See Your Friends for the Twice-a-Week Appeal

Socialist Appeal

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WAR PRESSURE HITS SHIPYARD STRIKERS; NEXT STEP IS CRACKDOWN IN AUTO PLANTS

Unions Resist Boss Drive Toward War

Workers in St. Paul and Ohio Vote Anti-War Resolutions

ST. PAUL, Minn.—The Warehouse Employees Union, Local 503, adopted an anti-war resolution, warning the workers against the M-Day dictatorship plans of the government, at the last membership meeting of the union.

Following is the text of the resolution:

"Whereas, The war now raging in Europe is a commercial and economic one, and

"Whereas, War brings with it the establishment of a dictatorship as is outlined in the M-Day plans of government leaders, and

"Whereas, These plans are devised to tie the hands of the Labor movement and would result in an attempt to smash all workers' organizations, and

"Whereas, War can be stopped only by the overwhelming percentage of the population which is the laboring classes,

"Therefore, Be It Resolved, That we, the Warehouse Employees' Union, Local No. 503, reaffirm our stand in opposition to war and call upon workers everywhere to fight against it."

OHIO STATE AFL MEAT CUTTERS IN ANTI-WAR STAND

COLUMBUS, Ohio—A strong resolution against American involvement in the war, and calling for submitting the question of war to a referendum of the people, was adopted by the Third Annual Convention of the Ohio State Branch of the Amalgamated Meat Cutters & Butcher Workmen, (AFL) representing 7,000 members in this state, meeting here May 12.

Another resolution, on civil rights, condemned Roosevelt for his statement that employes of the government have no right to strike. and denounced Thurman Arnold's "anti-trust" assault on the trade unions.

The anti-war resolution follows in full:

WHEREAS, there is now in progress a war in Europe which threatens to engulf the whole world, and

WHEREAS the present war being fought is an imperialist one, and

WHEREAS as workers we can have no common interests with the aims of those countries involved in the slaughter of the workers fighting their wars for the profits of the few,

THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED that the Ohio State Branch go on record as being unalterably opposed to the United States being involved in any such war, and that we shall oppose any attempts to stampede or involve us in this catastrophe, and

FURTHER BE IT RESOLVED that we support the Ludlow Amendment for a referendum vote on war.

ST. PAUL LABOR WARNS AGAINST GOVERNMENT ACTS

ST. PAUL, Minn.—The St. Paul Trades & Labor Assembly, AFL central body, at its meeting last Friday night called upon the labor movement to organize in opposition to the "war hysteria sweeping the nation," which "has

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Anti-Alien Drive Is Strike-Breaking Move

Why the War Deal wants the aliens to be put under the control of the FBI, why Congress is adopting anti-alien legislation, is revealed by the government's own statistics.

The latest figures available (*Statistical Abstract of the* 1930 *Census*) show that the foreign-born are predominantly INDUSTRIAL WORKERS. *Although they constitute but 10% of the general population, they make up 23% of all industrial workers!* Nearly one out of every four industrial workers is foreign-born.

And since about 25% of the foreign-born are not citizens, the government's anti-alien bills would place a considerable section of the working class at the complete mercy of the G-men and other anti-labor agencies.

A few figures will show what a blow against organized labor is hidden under the smokescreen of "alien" legislation:

Industry	Total No. of Workers	Foreign Born	% of Foreign Born
Coal Mining	621,661	175,898	28.3
Copper Mining	30,939	9,550	30.9
Iron Mining	24,248	11,932	49.2
Machinists	761,095	195,173	26.
Molders, Founders	105,158	38,565	37.
Automobile	161,957	43,099	26.
Blast Furnaces	106,664	33,471	31.

These are well-organized industries. We all know from experience that these "aliens" are usually good union men, in many cases the backbone of the union. If the anti-alien legislation becomes law, that means the government will join the bosses in terrorizing these "aliens," trying to turn them into scabs and stool-pigeons.

The anti-alien legislation is a gigantic conspiracy to divide the workers against each other, to weaken the solidarity of organized labor, to turn the unions into house-broken lap-dogs. And then the bosses will do as they please, wiping out every hard-won gain of the workers.

