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

See Your Friends for the Twice-a-Week Appeal

Vol. IV, No. 25

NEW YORK, N. Y., SATURDAY, JUNE 22, 1940

FIVE (5) CENTS

FRANCE'S FATE WARNS U.S. WORKERS: TAKE POWER IF YOU WANT TO DEFEAT FASCISM!

Hope For Jobs From Arms Drive Is Illusion, CIO Shows

Unemployment during April stood at 11,259,000 despite heavy armament orders, the CIO declared last week in its monthly survey, "The Economic Outlook?

Non-farm employment increased only 23,000, or one-tenth of one per cent from March to April.

These figures demonstrate that billions for armaments will not provide jobs or prosperity for the American people, the CIO survey pointed out. Roosevelt's armament program "does not provide the basis for much increase in our industrial production or for any substantial reduction in the number of unemployed."

Only a few optimistic economists argue that armaments expenditures will raise the level of industrial production to that of December, 1939, within the next six months. But even if that were so, it was pointed out by the CIO, it would only mean jobs for about two million workers and still leave 9,250,000 unemployed.

For, the CIO pointed out, "expenditures under a program of armaments are of a less productive character both in terms of jobs and of socially-useful output than would be provided by similar sums expended on the usual public works program."

These plain and simple facts were known to the Senate when, last week, it adopted Roosevelt's proposed "relief" bill, slashing the WPA rolls. The Senate knew these facts, because in secret session before a Senate subcommittee considering the WPA appropriation, WPA chief Col. Harrington had warned that "regardless of events abroad unemployment in the fiscal year 1941 is likely to number eight million to nine million." Yet the Senate joined Roosevelt and the House in slashing WPA. (See story on Harrington, page 3).

Behind the Lines

Hitler Victory Heads World Toward Greater Wars Between Totalitarian Blocs

The swift victory of Hitler on | lish no less a totalitarian conthe continent of Europe is but trol over this hemisphere. the beginning of fresh agonies for a tortured world. More than nomic union" of the Americas Had its destruction been accom plished by workers' revolution the world to come would look dif- tries.' ferent indeed.

But now out of the mad scramble of the victor and his satellites for the spoils there will emerge before long the principal featores of the war world of an early tomorrowa world divided into three vast continental blocs more or less continuously at conflict within themselves and with each oth-

To a conquered Europe, Hitler

will seek to bring full-blown the totalitarian machinery of organization already so developed in Germany. The working classes of Western Europe would be reduced to the helotry of the Fascist system. Capital control would pass into the hands of the ever-narrowing group of super-finance capitalists knit closely with the tops ably hastened by the unexpectedof the totalitarian regime. The ly swift debacle of the Allies-Germans will doubtless dominate imposes upon U.S. imperialism a this group but will not be alone strictly hemisphere strategy for in it. Capitalists in Belgium, the time being. This leaves Jap-France, and before long in Bri- anese imperialism with hands free tain (for Britain cannot long to complete, if it can, creation of withstand a German attack now), the third great continental bloc. will readily come forward to accept whatever degree of participation Hitler allows them in the totalitarianized exploitation of wealth and labor. With this conscripted economy—assuming it will have time to be consolidated and extended throughout the continent-the new masters can and will turn to the problem of the rest of the world's markets, resources, and labor.

While Hitler thus brings into being this grotesquely distorted image of a United States of Europe, the United States of America will be engaged to its neck in trying to become the United States of the Americas. The American capitalist class realizes today that under the present form of organization it would be totally incapable of withstanding the economic assaults upon its markets in Latin America of a Germanized Europe and a Japanized Asia. It must-and speedily-estab-

by George Stern

Roosevelt's project for an "ecoborders and nations are being shows how acutely this is realized obliterated. It is the era of "dem- now in Washington. The June 18 ocratic" capitalism and a multi- New York Times bluntly says state system that is finally being that "the plan envisages almost stamped into the dust forever. (!) totalitarian control over exports of surplus commodities of North and South American coun-

> This plan or something probably even more sweeping will be imposed upon all American nations, by force if necessary, if U.S. capitalism has its way. And an inevitable concomitant is the establishment of "almost" totalitarian control of American economy itself. The sheer adaption of the American industrial and trade structure to the new situation will in itself mean a gigantic convulsion and will in itself lead swiftly to advanced stages of the totalitarian method - a method that means ruthless depression of living standards and equally ruthless repression of all working class resistance

thereto. This major crisis-immeasur-

Japan has already begun the process of moving in on the Far Eastern spoils of Hitler's victory, giving every sign of assuming to itself the first prerogative of deciding the fate of French Indo-China and the Dutch East Indies—and perhaps before long, of British Malaya, and even of India.

The Soviet Union would lie between a Germanized Europe and vote on the new provisions. a Japanized Asia and without a revolutionary revival on a world ations were conducted under the increase in wages. scale would face the danger of be-

What we all face in the coming years are titanic collisions between these vast continental imperialist blocs or their breakup within through risings of the workers and the colonial peoples. The first will lead the peoples of the world deeper into the abyss. The second will lead them out to the dawning of a new, a socialist civiliza-

The French working class has been placed in the chains of German Fascism.

Only three years ago the workers of France stood at the threshold of revolution. The great wave of strikes culminating in the occupation of factories throughout the land in the general strike of June, 1936, placed the country in their

But the French People's Front of Blum-Stalin checked and dispersed the revolutionary wave with the dire warning: "Revolution will open the road to Hitler."

So the French workers gave the factories back to the capitalists. And the capitalists, as events have now shown, left the road open to Hitler.

The French capitalists proved totally incapable of defense against the Nazi invasion. They could not equip themselves adequately for the struggle against their German rivals. Above all, they could not arouse and inspire the masses to the ferocious struggle needed to defeat the Fascist invasion on the fighting front and behind it.

Instead the French capitalists helped Hitler place between the French and German workers a Maginot line of national division and hatred. While that Maginot line held fast, Hitler found it easy to crack the other Maginot line of steel and stone and to cut his way to a swift and terrible victory.

Thus bourgeois France has gone down to ignominious defeat at the hands of the rival it humbled 22 years ago.

The advanced workers will not weep at the passing of the French Empire. Its millions of black and yellow slaves will fight the new masters as they had to fight the old.

Nor will they weep at the passing of French "civilization." The time has long passed since bourgeois France added a single stone to the cultural accumulation worthy of being carried into the frame. French capital and tortered in permanent crisis. Its German rival succeeded earlier in crushing the workers and giving itself the hypodermic of totalitarianism. Had bourgeois France succeeded in defeating Nazi Germany it would in its turn have gone swiftly down the same dark road of totalitarianism—it was already beginning to do so during the war. Instead it was Germany which conquered and the ghastly tragedy of Versaiiles is to be re-enacted, only with the roles of the principals ex-

Only at workers' France could have turned the tide of European history in a totally different direction! Only a workers' France could have assured the defeat of Fascism in Spain. Only a workers' France could bring welling to the surface all the mighty latent forces of the people in struggle against slavery, home-grown or imported. Only a workers' France could have reached into the heart and core of the German working class to revive and nourish their struggle

That is the incomparable advantage of a revolutionary workers' regime in war! As the Russia of Lenin and Trotsky showed in 1918 it not only can and does command the total sacrifice of the workers at home, but can and does successfully appeal to the workers of all other nations, including the workers under the bourgeois enemy.

Bourgeois France could do neither. It kept its own masses enchained and could not dispute Hitler's mastery within the Reich. And as events have proved, it could not dispute Hitler's mastery throughout continental Europe.

Only a successful revolution by the workers would have enabled France to dispute that mastery. Only a workers' revolution will enable it to dispute that mastery tomorrow.

In 1936 the great risings of the workers in Spain, France, and Belgium offered the only way of avoiding the victory of Fascism in Europe. Messrs. Stalin, Thorez, Blum, and all the other Stalinist and Socialist lackeys of Western Europe brought those risings to nought. The result is the present catastrophe.

But this catastrophe is not final.

It has not yet even run its course. British "democracy" awaits the same fate as its French counterpart. The British workers have been lashed by the Labor Party to the lagging chariot of British capitalism. If they could in time throw off the dead hands of their rulers they could still throw back the German hordes that now threaten to engulf Britain itself. But the frightened British bourgeoisie will sooner come to terms with the German conqueror in hopes of saving at least a remnant of its imperial wealth!

No, the catastrophe is not final.

The lesson is there plain for the workers of the whole world to see. The capitalist order is in its decline. Out of its cancerous sickness it gives forth growths like Hitlerism. These growths produce convulsions in the whole system. In Germany this diseased growth appeared earlier and in its most virulent form. In France, Belgium, England, and in the United States in the years leading up to the war all the symptoms of the same fatal sickness appeared. It is fatal to the lives of men. It is fatal to society itself. The only cure is a radical one—the surgical operation of revolution.

The Fascists boast falsely when they present themselves as the new and virile forces in the world. Actually they are the violent sores that are consuming an over-aged, broken, Uling body. They represent them of directlar the capitalist order is shooting into its arm for a new lease on life.

Their effect canot last long. They too must and shall die. Out of the depths of the catastrophe of modern total, capitalist war, the real virile forces of the future must arise and end the slaughter.

That opportunity still stands before the workers of this country and of all the Americas.

