There is only one force in the land today that can and must present this program to the unemployed youth and their unemployed organizations. The giant force of organized labor must rally the unemployed youth into a solid front with labor against the Sixty Families!

Why must labor do so, aside from honest humanitarian reasons? Because jobs for the unemployed are the best guarantee that your job will be secure from an army of desperate men who in their desperation will be ready to accept crumbs and unhesitantly break down all living standards built up by the unions. Further, and what is possibly more important, because these unemployed youth might be the easy victims of a fascist leadership bent on destroying the trade unions.

Unions must further solidarize themselves with the unemployed vouth of the nation with the understanding that only through joint agitation and struggle will the unemployed learn to respect the trade unions as a necessary bulwark of decent living standards for all workers, employed and unemployed. Unemployed youth will only accept the closed shop and seniority rights (both obviously vital and elementary needs to men who have jobs) as necessary needs for men on the job, when they feel that the men who have jobs are also concerned with those who are less fortunate.

The plight and needs of unemployed youth must become the concern of the organized trade union movement. Organized Labor must extend a comradely hand to the unemployed youth of the nation if it wants to save itself from fascism.

MORALITY PLUS

"I have no desire to enter into any controversy with Mr. Bertrand Russell," said Supreme Court Justice John E. McGeehan, who scornfully refused to "match his private life" with that of the British philosopher and mathematician, whose appointment to a chair of philosophy at City College of New York he rescinded because of Russell's views on morals. At the same time, Justice McGeehand refused to reopen the case to give Russell an opportunity to come to New York to state his side of the case.

On Maundy Thursday, at the conclusion of the Sistine chapel mass, Pope Pius himself took the crystal chalice containing the sacrament and bore it in a brilliant procession to the Pauline chapel altar. Which proves that even popes work and thereby earn their living.

In London there is a prominent man of letters who was asked why he wasn't at the front saving civilization. "I", quoth he, "am part of the civilization they are trying to save."

MAY DAY MASS MEETING!

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