

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.

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SOVIET-FINN PEACE BALKS ALLIED ATTACK

Soviet Union's Military Defenses Strengthened by Treaty

Transport Workers Prepare General Strike in New York

Union Declares It Will Strike All City-Owned Lines If La Guardia Pushes Through Union-Busting Plans

The Transport Workers Union replied this week to the union-busting proposals of Mayor La Guardia by preparing for a general strike on the subways, the elevated lines and all city-owned bus and car lines.

Huge overflow membership meetings of the transport workers of the IRT and BMT lines adopted a resolution denouncing "the vicious, yellow-dog, company-union plan announced by Mayor La Guardia." The resolution further instructed "the Executive Board of the Transport Workers Union to call a strike at such time as they may see fit of all BMT and IRT workers in order to preserve our fundamental rights."

The union also appealed to all workers on the city-owned Independent Subways to back the transport workers in their fight, as well as all TWU members working on the elevated, bus, and street car lines.

The union leaders announced that they were now making all the necessary physical preparations to call the strike and tie up every public transportation wheel in the city, if the Mayor did not recognize the union contracts. The union has ordered extra telephone facilities and placed cots in its headquarters, converting one of the rooms into a hospital.

United Labor Backing

Last Thursday, the Transport Workers Union received assurances of labor support in one of the most remarkable labor meetings held in New York in recent times. Over 400 leading unionists representing both AFL and CIO unions, with a reputed membership of 800,000, gathered at the Capitol Hotel to pledge support to the TWU. Present were such leading New York union officials as Adolph Germer, CIO director, Hollander, Miller and Weinstein representing the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, Elmer Brown of the "Big Six" Typographical Union, and dozens of other of the leading New York union officials.

They adopted a resolution, which was immediately dispatched to Mayor La Guardia who was attending the U. S. Conference of Mayors at Birmingham, Alabama. The resolution stated in part:

"We are astounded by the stubborn refusal of the Mayor to grant a single conference with bona fide representatives of transit labor to discuss the elementary questions of labor relations under unification. His utter disregard for the sanctity of labor contracts is outrageous."

The city administration was meanwhile pushing plans for the rapid demolition of the Second and Ninth Avenue elevated lines, in order to raise millions of dollars of additional cash through increased real estate assessments to pay the bankers the fantastic sum of 326 million dollars for the transit lines, agreed to in the infamous "Unification" deal with the bankers.

The demolition scheme will throw out of work three thousand members of the TWU, employed at the present time on the elevated lines, for whom the city is making absolutely no provision. Speaking last week at the Brooklyn Transport Workers Hall (Continued on Page 3)

DRIVERS' UNION FIGHTS SIOUX CITY FRAMEUP

Tobin Pledges Full Aid; Padway Is Retained as Counsel

(Special to Socialist Appeal) CHICAGO, March 12—The bitter-enders among the bosses in the North Central Area are in for a show-down fight with the well-oiled powerhouse of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters.

That was the meaning of the decision made in Indianapolis on Friday in a meeting of International President Daniel J. Tobin with the teamsters' North Central Area Committee.

Certain bosses, including not only trucking but other industries, had just tried their latest of a long series of police frame-ups against what they hoped was a weak link in the chain of new teamsters' unions—Sioux City, Iowa, Drivers Local 383. Howard Fouts, Ralph Johnson and Charles Cunningham, union officers, had been arrested on a trumped-up charge of "kidnapping and holding for ransom."

Unions Accept Challenge The North Central Area Committee of the teamsters—the 14-state body which controls the operation of the uniform agreement covering all over-road drivers in the area—was quick to respond to the challenge. The Indianapolis meeting brought from Tobin a decision to send Joseph L. Padway, general counsel of the teamsters and of the AFL, to Sioux City, where Fouts and Johnson are being held for the grand jury without being admitted to bond.

Tobin declared that the International will give substantial financial aid in smashing the crude frameup.

Crude Frameup

How crude it is, is shown by the actual facts on which the charge of "kidnapping" is based. One of the few companies in the area attempting to operate under non-union conditions is the Gibson Trucking Company. It had agreed to sign a union contract but kept stalling. A few weeks ago organizers from Local 383 notified the union members driving for Gibson that until the company signed up they were not to haul on the runs not covered by union contract. The drivers readily agreed, as they were of course anxious to help obtain union conditions.

The drivers therefore went up to the union hall to wait until Gibson signed up. Instead, the company called the police and charged the drivers had been "kidnapped," a charge apparently cooked up in advance with the Business Men's Association and the county attorney. Bail was refused Fouts and Johnson because the charge carries a maximum penalty of death.



Mayor LaGuardia, whose name is mud to transport workers.

JUDGE PUTS BAN ON PICKETING GOV'T BUREAU

It's a crime to protest that you're starving.

That was the decision of New York City magistrate Michael A. Ford, sitting Tuesday in Bronx Magistrate's Court, when he found guilty of disorderly conduct thirteen members of an unemployed local of the Workers Alliance.

The sole ground on which the magistrate found them guilty—taking a cue from Roosevelt's prohibition of strikes and demonstrations of WPA workers and Mayor LaGuardia's announcement that transportation workers on city-owned lines will not be granted the right of collective bargaining—was that "it is illegal to picket a government agency."

TWELVE MILLION UNEMPLOYED—NUMBER GOING UP, CIO PROVES

WASHINGTON, D. C., March 10—Unemployment for January increased by 14 percent from December to reach a total of 11,936,000, according to the CIO's monthly survey of the economic situation, "The Economic Outlook," out today.

The CIO unemployment estimate was based on CIO union reports and government figures. The CIO declared its figure "as dependable as any available." The figure for the same period recently estimated by the employers' National Industrial Conference Board was ten million unemployed.

Since employment fell as precipitously throughout February as during January, the present size of the unemployed army must be close to twelve and a half million.

The drop of 19 points in the Federal Reserve Board index of production (from 128) during January was even higher than the CIO had predicted in January, when it warned of a new dip in the economic crisis.

Congress Swings Axe At the Wagner Act

Bosses' Association Stoooges Aided by AFL Skates Prepare to Emascuate Labor's Limited Legal Rights

By ALBERT GOLDMAN

With the introduction in the House of Representatives of a bill (H.R. 8813) to amend the National Labor Relations Act (Wagner Act), the campaign to destroy whatever merit the bill has for organized labor has begun in earnest. The bill is the work of a majority of the House Committee to investigate the Wagner Act.

Intelligent workers never fell for the buncombe passed out by the labor bureaucrats that the Wagner Act (the "Magna Carta of Labor" as William Green calls it) would constitute a substitute for struggle in organizing the unorganized.

These workers understood that the act was won by the workers as a major concession from the Roosevelt regime in order to obtain the support of Labor, and they were more than willing to take advantage of its provisions and especially of the sentiment for organization that it created among the workers. But that required militant union activity. The act could not and did not serve as a substitute for militant activity. The labor leaders who tried it as a substitute did not get very far in increasing the membership of their unions.

But since it did contain provisions which aided the workers in their efforts to organize, it was to that extent valuable and it remains the duty of all workers to extend and improve the act and to fight strenuously against any emasculation of it. And that is what the Smith committee amendments propose to do.

Gums Up the Works

One of the amendments provides for the creation of a new board of three members who will sit as a judicial tribunal to hear evidence on complaints filed by an administrator. Ever since the enactment of the Wagner Act the reactionaries have been howling about its violating "all rules of fair play" in that the Labor Board acts as both prosecutor and judge. What the reaction-

aries want is to create all kinds of "checks and balances" to make it more difficult for the workers to get a favorable decision.

To achieve that objective one of the amendments proposes to give the courts the right to go into the findings of fact made by the Board and reverse its decision on the facts. At present these findings of fact by the Board are conclusive.

Should the amendments become law the Board would have to follow judicial rules of evidence and base its findings on a preponderance of the evidence. Under the present act the rules of evidence are much more liberal. The general aim of the amendments dealing with the methods of procedure is to give the courts a greater opportunity, on the basis of some technicality, to overrule any decision favorable to the workers.

Boss-Dictated Elections

The present act was at first correctly interpreted by the Board to give the workers exclusive right to ask for an election. Later on, under pressure of the reactionaries, the Labor Board yielded to the demand of the bosses that they be given the right to petition for elections to determine the bargaining agency for the workers.

It is still, however, in the discretion of the Board whether or not to allow such a petition. The amendment proposes to give that right to the employer as a matter of course, thus giving the boss a chance to call for an election before the union is prepared.

No longer will the poor downtrodden bosses be deprived of their civil liberties. Their freedom of speech will be protected by one of the proposed amendments. In other words, it grants the boss the right openly to intimidate the workers. Furthermore, the employer will not be obligated to make any counterproposal. All he will be compelled to do is to listen to the proposals (Continued on Page 4)

CURRAN'S PAL



Harry Bridges, West Coast Stalinist longshore boss. He supplements Stalinist Curran's "Unity" move with offer to bosses of five year "peace plan" — meaning compulsory arbitration.

CURRAN 'UNITY' SPELLS SPLIT FOR SEAMEN

Move Aimed at Disrupting Fighting West Coast Sailors

By JOHN PATRICK

Joe Curran, president of the Stalinist controlled National Maritime Union, announced this week that he would attempt to move in on the West Coast unions. He called it "a move toward unity of both coasts."

Curran's policy in the NMU during the last few years, the Stalinist policy of supporting Roosevelt and Roosevelt's Maritime Commission hiring halls and training ships, has installed these fink halls and fink ships firmly on the East Coast. On the West Coast the militant policy of the Sailors Union of the Pacific and the Marine Firemen, of picketing maritime commission hiring halls has insured the existence of union hiring halls, the heart of the seamen's unions.

Curran's policy and Curran's tactics so weakened the NMU that it was recently forced to sign one of the worst contracts in waterfront history, an agreement that sells out every fundamental union right—hiring hall, no discrimination against union members, closed shop and other such fundamental rights. This sell-out was presented to the membership as an NMU "victory."