Roosevelt or his successors can only lead us into the totalitarian maelstrom, make us, in our turn, the helpless victims of the inter-capitalist struggle, dying for a system in which we have no stake at all.

But the way of the workers' revolution leads to a brighter future that can still be won!

It will call for sacrifice, to be sure, but it will be sacrifice worth making. The American workers especially have the power today to revive the workers of the nations brought under the Fascist heel. To our call will come a response that will bring Hitler's conquered empire crumbling around his

Only a workers' America can defend the country from Fascism, nurture at home or brought in by invading enemies. Only a workers' America can take the lead now in freeing the world of the heavy menace that hangs over it.

The job still can be done.

If we do it, the tread of Hitler across Europe, so deafening today will be remembered only as a half-heard footfall down the receding corridors of time.

Trotsky Indicts the Kremlin's Role In Europe's Catastrophe

By LEON TROTSKY

MEXICO CITY, June 17-The capitulation of France is not a simple military episode. It is part of the catastrophe of Europe. Mankind can no longer live under the regime of imperialism. Hitler is not an accident; he is only the most consistent and the most bestial expression of imperialism, which threatens to crush our whole civilization

But in line with the general causes of the catastrophe inherent in imperialism, it is impermissible to forget the criminal, sinister role played by the Kremlin and the Comintern. Nobody else rendered such support to Hitler as Stalin. Nobody else created such a dangerous situation for the U.S.-e

S.R. as Stalin. the Kremlin and its Comintern worsened in the extreme. The propagandized for an "alliance of Polish buffer disappeared. The democracies" and "people's Rumanian buffer will disappear fronts" with the aim of prevent- tomorrow. Mighty Germany, masive war against "Fascist aggres- ter of Europe, acquires a comsors." This propaganda, as wit- mon frontier with the USSR. nessed most strikingly in the ex- Scandinavia, a place of weak ample of France, had a tremen- and almost disarmed countries is dous influence upon the popular occupied by this same Germany, masses. But when war really ap- Her victories in the west are onproached, the Kremlin and its ly preparation for a gigantic agency, the Comintern, jumped move toward the east. In the atunexpectedly into the camp of the tack on Finland the Red Army, "fascist aggressors." Stalin with decapitated and demoralized, his horse-trader mentality sought again by Stalin, demonstrated it in this way to cheat Chamber- weakness before the whole we held lain, Daladier, Roosevelt, and to In his coming march against the gain strategic positions in Poland USSR, Hitler will find support in and the Baltic countries. But the Japan, Krembin's lump had in the gin to speak only more about the

mixed up all the cards and par- to the very brink of The capitulation of France is one ist Germany. Hence Soviet patriotism is inseparable from irreconof the results of such politics.

But it is by no means the only cilable struggle against the Stalresult. In spite of the Kremlin's inist clique.

territorial seizures, the interna-During a period of five years tional position of the USSR is

only did it cheat the governments alliance of the democracies againbut it disoriented and demoralized st the fascist aggressors. It is the popular masses in the first possible that as the cheated place in the so-called democra- cheater, Stalin will be forced to cies. With its propaganda of make a new turn in his foreign 'Peoples' Fronts' the Kremlin politics. But woe to the peoples if hindered the masses from con- they again trust the dishones t ducting the fight against the im- agents of the Kremlin's chief! perialist war. With his shift to Stalin helped convert Europe into Hitler's side Stalin abruptly bloody chaos and took the USSR alyzed the military power of the The peoples of the USSR now "democracies." In spite of all the cannot help but feel the greatest machines of destruction the mor- anxiety. . . . Only the overthrow al factor retains decisive import- of the Moscow totalitarian clique, ance in the war. By demoralizing only the regeneration of Soviet the popular masses in Europe, democracy can unleash the forces and not solely in Europe, Stalin of the Soviet peoples for the fight played the role of an agent pro- against the inevitable and fastvocateur in the service of Hitler, approaching blow from imperial-

Stalin Moves Into **Baltic Countries**

By FELIX MORROW

The complete occupation and transformation into military camps of Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia by Soviet troops last weekend was almost universally recognized as a move inspired by fear of Hitler. With France out of the war, the Nazi armies completely dominated continental Europe, able to turn and rend the partner whose "peace and friendship treaty," freeing Hitler from any worry about a fight on two fronts, had so enormously facilitated the Nazis' speedy vic-

tic states provided certain stra-STALINIST BAND tegic advantages in case of hostilities with Germany, but these eemed pitifully paltry as conrasted with the enhanced power of Nazi Germany now as compared with last August when Stalin entered the "peace" pact TROTSKY ATTACK vith Hitler.

Mexican Police Say Case Is Solved as One Confesses

hands of Mexican police and Gen- than when he sought strategic cowardice of the UAW leader- eral Jose Manuel Nunez, head of bases in Finland, that he was

(Continued on Page 3)

From Stockholm it was reported by Otto Tolischus of the New York Times that "Germany makes little secret of her displeasure" at the Soviet move.

tory. Occupation of the tiny Bal-

Almost the only source that did not characterize the step as a defensive move against Germany was the Stalin regime and its Stalinist press abroad. For Stalin Twenty-one Stalinists are in the could not admit now, any more the police, announced that com- seeking protection against the plete light has now been shed on consequences of his "peace" pact

(Continued on Page 3)

Settlement Favors General Motors

FLINT, Mich., June 17-The threatened break in negotiations between the union negotiating by CIO representative Phil Murder heavy government pressure.

yet public, and will not be an- that undoubtedly will be one of nounced until the local unions the poorest in all the CIO's his-

From start to finish the negotia bone . . . a few cents an hour pressure of a government cambut meekly tried to explain to the clauses, etc. company, and the U.S. arbitrator, Steelman, that he couldn't go back to the membership without 'something'' to offer them.

UAW was avoided this week-end all negotiations around the quesby agreement on a new contract tion of wages. UAW officials, led committee and the company, un- ray, decided that there was only one way to get the union mem-Terms of the agreement are not bership to swallow a contract

There is little likelihood that ing broken in two between them. paign to force the union to accept the new agreement contains any whatever the corporation offered, improvements whatever in barbecause of the "pressing national gaining procedure. The shop emergency." R. J. Thomas, union steward system will be a forgotpresident, repeatedly stated his ten demand; seniority provisions undying patriotism and loyalty to will undoubtedly be weak; the the government, his support to contract will contain reactionary the big rearmament campaign, anti-alien provisions, anti-strike

A Puny "Raise"

Many local unions will probably resolution! ppose the rotten agreement; but tory. That way was to throw out enough government pressure will be put on to force it down the throats of a majority of the locals, in all probability.

ment under a bushel.

While these negotiations were reaching a culmination, the Stalinists and the conservative UAW tops were putting on a campaign to rescind the actions of several local unions in demanding the 30-hour week at 40-hours pay.

In the Buick plant in Flint, Stalinists led the fight for a reso-But as a counterweight to all lution rescinding their former militant committeemen and stew- Trotsky's house, a cable from the pact on the ground that it this the workers will be offered a support of the slogan. In Fisher ards.

slight wage increase .From what Body, where the campaign fo In the last week the union was information is available, wages the 30-hour week at 40-hours pay between General Motors and the maneuvered into concentrating will be increased about 4%. This opened, a well-known Communist includes the vacations with pay Party member introduced an based upon 2% of yearly wages. identical resolution to rescind gain. The union committee has kent everything also in the agree This is all the workers will support of the slogan. But in kept everything else in the agree- leadership, the lone Stalinist was the only member to vote for his

Militants Active In Plants

Rank and file militants, bitterly disappointed at the turn of the negotiations, and seeing all their hopes for a great victory going up in smoke, are determined to force better conditions in their own plants at least. The company however, is arrogant and aloof, and strengthened both by government pressure and the ship, company officials are waging a bitter battle against all the May 24 attack on Leon of last year. Then, he had justified

ORKERS' Against Whom Is the Anti-Alien 50RUM Drive Really Being Directed?

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.

Will We Remain Firm Against the War?

Editor:

I have had the most disheartening news from friends in England. The Independent Labor Party has abandoned its opposition to the war. Its leader, Maxton, says now he can see no alternative to the prosecution of the war. The party has dropped its criticism of the political truce among the parliamentary parties and has itself withdrawn its candidate for a Lancashire by-election. In the seat of its chief strength, Glasgow, the I.L.P.'s nine city councilmen will no longer even collaborate in peace meetings.

