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

1. Appropriation of $10,000,000,000 to provide, at once, jobs on housing and other public works projects for unemployed workers.
2. Amendment of the Wages and Hours Act to provide throughout private industry and public works a maximum work week of 30 hours and a minimum weekly pay of 30 dollars.
3. 30 dollar weekly old age and disability pensions.
4. Appropriation of $3,000,000,000 to guarantee either maintenance at school or jobs for all youth.

Socialist Appeal

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

VOL. IV, No. 9 — NEW YORK, N. Y., MARCH 2, 1940 — FIVE (5) CENTS

SAILORS FIGHT ATTEMPTS TO BAR STRIKES

SWP Anti-War Fight In St. Paul Election

Henry Rutzick Poses Real Issues Of War and Unemployment To Voters In Mayoralty Contest

ST. PAUL, Minn.—Henry Rutzick, anti-war candidate for mayor of St. Paul, will address an election rally Friday, March 8th, 8 p.m., in the St. Paul headquarters of the Socialist Workers Party, 147 West 5th Street.

Rutzick, an unemployed young man, will make clear his political differences with all boss party candidates and with the candidate of the Communist Party, Rose Tillotson.

In entering the race for mayor, Rutzick filed the following statement at the city hall:

"I am entering this campaign to place before the working people of St. Paul the real problems they are facing, War and Unemployment.

"I stand for decent jobs for all at trade union wages, for freedom of trade unions from government persecution, for defense of civil liberties and complete opposition to imperialist war."

Chief opponents of Rutzick are Fallon, the reactionary incumbent, and McDonough, a Young Democrat who wangled the endorsement of the Labor Progressive Association. The Stalinist candidate, Rose Tillotson, says today she stands for peace. Up to the time the Stalin-Hitler pact was signed, Tillotson was an ardent admirer of Roosevelt, whooped it up for a third term, and argued in favor of the government's huge armament expenditures and pro-war policies.

Rutzick is urging all St. Paul unionists and the unemployed to vote for his own candidacy for mayor, and for all endorsed candidates of the Labor Progressive Association except McDonough and Axel Peterson.

NATION IS WATCHING ST. PAUL ELECTION

On February 23rd Drew Pearson and Robert Allen, authors of the nationally-syndicated "Washington Merry-Go-Round," tipped off readers that "Political insiders are keeping a close eye on the municipal election in St. Paul, Minnesota, the first to be held this year. It takes place on April 30 and will be a significant test of how the political winds are blowing in a state captured by the GOP in 1938. Opposing the Republican mayor is Democratic John J. McDonough, who has the backing of Farmer-Laborites."

To the workers of the nation who also have their eyes on St. Paul, the Socialist Workers Party brings the message that in this city the working class will have the opportunity to express its desire for independent political action by voting for a revolutionary socialist candidate for mayor.

A special edition of the **Socialist Appeal** containing the program of the Socialist Workers Party for the March 12 St. Paul election, is being widely distributed in the trade unions here.

The labor movement here responded enthusiastically to the call of the Labor-Progressive Association to back a labor political campaign. But at its January 20 meeting, the Association chose John McDonough, a Democrat, as its mayoralty candidate.

"It is the duty of all class-conscious workers," says the election statement of the Socialist Workers Party, "to resist this tendency with might and main. We must understand what will happen to the workers' political movement in a coalition with an enemy party. If labor's political strength can be diverted back into the old channels of employer-dominated political machines, it will be wasted."

The Labor-Progressive Association adopted several important labor planks for its platform, including a ten billion dollar public works program, a 30-dollar minimum and 30-hour maximum week, transfer of all war funds to the unemployed, etc. But this program will receive no support from McDonough, the Democrat.

"Even in relatively normal times," the SWP points out, "the chances would be incredibly small that McDonough would go against his party and side with labor in its needs and demands. But in a period of preparations for war, with the ruling class concentrating its imposing power to hamstring the working class and starve the unemployed into the army, it would be impossible to believe that McDonough or any boss politician would fight for the workers' right to live and a decent living."

HENRY RUTZICK

Born in St. Paul, January 1, 1915. Attended local schools. Graduate of University of Minnesota school of architecture. Unemployed. Banner-bearer of the program of the Socialist Workers Party in the March 12 St. Paul election. The only candidate opposed to all boss wars.

LABOR'S ORGAN CONDEMNED DEMOCRATS

The SWP reminded the trade union movement that the **Union Advocate**, organ of the St. Paul unions, has recently characterized the policies of the head of McDonough's party in terms which make it an unprincipled step now to turn around and support McDonough. On Sept. 28, 1939, the **Union Advocate** warned unions which had endorsed Roosevelt that they would "regret their action." It said:

"The first exhibition of a radical turn-about by the President was his approval of the recent enactment of Congress to destroy the prevailing wage scale on WPA. His second demonstration came in his failure to interfere with the czaristic methods used to arrest and jail scores of humble WPA strikers in Minneapolis. His third offense against Labor was the naming of a war resources board on which there is not a single representative of organized labor, but whose entire personnel reads like a directory of the most bitter anti-labor employers in the nation. The fourth revelation of Mr. Roosevelt's scorning of Labor is summed up in his insistence that the present neutrality law be repealed and that a 'cash and carry' policy in regard to supplying war munitions be inaugurated. . . . **When Labor endorses Mr. Roosevelt for a third term it places the stamp of approval on the very things Labor has fought lo, these many weary years."**

On Feb. 8, 1940, the **Union Advocate** warned that Roosevelt was preparing war and hounding Labor:

"Just now Congress is talking peace and legislating war.

(Continued on Page 2)

GREEN ORDER OUSTING TYPOS IS REJECTED

Central Bodies Are Denouncing AFL Fiat For Expulsion

EVANSVILLE, Indiana, Feb. 23—The Central Labor Union here has refused to concur with William Green's order expelling typographical union locals from all AFL central bodies for failure of the Typographical International to pay the special assessment for war against the CIO.

Green's circular letter was read at the Feb. 15 meeting. After a speech by second vice-president Charles Tiltz, typo delegate, the body, by a huge majority, refused to concur with the order from Green.

The chair refused to accept the action, declaring it illegal, out of order, and contrary to the rules of the AFL. The body didn't want to take any action, but just to ignore the communication, but the chair forced it on the floor. Repeated motions to adjourn were declared out of order. Therefore the only choice was, as they did, to refuse to abide by the ruling of the Executive Council expelling the typos.

At the next meeting, a week later, without any discussion, nominations for the offices to be vacated by the typo members were called for, and made. To this extent, the central body has complied with Green's order. But the previous decision refusing to concur with the order remains part of the record — a slap at Green and the splitting policy of the AFL national leadership.

Frisco Body Finally Yields; Jamestown Flatly Refuses

SAN FRANCISCO, Feb. 24—Tumultuous scenes took place here when William Green's order for expulsion of delegates from typographical locals was read at the meeting of the San Francisco AFL Labor Council.

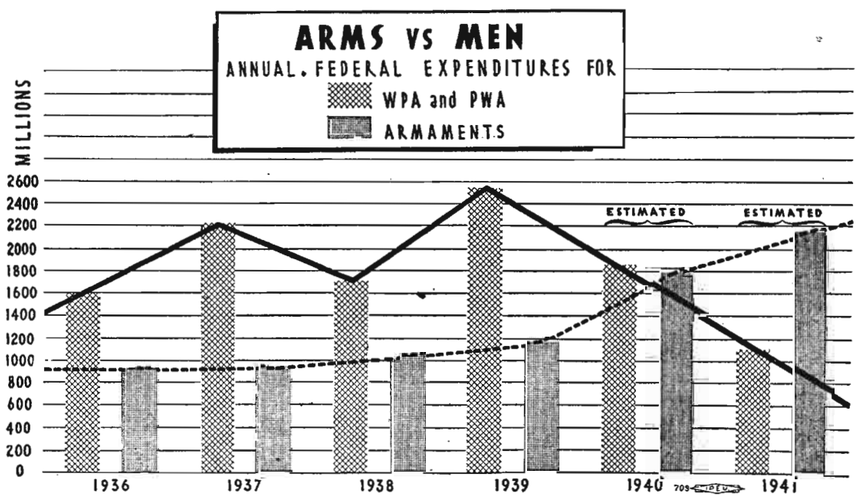
Attempts were made to adjourn or to table the action for ninety days, until Secretary J. A. O'Connell warned: "We must comply with Green's order or cease to be an AFL council."

When the order was finally obeyed, and the ten typo delegates and two from the mailers' union, a typo affiliate, walked out of the hall, two hundred or more delegates from other unions accompanied them in protest, leaving the hall more than half empty.

JAMESTOWN, N. Y., Feb. 24—The Jamestown Central Labor Council voted unanimously on Feb. 14 to refuse to unseat delegates from the typographical locals, and called upon the AFL executive council to reconsider the order.

"The Jamestown council refused to comply with the order because it tended to split the labor movement", declared Ernest Carlson, president of the council.

New Deal Becomes War Deal



This graphic chart was made by the Unemployment Division of the CIO. Note the sharp rise in armament expenditures, as shown by the rising dotted line. Note the equally sharp decline in WPA and PWA expenditures, as shown by the downward moving black line. Money for arms means that much less for WPA and PWA.

250,000 Dropped From New York WPA Rolls During 1939

More than 250,000 people were dropped from relief and WPA rolls during the last year in New York City, although there were no jobs for the heads of the families dropped, it was revealed this week when Works Projects Administrator Somervell made public his annual report to the national office.

The WPA employed 110,057 persons on Dec. 31 and the combined work and home relief rolls were 256,590 at the end of the year. This contrasts with 337,821 at its beginning. Each case is considered to represent 3.8 to 4 persons. Therefore, approximately one million persons were on relief rolls, which is a reduction, by Somervell's own figures, of 250,000 from the beginning of the year.

Lowest Since 1935

Somervell boasted that the number of persons receiving any form of relief and the cost to all agencies was lower in 1939 than in any other year since 1935.

U. S. Fleet Readies Pacific War 'Games'

Will Range Fateful 'Triangle' During Critical Spring Months; Big Army, Aerial Maneuvers Also Due

In April, as the war in Europe enters what may prove to be its first decisive phase, the United States Fleet will steam far out into the Pacific for the largest-scale "maneuvers" in its history.

It will move into the fateful "triangle" bounded by Alaska, Hawaii, and the California coast. Its advance patrols of submarines, destroyers, and aircrafts will range the seas westward to the outer fringe of the Japanese maritime empire.

In these waters Yankee imperialism expects eventually to come to grips with its Japanese rival. This year the dress rehearsal may well be the last to be called a "war game." Next time, it may well be the war itself.

A fleet of 130 warships—ranging from the huge super-dreadnoughts down to the smallest torpedo boats—will move into action, accompanied by 350 fighting planes and manned by 42,500 officers and men. The trials, we are told, will be "more ambitious and more impressive than ever before."

This latest attempt to solve what is known as "Fleet Problem 21"—or more openly speaking, the strategy and tactics of a war between the U.S. and Japan—will be the major item in a Spring and Summer filled with a long program of land, sea, and aerial maneuvers by American forces on a hitherto unprecedented scale.