In these circumstances it is only natural that Curran and his gang of picards should look with envious eyes toward the Sailors Union of the Pacific and the Marine Firemen, Oilers, Water-tenders and Wipers Ass'n of the Pacific. These two unions, having resisted Stalinist domination, are now in a powerful position on the waterfront.

The SUP-MFOW control all hiring through their own union hiring halls. This right was recently signed away by the NMU.

The SUP - MFOW control enough jobs to keep their members working. The NMU membership—Curran's claim of 65,000 members is about three times (Continued on Page 3)

But Stalin's Methods Alienate Sympathy Of World's Workers

(AN EDITORIAL)

Pursuing his fundamental aim of avoiding a major war, Stalin has concluded peace with Finland in time to ward off a direct attack on the Soviet Union by the French and British imperialists.

Disregarding the sentiments of the working masses throughout the world, Stalin invaded Finland. After suffering initial military reverses due to the stupidity and demoralization of the purge-weakened command, the Red Army finally succeeded in breaking through the Mannerheim line. Faced with defeat, the Finnish capitalists were convinced of the advisability of accepting the terms of peace.

The Allies made frantic eleventh-hour attempts to prevent peace. They openly declared their readiness to send as many men and as much material as was necessary to bolster up their Finnish satellite. They divulged how much help they had already furnished in the way of armaments, and thus partly explained the ability of the Mannerheim forces to withstand the attack of the Red Army. After these revelations it is clear to all that a major factor in the decision of Finland not to yield to Stalin's terms in November must have been the help promised by Allied and American imperialists.

In the course of the war the Finnish capitalist government obviously became skeptical of the ability of Chamberlain and Daladier to live up to their promises, all the more so since Sweden and Norway, threatened by Hitler, refused to permit the Allies to send soldiers across their territory.

Hitler's Calculations

For his own reasons, Hitler accepts the peace treaty despite the fact that it strengthens the military defenses of the Soviet Union against a future German attack. While his basic policy is to involve Stalin in the war against the Allies, Hitler wants to do so only under conditions most favorable to him. At the present moment he deems his interests to be favored by a cessation of hostilities between the Soviet Union and Finland. Undoubtedly he is of the opinion that he can get more aid from Stalin at the present moment if the Soviet Union is at peace; in preparation for a possible future attack by him on the Soviet Union he is anxious to avoid Stalin's taking possession of too much Baltic territory; and he is unwilling to take a chance on having his supply of iron ore and other materials coming from Sweden cut off by Allied intervention.

Sweden and Norway were most anxious for a peace that would grant them a respite. Hemmed in between the two imperialist rivals, these small capitalist countries must walk the tight-rope of neutrality. They are trying as best they can to avoid being sucked into the maelstrom.

Of all the factors favoring peace, the most important and decisive was Stalin's anxiety to avoid a major war. He wants at all costs to escape the risk of being swept out of power either by revolution or by a successful imperialist attack. His demands on Finland having been refused, he thought he had no alternative but to go to war in order to guard his prestige and to secure the military defense of Leningrad. But his basic policy still remains to avoid participation in a major war.

Invasion Brought Discredit

The Soviet Union obviously gained important military strategic objectives in the peace treaty. But those gains are far outweighed by the loss of popular mass sympathy and the discredit which Stalin brought upon the Soviet Union because of the invasion.

Those superficial observers who described the invasion, not simply as a bureaucratic method of achieving defensive military-strategic objectives, but as an expression of "Stalinist imperialism," and as proof that Stalin consummated a partnership with Hitler for the purpose of destroying and dividing the British Empire, and even the whole world—the exponents of this ridiculous "theory" have been confounded by the course of events.

Stalin, however, is not freed from the problem of the war. He may do his utmost to avoid it, but the war will catch up with him. The French and British imperialists cannot sit back quietly while he aids Hitler in evading the consequences of the Allied blockade. They will seek a pretext for waging war on the Soviet Union and thus attempt to kill two birds with one (Continued on Page 4)

Trust Busters Wink at Trusts; Attack Unions

WASHINGTON, D. C., March 11—While the Department of Justice is pursuing its policy of seeking criminal indictments against trade union leaders under the anti-trust laws, it is dropping cases against big corporations, U. S. Senator Gerald P. Nye of North Dakota pointed out yesterday in a letter to Attorney General Jackson.

Nye cited, as a specific example, the dropping of civil suits of the Columbia Gas and Electric Corporation and the Columbia Oil and Gasoline Corporation, described by the senator as that "inveterate offender and chronic defendant." Cases had been dropped in favor of consent decrees—mutually-agreed upon settlements between the corporations and the Department, under which the company is in no way penalized for its violations of the trust laws.

"It is my opinion that the Justice Department's customary acceptance of consent decree agree-

ments by the defendant Columbia interests is acceptance of little less than a vicious racket," declared Nye.

"When Mr. Thurman Arnold's partiality toward corporate defendants of great wealth is known, when the significance of his consent decree measures in settling civil complaints is realized, then we may expect a national revision against his determination to obtain criminal indictments against other alleged but lesser violators of Federal anti-trust laws, particularly the leaders in the building trades unions."

In conclusion, Nye demanded to know of Jackson whether "you approve of the prevailing policy of seeking criminal indictments of officials of building trades unions who are charged with anti-trust violations, during a period when the anti-trust division is dropping its civil complaints of anti-trust violations by corporate defendants, in favor of a consent decree?"

WORKERS' FORUM

Another View of the Roosevelt-Lewis Split

Editor:
Comrade Mills, in his letter in the March 9 Appeal, reviewing the policy of the Appeal on the Roosevelt-Lewis split, in my opinion makes an important error. To attempt to determine the sentiment of the American working class towards Roosevelt on the basis of the feelings of an isolated section or even for that matter of a whole important strata is not to examine the question correctly. To counterbalance those sentiments that Comrade Mills sees, it is possible to pose other sections definitely swinging away from Roosevelt.

My own experience among production workers and even skilled machinists in New York (UER & M) would seem to indicate this. However, as stated above this would indicate a trend, but would not be a basic answer to the reason for the Roosevelt-Lewis split. Lewis, although unquestionably as bureaucratic as Green, still must be considered as one of America's shrewdest labor leaders. No doubt, Comrade Mills, the greatest percentage of the organized American workers, if asked today as to their sentiment toward Roosevelt, would answer in the affirmative.

Yet, as the Appeal correctly points out, you would get a negative answer from the AFL building trades workers, whose unions Roosevelt is attempting to smash; from the millions of the unemployed, from the New York transport workers, from the many workers who are discovering that to maintain, let alone extend, unionism, they can no longer depend on Roosevelt.

I believe, Comrade Mills, that if you would see the reaction of skilled machinists to the fact that they are too "old" or had the misfortune not to choose stable firms to work for, etc., you would easily recognize what Lewis has already recognized—the direction in which the American working class is moving. I have no doubt that if you do a little probing among your own steel workers, especially that section which works less than six months a year, you will discover the sentiment for Roosevelt to be very thin indeed.

Roosevelt is today heading towards war and at breakneck speed; a docile labor movement is a prerequisite. Roosevelt, you know, is also an astute politician; he recognizes that no labor bureaucracy can hold back the American workers from claiming their just demands in the event of expanding profits. He has learned that from the experience of '36-'37. He has also had the more recent experience of the first few weeks of the war in maritime, auto, etc. So Roosevelt has decided a smashed labor movement is a primary task for M-day. Every action of his and his colleagues—Arnold, Murphy, La Guardia, etc., points in this direction.

Lewis knows that if reaction will strike anywhere it will hit first and hardest—at the CIO, particularly his own ballwick, the miners, auto, steel, which are the very backbone of American industry. It is this pressure which Lewis is responding to.

I believe that it is beyond question that Lewis will not be able to control the movement he is now going along with. The next year may very well see a new '36, even at the outbreak of war. New York City Henry Addis

Exposes Pro-Ally "Socialist" Group

Editor:
The Socialist party (of Norman Thomas) is now holding elections for delegates to their national convention.

While I am no longer a member of that party, because among other things I do not agree with their attitude toward the Soviet Union, I still receive communications from them. I am sending you one of these communications because I believe you may be able to use it in some way.

I believe that these people who call themselves socialists, and claim to lead the working class in the name of Marx, and yet advocate a program such as enclosed in their communication, must be fought and exposed at every opportunity.

Gilbert Carpenter
Springfield, Mass.

The communication to which Carpenter refers is a "Platform" which Alfred Baker Lewis, state secretary of the Socialist Party of Massachusetts, Albert Sprague Coldidge and six other prominent party members are sponsoring at the forthcoming national convention of the S. P.

It is brazenly pro-Ally. It says: "We favor granting full economic but not military aid to the Allies in their fight against Hitlerism as long as that is their purpose. We favor adoption by the United States of a general policy of giving economic aid by government as well as private, measures to nations which are victims of aggression, and placing economic penalties by embargoes and boycotts, government as well as private, on governments guilty of aggression. For instance, we favor government embargoes on war materials for Russia, Japan and Germany."

War-mongers and enemies of the Soviet Union, these gentry—they number some of the biggest money-bags in the S. P.—are among the most prominent spokesmen of their party.—Editor.

Class War Fighters In the Ozarks

Editor:
The Ford strikers here are still proving that they are as militant as ever. They are still struggling in this heroic battle. They have been on strike since November, 1937 against the Ford plant in St. Louis.

Many of these Ford strikers

were forced by starvation back to their folks' homes in the rocky hills of the Ozarks, to scratch a bare existence from the rocky soil. But these workers will be ready when the call comes.

The Ozarks are full of class conscious workers who were driven out of cities and towns for their militant struggle. All you need to do is to pull into some hamlet in the Ozarks and tell two or three people you want to give them a socialist speech. They call it "a speaking." One of them will start out over one hill, the others will go over another hill, and in about two hours there will be several hundred people to listen to you.