Government Attacks Drivers

MINNEAPOLIS, June 4—The Bakery Drivers Union, Local 289, and its seven officers, were notified last week that the Federal Trade Commission charges them with having "conspired" to "prevent peddlers and so-called independent route men or independent bread men from obtaining bread pastries, cakes and other bakery products, to sell either at wholesale or retail in said trade area."

Almost identical charges were recently made by the government commission against the Des Moines and Sioux City Bakery Drivers.

This latest government move against the mid-West bakery drivers supplements the action taken by the FBI, which framed seven drivers' union officials in Sioux City, Omaha and Des Moines, for the alleged destruction of a bakery truck during the Sioux City bakery strike in 1938.

Admiral Wiley Admits Gov't Fink Scheme

Admiral Wiley, head of the training ship program of the U. S. Maritime Commission, speaking at the ceremonies organized by the shipowners on National Maritime Day, admitted the anti-labor function of the training program ,when he said:

". . . it was doubtful that men given pay and subsistence, while they are in training, will want to follow the guidance of union leaders." (JOURNAL of COMMERCE, May 23)

That's just what the Sailors Union of the Pacific charged the government was trying to do, and that's why the union opposed the training program. Ostensibly started to give seamen additional training, Wiley's department recruited outsiders, preparing them for future strikebreaking moves.

SAILORS FIGHT DRIVE AGAINST ALIENS ON SHIPS

WASHINGTON, D.C., June 4—Harry Lundeberg, secretary of the Sailors Union of the Pacific and acting president of the Seafarers International Union, is scheduled to register the emphatic opposition of the seafarers to the latest anti-alien bill, at a hearing this week before the House Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries.

Introduced by the committee's chairman, Congressman Bland, this bill would forbid the employment of any non-citizen on American ships.

The havoc this bill would wreak on the seamen's unions, if enacted into law, is indicated by the fact that about 30% of the membership of the Sailors Union of the Pacific are non-citizen, and about the same percentage holds for the Marine Firemen. To drive these men off the ships is a move deliberately designed to break the backbone of the seamen's unions.

"Aliens" Bill Aimed at this Picket Line

One out of every three men on this picket line of the Sailors Union of the Pacific would be ordered off the docks and the ships, if a new anti-alien bill proposed this week in the House Committee on the Merchant Marine were adopted. Thirty percent of seafarers are non-citizens, but very good union men. The ship they're picketing is a U.S. Maritime Commission boat —which may have something to do with the bill!

UAW Leaders Make Futile Plea to FDR

But Knudsen, Speaks for Roosevelt in Industry Now

DETROIT, Mich.—The General Motors Council of the UAW rejected this Sunday the proposed agreement of GM and further recommended its rejection to the 135,000 GM workers in the union. The Council recommended instead that the local unions give it authority "together with the officers and Executive Board of the International Union, to take whatever action they may deem necessary to bring about an immediate and satisfactory agreement."

This veiled strike threat was, however, accompanied by a telegram to President Roosevelt requesting his intercession in the negotiations. The Council went out of its way in this telegram to impress the President with its loyalty and patriotic feelings concerning Roosevelt's defense program.

The new proposed agreement is practically identical with the old Homer Martin GM contract—no recognition of the shop steward system, six months wait before seniority becomes operative, "D" list of "exceptional" employees destroying the normal seniority procedure, disciplinary measures permitted against workers, etc., etc.—except that the new contract provides an improved grievance procedure. This improved grievance procedure is completely offset by the establishment of an impartial arbitrator for the industry, whose decisions shall be final and binding on both parties. This impartial arbitrator scheme is nothing but a streamlined, sugar-coated form of compulsory arbitration.

Refuses Wage Raise

The union's request for a wage increase was turned down in spite of $183,000,000 profits in 1939. It offered instead the highly generous proposal of a vacation with pay amounting to 2% percent of the annual earnings of the workers. The vacation with pay thus adds up to about $30 per employee, or equal to a wage increase of about 60c per week!

