

Socialist Appeal

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

Vol. IV, No. 8

NEW YORK, N. Y., FEBRUARY 24, 1940

167

FIVE (5) CENTS

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.

Who Has All the Milk and Honey?

AN EDITORIAL

The 1938 income tax figures, just released by the government, constitute a grim commentary on the nature of American "democracy."

Fifty-five individuals had an income for the year of over a million dollars each. The year's income admitted to by those 55 people amounted to \$107,724,000!

Another 115 individuals reported incomes of a bit less than a million dollars each—

Still another 207 individuals reported incomes of between \$300,000 and \$500,000.

So that 377 individuals had a year's income amounting to something like THREE HUNDRED MILLION DOLLARS!

At the other end of the scale in this country are 76,000,000 people who, by officially-admitted government figures, are living below or barely on the level of subsistence. These consist of eight million families "without any means of existence", and eleven million families "fighting poverty", living on less than \$1,000 annual family income.

What's democratic about such a set-up? The haughtiest princes, dukes and lords of the European kingdoms were never so far above their serfs as America's moneyed "citizens" are above the vast majority of the American people. More than half the nation is condemned to a starvation existence while a handful of bloated parasites wallow in riches undreamed of by the feudal aristocracy.

Do YOU—you who belong to the 76 millions who have no means of existence or are fighting poverty—want to give your lives, or the lives of your husbands, sons or brothers, to defend this kind of democracy?

The main enemy is at home! The enemy is the boss class who condemn us, so long as we let them, to this kind of existence.

N. Y. Judge Issues Jim Crow Ruling

A restaurant owner doesn't have to serve Negroes if they are sitting with white friends—that's the Hitlerite ruling handed down last week by Judge Marks of Municipal Court, Manhattan.

Two Negroes, Conrad Lynn and Elsie Jackson, went to the Marianna Restaurant on West 118th Street, Manhattan, last November, to eat with two white friends. The proprietor wouldn't serve them.

In court, the proprietor testified that he would have served the Negroes if they had sat apart by themselves, but would not serve them with their friends in a "mixed party."

Under the State Civil Rights Law, penalties are provided against restaurant owners who refuse to serve Negroes.

Judge Marks ruled, however, that a restaurant owner may rightfully refuse to serve Negroes whenever they are in the company of white friends! As long as the owner is willing to serve the Negroes at their own segregated corner of his place, Judge Marks

ruled, he is within the law.

American Labor Aid Acts If Judge Marks' ruling is permitted to stand, it virtually annuls the provisions of the Civil Rights Law ostensibly protecting Negroes from discrimination. For it authorizes restaurant proprietors to establish a Jim Crow section in their establishments.

At the request of the complainants, therefore, the American Labor Aid is undertaking to appeal Judge Marks' decision to the higher courts.

Behind the Lines

By GEORGE STERN

The Japanese have finally admitted that they are up against it in China.

To be sure, in accordance with the double-talk of modern wartime politics, this admission comes in the form of a summons to Chiang Kai-shek to surrender.

On Feb. 15, the Japanese High Command in China announced that it had won "sufficient areas in China for establishment of the new order in East Asia." Further resistance, the proclamation went on, was "futile," especially because of the latest Japanese "victories" in Kwangsi. The Japanese army, therefore, "will not expand our operations but will await your offensive."

They did not have long to wait. The "victory" in Kwangsi turned into one of those "strategic withdrawals." Chinese pressure forced a wholesale retreat from the area north of Nanning, the Kwangsi capital, and at this writing, despite Japanese denials, the Chinese forces appear to be on Nanning's outskirts.

Diet politicians have grown increasingly bold in challenging the army on its course on the continent. The recent "power holidays"—wholesale shutting off of power for all but the most essential war-industry plants—dramatized the sharpness of the pinch, which is putting the bare necessities of life beyond the reach of most of the Japanese population.

Calculating on the transformation of American pressure into an actual embargo, the Japanese have to cast around for possible new combinations before deciding upon a capitulation to the U. S. or an open challenge for supremacy in the Pacific.

One such outlet would be a new Japanese deal with Great Britain. Just as in South America the British are actually engaged in tooth-and-nail rivalry with the U. S. for the markets left open by the involuntary default of the Germans, so in the Far East they are no more willing to permit Yankee imperialism to take advantage of the European war. It goes without saying that the Japanese will do their utmost to exploit this Anglo-American rivalry. The ease with which the Asama Maru incident was settled, the ready compliance of the Japanese with British demands, suggests that the atmosphere is already being prepared for another typical imperialist double-cross.

But for that it has to clear its heels from the Chinese bog—and that it is not finding it so easy to do. Wang Ching-wei's puppet government is now scheduled for inauguration in March. But even in Tokyo there is little optimism over the ability of this new and ill-fated Japanese control and make it palatable.

U. S. SHIPS TO SAIL WAR ZONES UNDER FAKE FOREIGN REGISTRIES

Chrysler Workers! Just Figure Out What These Figures Mean

Remember how Chrysler's mouthpieces cried, during the 54-day strike, about how the corporation just couldn't afford to pay what the union was demanding? Well! Chrysler corporation has just issued, as required by law, the figures for its earnings for 1939.

In spite of the 54-day strike, which took place in the crucial last quarter of the year, Chrysler made a net profit for the year of \$36,879,829—nearly twice as many millions as the company made in 1938.

Just figure out how many unemployed auto workers could have been given full-time jobs for those 37 millions of dollars, establishing the 30-hour week at 40 hours' pay!

UNIONS WARNED OF FRAMEUP IN MINNEAPOLIS

Judge Turns Books of Local 544 Over to Employers' Agents

MINNEAPOLIS, Feb. 15—Now that its fight against the federal government's WPA trials is over, Minneapolis labor is turning its attention to what may become an even more serious assault against this embattled trade union movement.

By order of District Judge Carroll, General Drivers Union, Local 544 has had to bring its books and records into the courtroom where attorneys and accountants for five firms are leisurely examining them in hopes of cooking up a case against this militant trade union.

Under an ancient statute permitting members of an unincorporated association to examine the records of the organization prior to trial, a group of agents of the employers have been given access to the union's records. The court's decision came after three weeks of testimony by union men, who testified that the plaintiffs were members or organizers of an "independent union" set up to fight the drivers' union.

The suit has dragged through the courts for two years, the plaintiffs—though ostensibly without funds—being represented by high-priced anti-labor attorneys. Who put up the money for this fight?

The five plaintiffs joined the Independent Truck Owners Section of Local 544 and stayed just long enough to establish their membership. Then they filed their suit, on Feb. 16, 1938.

Militant Unionism a "Crime" Among the "crimes" they charged the union leadership with was expending funds on maintenance of the Federal Workers Section, the Minneapolis unemployed and WPA organization whose leaders bore the brunt of the federal prosecution of the WPA strikers; "extorting" more funds for relief purposes from the city than were necessary; "illegal picketing" and maintenance of closed-shop contracts, etc. Their fink mentality was revealed in the very text of the complaint. And to these charges they tacked on a petition to the court for an examination of the union's books and records.

While the suit was pending, the plaintiffs turned up as organizers and members of an "independent union" local, affiliated to the "Associated Independent Unions." At a citywide labor rally on April 8, 1938, Roy Weir, organizer for the Central Labor Union, revealed that a Mr. Gallaway of the National Manufacturers Association had just been in

(Continued on Page 2)

Powers Gird For Spring Crisis

Altmark Affair Ushers In New Phase

By GEORGE STERN

The Altmark incident was the first real harbinger of Spring, the first critical Spring of the Second World War.

It came as a sharp warning to all the neutrals. "It means," said the Paris newspaper *l'Intransigeant* on Feb. 19, "that neutrality as it has hitherto been practised cannot last any longer."

Norway, caught fast between the two conflicting powers, stands as a fateful symbol for all the small states of Europe that are still trying to keep their balance on the narrowing zone still left for neutrals to tread.

Fearful of offending Germany, the Norwegians blinked their eyes to the fact that the Altmark, when it passed Bergen, was actually an auxiliary warship and had some 300 British prisoners aboard. The British then deliberately ordered its warship to violate Norway's neutral waters and to rescue the prisoners.

Out of the diplomatic and press barrage laid down around the incident emerged the belief that the British were testing their way for eventual occupation of Norway's coast, with or without Norwegian consent, for the

Paris Trotskyists Reported Seized By French Police

Sixteen Trotskyists have been arrested in the Paris district for "anti-militarist and revolutionary propaganda," according to a wireless dispatch in the New York Times, Feb. 19.

Some of them, the dispatch states, were employed in the postal service, and all had "formerly belonged to the official Communist party." They were arrested at "their clandestine headquarters."

This dispatch in the capitalist press is the only information we have on the arrests. Communication with our French comrades is slow and difficult, in view of the systematic persecution they are subjected to by the "democratic" government of France.

le purpose of increasing the effectiveness of the blockade and facilitating direct intervention in the Soviet-Finnish conflict.

Whether this is actually the intention of the British war lords it remains for the coming weeks to tell, for it is now universally agreed that the Spring will witness some new major turn in the war, the extension of the war fronts and the launching of an offensive on one sector or another in a first real test of the strength of the opposing forces.

Along with the swallows, what else is this Spring likely to bring? The possible answers, in tabular form, come somewhat as follows:

1. In Northern Europe: France and Britain intervene in force in the Soviet-Finnish war, compell-

Extension Of War Fronts Nears

ing Norway and Sweden to become belligerents. Germany sends forces to fight the Allies, probably on Swedish soil, in an effort to protect its crucial Swedish sources of iron ore and other metals. Acting in concert with Germany, the Soviet Union completes its conquest of Finland and sends the Red Army into Sweden.

2. In Western Europe: Germany begins offensive on the Western front, across Holland and Belgium and/or Switzerland. The war in the air begins.