Since, as you know, the I.L.P. was the chief spokesman in the British Isles in opposition to the war-you Trotskyists have only small groups there whose voices do not reach very far-it is heartbreaking to find that men like Maxton and Brockway have now collapsed

Please don't be insulted but this mews raises the question in my it did not include the fundamind whether anyone will hold out against the martial spirit. So incorruptible a figure as Bertrand Russell suddenly came out for the war. Among my own friends confirmed pacifists of twenty years' standing have changed. I read each week your brave declarations in the Socialist Appeal and I honor you for them. But what likelihood is there that you will prove any firmer than men like Maxton and Brockway? When this country is faced with such grim consequences as those now facing Britain, what will you do? It is of course easy for me as a private person to ask you such questions, although I have no right to. But I wonder. . . . Marian Sanders

Your disappointment at what happened to the ILP is only due to your previous illusions. We never expected anything else from people like Maxton, who voted and made a speech in Parliament praising Chamber-

Nevy York, N. Y.

lain when the latter returned from Munich. We predicted what the ILP would do. We were able to do so on the basis of a fundamental criterion: the program and conduct of the ILP in peace-

time. "How was it possible that

the most eminent representa-

AIR KING STRIKERS APPEAL TO

MEMBERSHIP OF LOCAL THREE

The workers of the Air King of the CIO and tried to induce

tives of the Second International could betray socialism?" Lenin asked in 1914. He answered: "It is perfectly clear that the fundamentals of the political ideology of socialchauvinism perfectly coincide with the foundations of opportunism, It is THE SAME ORI-ENTATION. Opportunism, in the war environment, engenders social-chauvinism. The main thing in opportunism is

the idea of class collaboration." One could, therefore, predict as we did in advance the collapse into chauvinism of the ILP, as of their American brothers, the Lovestoneites and the Norman Thomas socialists. Following an opportunistic course in peacetime-most notoriously in the trade unionsthe ILP was certain to succumb in war-time, as they had already done in peacetime, to the pressure of the trade union bureaucrats, agents in the labor movement of imperialism.

As for the "anti-war" stand of the ILP so long as it lasted, mentals of a revolutionary position on war: continuation of the class struggle during wartime regardless of its consequences to the military activities of its "own" bourgeoisie, and opposition to pacifism in favor of turning the imperialist war into a war of the workers against the imperialists for so cialism. Both the pacifism and the isolationism of the ILP became utterly unreal in the face of Hitler's advance. It became plain that Hitler had to be stopped. The revolutionary conception of Hitler being stopped by a victorious proletarian dictatorship of France and England which would inspire revolution in Germany, hastening it, if pacessary, by a revolutionary war against Hitler—this was alien to the ILP. Finally conceding that Hitler must be stopped by force, the ILP concedes that task to the British ruling class.

But a party grounded in our fundamental revolutionary conceptions and which, furthermore, has developed and tested its cadres and program over a period of eleven years as we sure, will remain firm to the end and at all costs, against the imperialists and their war. -Editors.

Forget for a minute what the capitalist press is saying, close your ears to the blare of the radio—and ask yourself: What is the real meaning of all this hue and cry against

Why has Roosevelt demanded that control of non-citizens be transferred to the Department of Justice? Why has the Roosevelt administration asked Congress to pass legislation for fingerprinting and registration of all non-citizens? Why has the Senate adopted a provision to limit to 10% the number of non-citizens employed in any industry? Why are other bills being pushed to cut down immigration even lower than it now is?

Will these anti-alien bills help fight fascism? That is the claim made for them. But what is the truth?

Who suffers most from fascism? The workers and national minorities. Fascism, wherever it comes, murders the workers' leaders, destroys the workers' unions, slashes their wages, lengthens their hours of work, condemns to shame and slavery the Jews and other national minorities.

The German workers didn't want fascism. They voted against it, thirteen million strong, at the last real election held in Germany in 1932. But the German bosses put Hitler in. The Italian workers hated fascism, but with the help of the King and the bosses Mussolini took over the govern-

It is obvious, then, that workers don't want fascism. And who are the aliens? They are mostly WORKERS!

Tust take one look at the latest government figures available, from the last census. They show that although the foreign-born were only 10% of the population, they were 23% of the industrial workers! They were 28% of the coal miners, 30% of copper miners, 49% of coal miners, and so forth. And about 25% of these foreign-born workers have not become citizens.

In short, the blows aimed at the "aliens" are really blows aimed against the labor movement!

In some cases the game the government is playing is crudely obvious. Take, for example, the case of the famous seamen's unions on the West Coast-the Sailors Union of the Pacific and the Marine Firemen. A fascist sympathizer wouldn't last a day on one of their boats.

At least 30% of the members of these militant unions are non-citizens. As is true with many non-citizen workers in other trades, these seamen in many cases cannot become citizens because they can't comply with the elaborate rules and regulations. But, as every citizen in the same unions will tell you, these non-citizens are splendid union men and enemies to the death against fascism.

Yet the government is now sponsoring a law which would bar all these non-citizens—one man in every three now in these unions from being employed in the merchant marine. The government's proposed law will help fascism, not stop it.

Here is another example. There are millions of fighters against fascism and victims of fascism who want to come to this country—the Spanish Loyalists, the anti-Nazi Germans and Austrians, Czechs and the Jews. If the government were sincerely desirous of creating a bulwark against fascism and against a "fifth column" here, it could do nothing better than to admit all these refugees whose lives have been blasted by fascism. Yet as part of the government's anti-alien drive these anti-fascist refugees are being barred from entry into this country. Does that help fight fascism? No, it helps fascism.

Nor will the drive against the foreign-born stop with the non-citizens. Already we have seen an attempt made to bar longshoremen, citizens of Italian extraction, from loading American ships in New York. Fortunately in this case the leadership of the AFL International Longshoremen's Union, despite their conservativism, understood the anti-union meaning of this move and refused to permit it. But other moves like this will follow. They are anti-labor moves and have nothing to do with the fight against fascism.

Many non-citizens could easily pass as foreign-born or native-born citizens, and the only way to really tighten up the registration of aliens would be if everybody in the country had to carry a registration card. Registration of aliens is only the first step to an internal passport system.

It is a lie that these steps against aliens are motivated by the desire to fight fascism. The motive is very different. In seeking transfer of the non-citizens into the tender mercies of the FBI, Roosevelt's message to Congress said the government wanted it so it could "deal quickly with those aliens who conduct themselves in a manner that conflicts with the public interest."

What is the "public interest"? By government definition it includes Roosevelt's declaration against strikes; it includes the scuttling of the Walsh-Healey and Wages and Hour Acts as was done in the naval construction bill; the scuttling of the Wagner Labor Act by the House of Representatives' "amendments"; the union-busting "anti-trust" campaign of the Department of Justice, etc. In a word, whoever won't do what the heads of General Motors and U.S. Steel tell us to do—and they are now running the National Defense Council—is against the "public interest."

The real meaning of the blows against the aliens is now clear. The National Defense Council wants a tamed and house-broken labor movement-if it wants any labor movement at all. But the government cannot as yet openly direct its heaviest blows against the unions, for Labor is still strong; therefore the government masks as many blows against Labor as it can under the guise of "anti-alien" legislation.

Every anti-alien bill is a blow against the workers. An injury to one is an injury to all—that is Labor's slogan! Defend yourself and your union, by defending the aliens!

Only Two Weeks To Go In Appeal Drive!

While more money came in last week on the two-a-week Appeal fund than the week previous, we are still far from satisfied. \$369.00 was sent in on the fund, boosting the amount collected to the sum of \$1,890.05, 48% of the total amount pledged.

But less than two weeks are left before the end of the drive! Chicago moves up to the top with 105% of its quota. St. Paul came in with the full quota. East Chicago raised its quota from \$25 to \$50. The maritime workers came through with a substantial sum, raising their percentage from 19 to 56%.

All very well—but we MUST have 100% by July 1st!

SCOREBOARD

Branch	Pledged	Paid	%
Chicago	\$ 100.00	\$ 105.00	105
Upstate New York	50.00	50.00	100
Akron	10.00	10.00	100
Rockville	5.00	5.00	100
Texas	5.00	5.00	100
St. Paul	200.00	200.00	100
Lynn	50.00	40.00	80
Boston	177.00	129.50	73
Minneapolis	300.00	200.00	67
Detroit	75.00	46.35	62
Maritime Workers		435.00	56
Philadelphia		13.00	52
Flint		55.00	50
New York City		422.00	44
Toledo	40.00	17.50	44
Buffalo	5.00	2.00	40
Baltimore		10.00	40
Los Angeles	100.00	40.50	40
Portland		2.50	33
Newark		30.00	30
New Haven	55.00	11.50	21
East Chicago		10.00	20
National Office		50.20	9
San Francisco	100.00	0.00	0
Omaha		0.00	0
Seattle		0.00	0
Indianapolis	10.00	0.00	. 0
Oakland		0.00	0
Lorain	5.00	0.00	0
TOTAL	\$3929.50	\$1890.05	48

PPEAL

MINNEAPOLIS GOES TO TOWN!

Fifteen comrades of the Minneapolis branch are putting one thousand Appeals every week in- time to achieve it! to the homes of Minneapolis workers. Every Monday evening the comrades come to the branch headquarters-get their papers,

assignments are permanent so That is how the C.P. is fighting that the same comrade goes to the same community each week. the comrade and asked for the and will start to show up in the paper through the window—then week's tally in the very near fugot another for the family upairs. At another house the comrade was asked to stop the next

and cover the working class com-

munities assigned to them. The

time he came around and get their subscription. Enthusiasm for this type of mass coverage with the Appeal is high in the branch, and prompt payment of the cost of the bundle is assured since the bundle is paid for out of the general fund. The

slogan is "Rain or Shine, The Appeal Goes Out Every Monday." The great speed with which events of the day are moving has caused the branch to adopt this policy of mass coverage of Minneapolis, with 1,000 copies every

week of the party organ. agent to read the letter from the Appeal needs money, and there's

locality. Your branch, too, can do it, at our special rates for quantities. Forward to real mass circuiation of the Appeal! Now is the

GET BEHIND THE SUB DRIVE!!!!

Subs are beginning to come in from the far corners of the country, on the current Appeal sub drive. The mass centers, though, are now just about getting under This week—one man called to way, according to local reports, ture.