This contract, almost identical with the "sell-out" agreement of Homer Martin in 1938, so insulting the whole membership of the UAW, is the first fruit of the phony statesmanship and the cowardly strategy of Sidney Hillman and Phil Murray. It is the logical outcome of the policy of cooperation and "national unity" with all of the open shop manufacturers and anti-union employers and servile boss politicians in the name of "national defense."

Hillman Joins Knudsen

But a short month ago, Sidney Hillman walked into the GM offices and told Knudsen, President of GM, that the corporation was negotiating not only with the UAW, but with the whole CIO, and that he, Hillman, wanted Knudsen to give the auto workers a square deal. Today Hillman is sitting side by side on the same board of National Defense with the agent of the DuPonts and the Wall Street bankers, Knudsen. No wonder GM feels free to insult the auto workers!

The union's International Executive Board is meeting this Monday in Washington, D.C., with John L. Lewis and other high CIO officials to map out strategy for the next steps in the GM situation.

Leadership Bankrupt

The whole policy pursued by

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War Scare Used to End Strike at Kearny Yards

More than 5,000 workers of the Federal Shipbuilding Company met on Thursday, May 30, and by overwhelming majority voted to strike.

They had grievances aplenty, the bosses were stalling, the old contract had expired the day before and a new one was nowhere in sight, and these good union men were tired of being kicked around.

When they voted to strike, thay were well aware of the "defense program" ballyhoo. If they hadn't been, their own leaders had made them listen to it all over again, arguing vainly for a further delay to continue the negotiations.

But the men were tired of the endless stalling of the company. The union was asking for 10 cents an hour increase in pay—the men were getting from 62½ cents to $1 an hour, about the lowest scales in any shipyard in the country—and a week's vacation with pay after a year's employment.

The company was "offering" nothing except an increase of 2½ to 4 cents an hour.

And it was offering this increase only to the skilled men, deliberately trying to divide the skilled and unskilled against each other. This was also an attempt to *divide the white workers from the black workers,* for the several hundred unskilled are mostly colored workers.

When Roosevelt, last week, appointed his Defense Council, that was an additional reason for the company to stay pat. For the company is a subsidiary of U.S. Steel, and Stettinius, "resigned" head of the steel corporation, was now in charge of the government's "defense" program, together with pals of his like Knudsen of General Motors and Budd, the railroad magnate.

If the company negotiators had begun to lose their nerve, and might have begun thinking of giving in to the union, the action of Congress would have made them feel better. For last week the House drove a hole as big as a battleship right through the Walsh-Healey Act and the Wages and Hours Act, giving the Secretary of the Navy and the president authority to push these labor safeguards aside.

There was only one way to get the company to yield. That was STRIKE.

Yet by Sunday afternoon, *less than three days later,* those same men had been beaten down to the point where they voted to go back to work with nothing gained except that same company offer—that petty increase deliberately designed to divide skilled and unskilled, white and black—which they had refused three days before.

Who beat those men down?

As soon as the strike began, a hue and cry was raised in Congress against the strikers. *"Treason,"* the strike was called—and NONE of the "New Dealers" got up to defend the strikers. The heat was on.

The FBI poured G-men into Kearney by the scores. Secretary of the Navy Edison warned the strikers that "we cannot afford to have trouble of this kind."

None of this, however, had *any effect* at all on the strikers—UNTIL *their own CIO leaders joined in the pressure against the strike.*

The union's officials got in touch with John L. Lewis. He helped—by sending Allan Haywood, national organization director of the CIO.

With the prestige and power of the national leadership of the CIO in his fist, Haywood managed to do what the union's own leadership hadn't been able to. With threats, scaring talk and cajolery all skillfully mixed together, he pounded them into voting to go back empty-handed.

Even so, a thousand men voted against going back. There's the BACKBONE OF THE UNION!

Even so, Haywood and the other speakers had to as much as swear that *if forthcoming negotiations don't get the men their demands, a strike will follow.* And the men are DETERMINED to get their demands.

Defense program or no defense program, *the workers have a right to a decent living.* If the bosses won't grant it, THE WORKERS MUST SECURE IT BY STRIKE ACTION. That interferes with the defense program? Then let the government force the bosses to grant the union's demands, after which the workers will end the strike.