3. In Southeastern Europe: German-Soviet pressure increases on Rumania to assure the flow of Rumanian oil and grain into Germany. Rumania may possibly capitulate to avoid becoming a battlefield. If it does not, part of the Allied Near Eastern forces will be sent to its aid and an Allied fleet will steam through the Dardanelles to attack the Soviet Black Sea coast. Italy will enter the war on the side of the Allies but heading an "independent" bloc including Yugoslavia and Hungary.

4. In the Near and Middle East: Allied attack on the Soviet Union begins through the Caucasus and possibly from Iran and Afghanistan. Main objective: Caucasian oilfields.

5. Far East: The U.S. keeps its embargo club poised over Japan's head, increasing its pressure to force Japanese entry into (or cooperation with) the Allied bloc, offering a compromise at China's expense if Japan will engage the Soviet Union on the Far Eastern front.

(Continued on Page 4)

Business Still Going Down the Toboggan

Where are those jobs that Roosevelt promised in his budget speech, as justification for slashing WPA?

For the sixth consecutive week, the New York Times business index went down last Sunday. The drop for the week was from 101.5 to 98.6.

New York banks, despairing of any more profitable investments, sunk another \$18,000,000 into low-yield government bonds.

Bethlehem Steel, showing that Steel has no immediate use for money for expansion or operations, announced it would pay off an \$18,000,000 preferred stock issue.

All signs point to still further declines in the coming weeks.

SWP CANDIDATE ON BALLOT FOR ST. PAUL MAYOR

Rutchick Files When No Labor Candidate Is Nominated

ST. PAUL, Minn.—Henry Rutchick will be the Socialist Workers Party's candidate for mayor in the forthcoming city elections. Rutchick was designated to file his candidacy after the Labor Progressive Association had endorsed for mayor a leader of one of the capitalist parties.

"The labor movement in St. Paul responded enthusiastically to the call of the Labor-Progressive Association to back a labor political campaign," the S.W.P. pointed out. "The Socialist Workers Party hailed the renewed interest of the St. Paul trade union movement on the political field, as indicating that unionists are becoming conscious of the severe political blows being received daily by organized labor."

"It is unfortunate that by their choice of candidates, the Labor Progressives have not broken with the boss political machines in this critical period before the war. Disregarding the warning of our party, presented in a leaflet to the January 20 convention, the Association has endorsed for mayor a member and leader of one of the old capitalist parties, John McDonough."

"This year, as two years ago, the Socialist Workers Party will oppose McDonough's candidacy for mayor with a candidate of its own. We call upon all workers to vote for Henry Rutchick, anti-war candidate for mayor."

St. Paul election laws dictate "non-partisan" candidates without party designation on the ballot, but the S.W.P. is making clear the issues through a pamphlet and leaflets calling for votes for Rutchick as votes for the party's program in the elections.

"Labor's independent voice in politics is necessary not only for strictly local issues," the party points out, "but for the major problems facing the working class of the United States—war, unemployment, and the protection of workers' rights."

While running its own mayoralty candidate, the S.W.P. is supporting the rest of the Labor Progressive Association's slate, with the exception of city commissioner Axel Peterson, running for election, who when offered the Association endorsement made clear he was accepting no responsibility to the labor movement for his conduct in office.

The text of the St. Paul election program of the S.W.P., received too late for reprinting, will be published in next week's Appeal.

FDR CONNIVES IN LOOPHOLING NEUTRALITY ACT

United States Lines Sells to Belgian "Dummy" Buyer

With the connivance of federal authorities, the United States Lines has finally put over a scheme to continue to run its ships into the war zones, in violation of the explicit provisions of the Neutrality Act.

It has "sold" eight vessels to a "recently formed" Belgian corporation, for which the United States Lines will act as American "agent." The ships will continue to use the Chelsea piers as in the past, sail the usual runs and, in short, continue business on the old basis, just as if the Neutrality Act never existed.

Tried Twice Before The shipowners didn't waste much ingenuity in working out this means to circumvent the Neutrality Act. It's the same scheme that the United States Lines tried twice before but failed to put over.

The first time, just after passage of the Neutrality Act, under which the Roosevelt administration committed itself to keeping American ships out of war zones—without this provision in the law Congress would never have adopted it, as everyone admitted at the time—the line got the consent of the Maritime Commission to transfer the ships to Panamanian registry through a dummy corporation down there.

The Maritime Commission could have closed its eyes to the plain violation of the law involved, only with direct and prior approval of Roosevelt. But the ensuing outcry caused Roosevelt to veto the commission's O.K.—until the outcry would have died down.

Norwegians Balked A few weeks ago the United States Lines tried again. It got up a Norwegian dummy corporation, got the consent of the Maritime Commission, announced the sale, and prepared to sail the ships. But then the Norwegian government balked at the prospect of being in the middle when the ships, carrying contraband of war to British and French ports, would run into German submarines.

And now the United States Lines has found the Belgian government, which is speedily preparing for participation in the war on the side of the Allies, a willing front in this deliberate violation of the Neutrality Act.

While in this way the United States Lines will be enabled to make blood money out of the traffic with the warring countries, the provisions of the Neutrality Act relating to the seagoing personnel will be strictly enforced. Under the law American seamen cannot ship into the war zones. Crews for these ships will be imported from Europe.

American When Submarine As long as the ships carry contraband safely between America and the Allied ports, the ships will pass as "Belgian." We can be sure, however, that the minute one of them gets nicked by a German submarine a howl for vengeance will go up from the kept press because an American ship has been touched.

This cynical subterfuge of sailing these ships into the war zones despite the plain letter of the Neutrality Act is a good index to Roosevelt's war plans. "Neutrality" is, for him, merely a hypocritical formula under which to prepare for war.

PROTEST JIM CROW BOOKS IN MISSISSIPPI

"Edited" Books Set Aside for Negro School Children

JACKSON, Miss.—The race-haters of Mississippi are not going to allow Hitler to receive all of the laurels for inventing devices for racial segregation if they have any say about it.

Negroes all over the state and nation are protesting the Jim Crow textbook law just passed by the legislature.

The civics textbooks for the Negro pupils will not contain information on voting, instructions on how to vote, matters of government and civic responsibility.

In passing the law, the legislature said that Negro children should not know those things. In the Senate, where the bill passed by a vote of 37 to 9, Senator H. L. Davis, of Oxford, stated:

"Under the constitution the Negro is a citizen and of course we know and accept that. But he can never expect to be given the same educational and social privileges with the white man. The best education we can give him is to use his hands because that's how he must earn his living. It always has and it always will be."

The bill provides that all books returned by the Negro and white pupils be stored in separate warehouses to prevent white children from using the same books used by Negroes. Dr. E. M. Garvin, Senator for Stafford Springs, stated that the books should be stored separately so white children would not get germs from the books used by the Negro children.

Jamaica Jobless Aid Relief Sitdowners

American Labor Aid Providing Defense For 13 Arrested Workers; Trial Postponed; Allowances Are Assured

The thirteen workmen and women who were arrested in the Jamaica Relief Bureau on Van Wyck Avenue a week ago Thursday for a sit-down strike came to the Flushing Second Magistrate Court, on February 15, prepared to denounce the Relief Bureau authorities for their inhuman treatment of emergency relief cases.

Among the defendants, all of them members of the Unemployed and Relief Workers League, 151-06 Beaver Road, were Natale Bruno and his wife, parents of a family of 6 children, DiBernardo, head of a destitute family of 14 children, Gul'seppe Pace, 63-year-old unemployed shoemaker, and Richard Hicks, a 64-year-old unemployed worker. Charges against Mrs. Bruno's six children, also taken into custody at the Bureau, were not pressed.

American Labor Aid Helps

Aid had come to the unemployed and relief workers from the American Labor Aid, with headquarters at 125 W. 33rd St., New York City. As soon as the case came to the attention of the American Labor Aid, it immediately sent a representative to Jamaica to investigate the situation. Upon learning the facts in the case, the American Labor Aid provided free legal assistance to the workers and a lawyer from the American Labor Aid came to court on Thursday to defend the workers.

The Relief Bureau authorities managed to have the case postponed a week. The workers decided to accept and immediately began a public campaign to

arouse sympathy for their case. Several thousand leaflets were distributed in South Jamaica and the Relief Bureau, calling all workers and unemployed to a mass meeting at the Jamaica Labor Center, 151-06 Beaver Road next Tuesday night to protest the arrests and the inhuman Relief Bureau attitude. At this meeting Arthur Burch, representative of the American Labor Aid, and Otto Popovich, militant leader of the Queens County unemployed in many demonstrations, will speak.

Action Gets Results

As soon as the Relief Bureau saw the determination of the workers, the Bureau's attitude changed noticeably. The day after the court postponement an investigator appeared at the Bruno home. He returned the next day with a money allowance of \$13.85 and promised regular relief checks. It took mass action by the workers to cause the Bureau to pay any attention whatsoever to this emergency case. The lesson has not been lost upon the workers of Jamaica.

So desperate was the need of these cases that the Unemployed and Relief Workers League was forced to take up a collection among its own poverty-stricken members on their behalf last Thursday. Some \$15 was raised as a stop-gap until the Bureau took some action. With victory in the Bruno case, the Unemployed and Relief Workers League intends to keep fighting until justice is done and relief is given to all the needy in this neighborhood.

General Motors Had A Bonanza Year, But Its Workers Got Nothing Out of It

By GEORGE CLARKE

1939 was a big bonanza year for General Motors.

According to the corporation's report on February 7, the coupon clippers cleaned up a cool \$183,000,000. The DuPont crowd took \$35,000,000 of the swag.

Let's break down these big numbers and see just how the profit was made:

For every one of an estimated 225,000 employees the corporation took approximately \$814. The corporation received a profit of over 50 cents for every dollar paid out in wages. A profit of roughly \$119 a car was made and shareholders received \$4.04 per share of common stock outstanding. This compares with \$2.17 received by shareholders in 1938. Par value of GM stock is \$10 per share.

These big numbers smell like prosperity. Yes, indeed. Plenty of gravy for the fat parasites whose function in production is sunning their hides on swanky yachts in Florida or rebuilding the ruined fortunes of some broken-down European count to make him a good match with one of their dissipated daughters.