These people are quite up on their socialism, too. One old man, aged 78, had \$25 to his name. He planned on going to the county poor farm. So he thought, should he first spend his money, or what? So this old class war fighter decided that he would spend the only money he had in the world and go to the poor farm. Well, I suppose you are wondering what he did with his \$25. He bought that amount of subscriptions to a labor paper, and gave the people around there six months' subscriptions. And then over the hill to the poor farm for him.

I am not a writer, if I were, perhaps I could draw a picture of this old man and his devotion to a just cause, giving his last penny in the world, never to have another cent, then plodding along the rocky road to spend the rest of his life in a living hell. A young comrade meets him at the cross-road, he slaps the old man on the back, and says: "It was not in vain."

H. V. Romer
St. Louis, Mo.

What Will Socialism Do For Housewives?

Editor:
The other day I handed an issue of the Socialist Appeal to my married sister. She had just gotten through a day when her children had been a lot of trouble. She wanted to know what socialism was going to do for housewives. I think I share the experience of more than one socialist when it comes to the matter of convincing members of our immediate family of the necessity of socialism. But to go on with the story. She noticed in our platform the slogan on the Appeal's back page about 30-hours, 30 dollars.

That's all right for the men who work, she said. Six hours and their day is through—but how about us? she wanted to know. We have to get up with our husbands, make the meals, clean up the house, take care of a couple of kids that almost sometimes drive one crazy. I'm always washing diapers, washing the kids. I hardly ever get a minute of peace. I work 12 hours a day and I can't even afford to buy myself a new dress. I want to know what are you going to do for us?

What my sister was expressing to me is not only her own feelings, but those of a lot of housewives. It would be appropriate for the Appeal to devote a little bit of space to this section of the workers.

E. W.
University City, Mo.

For every comrade that goes to the trouble of writing in a letter posing the question of "Women Under Socialism," there must be hundreds who are confronted by the same problem.

Instead of referring comrade E. W. to such literature as exists on the subject, we take this opportunity to appeal to those comrades who have given long thought to this question, to utilize the pages of the Appeal to answer him and the many for whom he speaks. We shall gladly publish all letters and articles on this subject. In particular, we call upon comrade Antoinette Konikow to begin providing for publication her numerous notes on this question!—Editor.

Stalinists in the C. I. O. -- After the Hitler-Stalin Pact

By E. R. FRANK

The signing of the Stalin-Hitler pact and the subsequent march into Poland caught the American Communist party off guard and unprepared.

Right up to the moment of the signing of the pact, the Stalinists kept up an incessant and uproarious din in the trade unions with thousands of resolutions and an equal number of speeches for "Collective Security"—an alliance of the United States and the other "democracies" with the Soviet Union, to "quarantine the aggressors"—Germany, Italy and Japan—and for full, enthusiastic and unconditional support for Roosevelt and his "peace program"—the cynical name for the construction of the largest peace-time military machine in American history.

They kept up this propaganda through the better part of 1939, in the period when Roosevelt signed the Woodrum Bill, which dumped three quarters of a million WPA workers out into the streets, destroyed the "prevailing wage-scale" principle hitherto observed on the WPA, slashed the wages of the remaining WPA workers and introduced the infamous "eighteen month" clause.

South African Worker Raises A Question

Editor:
I have just read your article on Trotsky's likely appearance before the Dies Committee. (Dec. 16, 1939.) I was surprised to hear that Trotsky was willing to testify before a committee which is regarded throughout the world as reactionary. The greater part of your remarks, however, justifying Trotsky's action in accepting the invitation, met with my sympathy. There is, however, one argument advanced by you which appears specious and unnecessary to the point of rationalization and wishful thinking. You add:

"Would we refuse to send representatives to Congress because we recognize Congress is a reactionary body?"

All revolutionaries accept without question the necessity for utilizing capitalist institutions. Congress, reactionary though it be, performs many functions; it legislates on matters affecting the daily lives of the workers; it also makes decisions on war and peace; and although workers' representatives may prove ineffectual through insufficient representation and the class nature of all bourgeois parliamentary institutions, yet nevertheless they are there to protest and demonstrate the character of capitalist class rule. Thereby they perform a valuable service to the working class.

But you continue by saying: "And is there any difference between a Congressional investigating committee and Congress itself? If we had a representative of our party in Congress he would make a serious attempt to become a member of such a Committee in order to bring his own point of view into the investigations." Your comments are extremely surprising to me for it seems to me that the first duty of your representative in Congress should be to oppose the appointment of such a committee and secondly, to refuse nomination to it. I accept your remarks that although Congress is to be regarded as reactionary, yet we should attempt to make use of it in order to demonstrate its futility and to utilize it as a public forum for the advocacy of workers' policy. But Congress, by its very nature, will take steps of a reactionary character and one of these was the appointment of the Dies committee. Therefore the workers' delegate must abstain from associating with it.

Your identification of Congress with Congress committees is, therefore, false, especially in this particular instance. (In the case of Educational, Housing, Health committees, etc., workers' delegates would eagerly seek representation.)

As this is an important issue I would like to know as a reader of your paper and as a Fourth Internationalist whether your editorial is endorsed by the party. I would appreciate your further comments on this question. J.M.
Johannesburg, South Africa

They continued lining up the labor movement behind the Roosevelt machine, even when the conservative building trades unions were forced to answer the Roosevelt anti-union drive with a national strike on the WPA. They continued shouting for Roosevelt even when he openly announced his intention of smashing the WPA strike, and issued the arrogant dictum that "you cannot strike against the government", followed by the arrest and indictment of 162 Minneapolis WPA strikers on charges of conspiracy.

The cynical bureaucrats who run the Communist party were not even abashed when Roosevelt, through the FBI, began handing out dozens of indictments against union officials as part of the Thurman - Arnold anti - trust drive, the worst-union busting campaign undertaken by any U. S. President in the last two decades.

THEY LOVED ROOSEVELT THOUGH HE SMOTE THEM
No! The Stalinists unconcernedly continued using their influence and strength to hog-tie the labor movement and to confuse and befuddle the minds of the union militants. The Stalinist-controlled Workers Alliance is-

A Fourth Internationalist, if he sat in Congress, would cast his vote AGAINST establishing a Dies Committee, and AGAINST any appropriations for it. But then, if the Congressional majority establishes the committee, and provides it with funds, the problem of fighting against it assumes a new form. At that point abstentionism serves no revolutionary purpose.

Once the committee is to exist in spite of all that we can do, it becomes a class duty to prevent the committee from serving the reactionary ends for which it was conceived. That can be done primarily, of course, by mobilizing the workers against it, warning them what its purpose is and innoculating them against its red-baiting. That work can be supplemented by appearance of revolutionaries before it, utilizing it as a forum from which to defend proletarian policies against the policies of the Dies committee. A revolutionary Congressman on the committee could serve the same function. Naturally, the next time the question of continuing the committee would arise in Congress, our Congressman would vote AGAINST its continuance. There is no contradiction between being against the committee and utilizing it when it exists.—Editor.

THE FLIP-FLOP CAME OVERNIGHT
With the signing of the pact, the Stalinist policy changed overnight. Never before in recent history, has a political party executed such a fantastic, rapid fire, flip-flop. Everything that was black became white. Everything that was white became black. England and France, the "peace-loving democracies" became transformed into "war-mongering aggressors." "Peace-loving democratic" England was suddenly revealed by the Daily Worker to be "the age-old British imperialism, whose hands drip with blood." Germany, the "bad, war-mongering, fascist" suddenly changed roles and became a "peace lover." Roosevelt, who supposedly had been pursuing a "peace program" for the past four years, was discovered to be America's worst "war monger" intent upon hurling the U.S. into the imperialist blood-bath. "Collective Security," the "democracies against fascism," "quarantine the aggressors," "boycott Hitler Germany"—all disappeared with the snows of yesteryear.

Since the signing of the pact, the Stalinists have been screaming that labor must join ranks to "Keep America out of the Imperialist war" and have begun introducing resolutions by the yard denouncing Roosevelt's war budget, denouncing his war program, denouncing his union-busting campaigns and calling for the building of a third party for Jobs, Peace and Civil Liberties.

UNION MILITANTS MUST STUDY C. P. POLITICS
It is impossible for the ordinary trade unionist to make head or tail of the dizzy turns, twists and changes in the Communist party line on the basis of trade union experience alone. And yet, a knowledge of the methods and the moving forces of the Stalinist party is an indispensable part of the education of the genuine union militant. A lack of this elementary knowledge has led many union militants astray, driving them back into the arms of reactionary leaders or making them easy victims of Stalinist demagoguery.

It must be understood that the Stalinist party is run bureaucratically by a top officialdom, responsible only to its masters in Moscow. The rank and file members of the party had no more to

sued a call to labor to back Roosevelt for a third term, the man who had just slashed relief and WPA appropriations. The Stalinist - controlled Maritime Federation of the Pacific, (mostly landlubbers, the sailors had left) ran a "Draft Roosevelt in 1940" campaign throughout last summer for the very man who was responsible for saddling the anti-union, "fink hall" U. S. Maritime Commission, etc., etc. (The West Coast seamen not under Stalinist control, kept union hiring halls!)

Why not? The Stalinist leadership was responsible only to the Stalin bureaucracy. The instructions were to line up the American labor movement behind Roosevelt who, it was believed, was friendly to the idea of concluding an alliance with the Soviet Union. What about the real needs and requirements of the American trade unionists? That was not the concern of the cynical bureaucrats who run the Communist Party.

You can understand how criminal was this policy of the Communist Party, when you realize that it is precisely this policy of putting faith in Roosevelt and all the other phony "friends of labor," rather than relying on the independent strength and power of the labor movement, that has brought the CIO, as well as the rest of organized labor, to its present impasse. The futility and bankruptcy of this policy was nowhere better illustrated than in the ill-fated "Little Steel" strike, when the steel workers of Ohio, under the influence of these false teachings and policies, welcomed and cheered the very troops of the National Guard that several days later, broke their picket lines and smashed their strike.