Later in the summer the land and air forces based on Hawaii, the Philippines and Panama, will engage in maneuvers that also form part of "Fleet Problem 21."

While the main stress is on the Pacific area—which is in reality the main theater of eventual U.S. wartime operations—the war machine on continental United States and in the Atlantic is being put through no less rigorous tests.

European War Expected

The Atlantic Fleet has been

(Continued on Page 4)

Behind the Lines

By GEORGE STERN

The Welles mission is turning out to be secret diplomacy with a vengeance.

President Roosevelt announced he was sending his Under-Secretary of State to Europe solely to secure "information." As we pointed out at the time, this sounded fishy enough on the face of it. With diplomats at every key point in Europe and various other sources of secret intelligence, Roosevelt had no need of sending a special emissary solely to secure "information."

This fiction was exploded sky-high within a few hours of Welles' arrival in Rome. He handed to Mussolini a secret letter from Roosevelt and thus, in the words of the Times' correspondent, "put an end to the accepted (sic) version that his trip is purely informative."

The Welles mission is part of a game played with millions of lives as the stakes. The American people must demand now more than ever: "What is Roosevelt up to? What are the contents of the secret letter handed to Mussolini and what other communications is Welles scheduled to deliver in Berlin, Paris, and London?"

Why all the lies in the first place about the purpose of the Welles mission?

If, as the newspapers glibly suggest, Welles is making "peace soundings"—then why all the pussyfooting about it? Surely a move for peace could have no stronger basis than the unanimous support of the people in this country and in others? Why does it have to be kept secret from them?

Welles, himself, however, after he saw Mussolini in Rome flatly denied that he was in Europe to discuss a cessation of hostilities.

(Continued on Page 4)

Seamen Resist Drive Aimed at Unions

SAN FRANCISCO, Cal.—The Sailors Union of the Pacific, which has borne the brunt of every struggle of the maritime crafts with the shipowners since 1934, is up in arms against the latest fink scheme—the "five year peace plan."

The desperate attempts of the U.S. Maritime Commission, as the war approaches, to find ways and means of crushing militant unionism—the commission has called the merchant marine an "auxiliary to the United States Navy" and wants to run it like the naval personnel is run, without voice or power to protest—has found an ally inside labor's ranks: Harry Bridges, West Coast longshoremen's boss.

In his paper, "Voice of the Federation," Feb. 1, Bridges came out with his peace plan. If adopted, it would mean that the maritime crafts would be forbidden to strike and all questions arising would be submitted to arbitration. That, with the right to strike removed for five years, means compulsory arbitration.

The membership meeting of the headquarters (Frisco) branch of the Sailors Union reacted strongly. It adopted a bluntly-worded resolution, as follows:

WHEREAS, the shipowners, maritime commission, and various other employers organizations have attacked militant unionism in the maritime field, in order to crush the hiring hall and union standards, and

WHEREAS, all history of unionism has shown that the only semblance of peace for working men has been the existence and activity of democratic unions ready at all time to fight for the rights of its members, and

WHEREAS, al unions which willingly or unwillingly substituted arbitration, "peace plans," or "no strike action" for militant action find themselves shackled, and helpless before the employers, and

WHEREAS, in typical dictator fashion the men who drew up the "FIVE YEAR PEACE PLAN" never consulted the men who work on ships and docks as to their attitude towards it, and

WHEREAS, the "FIVE YEAR PLAN" now being proposed to maritime workers would take from us the fundamental and democratic rights as union members to militant action and leave us in a position to resort only to compulsory arbitration, therefore

BE IT RESOLVED, that the SUP condemn this so-called "FIVE YEAR PEACE PLAN," and

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, the SUP print this resolution in the "WEST COAST SAILOR" and give it wide publicity warning all members of maritime unions of the danger to their unions inherent in the "FIVE YEAR PEACE PLAN."

That the Sailors Union, in its struggle to prevent the government and shipowners from breaking the back of the maritime labor movement, should now have to direct its fire so sharply against Bridges, may puzzle some East Coast workers. For, thanks to the

(Continued on Page 2)

WAR IN YEAR, BIG BUSINESS HEAD STATES

Head of National Industrial Board Predicts It

PHILADELPHIA, Feb. 25—One of the most authoritative spokesmen for Big Business startled his audience by coolly describing as an absolute certainty that "within a year from now the army, navy and air forces of this country will be actively engaged in hostilities on three continents."

The speaker was Dr. Virgil Jordan, president of the National Industrial Conference Board, the "brain trust' of great financial and industrial interests. He spoke here yesterday at a Foreign Policy Association luncheon.

He predicted that Sumner Welles would return to confirm that the "totalitarian phase" of the war is to begin next month, with war spreading to the Near East and the Balkans, involving the Soviet Union, and Germany attempting either to flank or break the Allied lines.

By indirection, he accorded even a fourth term to Roosevelt, stating that the war would continue through the 1940's "under the present administration."

War Against U.S.S.R.

He listed Soviet Russia, Germany and Japan as the countries against which the United States would be pitted shortly.

"Until we are actively engaged," said Jordan, "the Allies will be supplied through Government selling agencies and financed by government loans. In the course of the war, after active participation begins, all manpower will be conscripted for domestic labor as well as military purposes. . . ."

Predicted Lengthy Crisis

Jordan is an arch-reactionary who still finds Roosevelt distasteful. He is known for blunt-speaking, however. Shortly after the crash of 1929, he cut through all the optimistic ballyhoo of the bankers and predicted that the depression would last over decades.

Jordan linked his predictions about the coming year's events with a theory that the cause of world chaos was the abandonment of "free enterprise". He termed the war the latest phase of a "persistent process of social disintegration' representing "another thirty years war, on a larger stage and in modern dress.' It marked the relapse of civilization, he said, from "liberal humanism to a mechanized feudalism."

By "liberal" Jordan meant the Manchester economics of triumphant British imperialism of the Nineteenth Century. That "liberal" world has certainly disappeared — but Jordan doesn't understand it disappeared by the inevitable development of capitalism into monopolistic imperialism.

"Internal Disorder" Here

Jordan predicted, during the course of the war, "increasing internal disorder" in America, which would be suppressed by "armed force, espionage, censorship and suspension of civil rights and civil processes."

There were gasps from the audience as Jordan went on, since many who don't share Jordan's economic theories have learned to respect his shrewdness as an observer of political developments.

Labor Leaders Demand Roosevelt Pardon Minneapolis Strikers

Pardons for the 32 Minneapolis WPA strikers who have been sentenced by the federal courts have been demanded in letters addressed to President Roosevelt by many prominent labor leaders, it was announced last week by the Workers Defense League.

Among those writing to Roosevelt were George S. Counts, president of the American Federation of Teachers; Joseph Schlossberg, secretary-treasurer of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers; A. Philip Randolph, president of the Brotherhood of Pullman Porters, and J. R. Butler, president of the Southern Tenant Farmers Union.

Special Appeals Aid Your Local Drives!

In last week's SOCIALIST APPEAL we published the news in the "Appeal Army" column of the special edition we issued for the Newark organization. The occasion for the issue was the special "City Manager Plan" election in Newark.

We printed 1000 extra copies of the APPEAL with the headline "VOTE 'NO' ON THE NEWARK CITY MANAGER PLAN." In all other respects the Newark edition was the same as the regular edition.

The Newark comrades peddled the paper on the streets, sold them from house to house and in front of factory gates. The day after the election, the literature agent appeared in the office with money for the entire edition.

The special publicity of this edition was an excellent boost both for the Newark S.W.P. and the SOCIALIST APPEAL, as indicated by all reports. Incidentally, as we had hoped, the City Manager Plan was defeated. We didn't do it, but we contributed our share. The party will profit from this work in more than one way in the future.

This week a special edition APPEAL is travelling half way across the country—to St. Paul. As you will observe on this page, the St. Paul SWP is running its own candidate for mayor, Comrade Henry Rutzick.

St. Paul is ordering 3000 copies of the special edition. In addition to the articles you see in your copy of the paper, the St. Paul edition will carry the complete text of the party's election program.

What Newark has done, what St. Paul is doing, is a challenge to the branches in the rest of the country. Don't let important opportunities for propaganda slip through your fingers by issuing a pitiful mimeographed handbill. Keep on your toes! Order a special edition when the issue gets good and hot!

Fight For Action In 30-Hour Week Drive Is Main Issue For U.A.W.

This Must Be Keynote of Forthcoming Auto Workers Convention

DETROIT—Emil Mazey was re-elected President of the large militant Briggs local of the United Automobile Workers this week by a narrow margin. The final count showed 3,565 votes for Mazey, 2,546 for Henry McMillan and 396 for Fred Dinkelman. The re-election of Mazey by the smallest margin he ever received is a matter for serious study by every union militant.

Mazey was originally swept into office on a huge wave of personal popularity which he earned by a successful struggle against the reactionaries. He maintained this popularity by organizing his local on a militant basis and fighting tooth and nail with the corporation over every grievance of the workers.

Mazey's first serious set-back came after what was apparently a brilliant victory in the strike against the corporation last Spring. Most of the union's demands were won in that strike. The real problem however remained unsettled—the union had not even referred to it in its demands to the corporation. **That problem was unemployment.** The only possible answer the union could give was: thirty hours work for forty hours pay.

UNEMPLOYMENT ISSUE IN SENIORITY FORM

Soon after the strike had ended this issue began to plague the union heads and reappeared at meeting after meeting. It took the form of a struggle over the question of seniority. The younger, more militant men, the backbone of the Briggs local, wanted plant-wide seniority. The strongest demand for plant-wide seniority came from the men at the Mack Avenue plant, the largest and most productive unit of the five Briggs divisions in the city. The Mack Ave. plant supplies bodies for the Chrysler Plymouth plant. Mazey backed the Mack Ave. unionists. In that position he was right—but only partially right.

Violent opposition to this form of seniority and a demand for corporation-wide tenure was voiced in most of the other plants and principally in the Highland Park unit. The men in the opposition are the old-timers of Briggs, with long years of seniority behind them, the least militant and the most conservative. Most of those who had worked at the Highland Park are unemployed because this plant has been practically shut down since Ford began making some of his car bodies himself and took the others elsewhere. If seniority were organized on a corporation-wide basis, most of the younger militants would be pushed out of their jobs mainly at the Mack Ave. plant by the old-timers. No union leader could afford to allow this to happen except at peril of making it a house-broken institution for the management. After a long period of drawn-out discussion, the plant-wide seniority system carried in a Local referendum.

VOTES DON'T SETTLE UNEMPLOYMENT PROBLEM

Yet the problem persisted as did the opposition. But Mazey and his leading group did little or nothing to attempt a solution. The more they failed to outline a positive program of action, the more complicated and difficult their problem became. At the same time the workers became more restive and began to view this failure to act as a sign of bureaucracy.

Most of the 2.900 votes cast against Mazey in the election were cast by men who saw no other way to express their discontent with continued unemployment. Only 30 out of 800 votes cast at the Highland Park Plant went to Mazey.

What next? That is the question most militant and progressive unionists in the Briggs local are asking. To look further for an answer to the union's problem in a new wrinkle of the seniority question, is like trying to put a jig-saw puzzle together with the main pieces missing.