> remains very poor, with only 12 subscriptions on the record as this issue goes to press. They arrived from the following places:

Montana 3 Rochester, N. Y. 3 Houston Flint New Jersey 1 Lynn 1 San Francisco 1 Chicago 1 Total12

From this point, however, we expect to see a steady rise in the total each week . . . provided the comrades start now, and don't let Ask your branch literature grass grow under their feet. The center about applying the Minne- money in subs! Get yours in ear-

Stalinists Mum on Jingo Resolutions Auto Unions

FLINT, Mich.-Who said the Stalinists had a new line? Who said the Communist Party was opposed to the jingo cam-

paign of Roosevelt? The Daily Worker says so-in words-but their members seem to have different instructions. In Flint the Communist Party

Radio Co. of Brooklyn, N.Y., are Emil Katz, Business Agent of the members are still back in the entering the sixth week of their CIO Local 430, who was expelled days of support to Roosevelt and

ists to open up on this motion. BUT NOT ONE OF THEM OPENED HIS MOUTH! Not one of these so-called revolutionaries had the guts to voice a word of opposition to this dictatorial and undemocratic de-

That task was undertaken by a rank and file militant, well known as an anti-Stalinist who attacked the motion as being part of a jingo campaign to harness the union to the reactionary government war campaign, pointed out that it re-

St. Paul Annual Strawberry Festival AT WELSH'S FARM White Bear, Minnesota Shortcake-Refreshments

JUNE 30, 1940 Follow Highway 61 thru White Bear, then follow Arrows

Entertainment

Sunday P.M.

Auspices: St. Paul Local, SWP. ADMISSION: 35c

sembled the provisions of a

In addition to this demonstra- program of the bosses tion of craven cowardice, several of the outstanding Stalinist functionaries in the unions, recruited by the C.P. in the honeymoon days of the Pro-Roosevelt Popular Front, attended and particiocratic convention held in Flint. They didn't attend to attack Roosevelt's war-mongering campaign, but to seek support among 'the respectable' elements, and to show everyone that they were good "Americans."

No anti-war resolutions have been introduced in any local union in Flint by the C.P. No indication can be seen that they are carrying on any kind of campaign against the reactionary congressional legislative

Buy the APPEAL IN MINNEAPOLIS

war preparations in Flint.

Shinders News Co.,

6th St. & Hennepin Av. Morris Kroman, 4th St. & Nicollet Av. Pioneer News Co., 238 Second Av., South

A. Peterson News Stand. Washington Av. & B'way N.

919 Marquette Av.

when the workers left Local the the strike. He refused to aca dispute with William Beedie, Local 3 officials over to the Air paign now being waged in the unions. In the Buick Local No. 599 The International Representative, King Strike Committee.

on Tuesday, June 25, for Presi- by the membership. dent of Local 302, Cafeteria Workers Union.

Dritzas, representing the Stalinist "Rank-and-File" machine, which controls the administration. The progressives are confident of victory in the election.

Stalinists On Way Out

munist party machine, already cals and the local Joint Board. reeling from recent election defeats in two foodworkers locals and a partial defeat in Local 302

There are two candidates in the Workers International. In 1936 officials. field, William Kincheloe, repre- the Communist Party dissolved senting the "United Orange Tick- its dual "Industrial Union" and says an Orange Ticket statement, et" of the progressive anti-ad- made a deal with the racketeers tion and trials, the Stalinist officials defended the racketeers, raising \$20,000 for this purpose. After the conviction of the gang-Victory for the progressives sters, the Communist Party domwill be a severe blow to the Com- inated most of the New York lo-

Stalinists' Black Record Under the four-year dominalast December. In the December tion of the Communist Party the elections the United Orange Tick- conditions of the workers have et elected ten officers of the Lo- failed to improve. Wages have decal, including two business teriorated. Job security, which agents, who have since done an the workers had even under the excellent job, an indication of racketeers, has been whittled what the local can expect when away. Contracts which the union the Stalinists are completely re- does get are badly enforced, if at all. During this period the bosses In April, in Local 16, Waiters association has been built into a and Waitresses, the Stalinists powerful weapon against the unwere swept out of office by a ion, not without help from the progressive victory. Three weeks C.P. clique, which favored Asso-

ciation stores as against independents. Program of Progressives

The progressives pledge themselves, when they get into office, apolis plan of mass work to your ly, and remember the prizes! to carry on a vigorous fight against the Bosses' Association, to improve conditions and to The eyes of all organized food- ago the Stalinist administration raise the wage scale, especially of workers in New York City are of Local 325, powerful Brooklyn the miscellaneous "unskilled" fixed on the special by-election local, was completely repudiated workers and the workers in the chain stores, who are kept sepa-Local 302 is the most important rated in a lower wage scale and local in the Hotel & Restaurant in a separate branch by the old

"A victory in this election," "will be a step toward the regular ministration bloc, and Costas then in control of Local 302 and December elections, when we some other locals, whereby they will sweep out of office the reacwere given paid jobs in the un- tionary Communist party clique ion. During the Dewey investiga- which has misled, disorganized, and betrayed the Union."

> Perk up! There is a PICNIC WE'RE SAILING FOR SILVER LAKE (Staten Island)

SUNDAY, JUNE 30 MEET AT SOUTH FERRY 10 A.M.

Boating-Tennis-Games Home Cooked Food Grand drawing of World's Fair Souvenir Book Auspices: West Side Br.

NOW READY!!!

TRADE UNION **PROBLEMS**

FARRELL DOBBS

A comprehensive study of problems facing the American Workers

Price: 10¢

A NEW ANTI-WAR PAMPHLET

Joe Hansen

First of a series of 2c agitational pamphlets

Published for the S.W.P.

PIONEER PUBLISHERS 116 UNIVERSITY PLACE

Local 3 Interferes

from the scene.

group appeared at the shop, mem- ing the situation in the shop to bers of Electrical Workers Local them and placing responsibilty 3, I.B.E.W. (AFL). They told the for the situation where it bepicket captain that they had been longs, on the shoulders of Beedie. ordered by their union officials to Most of the Local 3 men showed go to the plant after their regular days work, to protect those who were working in the plant. ficials of Local 3, I.B.E.W., came on the role Local 3 is playing in down to the strike headquarters the strike.

B-1010 of the I.B.E.W. (AFL) in cept their terms and turned the against the fake patriotic camand joined the CIO, Beedie orderThe Strike Committee sat with was made that every member be ed the dismissal of three of the the Local 3 officials all afternoon forced to salute the flag upon en-CIO workers in the shop. De- but could not reach an agree-

manding the reinstatement of these workers the entire force ed the strikers to return to the one of the several known Stalinwalked out. Since then the work-ers in a subsidiary company of demand, that the status quo be the Air King plant have joined maintained in the shop until a them in a sympathy strike, swell- NLRB election be held and that ing the total of workers involved those discharged be rehired pending the outcome of the election. This week Beedie has made The Local 3 officials then threatseveral attempts to bring scabs ened that if the strike committee through the CIO picket line. He secured unskilled workers der the protection of Local 3 that through the Italian Welfare they would be faced with a battle League and sent about 40 of them with the powerful Local 3 memby subway to enter the plant bership. They threatened that without even telling them there they would bring down 5,000 I.B.-

was a strike in progress. Most of E.W. members to see that the thèse people refused to enter the shop was reopened by AFL men.
On Monday about thirty of as soon as they learned what the Beedie's scabs got into the shop conditions were, 12 entered the and Local 3 sent 100 of their plant as scabs and the rest ran members to protect them on

their way home. The CIO Local 430 passed out a The same evening a large leaflet to the Local 3 men explain-On Friday, June 14, several of- explanation from their officials

Fascist union, and was aimed at all those who for religious, political or personal reasons did not believe in idolatory of the flag. The motion requiring the flag salute was lost . . . no thanks to the "anti-war Com-

Negro Question **by** Robert L. Birchman

Negro-White Solidarity In Strike

The month-old strike of Negro and white laundry workers at the Lewandos Company of Watertown, Mass., is an example of the solidarity between workers that is necessary for either colored or white workers to win better conditions.

The strike is for better working conditions and more pay. Standing shoulder to shoulder with the white workers are nine colored workers. The colored workers immediately joined the white workers when the strike was called a month ago by the Laundry Workers Union, No. 66.

The Lewandos Co., one of the largest cleaning companies in the Boston area, has had a policy of paying colored workers a smaller wage than that paid white workers for similar work. During the strike the officials of the company have tried to create dissension among the workers by making overtures to the white workers. It is reported that the company volunteered to restore the strikers jobs provided the colored workers were left out. When that failed the company sent out an ultimatum that they would take back only those who had been with the company for five years or more, automatically eliminating the colored workers. These offers of the company were refused by the union.

A picket line is maintained, with both colored and white workers doing their part. The length of the strike has entailed great hardship on the strikers, but they intend to remain on strike until their demands are obtained. Last week the organizer, Rose Norwood and another worker were arrested on a charge brought by a strikebreaker. It was shown in court that the Lewandos Company was backing the prosecution in its determination to break down the morale and starve out the strikers. The judge ruled out the evidence of intimidation by the Lewandos Co. as irrelevant; he dismissed one defendant but postponed the organizer's case.

The Lewandos Co. refuses to submit its case to the Labor Board, and has refused all offers of arbitration and consideration of proposals that have been termed very fair by the Labor Board.