Instead of Stalin making an alliance with the "democracies," as was envisaged in the period of the People's Front, Stalin confounded his parties all over the world, by making an alliance with Hitler, against England, France and the United States. If the United States enters the present war, as it is preparing to do, it will unquestionably put its power on the side of the Allied imperialists against the Hitler-Stalin alliance. On behalf of Stalin's alliance, U.S. must remain neutral at all costs. This is the explanation and the only explanation for the Stalinist change of policy.

The present foreign policy of Stalin demands of the American party that it line up the labor movement against Roosevelt and his war program. Shortly after the signing of the pact, the Stalinists went to work on a new campaign to put the "line" across. Mike Quin, an editor of the West Coast Stalinist paper, People's World wrote a pamphlet called "The Yanks are not Coming," which rolled off the printing press just in time to greet the delegates of the San Francisco CIO convention. The pamphlet, which gives the new line of the Stalinists in popular "trade union" style, was published under the auspices of the Stalinist-con-

controlled San Francisco district of the Maritime Federation of the Pacific and has since been circulated in systematic fashion by the Stalinists throughout the CIO and in numerous unions of the AFL.

Using the pamphlet as an opening wedge, the Stalinists have pushed through in many local union endorsements as the preliminary step to the actual setting up of "peace committees" or "The Yanks are not Coming Committees." All of these committees which have been springing up in many local unions all over the country, have this in common: they are all inspired and organized by the Stalinists and all propagate the present line of the Stalinist party.

The Stalinists plan to eventually call a Congress or national conference of all of these phony "peace" groups in order to form a new national peace organization to agitate and work for the new line of the Stalinist party in this post Stalin-Hitler pact period.



PAY UP ON YOUR BUNDLE ACCOUNTS

Since publication in this column last week of the outstanding bundle debts of the branches there has been a slight improvement in payments. Los Angeles, Oakland, Calif., New Haven, Chicago, Whitewater, Kansas, Boston, Lynn, St. Louis, Newark, Akron and the Philadelphia YP SL have come through with bundle payments. This is a decided improvement over the previous week but unfortunately it did not come in sufficient sums to strike a body blow at our financial worries. What we said in our last column goes double for this week: the Appeal needs every dime it can get. Don't forget the suggestion: float loans for large sums and take up collections for small.

We unintentionally omitted reference to New York in our last column. (Because New York pays from week to week.) New York is paid up through the last issue. We only wish we could be as close to every party local so that this arrangement could become universal. Incidentally New York took a large number of Appeals last week in addition to their regular bundle for distribution among the transport workers. We are told they met with a n excellent response among the workers fighting LaGuardia's strikebreaking moves on the city's subways.

One more correction: Crystal, Mich. is incorrectly listed in the last Appeal as owing \$12.45. It should be 45 cents.

say about the recent change in the party line than any outsider. The new line was handed down from the top, by decree. The basic aim and policy of the Stalinist party consists of this: that at every stage of the game, the influence and strength of the labor movement should be so maneuvered, directed and channelized to bolster up and support the foreign policy—not of the people of the Soviet Union—but of the corrupt, reactionary Stalin bureaucracy, that runs the government of the Soviet Union. This was true for the period before the signing of the Stalin-Hitler pact. It remains true today.

WHY STALINISTS NOW OPPOSE ROOSEVELT
Instead of Stalin making an alliance with the "democracies," as was envisaged in the period of the People's Front, Stalin confounded his parties all over the world, by making an alliance with Hitler, against England, France and the United States. If the United States enters the present war, as it is preparing to do, it will unquestionably put its power on the side of the Allied imperialists against the Hitler-Stalin alliance. On behalf of Stalin's alliance, U.S. must remain neutral at all costs. This is the explanation and the only explanation for the Stalinist change of policy.

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SPECIAL SUBSCRIPTIONS

We hope you've read the announcement on the special sub offer in last week's Appeal. It's being repeated this week as well for those who missed it last time. Give it a try. You'll find it as good a proposal as has been made in some time. Even if we have to say so ourselves.

SUBS FOR TWO WEEKS

Subs continue to hover around the same low level. We are certain if the comrades would take advantage of the offer printed elsewhere subs would spurt upwards immediately. Here is the list:

New York State	3
Chicago	3
Minnesota	1
Toledo	1
Cleveland	1
Youngstown	1
California	2
New Haven	2
New York City	3
St. Paul	1
Los Angeles	4
Total	22

MISCELLANEOUS

Last week we broke into new territory in the State of Washington. Tacoma opened a bundle account. . . . Our St. Louis plugger, M. V. has come through again with money for a new order of Appeals. . . . Don't forget to fill out the Branch Sales Reports you will receive regularly and mail them in with cash. . . . Bound volumes of the 1939 Appeal and N.I. are one sale. Order your copies now.

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The Negro Question

By J. R. JOHNSON

(Robert L. Birchman has written this week's column, in the absence of comrade Johnson.)

"We say to our children, do not bring in a red cent for this cause."

This was the editorial advice given by the Louisiana Weekly, Negro newspaper in New Orleans, in condemning the attempt of the School Board to force Negro students, parents and teachers to contribute to the Hoover Finnish Aid Fund. It cites the fact that Negro education in Louisiana is 25 years behind that of the whites and that Negroes are in at least as dire need as the Finns. Many of the Negro teachers protested the program of the School Board to have them write letters to the parents asking for money.

This is but one of many cases of resentment of the Negro press to the attempt of the Hoover Finnish Aid Fund to solicit funds from Negroes. The "Laundryman" column in the California Eagle (Jan. 25, 1940), speaking of the proposed government loan to Finland states: "It seems to me that it would be much more practical, much more rational, to shoot this \$25,000,000 here in America to bolster the relief checks of thousands of undernourished, impoverished Americans."

Ethiopia Called To Defend Finland!
The Chicago Defender, in an editorial (Feb. 3, 1940) on the League of Nations states:

"Members of the League of Nations have made another gesture which should expose their utter and complete hypocrisy to the world—especially to the world of colored peoples."

"The League has asked aid of Haile Selassie for Finland. Shades of Saint Peter and Paul! Was it not the same League that sold the King of Kings down the river. What colossal shamelessness."

"For the Negro people to send funds to the Finnish Mannerheims and Tanners, who have forced thousands of Finns to leave their country, and to flee to America seeking democracy and freedom, would be like a Negro sending money to Cotton Ed Smith and Bilbo of Carolina and Mississippi."

"Black men who fled Mississippi, wouldn't send money to help those who lynch and murder Negroes," would they?"

Roy Wilkins, in his column in the Amsterdam News (Jan. 13, 1940) advises the Negro people to keep their thinking straight on the main issues before the public:

"Specifically I have in mind the present sweep of ultra-reactionary propaganda, marching to new power and prominence behind the 'Help Finland' movement. The plight of Finland has provided a new screen for vicious assaults upon any progressive, liberal or radical thought. The mighty wire-pullers in America are tugging at the heartstrings of the notoriously soft-hearted American public ostensibly for the relief of the Finns, but in reality for the destruction of what few gains have been made in past years in social advancement."

"We are told that Finland is fighting for God and Western civilization against the 'pagan Oriental hordes of Russia' and that in effect, America's first line of defense is the Mannerheim line. George E. Sokolsky, hireling of the National Manufacturers' Association, who writes for the New York Herald Tribune, greets the New Year with a piece in which he suddenly discovers (as did the Kaiser) that God is mixed up in this war business. Pulling out all stops, letting himself go in an emotional orgy, and raking up all the tried and true Fourth of July oratorical cliches, Sokolsky tells us the Finns may yet win the war—the larger war 'between liberty and despotism, between civilization and collectivism, between Christianity and paganism, between the progress of mankind and the degradation of mankind.'"

Negroes Won't Be Taken In
"This drive to 'clean out the Reds' and smear anything progressive with Red paint is one of which Negroes should beware. They should ask themselves how much of liberty and of despotism they have had under these American skies. A nation which has resisted stubbornly for forty years any attempt to wipe out the shooting, hanging and burning of human beings at the stake has a lot of nerve trying to tell Negroes it is civilized and the other fellow is a heathen. A nation whose Christianity is ruled by the color line has a nerve pointing to someone else as a pagan. 'By their fruits ye shall know them.'"

"An empire with its heel on 400 million black and brown men has a nerve talking about despotism. And, closer at home to Negroes, the National Manufacturers' Association, many of whose members fight labor in open warfare with spies, tear gas and guns, and most of whose members shut the door of employment in the face of Negroes, has its nerve talking about liberty and despotism."

Martin D. Richardson, in his column "Left Face" in the Boston Chronicle (Feb. 19, 1940), states: "... the newspapers are very careful to make sure that you do not have too much of an opportunity to distinguish between the 'poor Finnish people' and the vicious, tricky Mannerheim regime, the feudal-lord followers, few though they are, of General Mannerheim, after whom the Finnish defense line is named and with whom the British and French have been making for joint invasion of Soviet Russia, their real aim, if we take the word of their own Lloyd George. General Mannerheim and his clique of money-hogs bear the same relation to the Finnish people that the Mikados and the Mitsui family do to the Japanese laborers and peasants whose daughters they force into the streets; they are as much of the 'Finnish people' as the Lady Astor set is to the millions of Limehouse cockneys in London. ... That Soviet Russia and the Mannerheim group happen to be fighting it out in the ice and snow of the Karelian peninsula is but a circumstance; Chamberlain, Daladier, Hitler and Co., would have engineered the showdown somewhere, anyhow."

The above comments are typical of the attitude and opinions of the Negro press on the Finnish war and clearly indicate that the Negroes are not readily falling for the war propaganda of America's Sixty Families and their paid hirelings under the slogan to "make the world safe for democracy."