THERE IS ONLY ONE SOLUTION

The answer is outside the seniority issue—and inside the issue of the work-week. Cut down the number of hours to thirty, keep the wages at the present forty hours pay, and the seniority question will be at least partially solved by putting most of the unemployed back on the job.

Otherwise the present opposition will continue to grow as a reactionary force until they succeed in ousting the young men from their jobs. The struggle between employed and unemployed union men will supersede the struggle of all union men against the corporation. In that struggle there is only one winner: the corporation.

But, it is objected, Briggs cannot act alone without Chrysler, without General Motors. Yes, but why don't Chrysler and General Motors act? The convention of the U.A.W. went on record last year by unanimous vote for the "Thirty-hour week at forty-hours pay." Why have the Thomas-Reuther leadership buried this program and exhumed it only from time to time on holiday occasions? Why did they ignore this program in the Chrysler strike? Why are they relegating it to the point of "basic demands"—which mean no demands at all—in negotiating with General Motors?

Why, in other words, is the Thomas-Reuther leadership violating the solemn decision of the last convention?

Why? Because they are frightened by the real struggle with the corporation. In their secret moments they think how wonderful the union could be if only its one-third of unemployed could be driven out of the industry. Then they could settle down, they think, to calm enjoyment of their steady salaries in a stabilized union situation. They don't dare say that openly and directly. But they do say it indirectly. They said it at their last Board meeting where the only real decision was one loud shriek against "unauthorized strikes." They said it again in the Chrysler strike. They are saying it again in the G.M. negotiations.

The militants must demand an accounting from this crowd at the coming convention. They can't alibi about Martin any more — he's a dead horse in the auto industry now. The United Automobile Workers needs a firm leadership which will fight for the union program **the day after the convention.** In the center of this program must be the demand for the THIRTY HOUR WEEK AT FORTY HOURS PAY.

Mazey claims to be a progressive. Good. Let the Briggs workers put him through the real test: what will he do for this program at the next convention? Briggs Local 212 has a delegation of almost 100 to the U.A.W. convention. It can be a powerful force for a progressive program. The Briggs militants will judge Mazey by his actions not his speeches. Meanwhile, the auto workers can best serve themselves by organizing the forces of the rank and file independently.

Sailors Fight Fink Plan Which Would Bar Strikes

(Continued from Page 1)

Daily Worker and the rest of the Stalinist ballyhoo machinery, Harry Bridges has managed to retain a reputation as a radical nionist on the East Coast.

Crashed Picket Lines

But not in his own bailiwick on the West Coast. **The fact is that** here for years Bridges' name has been mud to all the real militants. When, last year, he tried to send his goon squads crashing through Sailors Union strike picket lines on the docks, his last bit of standing went.

The growing opposition to Bridges finally spurred John L. Lewis to demote him from West Coast Director of the CIO to California director and, with the growing gap between the Stalinists and Lewis, Bridges may be eased out of his CIO post altogether. But, meanwhile, thanks to the Stalinist machine, men and money, Bridges continues to keep up an imposing front. And right now he is doing yeomen's work for the shipowners.

Ballyhooed By Times

In his present role, Bridges rated a full-dress, two-page interview, pictures and all, in the New York **Times Magazine,** Sunday, Feb. 25. Militant labor leaders dont get that kind of elaborate interview in the magazines of Big Business spokesmen. It wasn't a bit unfriendly to him. "The Riddle of Bridges," it was called. Is he "dangerous revolutionary" or "white hope of labor"? it asked. "Here is what he says about himself," was its subtitle.

The reader who might be puzzled why Bridges was getting such a hand had only to read the article closely, and he would see why. In the heart of the article it tells of the waterfront "Peace Plan" which Bridges is sponsoring. The "peace plan" lists six points for the bosses to accept—good enough points, we'll say for argument's sake. Then comes the joker:

"He (Bridges) wants the employers to agree that all these items shall remain untouched and that all new questions be referred to arbitration, WITH STRIKES FORBIDDEN BY AGREEMENT."

That's the key to Bridges' "peace plan" and the explanation why he rates two-page interviews in employers' magazines.

The Stalinist Alibi

In their attempts to justify this finky policy, Bridges and the Stalinists have invented a fantastic theory. The "Voice of the Federation" has published an editorial entitled: "We must fight the enemy where the enemy is." And where is that? Not on the waterfront! "The shipowners," says the editorial, "fight the waterfront at the point of production—in the agricultural areas, in the press. They don't fight on the waterfront any more."

Therefore Bridges proposes to spend his time—and the other unions should do likewise—up and down the agricultural valleys "in a campaign to convince inland farmers that unions offer stability instead of turmoil" (N. Y. **Times** interview).

Sailors Are Sarcastic

West Coast Sailors, organ of the Sailors Union, has been having a lot of fun with this phoney theory of Bridges: "Isn't it the utmost stupidity for seamen to 'fight the enemy where the enemy isn't and tie up a ship on the waterfront in a beef with the shipowners? The proper thing to do is to really put the heat on the shipowners by dashing into the Sacramento Valley—and organizing the cotton pickers! . . . The 'peace plan' will eliminate all beefs on the waterfront ('where the enemy isn't anyway') while Bridges hounds the shipowners from pillars to post all over the agricultural areas of the West Coast."

But the Sailors Union is doing more than just joking about it. It is mobilizing not only its own membership, but every militant on the coast, against the dangers which the Bridges plan would bring.

When Bridges' goon squads were thrown back by the Sailors Union picket lines last year, Bridges never recovered the distance he was pushed back. In this present fight he may break his back altogether. The issues can be made clear to every decent union man. An old timer in the **Marine Firemen** summed it up in a few words:

I've been working since I was eight years old—that's a matter of over 45 years now. In that time I don't think I've had more than five minutes peace. They always wanted me to do a little more work for my wages, and I always wanted bigger wages. That's why we can't have any peace. It ain't that the boss was always a heel; it wasn't that I was an agitator or something. It's just the way things are—we want more dough; they want to give us as little as possible. As long as things are that way, peace is impossible."

That old-timer's words put the issue straight. Measure Bridges' "peace plan" by them and you get the answer: peace at the expense of the workers, at the cost of their working conditions, by surrender of their hard-won union victories.

SWP FIGHTS AGAINST WAR IN ELECTIONS

(Continued from Page 1)

It is denying WPA appropriations and increasing war appropriations; it already has given Mr. Roosevelt more powers than Mr. Wilson ever enjoyed; it is preparing to curtail the operation of the Wagner Labor Relations Act, while the Department of Justice wages war on international unions under the Sherman Anti-Trust Law. While professing neutrality it is considering giving approval to a huge loan to Finland; while protesting English seizures of mail destined for delivery to Germany, Congress makes no effort to block shipments of arms and war materials consigned to Japan, knowing that such materials are to be used to continue an undeclared war on China.

"Conditions today are parallel with conditions existing in the U.S. in 1916 when President Wilson was threatening Germany with one hand and emphasizing his appeals for peace and neutrality with the other. Then as now, domestic problems of unemployment were ignored by Congress, which was too absorbed with matters relating to re-election in 1916. Then as now, folks wandered like Alice in Wonderland under the strange delusion that Mr. Wilson would keep America out of the war his secretaries had been planning for more than a year."

After thsee authoritative and fundamental condemnations of the policy of Roosevelt and the Democrats, it is indefensible that the Labor-Progressive Association should endorse a Democrat for mayor.

FOR DEFENSE OF THE SOVIET UNION

The Socialist Workers Party's election statement singles out for special attention the question of the Soviet Union. Making clear its irreconcileable hostility to the Stalinist bureaucracy, it emphasizes the fundamental distinction between the bureaucracy and the Soviet Union.

"We bitterly condemn Stalin's invasion of Finland, not because it encroaches upon private property relations in Finland and not because it opposes a non-existent Finnish 'democracy,' but because it besmirches the name and ideal of socialism, because the invasion was carried out against the will and without the consent of the world's workers. . . .

"Soviet Russia is, after all, a gigantic trade union, fallen into the hands of corrupt leaders. We oppose the corrupt Stalinist leadership and seek to overthrow it. But we will defend that trade union when it is attacked by the bosses. Is this so hard for any trade unionist to understand and agree with?

"The time is growing short," the statement warns, "workers of St. Paul. This may be the last municipal campaign in which you will have the opportunity to express yourself.

"Show that you are opposed to capitalist war by voting for Henry Rutzick for mayor."

NEGRO LEADER IN CHALLENGE ON DEMOCRACY

(Special to the Socialist Appeal)

By HAROLD SWANSON

MINNEAPOLIS, Feb. 16—A. L. Foster. head of the Chicago Urban League, speaking before a mass meeting at the local Y.W.-C.A., urged his listeners to seek the extension of democratic rights to America's 13,000,000 Negroes as a defense against the growth of Nazism here. The meeting, sponsored by the Minneapolis Urban League, closed the eighteenth annual observance of Interracial Week.

Judge Lars Rue, who presided at the meeting, adhered to what is fast becoming a familiar pattern for professional democrats these days. He announced the singing of the Finnish national anthem, poured out his venom on the Soviet Union for invading "poor little democratic Finland", and promised that should America be threatened by some foreign tyrant, we would certainly fight as hard as the brave Finns to defend this "wonderful democracy of ours."

He showed that racial prejudice stems from economic roots. Unsound theories of racial inequality develop when Man's livelihood is at stake in a highly competitive social order. He analyzed the treatment of the Negro in the South and in Chicago, where he has first-hand knowledge of the facts. Quoting from authentic sources, he revealed a shocking picture of the denial of democratic rights to his people. A study of wages in four states showed the average wage of Negro workers to be about half that for white workers. Jim Crow segregation, injustice, poverty, wretched housing, and discrimination have made life for the southern Negro all but unbearable.

In concluding his talk, Foster hurled defiance at the professional defenders of America's capitalist democracy: "Until we have granted more democracy to the Negro in America, we are in no position to denounce the governments of Germany, Russia, Japan, or any other nation!"

The judge was visibly perturbed as he closed the meeting. We could hear his voice trail off into an almost inaudible murmer as we left the hall before the singing of "America."

SEEK TO TAKE VOTE FROM JERSEY JOBLESS

(Special to the Socialist Appeal)

NEWARK, N. J.—Living up to the New Jersey state motto of "Everything for Business"—(and nothing for labor), a state legislative committee report, recommending that the unemployed who have been on relief for three years or more be deprived of the right to vote and be formally designated as paupers, has been made public. This despicable proposal is only one of several included in the report by Col. G. Barret Glover, a retired Army officer, who has been conducting a state relief inquiry for a joint Senate-Assembly committee.

Some of the other proposals included in the report are that cash relief payments be abolished and that licensed stores be set up to handle clients' needs at which they would be forbidden to receive tobacco, candy, and food for pets. Col. Glover also complained that too much money is being allowed to the relief clients for milk, gas electricity, special diets, and other similar luxuries.

Committee Members For It

State Senator Homer Zink, chairman of the Joint Legislature committee, said that members of the committee concurred with Glover's suggestions and are ready to submit bills to make them into laws.