Chicago Negro Drivers Strike

Five hundred Negro taxi drivers on Chicago's Southside went out on strike on Monday, June 10, in response to the call of Johnny Patrick, president of the Bronzeville Chauffeurs Club.

The drivers are protesting high rental rates for the cabs. The drivers pay from \$4.70 to \$5.70 a day for the cabs with another dollar added for Saturday and Sunday. They are also required to pay for gas and oil, which must be bought from the cab owners, and are responsible for damage done to the cabs. The rental increases, according to Patrick, is 50 cents for night and 25 cents for

Louisiana Solons Threaten

Negro Jobs

The reactionary legislators of the state of Louisiana are seeking to displace Negro workers from their jobs through a bill introduced in the state Senate last week. The bill would require railroads operating within the state to employ "only bona-fide and qualified voters of the United

Various methods are used by the reactionary state officials to keep Negroes from voting and the bill would only permit the employment of hose who have "participated in the primaries and general elections within the confines of any state

According to a report in the Kansas City, Mo., Call, Negro paper, the bill has the backing of lilywhite labor unions. It threatens the jobs held by Negro workers on the Southern Pacific, Missouri Pacific, Texas Pacific, Illinois Central, Gulf Coast Lines, Louisiana and Nashville and Southern Railway systems operating within the state and on which Negroes hold many positions as brakemen, firemen, porters, etc.

Another case of discrimination is brought to our attention by a suit filed by Ed Teagle, Negro fireman on the Gulf. Mobile and Northern Railroad, in Memphis last week against the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and Enginemen for an injunction and \$50,000 damage. Teagle contends that the Locomotive Firemen and Enginemen signed a secret contract with the railroad company whereby senior Negro firemen were replaced by junior white firemen on stoker-fired

The Brotherhood has claimed the right to make contracts for all firemen because the majority of the firemen are white and members of the Brotherhood, but it excludes Negroes from membership, while it claims the right to represent them under the Railroad Labor Act. Teague claims that the action by the Brother-

hood was not representative of the Negro firemen. He claims that the law requires the Brotherhood to give the Negro firemen notice and a chance to be heard and vote before any contracts can be made by the Brotherhood.

We need scarcely comment on this shameful situation—a Negro worker, obviously loyal to the principles of labor solidarity, forced by lily-white policies to take a union into court.

What Shall We Call This Column?

The question as to the correctness of the term "Negro" in the heading of this column has brought forth considerable discussion and a number of suggestions for a new title. We agree that the use of "Question" should be eliminated; but as yet we do not believe that a sufficient number of opinions have been expressed to warrant not using the word "Negro." The papers and other publications of the colored people use the terms "Negro," "colored," "black" interchangeably, but do not use one to the exclusion of the others and the use of "Negro" appears to be more extensive

Among the suggestions for a new title for the column we have received the following: "The Negro Struggle," "Black and White Solidarity," "Revolt of the Black Man," "Colored People's Struggle," "Voice of the Negro," "Life and Struggles of the Negro."

We would like to receive further opinions of our readers before we change the title of the column.

Fearing Hitler, Stalin Moves Into Baltic Countries

Swift German Victory in Western Europe Upsets Kremlin's Calculations; Stalin Reaping Fruits of His Pact With Nazis

(Continued from Page 1) outweighed all its evil consequences. Now, less than ten could not admit that he was convulsively adding to his defenses pact with Hitler was to have nade impossible.

Since the Stalin cult of infalliility precluded telling the truth, the occupation of the Baltic tates had to be justified by preposterous lies. The official Soviet HOW STALIN DESTROYED ommuniques solemnly declared EUROPE'S LABOR that the Lilliputian states had MOVEMENT prepared an attack on the Soviet garrisons" stationed there.

The Baltic states could very likely play the role of puppets of Stalin's French lieutenants prea great power preparing an aswith the Allies cracking under power which could be manipulat- good French patriots, to surren- results we have now seen. ing the Baltic puppets would be der the factories and to obey the not admit for it would condemn his entire policy. Hence his absurd lies, which convince no one and which further discredit the Soviet Union in the eyes of the Harrington Warns Arms Drive world's workers.

It does not require an admis sion from Stalin to establish the utter bankruptcy of the Stalin-Hitler pact. When the Nazis marched on Poland, Stalin counted on a second Munich as the most likely aftermath. On the day the German troops marched, Molotov smiled skeptically when the Polish ambassador told him that France and England would that the European crisis had gone too far for a second Munich.

The only other possibility which occurred to the Kremlin minds gardless of events abroad unemoccurred to the Kremlin minds gardless of events abroad unem-was that, if war did come, it ployment in the fiscal year 1941 cal year 1940 will show an aver-age of about 112. For the next WPA-slashing law, already passwas that, if war did come, it is likely to number 8,000,000 to fiscal year an extremely optimist- ed by the House. ever, wiping out the possible dan-terially affect the volume of urger of a war on two fronts, enabled Hitler to concentrate all the war power of German econtrol to the first place, the sums appropriated for armament to the pressing need for relief. In the first place, the sums appropriated for armament to the pressing need for relief. In the first place, the sums appropriated for armament to the pressing need for pressing need for pressing need for relief. In the first place, the sums appropriated for armament to the pressing need for pressing need omy in the West to assure a short war. Stalin's intelligence service undoubtedly acquainted him with the fact that Hitler's military the fact that Hitler's military machine actually believed in the reality of the blitzkrieg time-table which Hitler was publicly enunciating—with August 15 as the outside date for successful the outside date for successful completion of the European phases of the war; but Stalin did ber of workers who need jobs. not use this information to reor. The national defense expenditures not use this information to reorganize his policy. He followed that policy out to its dead end.

the worst days of the war of intervention of 1918-20 was the infant Soviet republic in a more dangerous position than is the Soviet Union today, thanks to directly affected. Stalin's strategy.

The European labor movement,

the end-result of Stalin's foreign Hitler. made impossible a German war policy. Lenin said the Soviet Unmovements of Europe.

vided by the Franco-Soviet pact, ment was wiped off the map.

Fopular Front government of other labor movement left in the task. At every stage the interests Blum-Daladier. That government world can Stalin turn with any of the world revolution, of the

world revolution, the only real forced them to limit their strug-reft of all outer defenses. safeguard of the Soviet Union; | gle against Franco within the Stalin permitted himself to be impotent confines of bourgeois SOVIET NOW FACED BY used by the imperialist powers to democracy. To achieve this foul UNITED CAPITALIST EUROPE save the Soviet Union. crush, one after another, the labor end Stalin's GPU assassinated the The Soviet Union could endure flower of the Spanish revolution- as an isolated workers' state in a tempt to establish his respecta- thanks only to the fact that Eur-In 1936, in the name of the "de-British facilitated Franco's vic-ries. Now Hitler is in the process fense of the Soviet Union" pro-tory—and another labor move-of unifying Europe on the most

vented the revolutionary June without adding a particle to the united capitalist Europe. sault upon the Soviet Union. But strikes from culminating in a security of the Soviet Union, complete social revolution; in- Stalin then sought protection in of "socialism in one country." Hitler's blows, the only great stead they told the workers to be the pact with Hitler-with what Stalin and the "realists" who ral-

and its successors, backed by the assurance of aid in this moment world working class, were subor-Stalinists, broke the back of the of terrible danger to the Soviet dinated, were sacrificed, to the French working class. Hounded Union. Millions upon millions of needs of the Soviet Union-so and denuded of its gains and workers who before that were they said. And this is the result. rights, the French workers could ready to defend the Soviet Union If Stalin remains at the helm scarcely be inspired by the would not turn a hand for it now, of the Soviet Union, he will bring French bourgeoisie to hurl back after the Hitler-Stalin pact and it to destruction at the hands of the invasions of Poland and Fin- the imperialists, we have predict-That same French Popular land. Our prediction that the de- ed. The truth is here now for all against the Soviet Union; that ion must take advantage of the Front government of Blum-Stalin fensive positions gained by the to see. The masses of the Soviet advantage of the pact, Stalinists contradictions between the im- refused to provide arms to the pact and the invasions would not Union, if they are to save themad argued throughout the world, perialist powers; instead, Stalin Spanish Loyalists. Meanwhile the compensate in any way for the selves and the nationalized econlet himself be used, first by one Spanish Popular Front govern- loss among the workers of their omy from imperialist assault, imperialist power, then the other. ment created by the Stalinists former faith and trust in the Sov- must overthrow Stalin. The demonths after the pact, Stalin Lenin said the Soviet Union must broke the morale of the Spanish iet Union has been verified. That, struction of the Stalinist bureauctake advantage of the contradic- workers and peasants by forcing and the crushing of the European racy is an absolute necessity for tions between the imperialist them to dissolve their factory, labor movement by Hitler's vic- the Soviet Union. Only a revoluto guard against that which the powers in order to advance the land and soldiers' committees; tories, leave the Soviet Union be- tionary - internationalist policy

ists—all this in Stalin's vain at- capitalist world for 23 years British imperialism. Instead the British facilitated Franco's victories Now Hitler is in the Transport ARRESTED FOR reactionary basis imaginable. The Having perpetrated all this evil Soviet Union is confronted by a

This is the end of Stalin's road lied to him turned their back on Neither to the British workers the dream of world revolution and Germany—and that Stalin could coalition with the bourgeoisie, the nor to the American nor to any concentrated on a "practical"

and a revolutionary leadership capable of inspiring the world working class to a new effort can

STALINIST BAND

(Continued from Page 1)

Four others, all members of attempted assassination.