It smelled like prosperity to be sure—but all the wage slaves on the assembly lines, in the press rooms, the die shop and the foundries—the men whose sweat and skill and muscle made the \$119 profit on the Chevrolets, Buicks, Cadillacs, LaSalle's, Pontiacs and Oldsmobiles—all they got was the smell.



It was battles like these that made General Motors recognize the Auto Workers' Union. This picture was taken before the huge Fisher Body No. 1 plant in Flint. When the General Motors Workers hit the ball again, they will be on the march for a living annual wage for the men who produce America's automobiles.

"THE SPIRIT OF '37"

NEGRO YOUTH BACK JAMAICA PICKET LINE

When Mary Smith, a Negro girl, and Sol Himmelfarb joined the Pharmacists' Union, their boss, owner of Leach's Pharmacy in Jamaica, Long Island, fired them. The two workers promptly set up a picket line.

Last week the Youth Council of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People investigated the dispute, and several of its members joined the picket line. The ensuing boycott forced the owner to close his store until the local Pharmacists' Association came to his aid.

They appealed to the local president of the N.A.A.C.P., Dr. H. John Singleton—who ordered the youth members of the N.A.A.C.P. to cease supporting the strike.

But the youth refused. Now the boss is dangling before the Negro community an offer of an all-Negro shop. He vows that, if Negroes will scab, he'll never employ whites again. So far his tactics have been entirely unsuccessful.

UNIONS WARNED OF FRAMEUP IN MINNEAPOLIS

(Continued from Page 1)

Minneapolis to aid in the formation of these "independent unions." At that time the anti-labor Associated Industries of Minneapolis launched a drive to raise a war fund of \$315,000 to finance an ambitious anti-union program.

In a statement published in the August 4, 1938 issue of the Northwest Organizer, the Teamsters Joint Council organ, denouncing the order then issued by Judge Reed permitting the finks access to the union's records, the union said:

Records Open to Labor

"We have no hesitation whatsoever in throwing open our records to the tribunals of organized labor. So far as our financial records are concerned, these have been regularly audited, both by accountants for the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, and by a reputable firm of public accountants. What we object to is permitting enemies of labor access to our records. That is the issue involved in Judge Reed's order.

Our stand is backed by the Teamsters Joint Council and by the Minneapolis Central Labor Union. In the ensuing fight we have the aid and counsel of our superior body, the International Brotherhood of Teamsters. We merely continue the glorious tradition of the trade union movement, that labor and labor alone shall have access to the records of the labor movement.

Gives Secrets to Enemy

"What Judge Reed has done is to order us to surrender our innermost secrets to men who do not deny their membership in the Associated Council of Independent Unions, an open enemy of all unionism, an employer-financed organization whose open tie with fascist gangster bands was clearly revealed on Friday nights, July 29, at the Silver Shirts' meeting in Ark Hall.

At this meeting, closed to the public, the 'independent union' organization, by arrangement with the Silver Shirt leaders, approached each participant and provided him with literature inviting him to join the 'independent union', while the Silver Shirt speakers called upon their listeners to organize armed bands to raid the headquarters of Local 544.

Union-Busting Device

"If Judge Reed's order is permitted to stand unchallenged, it means that any group of reactionary bosses has only to plant a few stool-pigeons in a union; when they are exposed, have them institute suit against the union for an accounting of funds; and then the court will give the stool-pigeons' attorneys access, not only to the financial accounts, but to every written record of the union.

"Every union man everywhere will immediately understand what a deadly blow to unionism would be dealt by this process. . . . By the very nature of their function, unions are engaged in conflict, now quiescent, now sharp, with the employers from whom they are seeking better wages and working conditions. In this struggle, both sides have to solve various problems of strategy and tactics, and no union could be long successful whose strategic and tactical decisions were known to the opposing employers.

Invulnerable to Bosses

The minutes of the Executive Board of a strong union are worth tens of thousands of dollars to the hostile employers. Even such an apparently duplicable item as the membership mailing list, possession of which can have such manifold uses, would ordinarily be the most powerful employers' agency; where as by the courts' order these stool pigeons can photograph this as well as every other kind of record kept by the union.

"In a word: a union has the same objection to permitting the enemy to scrutinize its documents, plans, books, etc., as does the United States Government have to a potential enemy scrutinizing its industrial and military resources and plans. . . ."

Labor on Guard

Judge Reed's order was not carried out then. It was fought out in the higher courts, then sent back for modification to the lower courts. Meanwhile the union got more information on the anti-union role of the plaintiffs, and this was presented to Judge Carroll. But in spite of this he gave the finks' attorneys and accountants access to the union's records.

Minneapolis labor is on guard, waiting for the next attempt at a frameup.

WORKERS' FORUM

TYPO UNION DROPPED BY ST. LOUIS CENTRAL BODY

Editor:

The AFL Central Trades and Labor Union on Feb. 11 suspended Typographical Union Local No. 8 from membership, on orders from William Green.

William Brandt, Central Trades secretary, was instructed by the body to include in the motion a declaration that the body disapproves suspension of the printers. Brandt himself declared:

"Four-fifths of the delegates here do not want to suspend Local 8. I know Bill Green has no use for me and I have less use for him. But here is his letter, telling us to dissociate ourselves from Local 8, and if we do not comply, our charter from the AFL will be lifted. It is a cold-blooded proposition which confronts us. I don't like it. But we must cast aside all sentiment and look to the future of this body. If our charter is lifted, another central body will be set up here."

W. J. Gibbons, president of Local 8 (he is a reactionary, he was opposed to the late International President Howard), blamed the plight of the printers union on international officers who had sought to lead the printers into the CIO. "This action by Green," he declared, will do no good; it suspends 80,000 members from

the AFL nationally. And then, having kicked 80,000 members of the federation out, he will send out organizers to organize the unorganized. Green can tell this body it must suspend the printers, but when he was here recently he could not find time to adjust a dispute between the firm and others union and the engineers union." Funny thing is that Gibbons was in accord with kicking out the CIO unions four years ago.

J. W. Williams, one-time national president of the AFL Building Trades Department, and now a delegate of the Musicians Union, said:

"I predict that we will soon see a different set-up in the AFL. The skids are greased for Bill Green, he is on his way out. But we will have to vote to comply with his order. He and the higher-ups in the federation have us by the throat. I think we should express our resentment."

National leaders of the Typographical Union have indicated they intend to go along independently in the hope that the dispute between the AFL and CIO is settled. Their refusal to pay the assessment to the war-chest to fight the CIO is good pressure on the AFL for a decent peace.

H. V. Romer
St. Louis, Mo.



The column of Red Sunday-ites is growing—but very slowly. Too slowly to record this week an appreciable difference in Appeal circulation.

Boston and Detroit are still the only two branches definitely active carrying on Red Sundays—at least so far as we have information in this office.

We have promises, however, from branches that they intend to begin the work. We'll publish them so the branches will feel they must make good on their word:

Flint: "Now we're re-organizing Red Sunday sales and hope to be able to increase our bundle soon. . . ."—Frank Dart.

Lynn, Mass.: "We are instituting 'Red Sundays' here in Lynn which promise to be very fruitful. . . ."—F.D.

Akron, O.: "Either the coming Sunday or the Sunday after we are going to try the Red Sunday system to see what the possibilities are. . . ."—T.C.

Thanks for the promises! Now how about a little action?

If you want to know how fruitful Red Sundays are and "what the possibilities are" read this letter from Detroit:

"The enclosed remittance of ten bucks was raised in three mornings in house-to-house Appeal distribution. An average of three comrades participated each time for about an hour and a half."—G. Lamonti.

And now we're in a position to tell the inside truth of how Red Sundays took hold in Boston. It comes from an actor comrade whose show is now on the road:

"The latest Appeal had a Red Sunday article telling how Boston has followed Detroit's example. I am sure I had a great deal to do with this. I travelled from Detroit to Boston on Xmas—stayed in Boston two weeks. Told them every day that Detroit was way ahead of them in EVERY WAY. Ridiculed their unwillingness to participate in door-to-door. And EIGHT days in succession went out with literature for an hour or more in the black and white ghettoes of the town. Four different comrades participated — two going out twice—twice I was alone. I guess I was not very popular there for several reasons. Perhaps I scolded them without understanding all their problems, etc. . . ."

Don't worry, comrade. You did a great job in Boston. I'm sure the Boston comrades are grateful for the little push you gave them. It resulted in an enthusiastic drive—and an increase by 100 copies in their regular bundle order. I can assure you that the comrades in the office and all over the country are deeply appreciative of your work.

Had a special election over the last weekend and our comrades there put on a special drive, of street sales to bring the party program forward. From all reports the special Appeal met with considerable success in Newark.

We recommend this method to other cities — particularly those on the West Coast which have distinct problems and distinct issues. This method beats special mimeographed leaflets all hollow. Newark got a special rate on its papers. Others can expect similar treatment. It's a proposal well worth considering for relief crises, election campaigns, strikes, union conventions, etc., etc.

TRY YOUR HAND!—BIG POSSIBILITIES

Two weeks ago we received one dollar from a sympathizer in St. Louis with an order for 33 copies of the Appeal. Last week we received two dollars doubling the order to 66. Here's the letter that came with the money:

"In the first place I don't try to sell copies. If I can, well and good, however, my main objective is to see that they're read. I watch my chance at the Public Library and place two copies on the newspaper rack. Of course they're soon discovered and ripped down, but not before eight or ten people have looked thru them. The downtown 'Y' gets three copies. Ten copies are conveniently left in shops. My analysis is that when they're found one of two things happens—it falls immediately on fertile ground and is read, or the person immediately thinks 'propaganda'. 'At least,' he thinks, 'I've found something I know to be propaganda'. So he reads it to make sure. Then he's lost; for if he can read he can partially understand. The next time he won't consider tearing it, he'll read it from page one to page four.