ON THE WAR IN FINLAND:

Why We Should Defend the Soviet Union

By ALBERT GOLDMAN

When Stalin ordered the Red Army to invade Finland, we condemned the invasion; but we did not permit his crime to deter us from our fundamental policy of defending the Soviet Union. The Finnish capitalist government represents the imperialist world and our policy of unconditional defense of the Soviet Union against capitalism applies in the war against Finland. While the advanced workers of the Soviet Union must not give up their struggle against the Stalinist bureaucracy, and while the advanced workers of Finland must redouble their efforts to overthrow the Finnish capitalist government, both the Russian and the Finnish workers, as well as the workers throughout the rest of the world, must do everything in their power to prevent a defeat of the Soviet Union.

"Terrible," cried every middle-class democrat, beginning with the liberals and going on through Norman Thomas and his Socialist Call, the Lovestonites, and even close sympathizers of our movement. This showed that either they did not understand our program or expected us to do what they did: cave in under the pressure of the bourgeois democrats. The difference between all of these people and ourselves is the difference between the revolutionary Marxists led by Lenin in 1914 and the others who called themselves "socialists." Lenin did not yield an inch to the capitalists when war actually came, while the others showed that in reality they were nothing more than middle-class democrats.

"DEMOCRATIC" ARGUMENTS FOR SUPPORT OF FINLAND

These pseudo-Marxist critics falsely our position by insisting that our party supports Stalin's invasion. In the Feb. 17 Nation, in his swan song bidding goodbye to whatever Marxism he still possessed, the Lovestonite Lewis Corey makes the assertion that according to the Appeal "the invasion of Finland is justified." These critics omit the obvious fact that from the very beginning we have condemned the invasion on the ground that it has discredited the Soviet Union in the eyes of the working masses.

The Socialist party of Norman Thomas and the Lovestonites have approximately the same position: more or less open support of the Finnish capitalist government. The Lovestonites are a little more careful and use a few more Marxist phrases than the Thomasites, but essentially they agree that the Red Army should be defeated by the Finnish bourgeois army.

Let us take a glance at the po-

sition of our critics, especially those who claim to speak in the name of Marxism. We need not argue with the liberals, the social-democrats and labor bureaucrats, with the people, that is, who openly support the falsehood that the war between England and Germany is a war for democracy against fascism, with the people who, in advance, have promised their whole-hearted support to the American government when it deems it advisable to enter the war. The advanced workers understand these people well and there is no danger that they will follow them.

If there is any danger that the advanced workers, due to their justifiable hatred of the Stalinist bureaucracy, will be led to take a wrong position, it is because there are those who glibly speak in the name of Marxism and advance the false theory that on the basis of Marxist principles we must either support the Finnish government against the Soviet Union or else be indifferent to the victory of either side.

To justify their position both the Socialist party and the Lovestonites point to the "democratic character" of the Finnish government. They furnish us with figures showing that there are 85 "socialists" in the Finnish parliament and "143 representatives of workers and peasants." On the same basis, however, the workers should be asked to support France and England. Are there not more representatives of the workers in the parliaments of those countries than in the Reichstag of Germany? These "Marxists" have found a new criterion to determine whether the workers should support one capitalist country as against another, namely, the relative number of representatives of workers in the parliaments of the countries fighting each other!

Revolutionary Marxists can only look with contempt upon these people who have not yet learned or who have forgotten that the capitalist state remains a capitalist state no matter how many "socialists" there may be in parliament, that the capitalist state, in any war, defends the interests of the capitalist class and these interests are of no concern to the workers.

It is only in a case of civil war between fascists and a democratic government that the workers can give material (but not political) support to the latter. That is what our party advocated in the Spanish civil war. In a war between imperialist countries, the only thing that can possibly be of value are the rival imperialist interests. In the war between Finland and the Soviet Union, the Finnish capitalist army is not fighting for democracy against fascism. Regardless of the mo-

tives and intentions of Stalin, the war between the Soviet Union and Finland is a war of forces representing on the one hand nationalized property and on the other capitalist private property.

THE SOVIET UNION REPRESENTS THE FUTURE!

But do not the Finnish workers live under better conditions than the workers in the Soviet Union? Do they not have a higher standard of living and greater "freedom"? They leave the ground of Marxism who present such arguments.

One thing that every worker must understand is that capitalism is in a stage of decay and with it capitalist democracy. Whether in Finland or in any other part of the capitalist world, the workers face a choice between fascist slavery or the proletarian revolution. Capitalist democracy is doomed and whether it is this year or in ten or twenty years it will be destroyed by the fascists—or by the proletarian revolution establishing a higher form of democracy.

Finland is part of the decaying capitalist world. The foundation of the Soviet Union, nationalized property, represents part of that future world of planned economy and the production of goods for the welfare of the people. In the last analysis the existence of the Stalinist regime is to be explained by the fact that the capitalist world still exists.

Let the workers destroy the capitalist world and Stalinism will have no base whatever. It will disappear from the Soviet Union like the scab on a sore from which the pus has been drained.

The advanced Finnish workers, considering the historic interests of their class have no alternative but to defend the Soviet Union from the capitalist world.

A "RADICAL" VERSION OF ANTI-SOVIETISM

A small group in the Socialist party, led by Herbert Zam, advocates a policy of defeatism for both camps. The people who advocate such a policy don't want to be caught helping Finland, which they recognize to be a tool of imperialism, but they are for the defeat of both sides. That sounds more revolutionary than helping Finland against the Soviet Union; but assuredly it is just as much against the principles of revolutionary Marxism.

Lenin advocated a policy of revolutionary defeatism for both camps in an imperialist war. He insisted that to carry on the struggle against one's own capitalist class even at the risk of a defeat at the front was a lesser evil than class peace and victory at the front. He was perfectly willing to take the risk of a defeat of his "own" imperialist government. If one tries to get at the basic reasons for his attitude it is clear that Lenin formulated such a policy because on both sides of the war the same prop-

HELPING MANNERHEIM BY "WORKING CLASS" METHODS

The Norman Thomas "socialists" have discovered a method by which they are able to claim that they are not helping the Finnish capitalist government but only the Finnish workers. They ask that help be sent through the Finnish trade unions, whose officialdom—house-broken "socialists"—support Mannerheim. But what class is in control in Finland? Have the trade unions the governmental power? Who controls the army which is the most important instrument of the state, especially during a war? Soft-brained "socialists" tell us that Mannerheim and his White generals have been deprived of power. Can one imagine greater nonsense! The creator of the Finnish capitalist state, the butcher of the Finnish workers, "deprived of power" and—still the com-

HELPING MANNERHEIM BY "WORKING CLASS" METHODS

mandar-in-chief of the armed forces!

Even more miserable are the arguments of the Lovestonites, who are proclaiming that the Trotskyites have capitulated to the Stalinists. Coming from the people who up to a few years ago justified every crime of Stalin, including the Moscow frame-up trials, this leaves one flabbergasted. In an article by Donald Graham, in the Feb. 17 Workers Age, we are completely laid low by the profound argument that since we support China against Japan in spite of the fact that Chiang-Kai-Shek is as ferocious a butcher as Mannerheim we can also support Finland.

For just one little reason, Mr. Graham, does our policy differ. China, a semi-colonial country, is attacked by Japan, an imperialist country; Finland, a capitalist country and the outpost and tool of English imperialism, is attacked by the Soviet Union, a workers' state even though a degenerated one. Isn't that a slight difference? And by the way, Mr. Graham, we do not justify, neither do we support the invasion of Finland.

Yes, the Lovestonites warn the Finnish workers not to trust the Finnish bourgeoisie "who cannot follow an independent policy of revolutionary defense" because it is a pawn of imperialism. But please explain how the workers can fight under capitalist control and still "follow an independent policy of revolutionary defense." In a war one either fights under the control of the capitalist class and thus aids it or fights against the capitalist class in control of the government.

Will the world revolution gain through a victory of Stalin's Red Army in Finland? That question is supposed to stay all of us who are for the defense of the Soviet Union. We calmly answer: Will the world revolution gain by a victory of the Finnish capitalist army representing the imperialist world? A victory of the Red Army guarantees the continued existence of the first workers' state, thus giving the workers an opportunity to clean out the Stalinist bureaucracy. That will constitute a tremendous victory for the world revolution.

Subjected to criticism, any policy other than that of defending the Soviet Union means either consciously to favor the Finnish capitalist state and thus the capitalist world or objectively to aid the capitalist world by being indifferent to the defeat of the Red Army guarding the nationalized property of the Soviet Union.

WE REMAIN TRUE TO OUR PROGRAM

"How easy it was to defend the Soviet Union before war actually came! And especially when Stalin was playing with the democratic imperialists! Many a time did we issue the warning that the 'friends' of the Soviet Union would scurry to cover when the test of war would come. The Stalinists, the liberals, the 'socialists,' the Lovestonites, all proclaimed us to be enemies of the Soviet Union. Why? Because we insisted on making a distinction between the Stalinist bureaucracy and the Soviet Union."

The war came and all these fair-weather defenders of the Soviet Union find one reason or another for scurrying to cover. It is not so easy now to defend the Soviet Union as it was when Stalin was flirting with the democratic imperialists.

Our party does not adopt a program to be followed only during times of peace. Our program of defending the Soviet Union was based on the fundamental fact that nationalized property makes of the Soviet Union a workers' state regardless of Stalin's crimes. No one has shown us why we should change that program.

This concludes Comrade Goldman's series of articles. Beginning with the next issue, Comrade Goldman will answer questions sent in. All readers are invited to send in questions.)

erty relations prevailed. At the very worst, the workers fighting against their own capitalist class would come under the control of another capitalist class. There would be no change in property relations.

Far different is the situation where a workers' state is involved in a war with a capitalist state. A defeat for the workers' state means the destruction of nationalized property, a higher form of economy; and no revolutionary Marxist can be indifferent to such a possibility.