General Nunez announced that the attack was financed by the Mexican Communist party, and that the organizers were David Alfaro Siguerios, his brother Alredo, Antonio Pujol and Pedro Zuniga Camacho, Mexican Stalinists who were in Spain during the civil war.

General Nunez also announced that Nestor Sanchez Hernandez, in whose possession was found one of the police uniforms used by the attackers, had confessed he took part in the attack, and that David Siqueiros was the leader of the attack who wore the uniform of a Mexican Army major.

Hernandez is also quoted as saying that Robert Sheldon Harte, one of Trotsky's guards, was in league with the assailants, but there is no confirmation of the likelihood of this from the Trotsky household. As we go to press we have received no direct word about the households' estimate of the arrests.

Mexico City to the New York Times, June 19, announced.

the Communist party, were being sought as the organizers of the

STALIN'S BANKRUPT POLICY Won't Help Cut Unemployment

quoted in June 15 Uncensored:

"I think it is certain that re-

small in relation to the total numwill be concentrated in a few key industries, principally aircraft, And what a dead end! Never in he worst days of the war of in-

which Lenin considered to be the noted that the additional defense arms expenditures. Squandered is ties of Oslo, Bergen and Trond- bor party is by no means unammost important bulwark defend- program recommended by the the right word; for these millions heim were concerned. For when biguously on the side of the Aling the Soviet Union, lies crushed (President's) special defense mes- were not used to arm the Nor- the Norwegian soldiers arrived lies. Like all Norway, the labor under Hitler's war machine, as sage of May 16, 1940, will about wegian workers, but were sunk during the day at their places of party has split into two sections.

Testifying behind closed doors offset the decline in expenditures ic estimate of this index is an avpefore a Senate subcommittee under the PWA program. About erage of 115 to 117." considering appropriations for the \$900,000,000 of Federal and spon-1940-41 relief program, Colonel F. sors' funds will be spent on PWA C. Harrington, Commissioner of projects this fiscal year but no WPA Work Project, gave no en- new appropriation has been made couragement to the hope that a for this purpose during the fiscal vast defense program would at year 1941 and the carryover of fulfill their commitments to Polleast mean a partial solution of the existing program into next Therefore, he declared, only about and; "we shall see," said Molotov the unemployment problem. What year will be small. We hope for a unbelievingly. Neither Molotov Colonel Harrington said in this slight increase in (industrial) nor his master had understood secret session leaked out and is production in the next fiscal year 1941 over 1940. There is, however, no certainty of this. The index of industrial production for the fis-

Colonel Harrington testified

that the need for skilled workers n the arms industry would not materially relieve demands on WPA because only 10 per cent of 10 per cent of the WPA rolls could be absorbed "even if they go up to 45, 50 and 55 year old men, which industry isn't doing." But despite this authoritative testimony the Senate passed the

article was in Oslo when the Germans arrived and was an eye-witness to the collapse of aged to escape shortly afterward to another country.

expenditures will be heavily con- the Norwegian sea and coastal At the very last moment, from Norwegian labor party. To emcentrated in specialized skilled defenses were a farce. To be sure, the railroad station, a mobiliza- phasize the truce between the trades and other skilled groups the so-called labor government of tion order was issued-short and classes, conservative deputies and unskilled workers will not be Norway had in recent years sur-simple—which was broadcast by were taken into the government; "In this connection, it might be hundred millions of kronen in that time as far as the large ci-

lutely worthless. the possibility of a German inva- a battle. for such an eventuality.

place on April 9.

various parliamentary committake on the mine fields sown by ations broken off. the English the night before. No any danger from Germany.

The writer of the following | not know whether the ships con-| wegian troops had to cover the cerned were English or German. hurried retreat of the Allies, in

er, the German ambassador, de- heavy losses. Norwegian resistance. He man- livered Hitler's ultimatum; after Meanwhile the Norwegian govler's messenger boy, the govern- and took its place there as a modment and the Storting decided to est cog in the great war machine landing of troops in Norway, lic proclamation and without the ists. There is no question, even by

rendered to the armament hulla- the Oslo radio station, but which independent propaganda by the baloo and squandered several had already become senseless by labor party disappeared. in a Lilliputian army, half of assembly they were received by While the government and a part whose officers were infected with Norwegian Nazis and German of- of the party's directing council, Nazism and the other half abso- ficers and very politely sent home. Tranmael among them, sit in Thus a few thousand German northern Norway and make com-In spite of the fact that since troops were able to occupy the mon cause with the Allies, the the Russo-Finnish war, at least, Norwegian coast almost without leaders of the labor party and of

sion of Norway had been openly The Norwegian government ar- behind in Oslo, Bergen and Tronddiscussed all over the world, the rived at Hamar still full of ir-heim, have submitted to the Ger-Norwegian general staff had not resolution. It lost another day in man authorities and, like Staunprepared so much as a single plan negotiations with the German ing in Denmark, carry out their The German fleet had already trail of the government and the newspapers in the occupied areas passed the Great Belt when the king However, these negotiations appear with the approval of the commander-in-chief of the Nor- fell through on only one point: German authorities and print wegian army, General Laake Hitler's emissary stood firm on their official proclamations. Il-(pronounced Loki, but not to be the naming of Quisling, the lead-legal revolutionary propaganda is confused with Loki, the war god er of the Norwegian Nazis, as carried on only by isolated lower of the Norse sagas), received rep- prime minister. According to the units of the party. resentatives of the Oslo press in White Book issued by the Nor- In any case, the Norwegian a pleasant birthday interview: the wegian government itself one Stalinists have behaved the most general was busy at this time week after the beginning of the shamefully of all. Their Oslo preparing to celebrate his sixty- invasion, Foreign Minister Koht newspaper, Arbeideren, appeals fifth birthday, which was to take asked Ambassador Brauer in very with complete legality under the As for the "labor" government, man authorities would not accept occupation and of the Gestapo it could bring itself to no deci-some other government which governor, Terboven. It exhausts sion in the course of April 8th. would be ready to co-operate itself in fulminations against It spent its time discussing with "amicably" with the army of oc- Anglo-French imperialism and in tees the attitude Norway should jected this proposal were negoti- party members who fied, accusing

one seemed to think at all about followed among the Norwegian crimes in the same vein. Moreair at 11:30 on the night of the southern and central Norway. heim, were surprised in active es-

Early in the morning Dr. Brau- the course of which they suffered

negotiating senselessly with Hit-ernment withdrew to the north The first day of the German leave the capital: without a pub- of the Franco-British imperial-

Yet, in spite of all this, the lathe trade unions who remained ambassador, who had come on the instructions. The labor party's

explicit terms whether the Ger- protection of the authorities of cupation. Only when Brauer re- accusations against the Labor them of the misappropriation of Three weeks of petty warfare workers' funds and of other valleys and mountains, which, over, information has reached us Since the Norwegian govern- after the German troops had oc- first hand that two members of ment had no instructions to an cupied all the important points the Russian trade delegation in nounce to the populace, the Oslo of exit, had to end the way it did, Oslo and the well-known Norwegbroadcasting station went off the with the complete conquest of ian Stalinist lawyer, Regnar Sol-8th. During the night the first Far too late, the English and pionage for the Germans. An ex-German warships penetrated the French expeditionary forces could tensive report on these matters Norwegian fjords; when the news do nothing to change the situa-- has been circulated among all the reached Oslo, the government did tion. In the end the few Nor-labor organizations in Oslo.

His Opportunism Leads Lovestone to Pro-Ally Camp

When the Norman Thomas and Lovestone groups voted for the American Labor Party bureaucrats' pro-Ally resolution on October 4, 1939, but insisted they were voting for it merely as an anti-Stalinist resolution, we wrote: "As they yielded previously to the pressure of the Stalinist regime and its 'democratic' allies, now they yield to the pressure of the democratic imperialists. Can one imagine, for a moment, that these people will stand up under the pressure of the warmongers when the war comes here?" (Appeal,

Unfortunately our prediction is already coming true, even before America's entry into the war. The process of the Lovestoneites in moving toward an open pro-Ally position was undignifiedly hastened when, without advance preparation in their press, their leading trade union official, Charles S. Zimmerman of Dressmakers Local 22, voted 100% with the Dubinsky pro-war line at the convention of the International Ladies Garment Workers. It is true that not all the Lovestoneites followed Zimmerman at the convention. It is likewise true, however, that in every conflict between Zimmerman and other Lovestoneites, it ends up with Zimmerman having his way. For he is the "mass base" of the Lovestoneites, and Jay Lovestone has never in his motley career let principles stand in the way of preserving the connections of his group with the Local 22 payroll.

In the May 25 issue of Lovestone's Workers Age appeared a pro-Ally article which, the editors announced, they would answer the following week. They would answer it to refute it, they indicated. The next issue, however, announced: "E.B.'s questions on the war, published in the last issue of this paper, will be discussed in full very soon. Technical reasons made it impossible to deal with these questions in the present issue. as we had promised." The next issue after that was silent altogether. Then, in the June 15 issue, which appeared after Zimmerman's performance at the ILGWU convention, there is an announcement of a series of articles to appear in the next issue on "The War and Socialist Policy." "They will bring forward certain new approaches to socialist policy on the war," the announcement says. As usual with a dirty job, the author of the articles will be Will Herberg, editor of Workers Age. The "new approaches," we can safely predict, will be as old as Social Democracy's betrayal of socialism in 1914.