Jamaica Reliefers Acquitted But are Urged to be Good

Judge Solomon Doesn't Dare Assume Risk Of Convictions In Case of Sitdowners

"Not Guilty," was the verdict of the court in the trial of the thirteen workingmen and women who were arrested for a sit-down strike in the Jamaica Relief Bureau on Van Wyck Avenue three weeks ago. One defendant after another had testified in court to the brutality and contempt with which the Bureau authorities treated the poor and hungry people who came seeking relief, and the run-around given to all the workers, no matter how great their need.

It was clear that Judge Charles Solomon, who heard the case in the Flushing Second Magistrates Court, February 21, could not bring himself to take the responsibility of sending to jail thirteen workingmen and women among whom was Massimo DiBernardo, father of a family of sixteen. Natale of Mrs. Bruno, parents of six children, Guiseppe Pace, a sixty-three year old shoemaker, Richard Hicks, a worker of 64 years, and the others, most of them middle-aged people whose only crime was that they were unemployed and hungry.

Defended By A.L.A.

The workers were defended in court by a lawyer furnished them free of charge by the American Labor Aid, 125 West 23rd Street, New York City. Before the trial members of the Unemployed and Relief Workers' League distributed leaflets through Jamaica, denouncing the arrests and the scandalous conditions at the Relief Bureau. A mass meeting was held at the Jamaica Labor Center, 151-06 Beaver Road under the auspices of the League and the American Labor Aid, Tuesday night, day before the trial.

Action Gets Results

Since the sit-down the Bureau has given an allowance for food to the Bruno family and found a WPA job for Bruno. However, the Bureau still denies relief to the others.

Pace, who is sick and absolutely destitute, has now been forced to fill out three different applications, and has been sent on tiresome journeys to former employers and landlords for letters, documents, and so on.

Pace and the others had to listen, however, with silent anger to Judge Solomon's lecture to them not to use sit-downs or "such illegal methods" and to have sympathy for the "hard work" of the well-paid, well-fed bureau employees. The way the Bureau teaches its employees to handle the poor was revealed by one of the Bureau personnel, Miss Farrell, who was sent to court by the Bureau to testify against the workers.

This person testified that the defendants had "interfered with her work." Upon cross-examination by the American Labor Aid lawyer, it was discovered that she worked in another office, away from the reception room where the thirteen unemployed had been sitting, that no one had shouted or made any noise, that she only saw them when she had to pass through the reception room, that no one had spoken to her nor even noticed her in any way, and that it was only the sight of these workers, sitting quietly together, that had "upset her emotionally."

This person, Miss Farrell, was evidently instructed by the Bureau heads to testify in this shameful and stupid manner. The Bureau heads imitate the rich whose servants they are—they think the poor should not exist and if they're hungry, they ought to take their hunger somewhere out of sight of the wealthy class and their government agents — because the poor "upset them emotionally."

A representative of the Unemployed and Relief Workers League informed the **Appeal** reporter that the League will fight to force the Bureau to change its brutal attitude toward the Jamaica jobless, and stated the League has the following program of immediate demands:

1. WPA Jobs at Trade Union Wages for All Unemployed.

2. Certification of relief for all unemployed within 72 hours and, for emergency cases, within 24 hours.

3. Increase in Relief Budgets for those already on relief to correspond to the rising cost of food, rent, clothing and other living costs.

4. Setting up of one central bureau of certification for dismissed WPA workers.

5. Increase in personnel of Bureau of Welfare to speed up certification of all unemployed workers.

ANNOUNCEMENT

GRAND LEAP YEAR SOCIAL. The YPSL unit does it again with another novel social, this Saturday night, March 1 at 1334 Wilkins Avenue, Bronx. A beautiful female stag — or should we say doe—line is assured.

Upper West Side

RENT & RIOT PARTY

you'll always have fun at

916 9th Ave. (59th St.)

Saturday, March 2

Candid Camera Specialists will catch you at your best and worst —Free photos for best poses—

The Works—25c

TWO EXCELLENT BOOKS

to add to your library for less than the PRICE OF ONE!

Anti-Duehring

by ENGELS

(regularly $2.00)

American City

by C. W. WALKER

(originally $2.50)

BOTH FOR $1.98

(plus postage)

WHILE THEY LAST!

Order Your Copies NOW!

Labor and political books are now available in our Rental Library.

•

Modern Bookshop

27 UNIVERSITY PL., N. Y. C.

WORKERS' FORUM

Editor:

A strike is in progress in Toledo. It is a very small strike waged by a handful of workers. Perhaps sixty or seventy all told. There is nothing spectacular about the picketing—no valiant crowds, no violent clashes with brutal police, no fervent denunciation in the vested press. But this isolated and tiny skirmish of the great class war is of tremendous significance and import.

Here the sheer stamina, tenacity of purpose and class loyalty and courage of those who must toil for their very bread is mutely but most eloquently expressed. For a period of many wintry weeks the picket line has been on rigid duty. Early, from long before sunup till after nightfall, the resolute little band of men and women have paced the frozen ground carrying their battered banners defiantly.

They are paper mill employees and they receive perhaps twenty dollars a week. The women even less. They have been out on strike for a long time and they have little money for food.

On several days the thermometer fell far below zero. And on these bleak, grim mornings when the last vestige of cheer had been removed from the jagged black factory fronts and a mantle of icy, hopeless gloom held back the very dawn—on these mornings as on all the others the same little band, swathed in homely sweaters and shapeless, wretchedly poor coats and jackets, without so much as a fire, shouldered their banners and fought their masters in the only way they knew how. This is courage! This is unsung heroism!

God help those who stand before such as these—on the opposite side of the barricades!

Toledo, Ohio **Doyle Clark**

Editor:

I didn't like the idea of Sumner Welles travelling to Europe in the first place. When they start sticking our nose into every war-torn country in Europe in OFFICIAL capacity it sure looks like there'll be many more Yanks travelling over there very soon after Welles gets back.

But what I'm particularly insulted about as a citizen of a so-called democracy is the secrecy of the whole trip. I'd like to know what President Roosevelt is whispering into Mussolini's ear via his stooge Welles. Haven't the people the right to know the contents of the official messages sent to those countries? And don't forget, this isn't just an ordinary message. This is a visit by a high official in the State Department accompanied by all the fanfare and ballyhoo of a World Series.

I had the feeling that President Roosevelt must feel us to be a lot of full-blown dummies when I saw the headlines in the papers the other day, "Welles gives Roosevelt's message to Mussolini" and couldn't find in the article an inkling of what the message is all about.

One of your planks says "no secret diplomacy." That's ok with me. If Roosevelt's working for the money interests it's time we poor people said something about it.

We may be poor but even poor people would rather live than die "over there.'

Bridgeport **H. S.**

Editor:

The enclosed item comes from the Sept. 30 issue of the Saturday Evening Post, page 22.

I think you can just print it without any comment!

New York **M. Lerner**

(ENCLOSURE)

WASHINGTON: On next Armistice Day, American veterans of the World War will not be so strong numerically as were the veterans of the Civil War in 1906, forty-one years after Appomattox. World War veterans are dying 12 per cent faster than other citizens of the same age. More than 500,000 veterans died from the close of the war to last Armistice Day, and another 33,000 will have died by November eleventh next. Membership in the American Legion has fallen to 974,637, from its peak of 1,053,-909 in 1931. There were 4,088,784 living ex-service men of 1917-18 on last November eleventh.

WHAT ABOUT THE RED SUNDAYS?

From all reports, everybody seems interested in Red Sundays. But as far as actual results are concerned, in most places this interest is much more Platonic than active. That is revealed on the scoreboard which shows only a few branches hitting the ball on Sunday mornings. The others are either having a late Sunday morning snooze or are finding the million-and-one perfectly good reasons for stalling from week to week.

Nobody can possible argue against these "alibis" except by saying: **"If you drop all your alibis in the ashcan and mobilize even one handful of comrades on Sunday mornings you would miraculously find yourself engaged in Red Sundays and the sale of papers shooting up beyond all expectations."**

One more thing: if we printed one extra paper for every alibi given for not selling the Appeal, we'd be printing 100,000 copies per issue at a minimum.

FLINT: 'The Flint Branch has taken up your challenge, and has launched with great success the plan of Sunday mobilizations for door to door sale of Appeals. Our first attempt was a gratifying success. FOR THE FIRST TIME THE APPEAL BUNDLE HAS BEEN PAID FOR COMPLETELY BY SALE TO WORKERS!

"We have also adopted a special plan of our own in this connection which we would like to pass on to other branches as a suggestion. As you know, Flint has a great preponderance of workers active in mass organizations, as members in the party. But we do have a few comrades, able and devoted who are not fortunate enough to be in the unions. These comrades have been drafted to take all responsibility for the Sunday sales. It is obligatory for them to do this in our branch, since they have little else they can do.

"This plan has many fine results. First of all it gets the paper out, and puts **Appeal** sales on a sound basis. Second, and possibly even more important, every time these white-collar comrades enter a workers home, talk about conditions, it is a vaccination against the malady of petty-bourgeois pessimism and vacillation. The warm and friendly reception accorded these comrades by the workers has built up understanding and belief in the working class. In addition it gives them an opportunity to make worker-contacts for the party. I suggest that other branches follow suit. Turn the Red Sundays over to the comrades who are not able to function in the mass organizations. It can have only the most beneficial results."

—Jules Geller, Organizer, Flint Branch.

LYNN, Mass.: "For the past several weeks, the Lynn comrades have been making serious attempts for "Red Sunday" distribution. Each Sunday has shown a steady increase in distribution and revenue. With more concerted efforts, I can foresee further increases not only in revenue but in the influence of the "Trotskyites" in this area."—**F.D.**

Akron is still promising to go out Red Sundays. Promises are good, comrades, but they can't print the **Appeal.** Philadelphia says they like the idea, but many of the comrades won't go out for this or that reason. A suggestion: don't waste your time with those who won't work. Get two, three, four comrades and make a beginning. The others will soon come come around and hop on the bandwagon. And those who don't, won't come around out of sheer embarrassment.

SUBSCRIPTIONS

Subs have taken a real tailspin in the past period as you will ee from the following scoreboard. They have dropped by four subs in the last two weeks below the low figure of the previous two weeks. This number is one-half the amount of subs we received not many months earlier. If you want to know why we have financial difficulties just read these figures. But don't read 'em and weep. Go out and get subs. Next week we will announce the beginning of a large-scale sub campaign with very attractive prizes for real sub-getters. Watch for it. And when it comes, put your shoulder to the wheel.

Subs for the last two weeks:

New York City	1
Akron	2
Milwaukee	1
Foreign	2
Rochester	2
Detroit	2
California	1
Boston	3
Phila	1
Newark	2
Chicago	3
Not very grand total	**20**

The Negro Question

"LABOR WITH A WHITE SKIN CANNOT EMANCIPATE ITSELF WHERE LABOR WITH A BLACK SKIN IS BRANDED" — KARL MARX.

By J. R. JOHNSON

(This week's column is written by Robert L. Birchman, in the absence of J. R. Johnson).

The Philadelphia **Independent**, Negro newspaper of Philadelpia asks some questions of President Roosevelt in a recent editorial.

"Why should Negroes be secretly excluded from wide scale industrial recovery? Why does not President Roosevelt call attention of the nation, and the industrialists in particular, to the fact that the recovery of America must include the emancipation of Negro workers?