Never mind what the government and the bosses are saying! Fight—in peacetime or wartime, regardless of its effect on the "defense" of the country as the bosses see it —the unions MUST fight for the workers' rights.

That's the lesson of the shipyard strike, the first major strike since Roosevelt's armament drive began in earnest.

Walsh-Healey Act Spiked By Congress

WASHINGTON, June 4—The Roosevelt administration came out openly for the suspension of the Walsh-Healey Act on Monday, when an authorized spokesman of the government appeared before the Senate Naval Affairs Committee to make that request.

He was Captain G. W. Fisher of the Navy's legal staff, and he told the Senate committee that the Navy's construction program could be assisted greatly by suspension of the Walsh-Healey Act.

That was plain enough, and later in the day the Senate, by a voice vote with no dissent, passed in three minutes the bill already passed by the House, authorizing a further outlay of $654,000,000 for the navy. The bill includes provisions enabling the Navy, with the authorization of the president, to arrange building of ships without observance of the Walsh-Healey Act requirement of the prevailing wage.

CIO Protest Ignored

In recommending the bill for passage, the Senate's Naval affairs Committee did not even trouble to justify the provisions sidetracking the Walsh-Healey Act, which have been protested by the CIO. In a letter to the committee, John L. Lewis had particularly objected to provisions which exempted contracts negotiated by the Secretary of the Navy from the Walsh-Healey Act and which omitted large categories of workers engaged in naval construction from the protection of the Wage-Hour Act.

What worried the committee, and all the rest of official Washington, over the week-end, was the strike of 7,000 workers at the Federal Shipbuilding Co. yards in Kearney, New Jersey, members of a CIO union.

When John L. Lewis and his lieutenants drove the strikers back to work on Sunday, that action of the CIO leaders was taken as the real index to their present temper. In other words—if they wouldn't fight for what they wanted, the committee need not take the CIO letter of protest seriously. And that's the way it worked out.

Anti-Alien Law Passed!

The other outstanding Congressional blow against organized labor during the week was concurrence by the Senate last Friday with the resolution already passed by the House, to put into effect in a few days the transfer of the Bureau of Immigration from the Labor Department to the Departmnet of Justice.

Farmer-Labor Senators Lundeen and Shipstead of Minnesota, and Senators Norris, Wheeler and Murray, were the only ones who stood out against this proposal of Roosevelt to put the four million non-citizens in this country into the keeping of J. Edgar Hoover and his G-men.

Supreme Court Joins In

Not to be outdone by the other branches of the government in the war drive, the Supreme Court contributed a decision, by an 8-1 vote, which the sole dissenter, Justice Stone, characterized as "the surrender of the constitutional protection of the liberty of small minorities."

The court held that school boards can compel a salute by children to the American flag,

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WORKERS' FORUM

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

Auto Worker Comments on G.M. Articles

Editor:

As a worker in one of the General Motors plants not even touched by the NLRB poll, I read your article, GM Bolder Under War Drive Impetus, (**Appeal,** May 25), and find that you overemphasize certain aspects.

Primarily you overlook the fact that the Auto Workers Union still has to consolidate its gains in the 59 divisions in which it has bargaining rights. Then it still has to win the remaining 30 divisions. This is a task which requires a constant fight, in the divisions already won, for better working conditions, higher pay rates in many cases, etc.

Perhaps you do not know that there are many duplications of plants in the GM organization. These duplications are not for geographic purposes primarily, but mainly for purposes of strategy. One plant is played against another to create an impression that the plant whose workers are most docile will receive the nod on orders when things slack off. How far this actually is done has to be checked.

Has the group system with its base pay and bonuses and group leaders been abolished in the organized plants? This method has group working against group and within each group the less productive members are constantly being pushed by the more experienced or capable members: This creates an ideal situation for the company of worker against worker, speed-up, decrease in term of employment, places power in the hands of the group leader and foremen and, in general weakens the workers' morale.