"Your experience may lead you to smile at my theorizing. Perhaps I am wrong, but when they start asking for copies, buying them, then we shall both laugh, not for different reasons either.

"No matter. I did have a bit more than a modicum of success with my first bundle, placing about ten copies directly in the hands of workers. Workers that I know will read them.

"It's really amazing the number of people who entertain communist ideas, talk of them, and yet shout down the name of communism as something disagreeable and foreign to democracy. It's the press I suppose, but nevertheless the possibility of guiding those ideas into decisive action is there.

"Please don't regard me as a youthful proselyte who's toying with radical ideas. I can't afford to toy with anything to the tune of \$2.00 a week. That's about one-sixth of my salary. I'm working at and studying a cause which I believe to be just and practical, and I hope that I may prove a valuable member of the movement in time. . . ."—M.V.

Go to it, comrade! You're proving yourself a hundredfold today. Your experience will be of value everywhere.

An Agitator Stalks In Omaha Masses Heed His Hoarse, Compelling Voice

By CARL O'SHEA

OMAHA, Nebr.—The greatest agitator that the American working class has ever seen is at work here.

This agitator has been at work in Omaha for several years now. He has been working quietly among the unemployed. Thanks to his indefatigable work and his organizational talents, there is today a new unemployed group in Omaha, the Federal Workers Section, which already has over four hundred members and is growing daily.

Starting in December, the FWS has maintained a picket line day and night around the city courthouse. In the coldest weather, unemployed men and women march grim-faced before the courthouse, bearing signs: "Single Men Must Eat," "Our Children Are Hungry," "American Workers Will Not Starve Peacefully," "All War Funds to the Unemployed."

The FWS has obtained the use of the Drivers Hall at 1222 Harney, where they meet—where hot lunches are served daily—from where 350 gunnysacks of food, collected from sympathetic merchants, have been distributed to needy families in the last ten days. The Central Labor Union is giving sympathetic support and aid to the FWS.

All efforts of public officials, local and national, to stop the great agitator have been in vain. He is described as a tall gaunt figure, hollow-eyed, with prominent cheek bones, a strange pallor. It is his voice and his persuasiveness, however, that seem to have impressed most of his listeners.

UNEMPLOYED LEARN THEY MUST FIGHT

As he talks in his deep-timbered, slow, impressive voice, the scales drop from his listeners' eyes, and they see the reality of life as it has never appeared to them before.

If I had not been to Omaha and talked with the unemployed myself, I would not have believed it. But literally hundreds of unemployed men and women, in talks with me, have indicated that the agitator has done his job well.

"Life is struggle," they tell me quietly but in dead earnest. "On one side is ourselves, the workers, the poor, who have produced everything and who have nothing. On the other side are the rich, the owners, those who produce nothing and have everything. They own the courts, the cops, the relief department, the government. They will never give us the life we need and want. We must take it. Alone we are nothing. United we can achieve everything."

It appears the agitator came to Omaha in 1936, at about the same time E. F. Magaret, business man, became County Relief Administrator.

MURDER FOR MONEY IS HIS RELIEF POLICY

Magaret has been getting away with murder—and this is no idle phrase—in Omaha for four years now. Backed by the employers of Omaha, Magaret soon put into effect a "pay-as-you-go" policy.

Magaret has a simple three-point program. If there is an employable member of the family, whether he has work or not, that family cannot get on relief rolls. There are no allowances for rent, gas, water, electricity or fuel. All single men are denied relief. "We aim to restore individual initiative by forcing men to go out and get work, instead of expecting the government to take care of their families," explains Magaret.

Magaret boasts that relief costs in Omaha are 4 cents per capita per month.

You have heard of what's happening to the unemployed in Ohio and elsewhere, but you haven't heard anything like what goes on in Omaha. If it weren't for WPA, things would have been still worse. And WPA has been cut from 11,000 last year to 5,300 today. To boot, many workers have been laid off PWA.

Actually, in the large city of Omaha only sixteen hundred families on direct relief are permitted. In December, the city spent \$9,198 for relief, not much more than it spent, in all likelihood, in 1928 and 1929.

Things got so bad recently that even the Junior League became interested, investigated, and found cases of children fainting of hunger in school, of sickness unattended, of mass malnutrition, of many cases of actual starvation.

Yet, with people dead from hunger, Magaret has available in the county treasury for relief purposes a total of \$391,092.93. Of this only \$15,000 has been earmarked—for a WPA west side sewer project. Magaret expects to end the year 1940 in the black, as he has every year.

"The county commissioners are behind me," he boasts. "They'd

What the Workers Got

Most of the 225,000 workers employed by General Motors in Detroit, Pontiac, Flint, Saginaw, Lansing and in the plants of General Motors from Tarrytown, N. Y. to Los Angeles, who average on the conveyor belt almost a car a minute, didn't make much more in wages for an entire year than the \$814 that the corporation made in profit out of each man.

The corporation makes big propaganda out of the alleged "high" wages paid to its employees. But the workers of Michigan, Ohio, Indiana and elsewhere know differently.

The "Lucky" Workers

Lucky is the worker who puts in nine or even eight months of the year working. Lucky is the worker who can get through the year without having his car, his radio and often his clothing repossessed by the finance corporation for failure to make payments. More often, the auto worker feels himself extremely fortunate if he can get through the year without spending several months on the relief rolls. It's a "rich" auto worker that can keep shoes on his kiddies so they can attend school the year out.

The Other Workers

Even so, these are the "favored" employees. They don't include more than one-fourth of the industry's workers who have been pushed out of employment by labor-saving devices, new machinery and speeded-up production. The only smell they get of the "prosperity" is the curt "no" of the personnel manager day in, day out, at the employment office.

As far as General Motors is concerned these men are through. If they can get on the relief rolls, well and good. Otherwise, it's none of the corporation's business!

The Union's Responsibility

But it is the business of the auto workers. Underpaid auto workers mean suffering, semistarvation, insecurity, malnutrition for the children, unsanitary housing conditions. Unemployed auto workers mean a constant threat to the wage scale of the employed—a steady reserve army of potential scabs and fascists. It is the business of the auto workers. It is not a hopeless problem—something can and must be done about it!

The United Automobile Worker, from which most of the figures for this article are culled suggests that \$200 more be paid the employed auto workers annually "and still leave profits above \$150,000,000. This is a profit figure that only one or two corporations in the world, aside from GM, have ever been able to touch."

A very modest suggestion. Just contrast the fabulous profit of GM for 1939 with the miserable wages of its workers, and you begin to get an idea of how modest this suggestion is. Then contrast the present annual wage of the auto worker with the minimum set for security by the U.S. Department of Labor and the modesty of the CIO suggestion becomes appalling.

\$183,000,000 profit for General Motors coupon clippers for the year 1939! And how the parasites squander the millions made for them by the workers—gold-plat-

ed bathtubs, twenty-five dollar a plate dinners for monkeys rigged up in swallow-tailed coats, \$40,000 for a coming-out party for some bourgeois brat, thousands for sleek nags and sleeker stables—money to burn for pleasure-mad plutocrats.

What Could Be Done

Just suppose this \$183,000,000 were turned into wages and jobs for the auto workers:

Hours could be reduced to 30 hours a week;

75,000 new workers (one-third more) could be added to the payroll at \$1500 a year;

225,000 present employees would work thirty hours per week for the same wages they now receive for forty hours' work.

Is this "reform" necessary? Every General Motors worker will agree—it is more than necessary, it is imperative.

But is it possible? Here there will be hesitation and doubt. It seems a stupendous undertaking.

It Can Be Done!

Yes, but the unionization of General Motors seemed as big a job in its time until . . . Until the workers of Flint sat down in the plants, barricaded them against cops, vigilantes and tin-horn soldiers and swore to remain in the plants until the last stretcher carrying the body of the last man was carried out. Then even Frank Murphy became a "friend". He didn't send the National Guard in after the strikers only because Sloane, DuPont, Knudsen and Co. feared lest their precious machinery be scratched by indignant workers. General Motors went down on its knees. The plants were unionized.

That was three years ago! The spirit of '37 must return! The auto workers have bigger stakes to fight for in 1940. Timid officials will wall: "it is impossible". No! Everything is possible! The rank and file must organize for action—with determination, audacity and courage the gains of 1937 pale into insignificance.

Subscribe to the SOCIALIST APPEAL

Sensational Offer!!
(for month of February)

THE CASE OF LEON TROTSKY, single copy . . . \$.25
LIVING THOUGHTS OF MARX, single copy 35
FASCISM and BIG BUSINESS, single copy 75
WORLD REVOLUTION by CLR James, single copy 1.50
THE FOUR IN COMBINATION FOR \$2.50
SPEECH by LEON TROTSKY—In English \$6.00

A recording on two double-faced discs.

IN COMBINATION
WITH THE FOUR BOOKS LISTED ABOVE . . . \$7.50

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

The Negro Question

By J. R. JOHNSON

On the ground that their confessions were extorted by torture, the U.S. Supreme Court upheld the petition of four young Negroes against sentence of death by the Supreme Court of Florida.

Justice Black Prepares For War

Today, however, there is a war in Europe, in which the American capitalists are planning to intervene.

The Supreme Court therefore takes this case as a platform from which to pontificate on the evils of totalitarianism and the benefits of "democracy."

The Negro People Know Better!

Some of the Scottsboro boys are still in jail. Every year Negroes are lynched, not only those that are listed in the press but the quiet, well-organized doing-away with Negroes who in one way or another threaten "white supremacy."

The press has taken its cue and has repeated in swelling chorus the theme of the distinguished soi-disant. "We are not as they." And if "we," whose courts are a haven against all the winds that blow, are not as "they," the dictators, should not we be ready to die for these privileges?

Justice Black has lifted the case of these unfortunate Negroes (for if there was any evidence against them it would have been heard) from its place as one of a never-ending list of tyranny and injustice into a plea for the support of American and its imperialistic adventures abroad.