"Why must President Roosevelt remain silent on the equalization of educational standards for Negroes of the South? Why must he remain silent as to the need for passage of the anti-lynch bill? Why must he remain silent at the brazenness of the Ku Klux Klan, which is again starting out on a race terrorist program?

"We call upon President Roosevelt to not extend too great a hand across the seas before he extends a much needed one at home. We want to see the establishment of a true democracy here before we begin a hue and cry for it abroad. We further believe that we are heading for war when we interfere too much in European affairs —that is why the Neutrality Law was passed.

"President Roosevelt must remember that in 1940 Negroes of this Nation will loudly ask— —'What About Us, Uncle?'"

* * *

"Bread, Not Bullets"

An editorial, "BREAD NOT BULLETS" in the Feb. 4 Chicago **Defender** states: "President Roosevelt's recommended relief cut of one billion dollars means mass starvation for the majority of the Negro people. If Congress accepts his budget increasing the amounts for war preparations, the outlay for all social services will be drastically reduced."

Negroes have been the largest group on relief proportionally in the country. The Unemployment Census of 1937, the latest complete figures available, show that 28.2 per cent of the Negro workers were unemployed compared to 19.1 per cent of the white workers. While 67.8 per cent of the white workers were fully employed, 53.3 per cent, little more than half of the Negro workers, were fully employed.

The Negroes, the most poverty stricken section of the American population, will be the chief victims of further relief cuts. The editorial continues:

"Measure relief cuts against such phenomena of our national life as 9,000,000 already unemployed, and seeking anything to do, consider the discrimination against Negro job seekers by powerful corporations. The answer is starvation.

"Negroes, by the millions, supported the New Deal program although it was palpably a stop gap. Whatever its inadequacies, it was the beginning of a new conception of government—that the welfare of the American people, white and colored, meant more to the future of America than the opportunity for industrial magnates to gouge fortunes out of these people.

"Which does not mean, of course, that the Negro will return to the Republican party which pacified him so long with oratory and a few—very few—political jobs. At this late stage, after almost eleven years of economic crisis, the Negro will inevitably share in any forward move of the white masses.

"Nor does a president always get what he wants from Congress if the people want something else. Congress can be told emphatically by the American people that the situation demands an increase in relief expenditures rather than a decrease; that:

"Bread is wanted, and not bullets!"

* * *

Which Way Now?

The New Deal was not the "beginning of a new conception of government" and certainly the New Deal did nothing and will not do anything to prevent the industrial magnates from gouging profits out of the masses of the people. In fact the New Deal served to protect and extend the interests of the capitalist class of America and now, openly becoming the War Deal, serves to enrich the pockets of the armaments and munitions makers.

The problem which these editorials do not answer is how are the Negro people to solve the problems of job discriminations, unemployment, war, educational inequality, jim-crowism, etc., that face them—and which face the masses of the white workers as well.

The direction in which the masses of the Negro workers must turn their efforts was indicated by Wilfred Dickerson, a young Negro trade unionist, and delegate from West Virginia to the recent convention of the United Mine Workers when he stated:

"The results of this convention will be the laying of the ground work for a great political labor party. Through such a labor party the laboring man—Negro and white—will get the best type of representation."

The Negroes must unite with their white brothers in the trade unions to fight for the building of a militant labor party since experience has proved that labor and especially the Negroes have received little of value from the boss parties and that they cannot make use of the boss parties and must have a party of their own. It is only along this line that the Negroes can fight effectively for jobs, adequate relief, educational equality, against lynching, against war and for "full economic, political and economic equality for the Negro people."

* * *

To the Readers of the Negro Column:

We would like to deal more concretely with the problems that face the Negro people in their daily life in the shops, in the trade unions, in their organizations, etc.

We would like to have your comments on the column, your experiences in the trade unions, the problems you face in promoting better relations between the Negro and white workers in your unions and shops, the problems and living conditions of the Negro WPA and unemployed workers.

We shall print and comment on the reports sent in by our readers.

NATIONAL NEGRO DEPARTMENT

ON THE WAR IN FINLAND

Why We Should Defend the Soviet Union

By ALBERT GOLDMAN

IV

Many and serious have been the crimes of Stalin from the very beginning of his regime. In fact, his internal and his foreign policies constitute one colossal crime against the interests of the workers of the whole world.

Bitterly as we condemn and fight against his crimes and betrayals, nevertheless we do not yield an inch on our fundamental position of defending the Soviet Union against the capitalist world. We distinguish between the Soviet Union based on nationalized property and the Stalinist bureaucracy capable of the worst crimes against the working class.

When Stalin expelled the Bolshevik-Leninists, led by Trotsky, from the Communist party of the Soviet Union, when he hounded and jailed them, he committed a crime against the revolutionary proletariat, but these Bolsheviks, hounded by Stalin, pledged loyalty to the state which they were instrumental in creating.

When, in order to save himself from the danger of an attack by Hitler, he made an alliance with France and, as compensation to the French imperialists, actually ordered the Communist party of France to cease its anti-militarist activities, we condemned the alliance as a betrayal of the workers. But the revolutionary Marxists did not give up the slogan of unconditional defense of the Soviet Union.

By frameups, by torture, by outright murder, Stalin exterminated the generation of Bolsheviks who organized and led the revolution. That crime did not cause us to eliminate from our program the slogan of defense of the Soviet Union.

STALIN'S GREATEST CRIME WAS IN SPAIN

The greatest crime that Stalin has committed thus far was the crushing of the Spanish revolution. When Franco began his revolt, the Spanish workers took the factories away from the capitalists and the peasants took the land away from the landlords. Stalin bought his way into the leadership of the Spanish Loyalists, sent a large contingent of his GPU to Spain, took control of the Spanish government, murdered hundreds of revolutionary workers and crushed the Spanish revolution.

The program of our party was written after that crime and in that program was included a section dealing with the necessity of defending the Soviet Union against capitalism.

Why did we cling to that slogan? Because the crimes of Stalin, taken separately or together, did not change the nature of the Soviet Union. They undermined the basic structure; they weakened the Soviet Union but they did not destroy nationalized property and we therefore continued to insist on the unconditional defense of the Soviet Union against imperialism.

* * *

Came the Hitler-Stalin pact. The liberals were dreadfully shocked. They had depended on Stalin to save their democracy and now the great savior changed playmates and left them holding the bag.

Sad to say, some of our own sympathizers were shaken out of their equilibrium by Stalin's "betrayal" of the "democratic" nations.

Did Stalin betray anyone when he signed the pact with his erstwhile arch enemy? Undoubtedly, he betrayed the working masses, but essentially no more and no less than when he made a pact with imperialist France. If we are going to measure betrayals by degree, his crushing of the Spanish revolution was by far worse than the signing of the pact with Hitler.

WHY HIS ALLIANCES ARE CRIMES AGAINST THE WORKERS

It must be clearly understood that, in and of itself, there is nothing criminal in the leaders of the Soviet Union making a temporary alliance with one imperialist nation against another. Existing in an imperialist world, a workers' state must of necessity take advantage of the conflicts between the imperialist nations in order to strengthen itself to a certain extent.

What constitutes Stalin's crime in making these alliances is that he ties the working masses to that section of the imperialists with which he enters into an alliance. When he was courting the democratic imperialists, his agency, the Communist International, was backing France and England against Hitler. Now that he has entered into an alliance with Hitler, the Communists are in fact supporting Hitler. Not so openly, it is true. But openly enough so that an intelligent worker can see what their real game is.

In his alliance with Hitler, Stalin proved his contempt for the workers—he did not hesitate a moment to violate their democratic sentiments. He proved that he never was interested in fighting fascism because it is the mortal enemy of the workers but simply because it represented a danger to his regime. As soon as conditions made Hitler willing to make peace with him, Stalin dropped the fight against fascism.

WE PREDICTED THE STALIN-HITLER PACT

Our party was not shocked, not even surprised, by the pact. We foresaw the possibility of such an alliance; we warned the workers against that possibility. The Stalinists raged at us; the Stalinist liberals sneered at the "fantastic" idea that Stalin could make an alliance with Hitler.

We turned out to be correct. And events have demonstrated that the pact was a betrayal of the workers. Recognizing it as such, we ask all our critics: what change in the economic structure of the Soviet Union did the Hitler-Stalin pact usher in? We have thus far heard no answer. In fact the economic structure remains the same, and our policy of unconditional defense of the Soviet Union against the imperialist world must still be followed.

* * *

Following upon the heels of the pact came the invasion of Poland by the Red Army. More liberals left the Stalinist movement. The whole capitalist press began to howl about Stalin's "imperialism." Norman Thomas and his followers took up the cry; the Lovestoneites joined in, and, alas, some of our close sympathizers permitted themselves to be led astray by the crime of Stalin and by the pressure of capitalist public opinion.

We too condemned the invasion, but from a totally different viewpoint. All others condemned it as an "imperialist venture." We condemned it because it confused the masses, undermined their faith in the Soviet Union and thus weakened it in the struggle which some or all of the imperialist nations will inevitably wage against it. We condemned the invasion in the same way that revolutionary workers condemn reactionary activities of the leaders of their trade union, activities which would not in the least prevent them from defending the union against the bosses.

Revolutionary socialists do not look upon boundaries as sacred. When the Soviet Union invaded Poland in 1920 and Georgia in 1921 no class conscious worker hesitated for a moment in supporting it. "Socialists" condemned the invasions of those years as "red imperialism" but that was to be expected from lackeys of the capitalists. If and when it is necessary for the Soviet Union, in order to defend itself, to invade the territory of some capitalist nation, it would be perfectly justified in doing so. But it should be done under circumstances where the workers of the world can clearly see the necessity for the invasion. The sentiments of the workers must be taken into consideration because in the last analysis the defense of the Soviet Union depends upon them.

GAINS FROM INVASIONS OUTWEIGHED BY DAMAGE

Now it is true that to some extent the Soviet Union has gained certain advantages by occupying a section of Poland. One advantage is that all of the Ukrainians are now out of reach of Hitler so that he cannot establish a phoney Ukrainian state to be utilized in an attack against the Soviet Union. There may also be some military-strategic advantages. But all of the advantages put together cannot compensate for the damage the invasion has done because of the terrible effect it has had on the workers of the world.

Had Stalin invaded Poland in order to struggle against Hitler, no class-conscious worker would have objected; it was criminal for him not only to invade Poland but to permit Hitler to seize the best section of Poland. The invasion, in and of itself, is not the crime. The circumstances under which it took place and the effect on the workers make it a crime.

The same thing is true of the invasion of Finland. It is only a simpleton who can condemn Stalin for wanting to fortify important bases on the Gulf of Finland, in order to protect Leningrad against an attack either by England and France or by Germany or by all three. Only middle-class liberals or middle-class "socialists" will take the attitude that the Soviet Union has no right to ask a smaller state to cede important bases for its defense. Class-conscious workers make a distinction between capitalist states and the Soviet Union. It does not at all follow that what we oppose as far as capitalist states are concerned we should oppose in a workers' state, even though degenerated.