Many of us unorganized know why we are better paid than the average industrial worker. GM, like Ford and others, would rather pay us just union wages without the union, than possibly more than the now-prevailing union wage if we were all organized. **In other words we unorganized men and women receive benefits from the union although we are not members.**

I am heartily in favor of the 30-hour week at 40-hours pay, but can these conditions be won in 2/3 of the divisions or will a greater majority of organized divisions be necessary before demands be made for its initiation? If the condition is to be pushed, should not organization of the unorganized divisions and strengthening of the other divisions go along with the demands?

I also feel that although Martin has been ousted, his technique of organizing seems to remain in the union, i.e., secret conferences with Ford executives and other high - handed methods. These methods are now being used by those who formerly fought against them.

If the union officials think that the membership is going to stand by and watch them wreck the union while they squabble for leadership, they will be suddenly disillusioned. Martin lasted a while, but not too long. Certainly that experience has taught us something.

There is a job to be done and the GM workers want some performance, not distractions nor chest beating.

Syracuse, N.Y. **H.N.**

* * *

(H.N., in everything he says, seems to us to be in substantial agreement with the program proposed in the May 25 and other APPEAL articles from the auto centers. Of course the UAW has to consolidate its gains where it has bargaining rights. Of course it still has to win the remaining unorganized divisions. H.N. might have added the fact that Ford's absolutely must be organized if the union is to be saved. But how organize the unorganized? Only by inspiring them with a union program that will give them substantial benefits, and by showing them that the union really means business. The demands upon the corporations go hand in hand with a renewed organization drive.—Editor.)

Says "Colored Worker" Preferable to "Negro"

Editor:

I am in very close contact with the colored workers. With them I work side by side on the job. On the street I talk with them and also have access to some of their union meetings and also some of their gatherings of other kinds. I have discussed the words "nigger" and also "Negro" with them, and I find a burning hatred for the word "nigger" because they realize the contempt which has been associated with the word.

Although some few white people have used the word "Negro" with the correct pronunciation, still in the majority of cases it also has had a sound of contempt, such as may be noticed in the tone of a well-to-do Southern farmer when he speaks of his white workers as "tenants" or "hired hands."

I believe that **Colored** worker or **Colored** Race would sound much better to the colored.

As to "The Negro Question," I agree with V.C. that the Colored workers are no more of a "question" than the white workers. If there is a "question," it is **the question of Black and White Solidarity** and **that question is in the hands of the white worker!** The majority of colored workers that I have contacted realize that solidarity is a thing that must be, before any great advancement can be expected.

The question is: How can we convince the majority of the white workers that they must combine their strength with that of the Black worker for a common cause?

As I am a native Southerner, I can easily see that progress has been made to bring Southern workers of all races closer together. In the last two years, I have seen white and black workers **meet together** in Union halls. I have seen white workers sit and **listen with respect** to a **Colored speaker for as long as an hour,** applauding during that time when he would speak of solidarity. Those white workers have asked an officer of my union, to invite more colored speakers. Some of the more progressive members would meet the colored speaker, either before or after the meeting and shake hands with him. I mention all of this because it is unusual in the South.

The colored race has many leaders who can be brought to the front to replace the **many misleaders they now have.** We must give our support to their new and revolutionary leaders. We must remember that the colored worker must have colored leadership! No matter how sincere a white man may be, he can seldom understand the problems of the Black Race like an advanced and sincere black worker. When the time comes for the workers to overthrow the ruling class, I am sure that the colored workers of the South will do **even more than their share.**

If we can agree, then, that there is no "question" of the **Negro** any more than there is of the white worker why not call the column "Black and White Solidarity"? And I also suggest that the quotation of Karl Marx be enlarged, so that it can be more easily noticed.

Houston, Texas **Bill Green**

Reports Union Meeting Discussion on "Negro"

Editor:

I was very much interested in the letter of V. C. in which he questions the correctness of your column-heading—"THE NEGRO QUESTION."

It was only one week ago that same question was raised at my local trade union meeting. At that time we were discussing the necessity of having some colored brothers on the Execuive Board. And in the discussion that followed a member got up and while talking referred to the colored brothers as "NEGROES."