The argument is advanced that a defeat of the Red Army by the Finnish army would lead the workers in the Soviet Union to overthrow the Stalinist bureaucracy. We cannot exclude that possibility but the far, far greater probability is that a defeat of the Red Army by a capitalist army would result in a capitalist counter-revolution.

History knows no example of a union defeated by the bosses in a serious struggle coming under the control of revolutionary workers as a result of the defeat. A defeat of the union by the bosses means the destruction of the union. To be revolutionary defeatism within the Soviet Union is like being for the defeat of a union in a struggle against the boss. All the crimes of a reactionary trade union leadership would not make it any less of a crime on the part of a worker to follow a policy of defeatism in a struggle between the union and a boss.

What the world revolution gain through a victory of Stalin's Red Army in Finland? That question is supposed to stay all of us who are for the defense of the Soviet Union. We calmly answer: Will the world revolution gain by a victory of the Finnish capitalist army representing the imperialist world? A victory of the Red Army guarantees the continued existence of the first workers' state, thus giving the workers an opportunity to clean out the Stalinist bureaucracy. That will constitute a tremendous victory for the world revolution.

Subjected to criticism, any policy other than that of defending the Soviet Union means either consciously to favor the Finnish capitalist state and thus the capitalist world or objectively to aid the capitalist world by being indifferent to the defeat of the Red Army guarding the nationalized property of the Soviet Union.

Our comrades have given here the clue to the role of pacifism not only in Canada, but universally. Not that of Woodsworth alone, but that of Norman Thomas as well. Like all forms of petty-bourgeois politics that rejects class analysis, such pacifism is only a bell-wether for the capitalist war-mongers and their agents in labor's ranks. In rejecting the class analysis of Marxism: in including Soviet Russia within the same category as Nazi Germany; in confounding the Stalinist party (which in spite of its treacherous and criminal policies is a tendency within the labor movement just as much as the Social Democratic Federation—with Fritz Kuhn's German-American Bund; in speaking the confusionist language of "Red Fascism" and "Brown Bolshevism"; the Call is doing a distinct service, not to the struggle against Stalinism nor that against war, but to the imperialist war-mongers.

A MARXIST PREDICTION

"It is not clear that no matter how servile the Zionist movement will be to Britain it will not receive in return the right of unrestricted immigration into Palestine? That is excluded in advance. British imperialism weighs in the balance: 400,000 Jews in Palestine, backed by some part of the 16 million Jews of the world—against 50 million Arab-speaking Moslems backed by the whole Moslem world. Lest the Arabs seek freedom from Britain, the British ruling class diverts them from that path by pre-occupying the Arabs with the Jewish problem. The Jew thus serves Britain as scapegoat in the Near East, as he serves Hitler and Mussolini and the Polish and Rumanian gangster-rulers as scapegoat in Europe. But in return for the collaboration of the most powerful Arab landlords and capitalists, Britain keeps a sharp rein on the influx of Jews into Palestine and never, under British imperialism, will the Jews be freed from that rein. In return for this mess of pottage, shall world Jewry support Britain and lose the friendship and potential alliance with the peoples of Asia and Africa, the colonial peoples everywhere, the oppressed of the earth? No, it is too high a price to pay when the only result is perpetual civil war in Palestine in which a small segment of Jewry faces the Arab masses."

—Socialist Appeal, December 17, 1938.

Patriotism In Canada OK for Thomas S. P.

In the "socialist" Call this week we find an editorial fulminating against the latest "peace front" maneuvers of the C.P. and which refers to the latter as the "Russian-American Bund". Just how much of this vituperation is against the treacherous anti-working class policies of Stalinism and how much of it is support of the ideological campaign of the democratic patriots for the coming holy war against the U.S.S.R. becomes evident only from another item in the same issue of that paper. We refer to an item called "Canadian Socialist Election Program" which is reprinted without a word of adverse comment under the ironical heading "World Socialism".

That "election program" is the program of the C.C.F.—the Canadian Commonwealth Federation—brother party in the Dominion of the American Socialist party. It begins:

"For the second time within a generation we are called upon to make the sacrifices demanded by war. The C.C.F. appeals to Canadians: Act now, that these sacrifices shall not again be in vain."

Then, after a few mild protests against the restriction of civil liberties, an exhortation to "make the rich do their part", a complaint that "the government has broken its promise to 'pay-as-you-go' in financing the war and similar planks, the election program winds up with the following paragraph:

"These are the issues which face the Canadian people in the present election. The C.C.F. believes that the war will be won and peace assured only if the military defeat of Hitler is followed by the defeat of Hitlerism and reaction in every land. We appeal to the Canadian people to help us create social and economic justice, both at home and abroad."

A document that the Kaiser's "socialists" of 1914 would have been proud of. Why does the Call reprint it without comment? How does it jibe with its own avowed policy to "Keep America Out of War"?

What, in actuality, is the role and meaning of the pacifism of Norman Thomas and his party in this light?

Our Canadian Comrades Analyze the "Pacifists"

That question can perhaps best be illuminated by a comment printed in the February issue of Socialist Action, the organ of our Canadian comrades of the Fourth International, with regard to J. S. Woodsworth, the counterpart of Norman Thomas in the C.C.F. Woodsworth had declared in parliament, dissociating himself from the moment from the rest of his C.C.F. colleagues:

"I suggest that the common people of the country gain nothing by slaughtering the common people of another country. . . Personally I cannot give my consent to anything that will drag us into another war."

That was before the war was itself actually under way. When the holocaust was on, he declared again in that same august body.

"The position of the C.C.F. will be stated by one of my colleagues (Coldwell, the leader of the parliamentary group). I say frankly, that with part of that policy I heartily agree, but with some portions of it I cannot agree. Yet I was never so proud to belong to the group with which I am associated."

Here is how our comrades in Socialist Action size things up:

"The social cause for the contradiction between the official policy of the C.C.F. and Woodsworth's public avowal lies in the presence in Canada of a large body of opinion that rejects the war by its failure to accept it with enthusiasm. The C.C.F. National Council under the influence of Coldwell kneeled before the interests of the boss class by supporting the war, but found it necessary to throw a bone to the anti-war sentiment that exists in Canada. Woodsworth was the bone."

Our comrades have given here the clue to the role of pacifism not only in Canada, but universally. Not that of Woodsworth alone, but that of Norman Thomas as well. Like all forms of petty-bourgeois politics that rejects class analysis, such pacifism is only a bell-wether for the capitalist war-mongers and their agents in labor's ranks. In rejecting the class analysis of Marxism: in including Soviet Russia within the same category as Nazi Germany; in confounding the Stalinist party (which in spite of its treacherous and criminal policies is a tendency within the labor movement just as much as the Social Democratic Federation—with Fritz Kuhn's German-American Bund; in speaking the confusionist language of "Red Fascism" and "Brown Bolshevism"; the Call is doing a distinct service, not to the struggle against Stalinism nor that against war, but to the imperialist war-mongers.

CURRAN 'UNITY' SPELLS SPLIT FOR SEAMEN

(Continued from Page 1)

too high—is cursed by unemployment.

The SUP-MFOW each has a large, well-guarded strike fund. The NMU is bankrupt. Its strike fund was squandered by Curran last summer in his attempt to put down the rank and file revolt in the gulf.

For the rank and file of the NMU there is absolutely nothing to be gained by continued loyalty to the NMU. That outfit has been revealed in its true colors as an agency of the maritime organization, as a strike-breaking organization, as a dues-collecting racket run by a gang of Stalinists and their stooges.

The rank and file seamen on both coasts can profit through increased cooperation with the SUP and with the national organization created by the SUP, the Seafarers International Union. It is significant that Curran's announcement omitted all mention of the SIU. This is understandable when you know that the great majority of the SIU are rank and file seamen who left the NMU or were expelled for their opposition to Curran's phoney policy and disruptive methods.

It is also significant that Curran's announcement contains the usual blast at Harry Lundeberg, secretary-treasurer of the SUP and leader of the SIU. Yet it was Lundeberg and the SUP rank and file who, more than anyone else, elaborated the policy that strengthened West Coast maritime unions.

Curran's desire for unity is purely hypocritical, a desire to

get his snout into the SUP-MFOW treasury, to gain control of the jobs and the ships these unions control, to strengthen his own position on the backs of the seamen. To do this he knows that he must get rid of Lundeberg and the SIU.

That's Curran's "unity" pro-

gram. Progress for the American seamen is impossible in that direction. Progress is possible in the direction and under the policy of the SUP-SIU. History has demonstrated this to the American seamen in the last few years.

Out This Week!

March New International SYMPOSIUM:

ON

THE SOVIET-FINNISH WAR

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THE ROLE OF STALINISM IN WAR

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TWU PREPARES GENERAL STRIKE

(Continued from Page 1)

to about three thousand union men. Quill assured the membership that this time the union leadership was not bluffing. If the Mayor sees fit to arrest any of us during the strike there will come ten times as many to lead you from your own ranks.

The leadership had better not be bluffing this time! However, you look at it, the Transport Workers Union is today engaged in a fight for its very life. The membership of the union has responded admirably giving full evidence of their determination to fight for their rights. It is now up to the leadership of the Transport Workers Union to make good on all of the promises they have made to the membership.

Under no conditions must there be a rotten compromise between the union officials and the Mayor. The Union has demanded the recognition on the part of the city administration of the contracts that the union NOW holds with the private transit companies. If the Mayor does not grant this, the union leadership must use the mandates given it by the membership to call a strike and close down every city transportation line.

The membership of the TWU must be on the alert to protect the union conditions that they have won after years of sacrifice and effort. The membership of the TWU must never again put faith or trust in politician "friends of labor" or in any union officials who preach a stupid, suicidal policy of this kind. As in the present fight, they must depend only upon the independent strength and fighting power of labor itself.

Downtown Labor Forum

51 East 7th Street New York City

Is the Soviet Union Still A Workers' State?

Speaker: E. R. FRANK (National Committee, S.W.P.) Sunday Eve.-March 17 AT 8 O'CLOCK Adm: 10c Questions & Discussion

SOCIALIST APPEAL

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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.
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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.