The direction the Lovestoneites are moving was cautiously indicated by Jay Lovestone's "Some Further Reflections" (Workers Age, June 1 and 8). Buried in the body of the article appeared

"For Hitler and for the world as a whole, this war will spell for some time either total prestige or total ruin of fascism. Should he win, fascism would win tremendously. Should he lose, he're are many reasons to believe that fascism will lose all, not only in Germany and Italy, but in the countries. This is true despite the headway mackby totalftarianism even in the most democratic

To understand the full implications of this line. one must refer to the numerous articles received appearing in the Workers Age favoring a "r." evaluation" of Marxism. The chief exponent of this revisionism is Lewis Corey, a member of the Lovestone group. The revision involves abandoning of the Marxist theory of the state. What follows? If the victory of fascism is worse than the victory of the "democracies," as Lovestone indicates, and if the road to socialism is through the present state "growing into" a socialist order by "democratic"—i.e., non-revolutionary—processes, then there is no reason in the world for not supporting the "democracies" in the war.

Pretend To Forget What Fascism Is

For years the Lovestoneites, like everybody who still had any vestiges of Marxism left, explained that fascism is an economic phenomenon: the form taken by capitalist domination in this epoch of the decline of capitalism. The Workers Age explained that the totalitarian trend within the "democracies" would grow whether the "democracies" won or lost the next war, and that the only way to prevent this is proletarian revolution. All this elementary Marxism is now being thrown overboard by the Lovestoneites, under the pressure of American imperialism, and particularly under the pressure of the agents of American imperialism in the labor movement.

This final mutation of the Lovestoneites is no surprise, we have already said. In April James P. Cannon, summing up the history of such groups as a warning to the petty-bourgeois opposition in our party, gave their history in a few words: "In the terminology of the Marxist movement,

unprincipled cliques or groups which begin a struggle without a definite program have been characterized as political bandits. A classic example of such a group, from its beginning to its miserable end in the backwaters of American radicalism, is the group known as 'Lovestoneites.' "They were wild-eyed radicals and ultra-leftists

when Zinoviev was at the head of the Comintern. With the downfall of Zinoviev they became ardent Bukharinites as quickly and calmly as one changes his shirt. Due to an error in calculation, or a delay in information, they were behindhand in making the switch from Bukharin to Stalin and the frenzied leftism of the Third Period. To be sure, they tried to make up for their oversight by proposing the expulsion of Bukharin at the party convention they controlled in 1929. But this last demonstration of political flexibility in the service of rigid organizational aims came too late. Their tardiness cost them their heads.

"Their politics were always determined for them by external pressure. At the time of their membership in the Communist Party it was the pressure of Moscow. With their formal expulsion from the Comintern a still weightier pressure began to bear down upon them and they gradually adapted themselves to it. Today this miserable and isolated clique, petty-bourgeois to the core, is tossed about by bourgeois democratic public opinion like a feather in the breeze."

The storm of war is blowing and the Lovestoneites are swept along with it like the cynical cowards that they are.

OUR INTRODUCTORY OFFER

Send us One Dollar,

SOCIALIST APPEAL 116 University Place New York, N. Y.

Send me a bundle of four papers every week, and

Repeating

SOCIALIST APPEAL

and we will send you for six weeks a bundle of four Appeals. We will enclose stamped wrappers for you to mail them in.

Circularize your worker contacts with the Appeal! Enclose a local leaflet or meeting announcement. Mark the special articles you want your contacts to read. Get the Appeal into four working-class homes regularly for six weeks!

— -Attach \$1 to this coupon !- — —

enclose stamped wrappers. I enclose \$1.00 for a six

SOCIALIST APPEAL

Vol. IV, No. 25

Saturday, June 22, 1940

Published Weekly by the SOCIALIST APPEAL PUBLISHING ASS'N. Telephone: ALgonquin 4-8547

Editorial Board:

FELIX MORROW ALBERT GOLDMAN

General Manager: GEORGE CLARKE

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

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

Fight with the Socialist Workers Party for:

- 1. A JOB AND A DECENT LIVING FOR EVERY
- OPEN THE IDLE FACTORIES OPERATE THEM UNDER WORKERS' CONTROL.
- A TWENTY-BILLION DOLLAR FEDERAL PUBLIC WORKS AND HOUSING PROGRAM. THIRTY-THIRTY-\$30-WEEKLY MINIMUM
- ALL WORKERS ON ALL JOBS. \$30 WEEKLY OLD-AGE AND DISABILITY

WAGE-30-HOUR WEEKLY MAXIMUM FOR

- EXPROPRIATE THE SIXTY FAMILIES.
- 7. ALL WAR FUNDS TO THE UNEMPLOYED.
- A PEOPLE'S REFERENDUM ON ANY AND
- 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.

Two "Peace" Parties

The Republican party, meeting in national convention this week, will declare itself the peace party and throw upon the Democratic party the onus of being the war party. Three weeks later the Democratic party will meet in national convention, declare itself the peace party and warn that Republican policies if carried out would lead to war. Meanwhile both parties as a whole join in Congress to vote for every armament bill, including those providing for sale of government armament to Britain and France and, in a word, there isn't the slightest difference between the pro-war perspectives of the two parties. Both, too, conceive it necessary to hog-tie the labor movement; Roosevelt warns the workers not to strike, they get together to disembowel the Wagner Labor, Walsh-Healey and Wage and Hour Acts, strike blows at labor under the guise of anti-alien laws, etc., etc. "National unity," the unity of the capitalist class for the coming war, is already complete.

Why, then, label each other the war party? That is particularly preposterous since it is an open secret that Roosevelt's proposal for a coalition government with the Republicans was accepted by Colonel Knox and other authoritative Republican leaders. The reason why they label each other the war party is the same reason which decided both parties, on second thought, not to go through with the coalition government. For the unity of the entire capitalist class, the unity of the "New Deal" and Wall Street, if publicly symbolized by a coalition government, or by a cessation of competition between the two parties, might have very dangerous consequences. The spectacle of the bourgeoisie harmoniously working hand in glove to drag this country into war might very well be sufficient provocation to drive the working class into outspoken opposition to the war policies of the government, and into great strikes and demonstrations to back up its anti-war feelings.

Even after the Gallup poll of a few weeks ago showed 93% of the people opposed to American entry into the war, official Washington hoped that Hitler's ensuing successes would reverse quickly the state of public opinion. But the ever-increasing volume of mail to Congress shows no diminution of the anti-war sentiment; "only a minute proportion of it advocates active participation in the war" the June 16 New York Times mournfully comments.

This vast sentiment against American involvement in the war, formless, chaotic, uncritical though it is, is a force whose power the bourgeoisie fears. It would be a tactical stupidity to confront this overwhelming desire for peace with a coalition government of the two parties. The people against the parties which are supposed to represent them—that conclusion would become too clearly evident. The feelings of the workers are outraged enough by the spectacle of U.S. Steel Stettinius and General Motors Knudsen sitting in the government in the guise of mem-

bers of an "advisory" National Defense Council; to go further and to have the Republican party actually enter the government might be the final outrage which would drive the labor movement into action against the government of warmakers., Hence the coalition government was dropped. Hence each party dubs itself the peace party and throws boxing gloves at the other. Never did two corrupt managers connive a more fraudulent fight between two venal prizefighters.

Equally fraudulent is the game being played by Senator Wheeler and a few other Democrats and Republicans. Wheeler threatens to bolt the Democratic party if it becomes the "war party." But examine his record on all the crucial votes in connection with Roosevelt's war drive, and you will find him voting for practically all the major proposals on which Democrats and Republicans have united. It is ABC that these proposals constitute the road to war; that while adopted with lip-service to "peace" these proposals are driving the nation to a point where there will be no turning back from actual warfare. Yet Wheeler votes for the whole program. His is merely a "left" variety of the game which both the Democratic and the Republican parties are playing.

For Wheeler himself—a second-string politician on the make—and the other politicians who play the same game, it's good business. He draws to himself the attention of the great masses desirous of peace to whom he offers a seeming alternative to the leadership of the Democratic and Republican parties. Moreover he is helped in getting the attention of the masses by John L. Lewis, who needs a bloc with Wheeler as a facesaving device in the transition from Lewis' vociferous anti-war speeches of a few weeks ago to the status he is seeking as a collaborator in the government. (His commendation of Roosevelt's appointment of Hillman to the Defense Council indicates Lewis' course). Thus Wheeler serves to channelize the "left" discontent with the government's war policies, in the end channelizing it . . right back to support of the government.

And this deliberate process of breaking up and keeping disunited the peace-seeking masses of the people is necessarily carried out by the most deliberate hypocrisy. The speeches the Democrats and Republicans make against each other, always largely compounded of play-acting, now becomes the most outrageous buffoonery. None of them can possibly believe what they are saying, for they have just left the Congressional committee-rooms in which they have amicably collaborated on all measures. But like actors paid to go through their parts, they go through the clowning necessary to pulling the customers in. What a swinish spectacle! And all of it done naturally, with the usual excoriations of the immorality and deceit of which Hitler alone is guilty. Such is the process of "democracy."