There was no doubt whatsoever that the brother used this term in full sincerity and respect—as his progressive speech would indicate. But immediately a colored brother got up denouncing this member as chauvinistic for using the term "NEGRO." He was very violent about it and stated that anybody using the term NEGRO was discriminating against colored people. Even after many apologies and explanations the colored brother continued to hold the same viewpoint.

Long Island, N. Y. **M. D.**

(The evidence of the two letters above, added to that, previously offered by V. C., are overwhelming evidence that the APPEAL column, "The Negro Question," is very badly titled. The Editors might offer the excuse that it was originally chosen by a colored comrade who, however, was unfamiliar with the American situation. Beginning with next issue, the column will have a new title.

—Editors

Workers Are Not Falling Readily For Propaganda Blitzkrieg, Clarke Reports

By GEORGE CLARKE

ROCHESTER, N. Y.—I should add a few words of correction to my previous description of the anti-war sentiment among the workers. The war hysteria is being pounded into the consciousness of the people by every streamlined device of capitalist propaganda and with a fury of a "blitzkrieg." This "blitzkrieg" has in a few weeks been able to decimate vocal "peace" and isolationist sentiment almost as completely as Hitler's dive bombers and tanks destroyed the opposing armies.

The first reaction among workers whom you engage in a discussion on the war consists almost universally of the emotional outburst: "Hitler is going too far. Something must be done to stop him." The uniformity of this statement uttered by so many people makes it clear that this reaction has been compounded out of passionate and justified hatred of the fascist dictator—and fear whipped up by the capitalist press.

Yet one need only scratch a little deeper to discover that beneath this hysteria there is an understanding of the war and its causes which is based on far more substantial material. No other term can better describe this understanding than ANTI-CAPITALIST.

The ten years of depression and misery have by no means been eradicated from the minds of the masses by the poison gas of Roosevelt's war barrage. The suspicion that the millionaire Hitlers of American finance and industry will use the war to rake in billions of dollars in profits is everywhere prevalent. The well-founded idea that the ruling plutocracy will utilize this slaughter to "blitzkrieg" all social legislation, will hike up hours and bomb hell out of wages and crush the trade unions—this idea has penetrated into millions of minds.

"The privileged princes of the new economic dynasties" — as Roosevelt once called them—will utilize this war against Hitler to establish a Hitlerite dictatorship in the Untied States. Workers don't say this in exactly so many words today, but it is not difficult to see that it will not be long before they find their way to a clear formulation of this idea and then translate it in terms of action.

A Veteran Talks

Too many victims of World War 1 are still in circulation for the good of the multi-millionaire criminals who are dragging us into World War II. I talked to one of them here, a counterman in a small lunchroom. The conversation began along the lines I described above. But soon he began to break through the first emotional reaction. He handed me my coffee and began to talk:

"I served four years in the Canadian army on the western front. Most of this time we were up in the front lines. I'll never forget the battle of Vimy Ridge [as he was talking this battle was happening all over again for the second time—G. C.]. It was a horrible sight. I was up in the front with a machine-gun crew. As the Germans came on we mowed them down like blades of grass. It was not that you wanted to do it—you had to, it was your life or theirs. And besides you were half full of rum.

"I have never been the same since the war. And that goes for most of us that were lucky to come back in one piece. People would laugh when a veteran would jump six feet out of his seat in a street car when he heard the sudden screech of the brakes. But it wasn't so funny. Something inside of us was all twisted up.

"And what did we get out of it? We went over there determined to get Kaiser Bill. But Kaiser Bill got a swell shack for himself in Holland after the war. Yes, and I see that's one place neither side shoots up in this war. But we didn't even get our jobs back. Then after we did finally land something, the depression came along and blew it all away. And now they're starting the same thing all over again!"

He stopped for a minute to take care of his coffee urn. Then he came back.