Men Wanted—in the Army

The one employer that still has plenty of jobs is the U.S. Army. Uncensored for Jan. 27 gives this from a list of recruiting hints sent to Army officers:

"4. Some of the sources for young men are: those unemployed; on relief; ex-enslaved men... and young men of military and adventurous disposition."

How doth the little crocodile Improve his shining tail, And pour the waters of the Nile On every golden scale!

How cheerfully he seems to grin, How neatly spreads his claws, And welcomes little fishes in With gently smiling jaws!

ON THE WAR IN FINLAND

Why We Should Defend the Soviet Union

By ALBERT GOLDMAN

It would indeed be fortunate if, once having arrived at the conclusion that to defend the Soviet Union is the duty of every worker, we could simply proceed to say to the Russian, the Finnish and the workers of all other countries: do your utmost to see to it that the Red Army is victorious and to make Finland part of the territory of the Soviet Union.

As simple as all that would be our task if Lenin and Trotsky were still at the helm in the Soviet Union. The problem, at present, alas, is not so simple. The mere fact that we have to discuss the question of whether or not to defend the Soviet Union is indicative of the tremendous change that has taken place since the days of Lenin and Trotsky.

The degeneration of the workers' state under the Stalinist regime makes the task of defending the Soviet Union far more complicated. At the same time that we are engaged in defending it against the capitalist army, in order to defend it more effectively in the struggle against imperialism it is necessary to struggle against the Stalinist bureaucracy.

They who look for a simple solution can find it either in defending bourgeois Finland or in being indifferent to the victory of either side. The Stalinists also have a simple solution: defend the Soviet Union by defending everything that Stalin does. Revolutionary Marxists, however, must carefully analyze all the factors involved and decide what they are defending and how they should defend it.

WHY WE IRRECONCILABLY STRUGGLE AGAINST STALIN

Our struggle against Stalin has been motivated fundamentally on the ground that his ideas and policies weaken the Soviet Union and consequently the world revolution. The proposition can likewise be put the other way around. Stalin's ideas and policies weaken the world revolution and consequently the Soviet Union. The two are inextricably bound together.

We fought against his destruction of the democratic rights of the Soviet workers, his policy of forced collectivization, his foreign policy based on alliances with capitalist powers; we fought against his theory of socialism in one country and against his theory of destroying fascism by fighting for bourgeois democracy; we fought against all of these because they weakened the Soviet Union. These Stalinist policies disoriented and confused the workers within and without the Soviet Union, thus weakening the workers' state.

If there was anything further needed to convince us that Stalinism must be overthrown in order to increase the strength of the Soviet Union so that it could be more adequately defended, Stalin's adventure in Finland would have done it. The Soviet

Union must be defended not only against the imperialists but also against the Stalinist bureaucracy.

The Russian workers have two enemies, the imperialists without, the bureaucracy within. Both endanger the existence of the state which the Russian workers created by superhuman sacrifice. The question arises: does the defence of the Soviet Union require that during a war against imperialism the struggle against the bureaucracy should cease? And the answer is a decisive "No!"

THE MAIN ENEMY IS WORLD IMPERIALISM!

But it must be clearly understood at all times that the struggle against the bureaucracy should be subordinated to the struggle against the imperialist enemy. The main enemy is imperialism and during a war between the Soviet Union and imperialism it is absolutely imperative for the workers to prevent a victory of imperialism. It would be a tremendous victory for the workers if they should succeed in overthrowing the Stalinist bureaucracy but it would constitute a disastrous defeat if the imperialists should destroy the bureaucracy, because the destruction of the bureaucracy by the imperialists would result in the destruction of the Soviet Union.

During the Civil War in Spain the Fourth International followed a tactic with reference to the Loyalist forces that the Russian workers should follow with reference to Stalinism.

The advanced Spanish workers had the double task of fighting against Franco and, at the same time, trying to mobilize the workers for the overthrow of the Loyalist government. We stated that unless the Spanish workers succeeded in kicking out the Stalinist-backed Negrin, the fascists would be victorious. We proved correct, but at the time of struggle against the fascists it would have been criminal for us to urge the workers not to fight the fascists because it was also necessary to overthrow the Loyalist government. At that particular time the main task was to destroy fascism.

Revolutionary workers in a union controlled by reactionaries understand very well that during a strike the reactionary leadership does not and cannot conduct the most effective struggle against the bosses and they would not hesitate to oust the reactionary leadership even during a strike. But they also understand that during a strike the main enemy is the boss and they concentrate their efforts to win the strike against the boss. In other words, they subordinate the struggle against the reactionary leadership to the struggle against the boss.

Revolutionary workers in an imperialist country at war consider that the main enemy is at home and carry on the struggle against the ruling class regardless of the effect on the front.

Not so in the case of the Soviet Union, a workers' state, based on nationalized property. There they must at all costs prevent a victory of the imperialist armies.

A REVOLUTIONARY POLICY FOR THE FINNISH WORKERS

Revolutionary internationalists have always insisted that in any war against the Soviet Union the primary task of the workers outside of the Soviet Union is: the proletarian revolution, the best method of defending the Soviet Union. And the Finnish workers have that task now as they had before the invasion by the Red Army.

To that extent the task of the Finnish workers does not differ in any way from the task confronting the Polish workers in 1920 when the Red Army under Lenin and Trotsky invaded Poland. But only to that extent. In 1920 the Polish workers did not have to fear the Soviet regime; it was their regime as well as that of the Russian workers; they could fight not only for the revolution in Poland but also for the joining of Poland to the Soviet Union. They did not have to make a distinction between the Soviet Union and the Lenin-Trotsky regime.

But in 1940, when it is Stalin's Red Army that is invading Finland and not the army of Lenin and Trotsky, the advanced workers of Finland find their task far more complicated and difficult than that of the Polish workers in 1920. They are confronted by the possibility of being swallowed up by the Stalinist regime and can hardly look forward with enthusiasm to that possibility. It is only a lesser evil in comparison with the evil of permitting the imperialists, through the Finnish army, to defeat the Red Army and thus prepare for the destruction of the Soviet Union.

The revolutionary workers in Finland should be agitating for that best of all possible solutions: a Soviet Finland independent of the Stalinist regime. In a struggle between the army of a Soviet Finland and the army of Stalin we would do our utmost to help defeat Stalin's army.

THE RED ARMY'S VICTORY IS A LESSER EVIL!

But while the politically advanced workers of Finland should constantly keep the goal of an independent Soviet Finland before the eyes of the Finnish workers, they dare not be indifferent to the actual struggle that is going on between the Red Army and the Finnish capitalist army representing the interests of world imperialism. Understanding what is at stake, the class-conscious Finnish workers must unhesitatingly choose the lesser evil of a victory of the Red Army and continue the struggle for an independent Soviet Finland against the Stalinist bureaucracy.

Those who have been thrown off their balance by the crime of Stalin in invading Finland will exclaim: what, you want the Finnish workers to accept slavery under the Stalinist regime? No, we do not want that. If all the Finnish workers would act as we would like them to, they would immediately establish a Soviet Finland and struggle for its independence against the Stalinist bureaucracy, calling upon the Russian workers to join them. But at present it is a question what the advanced workers should do before they get a majority and while the struggle is actually going on. Understanding the historic importance of defending what is left of the October Revolution, of defending nationalized property, they will do their utmost to prevent a defeat of the Red Army at the hands of the Finnish capitalist army.

MARXIST SCHOOL

125 W. 33rd St., NYC, Rm. 201

In response to popular demand, we are extending the lectures on DIALECTICAL THINKING.

Three more lectures will be given Mondays—8:45 p.m., beginning Feb. 26. The lectures will consider "Dialectical Materialism and its Critics." The criticisms of Hook, Eastman, etc., will be dealt with, as also the work of such modern logicians as Whitehead and Russell.

The instructors are J. G. WRIGHT and GEORGE NOVACK.

Admission: 50c for the Series 25c for Single Lectures

HANDS OFF THE SOVIET UNION!

A NEGRO LEADER SPEAKS OUT AGAINST THE SOCIAL PATRIOTS

By GEORGE PADMORE

(We reprint this article in abridged form from the February, 1940, issue of "Left", a British discussion organ. George Padmore, formerly Chairman of the Negro Trade Union Committee of the Red International of Labor Unions (Profintern) and for many years prominently identified with the Communist International, is now active in the International African Service Bureau.)

The Russo-Finnish conflict makes it imperative for the international working class movements in the capitalist countries to re-evaluate their position towards the Soviet Union.

Today the potential danger of imperialist intervention against the Soviet Union is greater than at any other time since 1921. This is the logical outcome of Stalin's fundamental error of attempting to build "Socialism in a single country," at the expense of the Revolution abroad. We regret the Soviet's attack upon Finland and we must hold Stalin responsible for this major blow to the prestige of international Socialism. Nevertheless, it is necessary for the British working class to be on guard against being dragged by their capitalists into a war against the Russian workers and peasants under the hypocritical guise of defending "poor little Finland."

We must not underestimate this danger, for already many spokesmen of Western imperialism on both sides of the Atlantic are declaring that the time has come to liquidate the socialized economy of the Soviet Union, and as a corollary of this, re-establish private ownership in the means of production.

STALIN'S FOREIGN POLICY HELPS INTERVENTION

Intervention has always been a danger confronting the Soviet Union and will continue to be so long as Russia is surrounded by hostile capitalist Powers. But this potential danger has now become a reality, thanks to Stalin's foreign policy, which has been forced upon him by the isolated position in which the Soviet Union finds itself vis-a-vis the international working class. Having abandoned the policy of World Revolution and dependence upon the support of the international working class against the machinations of imperialist politicians, Stalin was forced, willy-nilly, to seek new allies among the ruling sections of the imperialist Powers whose foreign orientation at a given period coincided with the peace aims of the Kremlin.

Appreciation of this fact is a prerequisite to an understanding of the zigzag course of Soviet foreign policy in recent years. The more the Soviet Union got entangled in its internal economic difficulties, the more its leaders became involved in power politics and were obliged to exploit the differences among the imperialists to the complete abandonment of the support of the world proletariat and the colonial peoples.