A Crucial Fight

The fight of the Transport Workers Union of New York against Mayor La Guardia and the bankers whom he represents is of profound importance for the entire labor movement of the country.

The main issue at stake is very simply stated: the rights of unionism for all workers engaged in industries and plants which are owned by any governmental body, national, state or city.

At this moment the workers on the subways, elevated lines and busses are working under closed-shop union contracts, which they wrested from the bosses after long and bitter struggle. All that the union is asking is that the present contracts continue in force.

But Mayor La Guardia declares that when the city takes over these transportation lines he will outlaw these contracts and any others proposed by the union. He declares that when these unionized workers become employees of the city, they will no longer have the right to strike, closed-shop or collective bargaining. Why? Because they are city employees, and the city, as a government, cannot permit its employees such rights.

This is as plain a case of union-busting as has ever been attempted. La Guardia takes his cue from Roosevelt's "You can't strike against the government" edict of last summer, when the president outlawed the national WPA strike of the building trades unions. City Magistrate Ford picks up the cue this week and sends thirteen unemployed workers to jail for the "crime" of picketing a "governmental agency"—i.e., a relief station.

The issue is clear. If the precedents set by Roosevelt and La Guardia are permitted to prevail, then we can say goodbye to unionism for the many millions of workers employed by the national, state and city administrations and their subdivisions, including construction workers, governmental-owned public utilities, etc.; and for the many millions of workers who are likely in the course of the next few years to be transferred from private to governmental employment on the railroads, public utilities, munitions plants, etc.

It means that there will be two categories of workers under American "democracy"—one formally holding the right to unionism and one deprived of that right, and with those deprived of this elementary democratic right constituting an ever-larger section of the working class.

The immediate task is to support the Transport Workers Union through thick and thin in this fight. But this fight also forcibly reminds us of other tasks. The man who leads the bankers' war against the transport workers is one who was elected mayor with the endorsement of the American Labor Party. That's what happens when the labor movement doesn't stand on its own feet in the political field but takes boss politicians as its standard-bearers. La Guardia's dirty role is brought home particularly to the transport workers, since Quill and the other leaders of their union were among the wildest supporters of La Guardia. This latest double-cross from a "friend of labor" serves to underline the desperate need for genuine independence, an Independent Labor Party with its own labor program.

Support the great fight of the Transport Workers Union!

Cattle Boats

The trip of the new super-liner, Queen Elizabeth, across the Atlantic to New York through the German mine, airplane, and submarine blockade, has aroused a good deal of speculation as to the real reason for this move by the British war government.

Some speculate that it is to find safe harbor for this ship during the Second World War. Others speculate that a deal was made with Hitler whereby the Bremen would not be attacked while running the British blockade if the Germans in turn would not attack the Queen Elizabeth while she made the run to the United States. If such a deal were made, why was it necessary to take the ship away from England?

One need not know the secret diplomatic commitments President Roosevelt has made to the Allies in order to give the real answer to this question.

Lying side by side with the Queen Elizabeth are the largest liners in the world, the British Queen Mary and the Normandie, and the French Ile de France.

If these ships are intended to remain in a peace-time New York harbor for the duration of the war, why have they been painted a camouflage gray? In order to blend against the background of warehouses and skyscrapers where they now lie at anchor?

As in the last war, such super-liners are built for a special purpose: to transport American doughboys to the battlefields of Europe.

These four Allied lines alone can transport in one trip and less than a week a huge army to the Western Front. Like enormous cattle boats they are waiting in New York harbor for the flesh which they will haul to the bombs, torpedoes, tanks, machine guns, barbed wire, and cannon of the Second World War.

Like the super-liners of the last war they will either be sent to the bottom when they are crammed with tens of thousands of human beings on their way across the Atlantic or they will return with the tens of thousands of coffins of those who made the supreme sacrifice for the sake of Wall Street's profits.

That's what the Queen Elizabeth came here for.

Anti-Labor G-Men

Last Thursday in New York City some members of Local 807 of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters started an unauthorized stoppage. The union quickly intervened and all trucks were operating again in a few hours. As is usual in such instances, the union accepted responsibility for the situation, announcing it was ready to provide the employers involved with all guarantees established under their contracts with the union. Those involved in the stoppage, the union has announced, will be tried by the union under established procedure. The incident was over.

But it wasn't. For no sooner had it begun, then a horde of G-men from the Federal Bureau of Investigation descended upon the scene, summoned fifty union members to appear before a Federal grand jury for an investigation of "molesting trucks engaged in interstate commerce," and proceeded to issue newspaper statements claiming credit for ending the strike.

Union officers politely called the G-men liars and raised the very pertinent question what business the FBI had in interfering in a very common incident which it was solely the province of the union to settle. But the grand jury investigation is to take place, nevertheless.

Apparently that crew of G-men were sitting around twiddling their thumbs, waiting for a labor "incident" in which to step into. The speed with which they appeared on the scene makes that more than likely. Apparently, as multiplying incidents testify—the FBI's role as disguised strikers (*agents-provocateur* is the ugly French word for it) in the Minneapolis WPA strike, their eighteen-month preparation of a "damaged truck" case against the Sioux City and Omaha drivers' unions, their gum-shoe work in the hundreds of "anti-trust" prosecutions against the building trades unions, etc.—the FBI has become an anti-labor force, a political police. That hasn't happened in this country since the notorious post-war Palmer raids.

Last time they did it after the war. This time the anti-labor federal police force is operating before the war—just before. The role of the G-men is clear enough: to domesticate the unions, to turn them into lap-dogs and break those that won't be house-broken, in order to provide the bosses with docile employees during the coming war.

Keep your snouts out of our unions—that is the only answer that the labor movement can give to these G-men and their chief, Roosevelt.

In the World of Labor

By Paul G. Stevens

Victor Alter Executed by
Stalinists in Eastern Poland

According to the New York Jewish Daily Forward of March 6, Victor Alter, a leader of the "Bund" (Jewish Socialist Federation), has been executed by the Stalinists at Kovel, Soviet Poland, after a flight from Nazi-occupied territory.

What lends this report particular weight are repeated dispatches in the press for several months giving eye-witness accounts, by socialist refugees who managed to escape abroad, of round-ups of radicals in Soviet-occupied Poland. The Appeal recently carried such an account in a letter from Polish Fourth Internationalists who escaped. In the New York Times of February 7, we read in a wire from Paris:

"After a short initial period of tolerance, Soviet authorities ordered a clean-up of Socialist Labor Federation leaders in the occupied area and members of the Jewish Socialist Party 'Bund' were treated even worse, he (a leader who escaped from Eastern Galicia) said.

"Hundreds of the rank and file were deported to Russia, the leaders having been arrested immediately when the Russians occupied East Polish provinces, it was said. Bund members were compelled to repudiate the organization or be deported or imprisoned.

"The Bund in Poland was known for its Leftist tendencies. The Bolsheviks (read: Stalinists) accuse its members of Trotskyist sympathies, regarded as the worst crime in Stalinist Russia."

Here we have perhaps the clearest explanation of the ferocity with which the persecution of labor radicals in Soviet Poland is being carried on. In spite of all the previous blood-purges, in spite of repeated "liquidation," the hydra-headed threat of "Trotskyism"—so often declared exterminated—continues to plague the Stalinist bureaucracy like a nightmare. Even such outspoken opponents of the Fourth International as Victor Alter and Heinrich Ehrlich become victims of the Kremlin for no other reason than that at one time or another they tolerated the expression of Trotskyist views within the Bund.

But all the heinous crimes of the Kremlin oligarchy will not protect it from its impending doom. The defense of the Soviet Union from imperialist attack, which is now on the order of the day, requires revolutionary initiative on the part of the masses of workers for its success. In fighting to preserve the conquests of October against the imperialist foe, the workers and peasants of the USSR will learn not only the necessity but the possibility of blowing to smithereens the shackles of bureaucracy. When that hour comes, the labor victims of Stalin's bloody terror will be adequately avenged.

Purgers Purged in Mexican
"Communist Party"

Several weeks ago, this column commented on the coming extraordinary convention of the Mexican Communist Party and its "Theses". We said then that it was evident that a number of scapegoats in the leadership were to be sacrificed for the "People's Front" line which that party was in the process of abandoning. Our estimate, we now find, was much too modest. Not only have the few scapegoats mentioned then—Vicenta Guerra, Arturo Ramirez, and Manuel Lobato—been disposed of. The priests who were to make the sacrifice have themselves been added to the list of goats.

Thus the New York Times of February 27 re-

ports from Mexico City:

"Purgers were purged in the Mexican Communist party today when Hernan Laborde and Valentin Campa, respectively president and secretary of that party, were expelled by a committee that they themselves had appointed some weeks ago to purge their organization of all members whose allegiance to Moscow was considered in any way doubtful."

Just as Guerra, Ramirez and Lobato were previously liquidated for "harboring Trotskyists and free masons" so now Laborde and Campa are being liquidated for harboring the harborers. Apparently not even the most flexible spine can save a Stalinist functionary from destruction once Moscow is bent on wholesale purges. Hernan Laborde was the completely hand-picked satrap for Mexico for the past ten years. He occupied his position thanks to the same readiness to respond to a wink from the Kremlin which Earl Browder has shown in this country. How long before Browder will meet a similar fate? One thing is sure: that depends as little upon what Browder does or thinks as it did in the case of Laborde.

A Concentration of G.P.U.
Agents Directs Operations

According to reliable information that has arrived here the purge of the Mexican Stalinists is being conducted by an international concentration of G.P.U. agents. Among them are the following notorious characters:

D. Manuilski, Russian, prominent Comintern figure, having held at one time or another in the past the posts both of president and secretary in that organization. Reported executed in the course of the purges, Manuilski arrived in Mexico on the steamer Mayakovski in January.

Dombal, Russian, former head of the "Krestintern" (international Stalinist peasants' organization), who arrived there with Manuilski.