PATRIOTEER\$

"It will nevertheless be difficult for many Americans to understand how Britain [in taxing excess war profits 100 per cent] can expect anyone to make the tremendous extra productive effort required by war without some stimulus other than the vague one that it is necessary to save the country. The first thing that capital will require to work harder in war time is some assurance of a larger return."-Carlton Shiveley, financial editor, New York SUN.

Democracy Defined

We are indebted to the June 15 New Leader, war mongering organ of the Social Democratic Federation, for the following contribution to the definition of democracy:

"The international Trotskyite press is in a dither over the arrest and sentencing of nine of its people in France. All were caught fighting war efforts, spreading defeatist propaganda, and 'otherwise engaged in activities of a nature to hinder national defense.' Top punishment for this went to Charles Margne, a post-office employee. He was jailed, term to last five years. The others received three-year sentences and

"What would have been their punishment had they engaged in the same activity in Germany? Would they even have had a trial?"

Since, as the New Leader well knows, our German comrades are engaged in the same activity in Germany, where hundreds have been put in prisons and concentration camps, and the nine sentenced in France are simply the latest arrested, the difference between democracy and fascism in war-time may therefore be defined as:

Under fascism proletarian revolutionists are imprisoned. Under democracy proletarian revolutionists are imprisoned. However, under democracy they are first given a trial.

Or, as the old-time vigilantes used to say: "Let's hear him before we hang him."

PRISE OF PATRIOTISM

"In return for a rapid expansion in production undoubtedly industry will demand many concessions in the way of tax exemptions, amortization policies, relaxation of labor laws, et cetera."—WALL STREET JOURNAL, May 20, 1940.

Stab In the Back



Anti-Alien Prejudice Only Plays the Bosses' Game

By SAM MARCY

on-citizen workers are confronted with the oft-repeated question: Why don't they become citizens?" In order to cement the revealing answer should be given. Here it is.

Americans. Yankee Imperialism, which has alloted to itself the role of "guardian" of all the Ameri-"unity of the of all Americas," ers in this country

During the World War, powerful American fruit exchanges, railroad companies and cotton companies were in great need of 'cheap'' labor. They imported Latin American workers, particularly Mexicans in the thousands. en masse, in direct violation of the United States contract labor

Before importing them the employers did not require of these workers that they pass a literacy test, or warn them that they would have to pay excessive fees to become citizens and that if they couldn't become citizens they might some day be fingerprinted and forced to carry a registration card with them at all IMPOSSIBLE FOR times. All that the employers re- HOUSEWIVES TO MEET quired of them at that time was REQUIREMENTS to be capable of working long hours, and lining the pockets of the bosses. When they were brought here they were herded

like cattle into segregated areas. Some ranches were particularly laid out so that they could not leave. The bosses tried to prevent them from being free to obtain jobs or higher wages elsewhere. Sometimes their shoes and clothing were taken away so they could not escape.

Living under such conditions it became practically impossible for the vast majority of them to obtain the educational requirements necessary to pass a literacy test for citizenship. The starvation wages which they received made t prohibitive for them to pay the excessive fees for naturalization. 'A Mexican family living on relief in Colorado would have to stop eating for two months and a half to pay for the citizenship papers of one member of the family," says one observer. Is it any wonder that many of them do not become citizens? Shall we blame them-or the bosses responsible for their plight?

EXPENSE OF CITIZENSHIP IS A BIG ITEM

As far as the great mass of immigrants from the European countries are concerned, the obstacles to obtaining citizenship

| papers are just as formidable. Es-|housewives. These—especially the areas, such as "Little Italy," "Lit- curtailed. tle Mexico" and the like, it is a very high price.

try. A case in point is that of a of the above reasons? nine year old boy held for de- The working class is internaportation, because his mother, tional in character. Its solidarity while bringing him to this coun- is based on the common bonds of try failed to register his entry. In exploitation and oppression. The many cases, however, the lack of American workers ought not to documentary proof is due to the be blinded by the hatred against fact that the immigrants were the alien workers which the capibrought here en masse, some- talist class attempts to inculcate times illegally, by powerful cor- into them. Division between the porations who needed cheap la- native and foreign born workers bor, and no records were made at can only help the ruling class to

A very large proportion of the non-citizens are composed of

Time and again, defenders of pecially true is this with regard ones living in the segregated areto the expense involved. During as-have never had an opportunthe pre-depression era the fees ity to acquire the educational reused to be about five dollars. Now quisites to become a citizen bethey average between \$20 and cause of the long hours which \$50. And if you add to that the house work entails. This is parnon-citizen workers, a clear and expense for witnesses it may be ticularly true about those who even higher. To a worker who is have large families. Evening employed at a fair wage it may schools, where they might acquire not be a considerable sum, but to some education, are prevalent There are about 4,000,000 noncitizens in this country. At least
one-quarter of them are Latinare as such as "Little Italy" "Little Currailed". There is also a group of aliens

who cannot, under present laws, cas, which preaches with the living on relief, since they are legal entry." The Commissioner A great many alien workers are become citizens because of "ilamong the first to be discharged General of Immigration in 1936 of all Americas," "unity of the Western Hempisphere" and like, systematically fosters grossest discrimination and persecution of Latin American workers in this country. in 1936 that non-citizens on re- find a refuge from oppression, to lief are barred from citizenship. better oneself economically. Another obstacle to becoming a What worker, even with a mere citizen is the lack of documentary speck of class-consciousness, can proof of entry. This is sometimes condemn any alien from attemptdue to failure to register the en- ing to enter this country for any

> more thoroughly exploit the native workers.

Join the Socialist Workers Party

YOU CAN HELP!

Buy A Set of Trotsky's Historic Speech (In English)

Made for the New York mass meeting celebrating the Tenth Anniversary of the founding of the Fourth International

Recorded on two 12-inch discs 78R

Specially Priced — \$3.50

Full Proceeds to: TROTSKY'S DEFENSE FUND

Pioneer Publishers

116 UNIVERSITY PLACE

NEW YORK, N. Y.

How Are Workers To Fight Against Hitlerism?

By ALBERT GOLDMAN

All the war-mongers from Roosevelt down to the small-fry Social Democrats play upon this fear of fascism to inculcate into the minds of the workers the idea that to support England, France or the United States in a war against Germany is a sacred duty.

To make the idea of supporting France, England, or the United States in the war with Germany more palatable to the workers, all the various types of democrats have recourse to the argument that the war is one between capitalist democracy and fascism.

No one would be foolish enough to deny the claim that capitalist democracy is better for the workers than fascism. To say that they are equally bad for the majority of workers would be to say something that is an obvious untruth.

If the present war were one for capitalist democracy against fascism it would be the duty of every class-conscious worker to give material (not political) support to the democratic re-

That is what the revolutionary Marxists did during the civil war in Spain. In the struggle between Franco and the Loyalist government, the advanced workers fought against Franco and thus gave military support to the Loyalist government representing capitalist democracy. It is true that the revolutionary Marxists, understanding that fascism could be defeated only by a workers' government, urged the workers to establish a Soviet Spain. But since a majority of the Spanish workers did not follow the revolutionary Marxists the latter chose to fight with the Loyalist government against the fascists.

Conditions, however, are different in a struggle between imperialist countries, such as England, France, the United States or Germany. In the present war what is involved is not capitalist democracy against fascism but colonies, markets, sources of raw material. And since that is the motive force of the war the workers must determine their attitude by that factor and not by secondary factors.

"But," say some workers, "We grant that this war is an imperialist war and that if the United States should intervene it would do so for its imperialist purposes. But the fact remains that the English and Amercan variety of imperialism is better than the Hitler variety and as practical people we must fight for the better kind of iniperialism. Imagine what would happen if Hitler should win."

Let workers who ask this question not forget that the German workers can ask the question: "Suppose the Allies win?" They already received a taste of an Allied victory in 1918. Their experience then was not of a nature as to make them contemplate another victory with great enthusiasm. The miserable Social-Democrats may be anxious for a victory of the Allied imperialists in the hope that they would once more be placed at the head of Germany to serve the Allies. But the workers of Germany understand that an Alfied victory means complete subjection of their country to the Allies.

A victory for the Allies does not appear to be any better for the German workers than a victory of Hitler for the English and French workers.

And why should the African or Indian worker and peasant exploited by British imperialism worry about a defeat of British imperialism? Nor, in America, can the Negro worker and sharecropper of the South be much impressed with the idea that his lot would be worse under Hitler.

The trouble is that if the workers are presented with a choice of Allied or German imperialism the solution to the problem of defeating fascism

A solution is possible if one delves more deeply into the problem and looks upon the capitalist world as a whole and not upon the relative merits of each national section of that world. Looking upon that world as a whole reveals the incontestable fact that its economic system has reached a stage of decay making its destruction absolutely imperative.

If the capitalist world should continue to exist, whether the victory goes to the Allies or to Hitler, the workers can look forward to more frightful wars, more misery, more death. The workers can have no interest in saving any part of such a system. Their interest is in destroying it root and branch.

Once we see the problem as one which involves the destruction of the capitalist world and not the victory of one set of imperialists over another, then the task of the American workers or the workers of any other country becomes clear. They must begin the struggle against their own capitalism. And if they should win that struggle it would constitute a blow to fascism all over the