"Boy,, he said looking straight at me, **this is one time when I don't envy a man for his youth."**

* * *

Workers Regain Party

The public forum arranged that evening consisted with one or two exceptions of an audience entirely composed of workers. After the meeting a group of them remained to discuss further. It developed that this group—trade union militants and fighters for the unemployed—had been literally driven out of the party about a year ago by the petty-bourgeois element that then dominated the party in Rochester When I explained to them the significance of the split with Burnham & Co., they could hardly restrain their expressions of delight. We had a lengthy discussion and they promised to return to the party. These additions to the S.W.P. are certain to give our Rochester organization new drive and help it for the first time to sink its roots in the workers movement.

BUFFALO—The war hysteria is making swift headway. But as frenzied as it may seem on the surface, there is one thing it can't do. It can't get people too enthusiastic about putting on a uniform and getting their heads shot off to fatten up J. P. Morgan and John D. Rockefeller.

Youth Seek Escape

I spoke to a group of young people here just out of high school and they all were devising special schemes to go A.W.O.L. when M-Day came along. Most of them had their eyes on some kind of special job that would keep them out of the army. They weren't entirely certain they could get away with it but they were hoping . . . After they listened to me explain how rigidly the M-Day plans were set up, they weren't o confident of their little schemes any more.

What I was trying to tell them—and I think the point got over—was this: If you can't get a job now, or if they won't give you one when production is beginning to zoom with war orders, what chance do you think you'll have after the war is over when there will be no reason to producing tens of thousands of airplanes and other war equipment? You don't have anything to gain out of this system except a belly-full of bullets. And if you don't like the set-up the Big Shots will go after you in a way that will make Butcher Hitler look like a 100% democrat.

The Workers' War

It's time to start thinking—and doing—about the workers real war, the war against Wall Street and its fuehrer in the White House, the war for jobs, hope and opportunity for the young people who have skill, ambition and intelligence enough to rebuild this country ten times over. And that war will be your war—you won't have to be thinking about A.W.-O.L. then. There will be a reason to fight.

* * *

Hundreds of copies of the special steel workers edition of the **Socialist Appeal** were distributed to the workers at the huge Lackawana Steel Works, affiliate of Bethlehem Steel, and in the company town of Lackawanna. Everywhere the slogan of the six hour day at eight hours pay was favorably received. If the SWOC ever intends to organize Bethlehem steel, they had better wake up and start fighting for the six-hour day at eight hours pay. That's the only way to force money-bags Eugene Grace to sign up.

Akron Labor Council Denounces Pegler

We, the undersigned members of organized labor in Akron and Summit County, have observed the yellow journalism of Westbrook Pegler for some time and we believe that it is necessary to make a few definite statements concerning his allegations of corruption in the labor movement.

Is Pegler opposed to graft in principle? We do not recall his engaging in any extended and bitter campaigns against graft in business, about which the facts are well known to anyone who takes the trouble to read governmental reports and court decisions. He never criticized Richard Whitney for his thievery in the stock market with the viciousness that he attacks union officials, although Whitney's crime was far greater than anything any unionist has been accused of. Nor has Pegler accused J. P. Morgan and his partners of corruption, although they were equally involved in the Whitney scandal, as Robert Hutchins, president of the University of Chicago, declared when he resigned from the New York Stock Exchange board of governors in protest.

We do not recall the Pegler pillar of virtue ever criticizing business for its misleading, corrupt and illegal advertising and marketing practices which cheat millions of consumers annually. He has not given publicity to the findings of the Temporary National Economic Committee investigating the shady practices of monopoly, which, if not outright graft, are certainly anti-social and detrimental to the common welfare.

We come to the very obvious conclusion that Pegler is not opposed to graft in principle, and he is especially silent about in business. He knows on which side his bread is buttered. Pegler evidently is only opposed to graft in unions.

Is Pegler interested in the reasons for such alleged graft, and if so, why does he not state them? If any corruption exists in the Labor Movement it has been created by business in its attempts to buy out leaders. For generations, employers have sought to bribe, bully, smash and destroy workers' organizations. Employers have spent millions on company stooges, spies, strikebreakers, and thugs, as the LaFollette senate committee revealed. This committee report is puolic record and is written in the simple language that even Pegler can read. Why has he not given it publicity? Because he is at the very service of those who try to instill corruption in unions to give them a bad name and then attempt to discredit them.