We condemn the invasion of Finland not because the Soviet Union has become "imperialist," but because under the circumstances it had a terrible effect upon the workers of the world. It was not proved to the workers that the invasion was absolutely necessary to defend the Soviet Union. No attempt was made to appeal to the Finnish workers before the invasion took place. Ridiculous lies were spread about Finland threatening to attack the Soviet Union. The same tactics were used by Stalin in invading Finland as by Hitler in invading Poland. The invasion was criminal because, even if Stalin gets what he wants, it will not be sufficient compensation for the loss of faith in the Soviet Union amongst the workers.

WE DEFEND UNIONS DESPITE FALSE LEADERS

But the invasion is one thing and the defense of the Soviet Union is another. If we condemn Stalin's invasion, that does not mean that we change our attitude to the Soviet Union.

There are those who argue that even if we consider the Soviet Union as a workers' state we cannot defend it in every struggle that the Stalinists see fit to throw it into. Suppose a trade union, they argue, calls a strike to compel a boss to exclude Negroes. Revolutionary workers would not support that kind of a strike. Very true. But if that strike, called for a bad purpose, develops into a struggle between the union and the boss and the defeat of the union by the boss must inevitably result in the weakening of the union, then class-conscious workers defend the union against the boss regardless of the cause of the strike. The workers themselves must punish the treacherous leaders and not permit the boss to defeat the union.

Even if we should consider that Stalin's invasion had an objective which we would condemn, it would not alter our attitude, because the struggle in Finland is essentially, as I explained in a previous article, a struggle between the Soviet Union and capitalist Finland representing the capitalist world. In such a struggle we defend the Soviet Union.

STALIN'S OVERTHROW IS TASK OF THE WORKERS

Stalin's objective, however, as I mentioned above, is not something that we can condemn. The invasion is what we condemn. Frequently it happens that reactionary trade union leaders want to organize a section of workers who are opposed to unionism and the reactionary leaders, instead of educating these backward workers, send up gangsters to beat and intimidate them, thus antagonizing not only these but other workers. Nevertheless, if a strike should develop under circumstances where the union is placed in a bad position in the eyes of public opinion, including the public opinion of workers, there would be nothing else for us to do except to support the union to the utmost.

Because we condemn the reactionary leaders of the Soviet Union for invading Finland does not mean that we should permit the Finnish bourgeois army representing world capitalism to defeat the Red Army representing the workers' state.

Because of its criminal acts against the working masses the Stalinist bureaucracy must be overthrown—but only by the workers. As against the capitalist world the Soviet Union must be defended at all costs.

HOW STALIN SERVES HITLER

A LETTER TO A COMMUNIST WORKER, DISCUSSING THE EFFECT OF STALINIST PROPAGANDA IN NAZI GERMANY

Dear Will:

Thank you for sending me the article from the Feb. 25 **Sunday Worker**. I have noted all the passages you have marked: the headline—"German Communists lead fight on Nazi hunger"—the picture of Thaelmann and the demand for his freedom, the assertion that "The Communists are just as merciless and penetrating in their exposure of the lies of the German imperialists as with the war propaganda of the Anglo-French bloc."

You so desperately want to believe that the Comintern is undermining Hitler in Germany, and to disprove my arguments that the Comintern now serves Hitler in return for the Stalin-Hitler pact, that you painstakingly searched out every conceivable word in that article which might prove your point. But you didn't underline very much! The few things you underlined are so much embroidery; the main content of the article, and in this it undoubtedly accurately reflects, as it claims, the type of propaganda being carried on by the Comintern in Germany is—a justification of the Hitler-Stalin pact.

If, the day before the Hitler-Stalin pact, I had asked you: "Is it possible for Hitler to conduct a foreign policy beneficial to the German workers?"—what would you have answered? No! How can bestial fascism do anything which serves the interests of the workers! You understood then, quite firmly, that there was no difference between Hitler's treaties and Hitler's breaking of treaties: no difference, for instance, between Munich and his march into Austria. Everything that he did, at home or abroad, was reactionary. Everything without exception.

Now, however, you and your party try to tell me, Hitler has done something very good. "Very good" is, indeed, a miserable understatement. Few rulers, indeed, have ever achieved anything remotely comparable on behalf of their people. Just see what, according to that **Sunday Worker** article, Hitler has done for the German people by concluding his pact with Stalin:

"The German-Soviet pact shows that the vital interests of the German people can definitely be protected by peaceful treaties, provided that the German working people decide foreign policy and have the power to guarantee such treaties."

Yes, I note the "provided that". But the Stalin-Hitler pact was concluded without those provisions; the German workers had no voice in it and no power to guarantee it. Apparently, therefore, "the German people can definitely be protected by peaceful treaties even though they are bound and gagged and tortured by Hitler!

Here is another tremendous compliment paid to Hitler by the same **Sunday Worker** article:

". . . The Soviet Union's pacts with Germany rescued the German people from the worst of counter-revolutionary wars and ditched the predatory plans of the Allied warmakers against both the Soviet and the German peoples."

Hitler has seldom had such compliments paid to him, even by his own lickspittles. Just think! With a wave of his pen, Hitler saved the German people "from the worst of counter-revolutionary wars" and "ditched the predatory plans of the Allied warmakers."

EFFECT OF STALINIST PROPAGANDA IN GERMANY

What, logically, would be the effect of such propaganda on German workers who want a free, united Germany, who want to be rid of Hitler, but fear also the occupation of Germany by the Allies?

If he accepted the propaganda of your party, the German worker could only conclude: "After all, Hitler at the helm is not the worst thing. He has saved us from the worst of counter-revolutionary wars, has ditched the predatory plans of the Allied warmakers, has protected our vital interests by peaceful treaties with the Soviet Union. Better that than another Versailles. We must wait until after the war before overturning a regime which can do these things."

Not even the terrible hardships of the war as it unfolds, the daily toll of dead and wounded, the hunger at home as the blockade finds its victims from afar, not even these things, which caused the German proletariat to make a revolution in 1918, will spur to revolt the German worker who is under the influence of your party. For, to revolt, the workers in 1918 had finally to see: the main enemy is at home, the Kaiser, the Junkers, the capitalists, they are responsible for this war. The way to stop the war is for us, the workers, to stop fighting, to stop working for this war machine.

STALIN WHITEWASHES HITLER'S WAR GUILT

But the worker under the influence of your party will never get to that point of revolt. For your party is not telling him that Hitler is responsible for this war. Your party is not telling the German worker that the main enemy is at home. Your party is telling him that the Allies are responsible for the war. I quote another of the many key paragraphs you did **not** underline:

"Brushing aside the legalistic 'origins' of the present war, the Communists point to THE REAL PROVOCATION OF THE WAR IN THE SYSTEMATIC EFFORTS OF THE ANGLO - FRENCH IMPERIALISTS to bring the Soviet Union and Germany into a head-on collision. With this goal in view, the British imperialists supported an entire series of German fascist aggressions. . . The Soviet Union effectively scotched these plots by its pacts with Germany."

If your party could convince the German workers that "the systematic efforts of the Anglo-French imperialists" is the "real provocation of the war", then why should they cease fighting and working for the German army? What would be the use, if the Anglo-French are alone responsible for the war? To stop war, one must deal blows at those responsible. They, according to your party, are outside Germany. The main enemy is not at home.

LENINIST SLOGANS ABSENT FROM COMINTERN LINE

The article points out correctly that the Anglo-French are not fighting for the freedom of Poland, the Czech and Austrian peoples. But search that article, and all the others of your party since the Hitler-Stalin pact, and nowhere will you find the elementary slogans on this question dictated to every real Leninist: For the freedom of the Polish, Czech, Slovak peoples from the yoke of Hitler! Is it an accident that a lengthy article describing Communist propaganda in Germany does not say these things? No, it is by design: the Leninist slogans against war are completely alien to the Comintern line in Germany.

In America, your party is raising the slogan: "Not a man, not a cent, not a gun, for the imperialist war!" Why don't your party raise the same slogan in Germany? Because, in return for the pact with Stalin, your party serves Hitler. To serve him well, it must do so not too crudely. Therefore, as the article puts it, "One of their central rallying cries is the demand for the release of Thaelmann." Thaelmann should be freed. But can that possibly be a CENTRAL rallying slogan?

Look through that article again, and what other "rallying cries" do you find? "They call the people to action against the fearfully low wages and the sky-high of war profits, the mistreatment and bad food"—and these "action" slogans are justified by this: "The Communists emphasize that the fight for the immediate interests of the people is identical with the struggle against the war policy of German big capital."

A PSEUDO-RADICAL COVER FOR SERVING HITLER

That sounds radical, until you analyze it. Is "the war policy of German big capital" identical with fearfully low wages, war profits, etc., or is it something more? **We**, the Trotskyists, would say that low wages, profiteering, etc., although to be fought against, are merely accompaniments to German imperialism's war policy. The war policy itself is: the aim of imperialist expansion, the attempt to redivide the world. In other words, German imperialism, Hitler, is responsible for the fact of war itself.

But your party cannot say this, for it has already blamed the war on the Allies. Nor can it even fight against low wages and hunger effectively.

In a word, do you want a picture of your party in Germany? Then look at the Socialist party of France, or the British Labor Party. They, too, talk of fighting low wages and hunger; but their war policy makes it impossible. Thus they serve the British and French rulers — as your party serves Hitler.

More, much more, can be said on this question. I shall return to it next week.

Fraternally,

FELIX MORROW

West Indies Feel British Wartime Rule

By ROBERT L. BIRCHMAN

A partial stoppage of work in seven of Trinidad's oil fields in January gave the governor, Major Sir Hubert Young, the pretext to crack down on "agitators" and to place in compulsory detention, Uriah Butler, militant Negro trade unionist, just released from two years in prison for his activities in connection with the Trinidad general strike of 1937. The authorities feared a recurrence of the 1937 strike, when they landed bluejackets and marines in order to suppress the strike. The governor put through an agreement with the oil companies under which the strikers were induced to return to work. Under its terms a wage increase of two cents an hour was granted all around, plus a war bonus of half a cent an hour for every five point's rise in the cost of living. These concessions are less than meagre, as they are to be nullified by soaring prices.

From the few reports of conditions in the West Indies that seep through to the American Negro press, despite the rigid censorship, it is clear the West Indians are suffering from the burdens of the war. Increases in such prices of foodstuffs in Trinidad are as much as 180 per cent (examples: split peas, usually 5 cents per lb., now 14 cents), and 28 per cent in textiles (84 cent stockings are now $1.08) but there has been no corresponding rise in wages. Sugar in large quantities is exported to England, while the population is restricted to purchases of 5 lbs.

Reports are that in Trinidad there has been near riot and discontent over the colony's gift of $1,000,000 to England for the support of the war. In January city corporation laborers were battling to have their pay increased to 96 cents per day and were meeting with vicious opposition.

Food Profiteering Widespread

Profiteering in foodstuffs and textiles is widespread throughout the colonies. So terrific has been this upturn in prices that laws have been enacted in several of the colonies to curb the merchants. At St. Georges, the chamber of commerce petitioned Sir H. P. Popham, governor of the Windward Islands, "to set right the obvious hardships created upon merchants by the administering of the regulations consequent on the war." The governor has promised to investigate and effect changes to aid the merchants, which translated means that the poor people who have difficulties in peace time to buy the food necessary to exist upon will have their standard of living further reduced as a result of the war.