The bitter consequence of this

policy is being reaped by Stalin today, precisely when the Soviet Union stands most in need of the sympathy and active support of the international working class and the colonial peoples. Having been let down, the Popular Frontists—that heterogeneous amalgamation of middle-class political philistines—are today the most vituperative and slanderous in their denunciations of Soviet aggression against "poor little Finland."

SPECIAL DUTY OF REVOLUTIONISTS TODAY

In this befogged situation it is difficult for most people to see clearly ahead. A special duty, therefore, falls upon Revolutionary Socialists to clarify the problem, for only by this means will the masses be able to see the situation in its true class perspective.

While rejecting the claim of the Stalinists that "the irrevocable victory of Socialism has been achieved in the Soviet Union," we nevertheless maintain that Russia is fundamentally a workers' State. Space prevents a full examination of this subject, but we rest the claim upon the indisputable fact that private ownership in the means of production—land, railways, mines, banks, factories, etc.—has been abolished. This fact alone puts the Soviet Union in a fundamentally different category from capitalist-imperialist nations. This common ownership in the means of production is the essential prerequisite for the transition of society from capitalism to Socialism—Socialism to Communism—the fully classless society. It is this economic difference and its social potentialities which claim our support. Our attitude, however, does not blind us to many economic and social inequalities and the absence of any really genuine proletarian democracy in Russia. With all its limitations, however, the Soviet Union is historically an advance upon the other great nations.

STALIN HAS TRADUCED THE IDEALS OF SOCIALISM

Heaven knows that Stalin and his satellites have not only made us morally ashamed, for as socialists we are justified in feeling that the ethical conceptions and ideals for which we are striving have been traduced. We are put on the same standard as the bourgeoisie—the suppressors of the rights of nations, the exterminators of weaker peoples and the instigators of war. But again we must not allow our subjective feelings to blur our vision to the dangers involved not only for the Soviet Union but for ourselves also. The slimy, treacherous bourgeoisie always watches eagerly to exploit our class indignation in its own interests, and to make us—the working class and colonial peoples—its instruments in this exploitation.

Until the day Stalin restores to the Russian and foreign capitalists their properties and allows them to set up in Moscow a stock exchange and all the other paraphernalia of finance-capital, the Western capitalists will never give up their plans to drown the

Russian working class in blood in the attempt to regain what they lost in 1917.

FATE OF WORLD WORKERS INVOLVED IN THE USSR

Does anyone seriously believe that if the Chamberlains and Daladier—not to speak of Mussolini and the Pope—and their satellite, Mannerheim, had their own way, they would be satisfied merely with the military defeat of Russia and the liquidation of Stalinism? This Unholy Alliance of Capitalism and Jesuitism would completely destroy the Russian working-class movement—trade unions and co-operatives. Worst disaster of all, they would completely liquidate the collective ownership of the means of production and restore to the financial manipulators of the City, Wall Street, and the Bank of France, who can visualise civilization only in terms of sterling, dollars, and francs—the swag confiscated from them by the October Revolution.

Nor will these "Saviours of Christianity and Civilization" stop here. In every country—yes, even in "democratic" Britain—the working class will be driven into an undreamed-of condition of slavery. In short, such a wave of reaction and white terror would sweep over Europe as to make Hitler's Germany pale into insignificance.

Let us make no mistake about it. The destruction of Russia would give rise to such conditions of repression everywhere that it might take decades before the working class could recover its force once more.

Moreover, the restoration of capitalism in Russia would give a new lease of life to a dying world capitalism, whose demise is a necessary prerequisite to the reorganization of society on collectivist lines. It would be ironic for workers that when the system which had reduced them to abject poverty and unemployment, and dragged them into bloody warfare, is in its death throes, they should be instrumental in pumping new life into it. A capitalist Russia would provide Anglo-French-American imperialisms with new markets, additional sources of raw material and fresh fields for the investment of capital. The Soviet Union, which covers a sixth part of the earth's surface, would be restored to its former Tsarist status—a semi-colony of Western capitalist-imperialism—and the Russian masses would be used as "storm-troopers" to keep the proletariat in the advanced industrial countries servile and obedient. In short, Russia would be restored to her previous ignominious position of the "Gendarme of Europe."

If the international working class, despite its differences with the Stalinist bureaucracy, allows itself to be so short-sighted as to become the shock troops of international finance in any anti-Soviet adventure, it will deserve all that history has in store for it. RUSSIAN OPPOSITION MUST RALLY TO SOVIET DEFENSE

Returning to the present imperialist conflict between the Allies and Germany, it would be well to remind those workers who have allowed themselves to be drawn into the anti-Soviet camp out of disgust of the Communist party's unprincipled abuse of their confidence, that they are deluding themselves if they think that imperialist intervention in Russia will bring down the Stalinist bureaucracy. Such a war would enable the bureaucrats to present the issue to the Russian masses as one of "self-defense" against a united world capitalist attempt to restore Tsarism and capitalist property relations. The opposition, along with the rest of the peoples of the Soviet Union, would be compelled to rally to the defense of what remains of the October Revolution. For, as we have already stated, so long as the ownership of land and the means of production is socialized, Soviet economy represents a historical advance upon capitalist-imperialism.

An interventionist war would fortify Stalin's case for attacking Finland and would raise him in the eyes of the Russian masses to the status of a prophet, since it would be his justification. Furthermore, such an imperialist adventure would split the Labor movement in every country.

But even before actual military intervention takes place, Stalin himself may very conceivably, as a precautionary measure against the threat itself, be forced to enter into more active military collaboration with Hitler. Such an open military alliance between Russia and Germany would complicate even more an already extremely complicated situation, leading only to tragic consequences for the international working class. We are now paying the price for Stalin's disastrous policy of trying to construct socialism in a backward agrarian country without the support of the proletarian revolution in the industrialized West. He has landed not only the Soviet people but the international working class into a tragic dilemma. Lenin prophesied correctly when he wrote of Stalin that "this cook will make too hot a stew."

There is only one way in which we can extricate ourselves from this dilemma. We must, while repudiating Stalin's Finnish adventure, dissociate ourselves from all entanglements with the imperialist war-mongers and their anti-Soviet campaign. But most important of all, we must at the same time intensify the class struggle at home and tighten the bonds of solidarity and understanding with the working classes of all lands, who alone can settle accounts with their own bourgeoisie. This international struggle will offer the best example to the Soviet masses, for it would remove the danger of intervention. With this fear removed the Russian workers and peasants would shake off their own bureaucracy. Thus to-day, more than ever, the emancipation of the working class remains the task of the workers alone.

An Exchange With Lovestone On Finland

By FELIX MORROW

In the January 27 issue of the Socialist Appeal we commented editorially on a speech by a Czarist officer advocating aid to Finland. He had said, in calling upon Czarist Russians to fight against the Soviet Union:

"For twenty-two years we have been waiting for this moment. Now there is a place where we can go back from."

And our comment was:

"There in two sentences is the whole story of all the tear-jerking money-raising committees to aid 'poor little Finland' against 'Russian imperialism,' from Hoover down to the wretched Lovestoneites and Thomasites."

In previous issues we had devoted a good many thousands of words to a painstaking analysis of the pro-Finland line of Norman Thomas' Socialist Party and of the Lovestoneites. Both these groups have carefully refrained from answering our case against them.

At long last, however, the Lovestone Workers Age of February 17 replies. Its reply consists of a purported analysis of the editorial quoted above. It charges us with "the construction of an amalgam of labor and radical groups with the Russian monarchists, similar to the cheap and vicious type of argumentation used for the last fourteen years by Stalin against the Trotskyites."

Is it? All that the editorial and all our articles on Finland, say is: those who support Finland against the Soviet Union are supporting an outpost of imperialism against a workers' state. Defeat of the Red Army on the Finnish front would be followed by an imperialist invasion to destroy the workers' state and restore capitalism.

They Argue Like Social Democrats

The Workers Age is not yet quite as brazen as the New Leader. But, at the risk of being accused of another amalgam, we must say that its case for supporting Finland against the Soviet Union is based on the same fundamental assumptions as that of the New Leader. The latter declares it a war between democracy and dictatorship, points as proof to the house-broken social democratic deputies, and minimizes the role of Mannerheim. And what does the Workers Age do? We quote:

"Both the Daily Worker and Socialist Appeal... raise the menace of the White Guardist Mannerheim to gigantic and grotesque proportions, with the same intent in view, to prove that Finland is a White Guard outpost for the destruction of the USSR. All those who dare to raise their voices for the defense of Finnish independence can then be dubbed as 'agents of Baron Mannerheim.' Great care must be exercised to conceal the fact that out of 200 members of the Finnish parliament, the largest group, 85, are socialists, and that 143 represent workers or peasants parties. Otherwise, the cry of a 'White Guard Mannerheim regime,' would fall to the ground, and without a Mannerheim bugaboo, the amalgam would be worthless."

In passing, the Workers Age makes a little amalgam between the Socialist Appeal and the Daily Worker. We have pointed out the composition of the Finnish parliament; we have not called the bourgeoisie a White Guard regime. But all that is unimportant. What is most significant in the Workers Age article is that this paper, of a group which once called itself followers of Lenin, has degenerated to the point where (1) it does not recognize that Mannerheim, commander-in-chief of the armed forces of the Finnish bourgeoisie, represents the class in power; (2) it can adduce as a decisive counter-weight to Mannerheim the fact that impotent and cowardly representatives of reformist parties sit in the bourgeois parliament; (3) it can deny that any bourgeois country on the frontiers of the Soviet Union must serve as a base for imperialist intervention. By the by, as it were, the Workers Age throws overboard the Marxist theory of the state.

They Once Called Themselves Leninists!

Now listen to this, from people who once called themselves adherents of Lenin's theory of the progressive role of colonial wars against imperialist powers:

"Nor is it ever explained (by the Trotskyists) why if Mannerheim's participation in the Finnish defense... deprives the Finns of our sympathy, the same is not true for China and Chiang Kai-shek... Because Chiang Kai-shek is head of the Chinese Nationalist government, are we therefore to bless the Japanese invader and deny the Chinese masses our sympathy and support?"