These two were accompanied by a third G.P.U. agent, whose identity has not as yet been established, but is said to be either Haikis, former Soviet ambassador to Spain or Pestkovsky, former Soviet minister to Mexico.

James W. Ford, prominent Negro leader of the American Communist Party, who arrived in Mexico about six weeks ago.

George Mink, American Stalinist, notorious for his G.P.U. activity during the civil war in Spain, who now operates under another name.

Tina Modotti, Italian Stalinist, suspected of implication in the murder of Ignace Reiss. She was held in this connection by Swiss police for some time, but later released. She was secretary of the Stalinist "International Red Aid" during the Spanish civil war and came to Mexico from Paris as a Spanish refugee.

Sormenti, internationally known G.P.U. agent, once prominent in the Italian federation of the American Communist Party, who now operates under the name Carlos Contreras. Sormenti arrived in Mexico three months ago and is said to have been involved in previous Mexican political killings.

This imposing line-up of G.P.U. agents is indicative not only of the serious trouble that the Stalinists are faced with in connection with the purge, but of plans for shady work that extend far beyond the confines of inner-party politics in Mexico. Their activities will bear watching on the part of working class militants all over the Western Hemisphere.

Stalin's Methods Have
Alienated Sympathy
Of World's Workers

(Continued from Page 1)

stone—destroy the Soviet Union and their German imperialist rival.

Nor is the possibility excluded of an agreement being arrived at by the imperialist nations for an attack on the Soviet Union by Hitler, or by all of the imperialists combined. Obviously, this is the aim of the Pope, of Roosevelt, and of other influential groups among the imperialists.

The danger threatening the Soviet Union is not over by far. No matter where the attack comes from—from the Allied imperialists or from Hitler, or from all of them—the advanced workers will take the position our party adopted in the Finnish-Soviet war: defend the Soviet Union against the capitalists and, at the same time, continue the irreconcilable struggle for the overthrow of the Stalinist bureaucracy.

Forgotten by all and now apparently relegated to the background is Otto Kuusinen, the head of the puppet "People's Government" of Finland. The creation and the program of the Kuusinen government by Stalin showed that Stalin was obviously aiming to supplement the invasion of Finland by a civil war. What happened in the territories occupied by the Red Army is not yet known. It is certain, however, that the Finnish landlords and capitalists will be expropriated in the ceded areas, as was the case after the occupation of the Polish Ukraine, and that the workers and poor peasants will heartily support such expropriations and participate in carrying them out.

Widespread civil war in Finland of the workers and poor peasants against the landlords and capitalists was implicit in the situation. The puppet Kuusinen government was intended to stimulate such a civil war. It did not develop only because peace was concluded before the army of Mannerheim, which held the exploited population in an iron vise, was annihilated by the Red Army. The Stalinist bureaucrats will, of course, follow the expropriation of the landlords and capitalists in the ceded territory by suppressing the rights of the workers and peasants, as in the Polish territory annexed to the Soviet Union.

We remain unalterably opposed to Stalin's reactionary policies in peace as in war. At the same time, we remain on our basic position of unconditional defense of the Soviet Union in any conflict with a capitalist country.

The peace treaty is undoubtedly a defeat for Allied-American imperialism and a temporary set-back to their design to destroy the conquests of October. But a secure victory for the masses of the Soviet Union and of the whole world can come only through the revolutionary overthrow of the capitalist system. In the course of the development of this revolutionary struggle the masses will also settle accounts with the perfidious Stalinist bureaucracy.

CONGRESS AFTER
WAGNER ACT

(Continued from Page 1)
of the union, and perhaps smile—that's all.

Unless, of course, the workers will speak a language that he will understand and listen to.

Militant Workers Outlawed
The Supreme Court went out of its way to misinterpret the Wagner Act so as to refuse its protection to sit-down strikers. One of the proposed amendments specifically provides that the Board should have no right to reinstate any employee found guilty of violence or unlawful activities.

By such general phrases it is certain that a militant worker will lose any rights that he might have under the Wagner Act. Nor will back pay be granted for longer than a period of six months.

To make sure that the purpose of the amendments should not be misunderstood, it is proposed to strike out that section of the Wagner Act which states that it is the policy of the United States to encourage collective bargaining—thereby giving the courts a further opportunity to interpret the act strictly against the workers.

Factors that aid the reactionaries in trying to put their amendments over are the supine attitude of the AFL leaders who would rather see the Wagner Act destroyed than the CIO succeed in organizing the unorganized, and the reliance of the CIO leaders on the liberal congressmen.

Without any illusions about the limited usefulness of the Wagner Act in organizing the unorganized, militant workers must do their best to organize a campaign against the proposed amendments sponsored by the National Manufacturers' Association, amendments which will not only destroy whatever value the Act has for organized labor, but which will in reality transform it into a weapon for the bosses.

Lovestone Weeps
With Pity for
The Bankers

By JOSEPH HANSEN

Not the least vociferous among Stalin's attorneys up until the time the Dewey Commission investigated the Moscow Trials were the Lovestoneites. They defended Stalin's hideous frame-ups. They defended Stalin's murder of the entire generation that led the October revolution. The only thing about Stalinism they didn't defend was the refusal of the rotten and corrupt Comintern to reinstate them as members.

After an embarrassed silence following the hearings of the Dewey Commission, they finally spoke of the Moscow Trials as frame-ups and sanctimoniously raised their eyes heavenward at the crimes of Stalinism. But Jay Lovestone and his cohorts never offered anyone the slightest explanation for this sudden repentance from supporting Stalinist morality.

This background sheds a grim light upon the article entitled "Trotskyites Put Forward Own Super-Ham-and-Eggs Plan," printed in the March 2 issue of their official organ, the Workers Age.

"The policy of both the Stalinists and the Trotskyists of supporting the Ham-and-Eggs movement in California," declares this article, "has nothing in common with socialism. It only indicates that again and once again the Stalinists and Trotskyists have something in common—an unprincipled and demagogic appeal to the backwardness and illusions of the masses."

Naturally the Workers Age fails to mention the actual circumstances which dictated our critical support of "Ham and Eggs." There was a mass movement in California for social security, actually mobilizing hundreds upon hundreds of thousands of desperate, poverty-stricken people. The Workers Age didn't mention that the demands of these masses were entirely justified and reasonable. It didn't mention that the inability of capitalism to feed and clothe and shelter these people gave their demands a revolutionary significance. It didn't mention that a revolutionary party has the duty to support such demands of the masses—although sharply criticizing the unrealistic means proposed to attain them—in order to direct these demands toward their only real means of achievement—socialism. It didn't mention that above all a revolutionary party stays with the masses and goes through their experiences with them, precisely in order to hasten their development toward socialism.

Attacks Our "Transitional" Program

Lovestone's organ however does not stop at these distortions. Something weightier is needed to "prove" that Trotskyism is but another manifestation of Stalinism. To this end the Workers Age points to the first thing on the first page of the Socialist Appeal: the program which the Socialist Workers Party proposes Congress should enact as EMERGENCY legislation for the relief of those in dire need—\$10,000,000 for the unemployed, a 30 hour week at minimum pay of \$30, disability and old age pensions of \$30 a week, and \$3,000,000,000 for the youth.

This program is attacked by arguments that Calvin Coolidge would have heartily seconded. They add up to this: our program is economically impossible, and therefore "unprincipled and demagogic."

With the aid of an adding machine the Workers Age proceeds to "prove" this: the Roosevelt administration doesn't get enough income from its system of taxation; the national income is too low under capitalism in its death agony; hence, it concludes, there is not enough money available at present to foot the costs of our program.

In addition to reading us this adding machine tape, the Workers Age appeals to the truth expounded in the labor movement ever since the Communist Manifesto was written almost a hundred years ago, that "only through the establishment of a socialist society is it possible to bring about any substantial and lasting improvement in the conditions of the masses." We agree with this truth one hundred per cent. It is precisely the aim expressed in this truth which motivates every word written in the Socialist Appeal.

What Is the Road to Socialism?

But that doesn't happen to be the question at issue. What is at issue and what must be answered by whoever would lead the revolutionary movement in the United States is: How achieve this end?

Inasmuch as we could not find a single slogan in the Lovestone organ calling for armed insurrection in the United States or even so much as a polite bid for revolutionary terror against Ford, Rockefeller, Morgan, and the rest of the Sixty Families who dominate American industry, we take it that the Lovestoneites do not believe the American working class has yet been convinced that revolution is the only way out of the capitalist system of war, hunger, and fascism.

Can the workers be convinced of the necessity of revolution by calling for armed insurrection tomorrow? The Lovestoneite article seems to imply that anything less than that is an "unprincipled and demagogic appeal to the backwardness and illusions of the masses." Then out of their own mouths the Lovestoneites are proved demagogic and unprincipled, for in that very article they include the main plank of the Lovestone Ham-and-Eggs program: "Keep America Out of War." Is this program realizable under capitalism? Can America be kept out of war so long as the capitalist system endures? We say no, and we do not have to appeal to an adding machine to prove our contention—today's headlines are demonstrating it. Our slogans, on the contrary, such as turning all war funds over to the unemployed, would destroy capitalism. But there is a world of difference between being for these demands without labelling them impossible of complete achievement under capitalism, and the Lovestone-Norman Thomas propaganda that it is possible to have peace under capitalism. Their "Keep America Out of War" committees thus directly propagate a harmful lie, while our campaigning for the popular referendum on war specifically refrains from promising that it will keep America out of war. The distinction between us and Lovestone-Thomas on this question is the distinction between reformism and revolutionary Marxism.

The crime which the Lovestoneites commit in creating illusions about peace under capitalism is the one they accuse us of in advocating our economic demands. But we are not at all guilty of their crime. Nowhere do we promise that these demands are compatible with capitalism. We create no such illusions. These demands are, indeed, a "transition," a bridge, to a full socialist program.

(A second article on this question will appear next week.)