Royal Commission Report Suppressed

The report of the British Royal Commission on conditions in the West Indies, concluded before the outbreak of war and pigeon-holed, refused to stay buried and has emerged to plague and embarass Malcolm McDonald, the Colonial Secretary. The report contains documentation of recent labor struggles in the West Indies and recommendations for correction of conditions. So revealing are the sections on Trinidad, Jamaica and Barbados that Mr. McDonald has refused to release them even to the members of Parliament that recommended the creation of the commission. One group is pressing for an immediate release and the institution of sweeping reforms in order "to earn the gratitude of the colonial peoples", but Mr. McDonald holds to the theory that the Empire is at war now and cannot gamble with the colonies now.

He fears that if the report is released, it would create a wave of resentment, and add fuel to the explosive conditions already existing in India, Africa, Ireland, and other sections of the Empire. Most embarrassing is the evidence contained in the report that in every instance the local commissions, made up of planter barons and high office holders, whitewashed the issue, released wrong figures on the casualties and voted enormous sums for modern arms and munitions to terrorize the peasants and workers.

In an attempt to improve its colonial position, the British government has announced through Colonial Secretary Malcolm McDonald that the government has abolished the color bar at home and overseas and that colonial governors have been instructed to give preference to colonials over Europeans in office appointments. This is an attempt to pacify the colonies, Britain's reservoir of man power in its death struggle with the Nazi war machine. The refusal of England to grant dominion status to India and the growing anti-British movement there has seriously shaken British morale in Asia and Africa.

Sentiment of the Negro Colonials

In spite of the severe consorship existing in the colonies and the repressive measures against labor organizations we can be sure that the attitude expressed in **The Barbados Observer** in September is still the sentiment of the colonials:

"In the West Indies the elementary principles of democracy are denied the native masses. Therefore we are opposed to conscription. For example, when such savage sentences as ten years' imprisonment have been given to the negro worker, Ulric Grant, for championing the cause of his fellow workers, it is sheer impudence on the part of the British ruling class to appeal to colonial workers to help them defend their ill-gotten gains.

"We colonial workers have not forgotten the last World War, when all kinds of promises were made to us if only we would help get rid of Kaiser and Prussian militarism! Hundreds of thousands died in Europe, Palestine and Africa.

"But our masters have not fulfilled one of their promises. Instead, our reward has been more repressive laws, unemployment, and starvation.

"Just look at the condition of the African Peoples in South and East Africa, in Jamaica, in Trinidad, in Barbados and other parts of the West Indies. Even a hard-boiled imperialist like Lloyd George described them as the slums of Empire.

"Furthermore, we shall never forget the shameful betrayal of Abyssinia by the so-called League of Nations dominated by the great democracies—Britain and France.

"We have no faith in Imperialist governments, regardless of whether they call themselves democratic or fascist. They are all Imperialists, and as such the exploiters and oppressors of colonial peoples. Therefore we are determined never again to allow ourselves to be used as cannon fodder by either camp in the coming war."

SOCIALIST APPEAL

Vol. IV, No. 9 Saturday, March 2, 1940

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

Editors:
FELIX MORROW MAX SHACHTMAN

General Manager: GEORGE CLARKE
Assistant Manager: SHERMAN STANLEY

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

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

FIGHT WITH THE SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY FOR:

1. **A job and a decent living for every worker.**
2. **Open the idle factories—operate them under workers' control.**
3. **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 pension.**
6. **Expropriate the Sixty Families.**
7. **All war funds to the unemployed.**
8. **A people's referendum on any and all wars.**
9. **No secret diplomacy.**
10. **An independent Labor Party.**
11. **Workers' Defense Guards against vigilante and Fascist attacks.**
12. **Full social, political and economic equality for the Negro people.**

Gene Debs' Words

Our St. Paul comrades are conducting a mayoralty election campaign. Appropriately for these grim days of war, their campaign centers on the war issue. Campaigning in a city where thousands of workers still lovingly remember Eugene V. Debs, whose revolutionary anti-war tradition our party continues, our comrades sent us, for inclusion in a special St. Paul edition of the *Socialist Appeal,* some excerpts from Debs' famous Canton speech. We take this opportunity to reprint these unforgettable words of Debs, for which the United States government sentenced him to ten years in prison. What Debs said in 1918, the Socialist Workers Party affirms today. Excerpts from his famous speech of June 16, 1918, follow:

I hate, I loathe, I despise junkers and junkerdom. I have no earthly use for the junkers of Germany, and not one particle more use for the junkers in the United States.

* * *

The master class has always declared the wars; the subject class has always fought the battles. The master class has had all to gain and nothing to lose, while the subject class has had nothing to gain and all to lose—especially their lives.

* * *

To turn your back on the corrupt Republican Party and the corrupt Democratic Party—the gold-dust lackeys of the ruling class, counts for something. It counts for still more after you have stepped out of those popular and corrupt capitalist parties to join a minority party that has an ideal, that stands for a principle and fights for a cause. This will be the most important change you have ever made.

* * *

The capitalists are continually talking about your patriotic duty. It is not THEIR but your patriotic duty that they are concerned about. There is a decided difference. Their patriotic duty never takes them to the firing line or chucks them into the trenches.

* * *

Yes, in good time we are going to sweep into power in this nation and throughout the world. We are going to destroy all enslaving and degrading capitalist institutions and recreate them as free and humanizing institutions. The world is daily changing before our eyes. The sun of capitalism is setting; the sun of Socialism is rising. It is our duty to build the new nation and the free republic. We need industrial and social builders. We Socialists are the builders of the beautiful world that is to be. We are all pledged to do our part. We are inviting—aye, challenging you in the name of your own manhood and womanhood to join us and do your part.

* * *

Years ago I recognized my kinship with all living beings, and made up my mind that I was not one bit better than the meanest on earth. I said then, and I say now, that while there is a lower class, I am in it, while there is a criminal element, I am of it, and while there is a soul in prison I am not free.

We're Dogmatic

We revolutionary workers, it appears, are too "utopian." We say that this war is a result of the economic conflicts between imperialist nations; that so long as capitalism exists, so long will war be inevitable. Hence to bring real peace it is necessary to overthrow all the imperialist governments and establish the rule of the workers. That's not only too utopian; it's also dogmatic. So say all the good people who are in favor of peace.

And since the members of Norman Thomas' Socialist party are all good and well-meaning people, filled with the noblest sentiments and highest aspirations, they are not going to be dogmatists and utopians, they are going to make a serious effort to achieve peace.

So the "Socialist Call," in an editorial in the March 2 issue, boldly comes forth with the idea that the imperialist war now raging in Europe should be stopped . . . by mediation.

"Mediation Now" is the title of the editorial. And it says:

"Devere Allen's cables reporting unanimous opinion among the Scandinavian countries, Holland and Belgium, in favor of American leadership in mediation efforts are very impressive.

"These people don't love Hitler but they do know the facts about what war means. Some doubt and fear regarding Sumner Welles' own attitude (and the president's) are in order and may confirm some of the things we fear but *the conclusion is inescapable* that the well being of the world would be hastened by the right sort of mediation in behalf of the right sort of peace negotiations."

The "conclusion is inescapable" that "socialists" who write that kind of tripe are well along the way to serving the master class as errand boys. There is certainly no evidence to demonstrate that the American section of the Second International is not going to commit here the crimes of its European sections. And this stand on mediation is weighty evidence that Thomas is blood-brother to Leon Blum and the other Judas-goats in Europe.

If the master class is capable of the "right sort of mediation" and the "right sort of peace negotiations," then why should the workers wipe their power off the face of the earth? The "Socialist Call" editorial concludes, addressing "the world": "And if your negotiations are successful, we promise our cooperation in disarmament and in those economic arrangements upon which the future peace and happiness and prosperity of the world depends."

Cooperation to whom? The world? *This* world is the world of the master class. Cooperation with them for "disarmament"—that was the road to war from Versailles to Munich. Cooperation with them in "economic arrangements"—that was the enslavement of the peoples of Africa, Asia and South America.

None of this Judas-goat talk for us. We say to the rulers of this world: We're against your wars, and against your peace, against your "disarmament" fakery and against your economics, root and branch. No cooperation with you, but the irreconcileable class struggle against you.

That's the differences between us and these "socialists." Very practical people they are, with backbones as flexible as willows. But we, just the same, will remain dogatic as hell on the key questions of the salvation of humanity.

"International Law"

If all the tomes that have been written on and about and around what is called "international law" could be brought together, they would probably fill a building at least as large as the New York Public Library. The amount of energy consumed in speechifying about it would probably have provided enough electric power to supply a good-sized city for a good many years.

Yet whenever it has come down to hard cases the same simple fact has always come to light: "international law" means the desires at a given moment of the power in the best position to enforce its will.

There can be no rule of international law under a regime of international anarchy—and this is exactly the kind of regime that exists and will continue to exist so long as the world consists of groups of capitalist powers constantly at war with one another by economic or military means.

There will be the rule of international law only in a world organized on an international basis, its material resources serving the interests of all races and all peoples. Such a world will be organized only when the boss-built barriers of profit-seeking greed are torn down by peoples aroused at last by the deception which makes them pay the toll of the greed of those who rule them. That means an end to capitalism and the launching of a socialist world. And that is the goal our party has made its own.

SPARKS IN THE NEWS

by Dwight Macdonald

American Class Consciousness

The most interesting thing in the new "U.S.A." issue of **Fortune** is the latest instalment of the **Fortune** Survey. Just how accurate and scientifically unbiassed this national poll is, I don't know. (It came remarkably close to the 1936 presidential election results.) But to the extent that it is an accurate reflection of public opinion, this month's instalment makes sober reading

That the social and economic conditions for the transference of power from the bourgeoisie to the workers have, in this country, been ripe for some time—this, I think, can easily be demonstrated. But **Fortune's** Survey would seem to indicate that this is far from being yet reflected in mass consciousness.

The question was asked: "What word would you use to name the class in America you belong to?" To this, 47% answered "middle class", 15% said "working class", and 28% said they didn't know.

Another question: "Do you think the interests of employers and employees are, by their very nature, opposed, or are they basically the same?" 56% answered "the same", 25% said "opposed", the rest didn't know. Factory workers, as one would expect, were the most class conscious here: here—and yet more of even this section of the masses thought class interests were "basically the same" (41%) than thought they were opposed (37%).

Asked: "What do you really think would be a satisfactory income for you?", exactly half of all answering named sums of $2500 a year and under. It is true that even such an income is far below what most people get today, but to be content with so little shows a dangerous mood of humility and resignation among the masses.

The most ominous finding was that, while 49% thought anybody at any time should have the right of free speech, almost as many (44%) said they would "prohibit some". And of these latter, much the biggest proportion (40%) defined the "some" they would gag as "Browder, communists, reds, radicals, Thomas, socialists". The next biggest gag group was the 18% in favor of denying free speech to "Kuhn, Bund Leaders, Nazis, Fascists". This would seem to indicate that "reds" are about twice as unpopular in this country at the moment as fascists. (It would have been interesting and valuable to have had this same question asked **before** the Hitler-Stalin Pact. I venture to guess that the anti-"red" sentiment would have been appreciably weaker.