The only logic by which this extraordinary paragraph would make sense would be by the argument that in all wars we oppose the "invader." But we would defend China against Japan if China were the initiator of hostilities. We, as followers of Marx and Lenin, don't choose sides on the legalistic argument of who crossed whose frontier line first, but we choose sides by a class criterion: the workers against the bosses, workers' state against capitalist state, oppressed colonial people against imperialist. Yes, one must defend these elementary Marxist propositions today against the Lovestoneite ex-Leninists.

In the characteristic style of all the social democratic war mongers these days, the Lovestoneites conclude with a denunciation of our belief that "the end justifies the means." Yes, we recognize no separation between ends and means. Neither does any naturalistic ethics which has broken with supernaturalism. John Dewey's "crime" to religionists is precisely that he establishes that means have no meaning apart from ends. But the Lovestoneites will scarcely trouble to find out what the concept really means. It sounds like an epithet, thanks to religious propaganda, and so they hurl it at us. Who hurls it? The people who defended Stalin's frameup trials against Zinoviev, Kamenev, Radek and Piatakov!

SOCIALIST APPEAL

Vol. IV, No. 8 Saturday, Feb. 24, 1940

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

Editors:
WELIX MORROW MAX SHACHTMAN
General Manager: Assistant Manager:
GEORGE CLARKE 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—\$0-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.

Unity For the Miners

The Progressive Miners Union is headed straight for a blow-up which we hope will lead to a unification of the Illinois coal diggers inside the United Mine Workers of America, the union representing the overwhelming majority of the nation's miners.

The rank and file of the P.M.A., led by genuine progressives, has been at loggerheads with the arch-reactionary international officials of the union, Joe Ozanic and Claude Pearcy, for some time. The dispute came to a sharp climax when the International Executive Board of the union expelled Dave Reed and John Battuello, two leading militants, on charges of cooperation with the U.M.W.

The very issue of their expulsion serves to emphasize the reactionary character of the P.M.A. officialdom. A few months ago Reed and Battuello joined in a common action with the Illinois district of the U.M.W. to force operators to comply with state mining laws. The action was successful and as a result will cost the operators hundreds of thousands of dollars in the enforcement of these laws—to say nothing of the hundreds of miners' lives that will be saved from needless mine disasters.

What could be more natural than a united front of the two miners' unions on this vital issue? Yet, on precisely this issue the P.M.A. leadership expelled Reed and Battuello. The charge made by the two expelled miners, that the P.M.A. officials acted in this matter in connivance with the coal operators, has every appearance of truth. Moreover, they present evidence showing that in June, 1939 the Coal Producers Ass'n of Illinois asked for their removal from their local positions.

The expulsion of Reed and Battuello comes only as a culmination to a seven-year reactionary course that has brought disgrace to what was once America's most promising militant union. In full revolt against the dictatorial policies of the Lewis machine, 50,000 Illinois miners broke away from the U.M.W. and formed the Progressive Miners Union in the fall of 1932. They waged a militant strike against coal operators, deputies, Lewis' thugs, National Guardsmen and martial law—a strike that made history in the American labor movement. More than a dozen martyrs stand as an eternal monument to that struggle.

But, soon after, leadership of the union was seized by a reactionary group that paraded as militants. In short order they made a mockery of the name "progressive." They kept the P.M.A. out of the unorganized coal fields of West Virginia and Kentucky, thus cramping its growth by restricting it to the narrow confines of the state of Illinois. They expelled the militants and began a red-baiting drive that must have made even the Lewis of that time blush for shame and envy. They converted the union organ into a Coughlinite-Huey Long fascist rag that forgot about miners' problems and spent its time railing at "international bankers, Jews and communists." Slowly the union dwindled down in membership until only a few thousand miners remained, held by their enduring resentment to the murderous Lewis methods they remember—and because of P.M.A. job control in their mines. But the

United Mine Workers staged a great comeback, enlisting the bulk of the miners in its fold. In Illinois, too, it recouped its fortunes and won the majority of the miners. The P.M.A. was left with a shell.

Meanwhile the P.M.A. officials, at the end of their rope, turned to the Executive Council of the AFL for affiliation. Bill Green chartered this dual union for no other reason than to make trouble for the CIO and John L. Lewis. After two years, with twenty organizers in the field, an enormous payroll and a wretched policy of collaboration with the operators—Joe Ozanic, the union president, now admits "disastrous defeat." The coal diggers still in the P.M.A. are up in revolt. Local 3 with a membership of 550 defied the International and reinstated Reed to membership. Local 1, the most powerful in the union with a membership of 2,200, reinstated Battuello in defiance of the International. And now local after local is demanding that an election for international officials be held within 60 days or dues will be withheld. This is one revolt the P.M.A. skates won't stop by red-baiting and expulsions. The coal diggers are fed up.

Battuello and Reed are fighting the battle of the Illinois miners. Victory rightly belongs to them. We hope this victory will lead to the long-needed unification of the mine workers of Illinois.

LAW'S MAJESTIC EQUALITY

Convicted of stealing two loaves of bread—value 20 cents—John Richmond, 22, of Boston, was fined \$25 by Judge Robert W. Frots. Well, if a millionaire had stolen the bread, he also would have been fined!

Hitler's Secret Weapon

The great fear that animated the imperialist powers before the outbreak of war—and animates them still—is the fear that the war would bring in its wake the destruction of capitalism everywhere.

This is what postponed the outbreak for so long. This is what lay behind the desperate efforts of the British and French imperialists to strike a bargain with Hitler by voluntarily giving him what he threatened to take. This is what still makes them hesitate, even now, before taking what they have reason to believe might be a fatal plunge for all of them.

In his new book retailing Hitler's private conversations with his principal henchmen, Herman Rauschning, former Nazi leader of Danzig, reveals that Hitler has made conscious use of this fear.

"We may be destroyed," he cried on one occasion, "but if we are, we shall drag a world with us—a world in flames."

Is this, perhaps, Hitler's "secret weapon" of which so much has been heard?

ONE WAY RACKET

When two Minnesota youths were haled before a judge, charged with cheating a pin ball machine by using a magnet to draw the ball into the winning pockets, the judge fined them and ruled that it is illegal to take advantage of the pin ball machine companies.

Can't Hide Cold!

On the same page of the New York Post (February 20) there appear two items with London datelines.

"BRITISH HIDE WAR BUDGET—Even Commons Won't Know Amounts.

"It is neither practicable nor desirable," says a treasury official, "to present to parliament detailed estimates purporting to cover the whole cost of these services. It would not be desirable in the public interest. . . ."

If you would know why it would be "neither practicable nor desirable" then read the following item which appeared under the much smaller headline:

"COAL SHORTAGE IN LONDON GROWS

"A coal shortage in London and elsewhere in England is reaching an acute stage, it was disclosed today, with widespread discomfort and suffering in the poorer districts.

"Officials said there was no actual shortage of coal but that the winter and war conditions had disrupted transportation."

Undoubtedly it would be neither "desirable nor practicable" for the worker who slaves at sub-standard wages in war factories to know that the reason for their heat-less homes is the billions the government is putting in the war budget.

But even concealing the war budget won't hide the fact that despite the coal shortage there is still plenty of fuel to feed the blazing fireplaces in the mansions of Messrs. Churchill and Chamberlain. . . .

There are some things you can't hide.

In the World of Labor

By Paul G. Stevens

**Increased Attacks Against
Our Belgian Comrades?**

This week United Press carried the following dispatch from Brussels:

"The Cabinet, which met unexpectedly today, was reported to have discussed means of strengthening legislation against persons disturbing internal order. It was believed that the Cabinet was anxious to suppress the activities of communist agitators who, it was alleged, recently provoked strikes, especially among coal miners."

The most recent strikes among Belgian miners were those of the Levant de Fleny company in the Borinage region, the traditional stronghold of our Belgian comrades, the Revolutionary Socialist Party (P.S.R.). Several weeks ago this column reported suppression of the party's legal organ "La Lutte Ouvriere" and its reappearance under the title "L'Action Socialiste." The paper had to change from the mining region to Brussels. It is consequently safe to assume that the Cabinet action is directed against our Belgian miner comrades.

Despite all previous attempts to drive them underground, our comrades have shown a remarkable ability to readjust themselves under fire. Their deep roots among the Borinage proletariat have assured the continuity of their work. If their past performance is any indication, they will be able with the aid of their devoted following in the pits to overcome even these latest moves of the government. Their heroic resistance to the war preparations of Belgian capitalism is an example of the vitality of the Fourth International under increasingly difficult conditions.

**Only Fourth Internationalists
Fight Against War in Canada**

From Canada we have just received the latest issue of "Socialist Action," the excellent little sheet put out illegally by our Canadian comrades.

Of all the working class organizations in that country, the section of the Fourth International is the only one that is actively engaged in the struggle against war. The reformist Canadian Commonwealth Federation (Second International) has gone completely patriotic under the leadership of its parliamentary whip, Coldwell. The pacifist wing under Woodsworth, which repeatedly wrote a rather strong anti-war plank into the party's program at the Federation's conventions in recent years, has completely capitulated to the war-mongering leadership of its parliamentary representatives, although it has been known to have a majority in the membership. The Stalinist party seems to have disappeared from the field of public action altogether after the switch in line that followed the conclusion of the Stalin-Hitler pact. At the outbreak of the war in September it was still for the support of the "democratic" powers. Only our comrades carry on the strong anti-war tradition of the Canadian workers.

In the elections to parliament which are now going on as a result of the dissolution of the lower house by Prime Minister McKenzie King, the C.C.F. is agitating along avowedly imperialist lines. At a recent meeting, Coldwell made the

following declaration for his party, according to "Socialist Action":

"The C.C.F. believes that our national unity, the allied cause and securing a just peace could be served best by limiting our military and naval participation to defense to our own large territory and lands belonging to the British and French adjacent to Canada. That would include Newfoundland, the Bahamas, Bermuda and such islands as Miquelon and St. Pierre."

Allegedly opposing the sending of Canadian troops overseas, the C.C.F. leader makes clear that this is not due to any real opposition to imperialist policy. On the contrary, he appears to be concerned only to obtain the most adequate defense of allied imperialist interests on the Western hemisphere. As against the openly war-mongering policy of the social reformists in the C.C.F. our comrades are participating in the election struggle under the slogans:

"For a Workers and Farmers Government! Expropriate the 50 big shots! For Workers' Control of Production! Down with Imperialist War!"

How British Trade Union Bureaucrats Deal with Opposition to War

In Great Britain the movement of opposition to the war has become particularly pronounced among local trade union bodies known as the Trades Councils which are similar in structure to our own Central Labor Unions. The opposition springs from the growing realization of the rank and file militants that it is they who—by the decline of real wages and the rise in cost of living—have to bear the burden of a war which is not of their making. Apparently this movement is giving serious cause for worry to the trade union bureaucrats at the top who are, of course, thoroughly patriotic.

Recently they have been going over from warring to action. What action? They simply instruct local affiliates of national unions under their control on pain of expulsion to withdraw from Trades Councils which have declared their opposition to the war. In other words, they put on the economic squeeze. Thus, for instance, Ernest Bevin, head of the Transport Workers Union, announces in the Daily Herald of December 29:

"Trades Councils that support the 'peace at any price' policy will find that part of the price of their decision is that they will not receive affiliation fees for 1940 from the Transport and General Workers Union. That 'peace' policy is in conflict with the decisions of the Trade Union Congress and the Labour party. The union has a standing resolution to pay money only to Trades Councils and local labor parties that accept the national policy of the T.U.C. and the Labour party."

Since then, the branches of the Bevin union have been instructed to withhold fees from the Glasgow, Aberdeen and Edinburgh Trades Councils. Such blackmail may deal a temporary blow to the workers' opposition to war. But only a temporary one. For the plan of the Chamberlain government to squeeze a major share for the cost of the coming war year from the pockets of the workers will undoubtedly give it a new impulse. The next wave will only be more embittered because of the dastardly steps taken to stem it.

Powers Gird For Spring Crisis

(Continued from Page 1)

All these possibilities are obviously closely interlocked. Making due allowances for time lags that might extend into the Fall and possibly even to next winter, it is clear that if a clear-cut military decision is to be sought, hostilities will spread to all the zones mentioned separately, above.

The one possible variant is the continuation of the stalemate situation on the Western front proper, with activity confined to large scale use of artillery and aerial warfare.

From the Allied point of view the object would be to inflict a decisive defeat on Germany—a defeat decisive enough to unseat the Hitler regime and bring a chastened Reich into the Allied entente for continued war against the Soviet Union.

From the German point of view the purpose would be to exploit to the fullest extent possible the German superiority in armaments which cannot long be sustained if the Allies are given more time to whip their war machines into shape. Through use of its tremendous power in the air and unrestricted warfare at sea, Germany would seek to cripple the Allies and, if not to achieve complete conquest, at least to carve itself a larger share in the world's spoils as the price of its participation in a joint enterprise against the U.S.S.R.

Stalin's Downfall!

From the standpoint of the Stalinist regime in the Soviet Union, the entire perspective, in any or all of its facets, spells the utmost peril. It means that Stalin, against his will and against all his instincts of self-preservation, will find himself engaged in major conflict with the powers and saddled tight in the German alliance. Continuation and extension of the war will mean the downfall of Stalin.

From the standpoint of the workers of Russia and of the rest of the world the question is: will Stalin, when he falls, drag the Workers State down with him? Will he go down under the blows of world imper-

alism, or will he go down under the impact of the Russian working class, aroused by its peril to the defense of its revolutionary conquests?

The answer to that question will be found not only within the Soviet Union but among the masses of soldiers and workers and peasants bearing the brunt of the boss war on all fronts across the tortured face of the world.

Fear the Masses

If our imperialist rulers are compelled, despite their own fears for their own rule, to enter into this titanic test of strength, they will soon discover the enemy at home. For they will have to exact sacrifices on a scale never before seen and they will not exact them unchallenged.

They know this. That is why even now, well past the eleventh hour, the efforts continue to find a new balance, however precarious, that will somehow dull the razor-sharp edge of the crisis they find themselves in.

America's Central Role

American imperialism, represented by Roosevelt, is playing right now a central role in these efforts. It regards itself as the arbiter-in-chief and intends to use its power to impose a settlement that will insure its own paramount rule in world affairs. If possible it will seek to do so by manipulating its economic weap-

ons, but is preparing steadily for the inevitable necessity for using its armed strength as well, primarily in the Pacific against its chief rival there, Japan.

Zero Hour

In the immediate situation, the central objective of American imperialist strategy is to focus the war as soon as possible into a war of the powers against the Soviet Union, to crush there the spectre of workers' rule and to throw open to the victorious imperialist bloc the rich lands of the Russias. If to do this it is necessary to crush Hitler first, the Western powers will get all the aid they need to do so, economic and military. It is to see if this decision is really inescapable that Roosevelt has sent Welles to Europe. That is why Welles has gone on the very eve of zero hour.

AMAZING OPPORTUNITY

We invite you to come in and find out how you can get \$3.00 worth of books Free through our new book club arrangement.

Modern Book Shop
27 University Place, N. Y. C.

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 PUBLISHERS
116 UNIVERSITY PLACE NEW YORK, N. Y.

Their Government
by James Burnham

Just What Happens On Election Day?

Election Day next November will be pointed to with pride by defenders of the "American system" as convincing proof that "genuine democracy" prevails in this country. On that day, they will argue, the adult population, of its own free will, without coercion and by secret ballot, selects its own chief executive, together with the other major officials who govern the nation. In the case of the Presidency, all citizens over 21 years of age may vote for anyone he wishes who is native-born and more than 35 years old. What further evidence could be required to show that the people rule themselves, that they have the kind of government which the majority wants to have?

Universal suffrage and the secret ballot are, in truth, precious rights, and no Marxist will advocate abandoning them; on the contrary, the problem in this country is rather to extend them so that they will apply in fact to all, and not be restricted as at present through various kinds of racial and property disqualifications. Nevertheless, a very little examination of what happens on and before Election Day will be enough to show that universal suffrage and the secret ballot are in themselves powerless to guarantee a full and genuine democracy.

How Do Names Get on the Ballot?

The Presidency is the decisive political office in the United States today. The extension of the power of the executive branch of the government during the past two or three decades gives it in practice the controlling power over the most important political and social issues, including power to involve the country in war.

On Election Day, though theoretically free to vote for anyone we wish, the ballot actually prints the names of electors for only from two to five or six candidates for the Presidency. In many if not most States, only two candidates—those of the Republican and Democratic parties—appear on the ballot.

How did those names get there? If the people have no real say about what names they select from on the November ballot, or what policies the men named stand for, then the pretended freedom of choice in November is largely an illusion. It would be like telling someone he is free to select any card he may wish from a deck, but then constructing the deck so that it contained only two's and three's.

The decision about the two principal names to appear on the November ballot will be made at the national conventions of the Republican and Democratic parties, to be held in June and July. Preparations for these conventions are now going rapidly forward. Beginning next month, a series of primary elections will be held in many States to select the convention delegates.

It might seem that through these primary elections, the people should be able to control the work of the conventions, and thus decide whose names go on the convention ballots. This is not at all the case. The delegate slates at the primary elections are publicized as if they were men pledged to Roosevelt, Garner, Dewey, Taft, or whoever it might be; but, with the exception of only one or two States, the pledges are not binding. The delegates are in no way responsible to the people who voted for them; they may do anything they please at the conventions. They are almost always hardened machine-men, ready to do whatever they are told. The public pledge to one candidate or another is only a temporary device to attract votes and interest.

So much so is this the case that many of the chief candidates do not even bother to enter slates in the primary elections. Senator Taft, for example, high on the list of Republican possibilities, is steering clear of public primary battles. He is lining up delegates quietly, behind the scenes in the club-houses and committee-rooms.

Some years ago, many liberal reformers thought that direct primaries for convention delegates would break the backs of the corrupt political machines. A majority of States introduced them. Experience showed that they were seldom a handicap, and often an additional advantage, to the machines. In recent years, several States have abandoned direct primaries, and gone back to the standard method of selection by the State party committees.

Indirectly, of course, popular feeling influences to some extent the selection of candidates. A convention, unless it wants to cut its own party throat, has got to pick a man with a certain amount of mass appeal, who can be put across to the voters. But it remains a fact that in the United States today there is no serious and responsible democratic control over the major political parties and, through them, over the personnel and policies of the government.

A Labor Party and Democracy

There is no mystery in this fact when once we understand that the existing parliamentary and party machinery in this country has as its object not merely or even primarily to express a certain (very minor) degree of democracy, but to limit and restrict democracy within narrow and closely guarded borders. These borders are defined by the property relations of capitalist economy and the interests of the owners of property.

Inside those borders, some democracy is permissible, at least until capitalism in order to save itself is compelled to resort to fascist totalitarian politics. Outside those borders, attempts at democracy become—"subversive agitation." The parliamentary machinery, the "two-party system," are designed to defend those borders, and thus to limit democratic control by the masses in such a way that it cannot interfere with capitalism.

These general considerations indicate one reason why it is so vain to hope that the workers can ever "use" either the Democratic or Republican parties to achieve their aims: by their very nature these parties are anti-working class, and workers support them only at the cost of making their own aims impossible.

For the workers to get anywhere on the political arena, the first step has got to be to break out of the framework of capitalist—that is, anti-working class—politics; specifically, in this country, to break away from both the Democratic and Republican parties, and build a workers' party with a workers' program and workers' candidates. If this isn't done, the choice in November isn't worth the time it takes to walk to the polls. A vote over who is to be warden is not very crucial when the real problem is how to get out of jail.