The People Reject War

As the war drags on, its sterile, futile, reactionary character becomes increasingly clear to the American masses. In the first week of the war, the Gallup Poll asked the question: "If it appears that Germany is defeating England and France, should the United States declare war on Germany and send our army and navy to Europe to fight?" To this, 44% said "Yes", 56% said "No". The same question was asked a few weeks ago. This time 23% said "Yes", 77% "No". In the same way, the percentage of those who think the U. S. will stay out of the European war has risen from 54% last October to a current figure of 68%.

This swing in public sentiment, which set in a few weeks after the war began, has forced the Roosevelt Administration to soft-pedal its jingoistic pro-Ally propaganda, and to backwater on its war plans. But it would be folly to imagine either that the Administration has given up its plans for getting the country into the war on the side of the "democracies", or that the present trend of public feeling cannot be reversed in the near future. No amount of popular hatred of war will **by itself** suffice to keep the country out of the present war. This mass sentiment must be organized and given expression by powerful labor and radical organizations if it is to play an important role.

But Capitalism Demands War

Regardless of what the masses think and want, the economic necessities of American capitalism press the nation inexorably towards participation in the war. The links of gold and steel which bind our economy to that of the rest of world imperialism are far stouter than the simple-minded, provincial "isolationist" believes. At the present time, for example, eleven billions of American money are in long-term investments abroad. Last year's exports were higher than in 1938, and the month of December, 1939, in particular, was 37% above December, 1938.

Furthermore, the character of this trade has changed in recent years in such a way as to link American economy more tightly to European wars. A comparison of the chief items of export in 1926-1930 with 1939, shows that raw cotton has had the biggest drop (11%), iron and steel mill products the biggest rise (9%). In general, decreases are in farm products and consumers' goods, while the increases are in such war materials as aircraft, oil, chemicals, iron and steel scrap. In a word, the United States ten years ago was the provisioner of Europe, today is the armorer of Europe.

There is space here to mention only one other tie: the enormous flow of gold from Europe to the safe haven of this country in the last few years. Since 1934, **Fortune** estimates that $10,500,000,000 of European gold has been received here; of which only $2,800,000,000 was in settlement of foreign trade balances. The rest represented "a vast, unwelcome entrance of foreign capital" in the form of short-term bank balances and foreign investments in American securities.

According to a recent report of the U. S. Department of Commerce, this inflow of gold from Europe has been greatly stimulated by the war. In 1938 the total inflow was $1,500,000,000; last year it was just double that figure, namely $3,000,000,000. As soon as the war abroad becomes "serious", this torrent of gold pouring Westward across the Atlantic will set in motion an Eastward counter-current of American guns and copper and oil and chemicals. No capitalist government can withstand the gravitational pull of this economic interaction between America and Europe. It will become a question not of **whether** to enter the war, but purely as to **how** to get the country in. And this second problem can be solved by the ruling class more easily than the isolationists realize.

U. S. Fleet Readies April War 'Games' In the Pacific

(Continued from Page 1)

"maneuvering" in the Caribbean since the beginning of January. The relationship between these maneuvers and the expectation of American participation in the European war is stated, although carefully, by Hanson Baldwin, military expert of the New York **Times**, who wrote on Feb. 25:

"Of chief interest in the Caribbean exercises is the increasing attention being paid to the Dutch West Indies, particularly to Curacao and Aruba, and to British Trinidad. It is common talk in army and navy circles —though none can be found to confirm it—that a tacit and unwritten but nevertheless definite agreement exists between the United States and the British and Dutch governments which would permit the use of these islands by American naval forces and planes in the event of war against some other foreign power."

Then Baldwin goes on to show how these islands are **already** being used, citing the fact that "during last year's naval war games some naval planes and surface craft actually based for a time on one or more of these islands."

In other words, the secret agreement is already in effect and has been for some time. Another proof of what a false facade Roosevelt's "neutrality" is!

War preparations are by no means to be confined, however, to the navy.

"Most Active Year"

The army and national guard are in for a year, Baldwin informs us, that "promises to be the most active in their peacetime history" —which is not surprising since our rulers evidently are counting on the possibility that this year may become part of our "wartime" history!

In May in Texas and Louisiana 70,000 men of the regular army will engage in large - scale "games" and this will be supplemented by special training exercises in national guard encampments all over the country.

Against "Civil Disturbers"

The regular army, as the magazine **Life** once bluntly admitted, is designed mainly for internal use—i.e., use against "civil disturbers"—against strikers and revolting workers in the not-too-distant time when the workers of this country will rise up in wrath against the war-makers. So while the fleet rehearses the business of war against the great imperialist rivals of Wall Street, the army gets in shape to fight the war at home.

That's why more urgently than ever we've got to marshal our forces too and drive home to the workers of this land that these "war games" are a grim and deadly business for which the workers too, on their side, must prepare.

Behind the Lines

(Continued from Page 1)

The obvious comparisons between the Welles mission and the activities of Col. House in Europe in 1915 have already been widely drawn. House went to "explore" peace possibilities and all he succeeded in doing was helping the Allies to bring this country into the war on their side. It took nearly twenty years for the real facts about House to come to light. In the meanwhile this country went into the European holocaust.

But when the facts come to light about Welles' mission—and we hope it won't take 20 years to drag them into the light of day—it will probably be seen that Roosevelt was by no means repeating the naive essays into diplomacy made by Wilson.

Roosevelt knows the game of power politics and intends to play it all ways to the middle. His intention is to assert the supremacy of American imperialism and to use its power to dictate the course of the war and its settlement. To this end he is preparing to use the whole economic, military, and naval strength of the country.

This is the road to war. We must demand a clear accounting from the man in the White House. We demand as our right full knowledge of the diplomatic maneuvers which he is trying to keep behind a smoke-screen of guesswork and newspaper speculation. No secret diplomacy! No confidence in Roosevelt as a "peacemaker"!

A TREASURE-CHEST OF REVOLUTIONARY MARXISM
—for a song

Bound Volume—*Socialist Appeal*

FIRST 6 MONTHS 1939 . . . . . $2.00
SECOND SIX MONTHS 1939 . . . . . $2.00
TOGETHER (including postage) $3.00

Bound Volume—*New International*

1938 . . . . . $2.00
1939 . . . . . $2.50
TOGETHER (including postage) $3.50

PIONEER PUBISHERS
116 UNIVERSITY PLACE NEW YORK, N. Y.

Fritz Thyssen-Why He Fled From Germany

By OSCAR FISCHER

For several months now Fritz Thyssen has been in self-imposed exile—the same Thyssen who, second only to Krupp, was the most powerful representative of German heavy industry and at the same time one of the most generous contributors to Hitler's party.

Seldom has the crisis of Hitler's dictatorship been shown in sharper and clearer lines than in the emigration of this unscrupulous profiteer, who with his friends among the lords of the Rhineland heavy industry financed Hitler's initial rise to power.

The more the war brings the internal condition of Germany into the open, the more "national unity" is shown to be a pure Goebbels fable, the more we hear the voice of the German masses rising in an ever strengthening crescendo of hate against the fascist bandits. The belief that fascism has before it a rule of a thousand years is belied by every straw in the wind; Thyssen has deserted the ship and safe in Switzerland, awaits its sinking.

Thyssen is by no means against a war. German imperialism was always pointed toward war. Its imperialist program was the realization of the "Drang Nach Osten," and to carry through this program was to have been Hitler's role. The men who gave the Nazis financial support before their seizure of power were, in general from the ranks of finance capitalists. After the experiences of the last world war, they wanted, with the help of England and France, and whenever possible the United States, to avoid the risk of another war. German imperialism hoped to arrive at a compromise, if not an actual alliance, at the expense of the Soviet Union. And Hitler was to have been the commander-in-chief of this war against the U.S.S.R. That was his historical role; it was for that that he had been underwritten; it was for that that the state power had been surrendered to him.

But Hitler has not fulfilled the expectations of his underwriters. Out of the expected destruction of Russia has come a partnership. Germany has once more become engaged in a war, whose outcome is in the highest degree unpredictable, which entails a great risk of defeat or internal collapse. Hitler has destroyed the prestige that fascism had among the owning classes of all countries as the vanguard in the fight against "bolshevism".

Partnership Offers Too Little

The rule of the Stalinist bureaucracy is certainly not more secure than that of the Hitler clique. Both face the danger of internal convulsions, and both face the probability that they will not be able to survive these convulsions.

For Thyssen, then, there is every reason to seek a new and better security. It would be false to assume that Thyssen emigrated merely because of personal desire and as an individual. He is not so much an emigrant as an emissary, a representative of a whole stratum of the German bourgeoisie, to work for the security of German capitalism.

There can be no doubt that Thyssen, and those whose agent he is, are seeking an understanding with England and France. And in this they are not seeking what is not to be found. It is well known that England and France are not conducting the war in order to replace Hitler with a socialist Germany. More, if they were certain that after Hitler could come only a social revolution, they would make peace today. They hesitated long enough before risking the war and were much more concerned with alleviating Hitler's problems as much as possible. Some of these negotiations have already been made public, and more still are to be found in the secret files of diplomacy.

Hitler's Aid for Britain's

All attempts of the German bourgeoisie to come to an understanding with England and France over the head of Hitler must depend on the kind of state that will follow Hitler. It is noteworthy that the only point of her war aims on which England has openly insisted is that **Hitler must go.** Evidently the matter is handled thus in order not to exclude an understanding with the German bourgeoisie and military clique.

Hitler therefore is no longer a very stable partner of Stalin; it is quite possible that he will not survive the war. In that event all that will remain of the pact with Stalin is a petty bargaining point in the hands of the German bourgeoisie in reaching an agreement with England. They will peddle Stalin's friendship against improved business relations with England and France. And apparently Thyssen has full power to speak for the group he represents concerning these business relations and a turn in German politics: a new post-Hitler capitalist Germany will eventually also require its **Lebensraum.** This is already understood by England and France; the **Lebensraum** must only be in the east. Germany must assist England and France in opening up the east and making it accessible to the "civilized world".

The interests of German capitalism are not always and at every point identical with the interests of the fascist bureaucracy. There is a differentiation when the acts of the dictatorship, being no longer able to guarantee it, endanger the existence of the capitalist commercial set-up. In the face of such a danger capitalism immediately seeks another support to prevent a social revolution. This point is now drawing near. Thyssen's emigration is a search for that other support.

The "emigrant" Thyssen—he is rather the ambassador of a Germany that put itself under the protection of fascist bands and is now for their liquidation; he is the symbol of brutal exploitation and oppression (no less "democratic" than fascist). This personage speaks of a new Germany—a Germany in which the plunder of the masses will be permanently established. Decisive for him is that he can no longer believe in the terror of the Hitler bands as a guarantee for the exploitation of the German people. And that is why he is endeavoring to secure English and French guarantees.

Hitler has expropriated the property of Thyssen. Who would want to fight for the overthrow of Hitler only in order to give Thyssen back his former power? On the contrary, this expropriation must be carried through and maintained in the coming Germany.

The dependence of Thyssen and his class upon French bayonets will be proved as false as their hope in Hitler; they will see their **Drang nach Osten** not completed but swept away without a trace. The future of Germany and of Europe demand it.