Are we accusing Pegler of being in the pay of the employers? We know that he is paid handsomely for his column and other 'writings' by newspapers that are in the main notorious for their labor hating, that never miss an opportunity to smear labor, that have fought unions in the newspaper industry, that are owned or controlled by vested interests, and that are found on the reactionary side of every major question.

The affairs and problems of the labor movement are its own. Years before Pegler ever came on the scene the labor movement has been eliminating from its ranks the racketeers, usually planted with the aid of the employer. Neither Pegler nor anyone outside that movement—having as their basic premise an anti-union bias—has any right to interfere. We will solve our problems in our own way. We do not need and we condemn as insincere and dishonest, the efforts of employers to pry into our affairs, because such snooping, back-biting, and sniping is done only for the purpose of destroying our orgnaizations.

LET THEM CLEAN THEIR OWN STABLES FIRST!

If all these self-styled 'friends of labor' who fill the columns of the press with their pusillanimous ravings are so concerned about graft, corruption, and vioence, let them clean out their own camp first. Let them drive out the grafters, shysters, strikebreakers, spies, in their employ. If they are so interested in the welfare of the workingman, let them pay higher wages, reduce working hours, improve conditions and sign contracts with unions. Let the press itself clean out its own columns by ceasing to falsify news, especially labor news, by demanding truth in advertising, by printing facts instead of slander.

When the people like Pegler do all this, we will consider their charges. Until then, we will handle our own affairs. And we will resist every effort made by employers to interfere.

Pegler has shown his color and proven himself to be what we have charged, an employers' stooge. His attitude was revealed by his false malicious reasoning that if the union is not run by racketeers it is run by 'radicals' and that therefore company unions are more desirable. In other words, if the employer controls it, he is for the union. And yet this is the very basis for most racketeering in unions. No, Pegler is not interested in removing graft. He just wants to make the unions safe for the employers.

Fraternally yours,
SUMMIT COUNTY TRADES AND LABOR ASSEMBLY
Chalmers K. Stewart,
Corresponding Secretary

RADIO WORKERS OUT ON STRIKE AT AIR KING

Local 430 of the CIO's United Electrical Radio and Machine Workers won an important victory last week, when it compelled the Transformer Corporation of America to sign a contract in order to settle a month's strike.

The company had refused to recognize the union, claiming that it was still bound by a previous contract with William Beedie, International Representative of the AFL electrical workers. Like the previous contract the new one provides for a union shop, the company hiring through the union.

To strengthen a similar strike at Air King Radio, the union is picketing the Sears Roebuck stores, which insists on selling the Silvertone Radios manufactured by the struck company. In a conference held Monday between the union and the Sears Roebuck executives, the latter promised the union to withdraw from sale all Air King products until the strike is over.

175 workers of the Air King Radio Co., on 63rd St. Brooklyn, N. Y., refused to go to work on Friday morning, May 17, after four workers in the plant had been locked out by the management for union activity.

The workers are members of Local 430, United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers Union, (CIO). The workers joined the CIO by a vote of 800 to 5 last week when William Beedie, International Representative in charge of Local B-1010 I.B.E.W. (AFL) suspended the local's elected leadership.

The shop manager discharged the workers on what he called "orders from Beedie." The workers demand that a labor board election be held in the shop and that the four workers discharged be reinstated pending the outcome of the election.

Workers Are Militant

On Tuesday morning, May 21, 200 workers of the Royal Wood Manufacturing Co., Inc., a subsidiary company of Air King Radio, walked out in a sympathy strike. These workers belong to the United Leather Workers Union (AFL) and the Furniture Workers union (CIO). In refusing to walk through the CIO picket line they showed a real example of labor unity.

Beedie called a meeting last week to explain to the "union membership" his action in the case. There were about 100 workers present. Twenty to thirty were imported from New Jersey, ten were shop supervisors sent there by the boss and the others apparently were either bosses' stooges or curious onlookers. Beedie tried to make an explanation of his outrageous actions and then demanded that the "union membership" accept the fake contract he proposed. About three-fourths of those present voted for the proposal and the others abstained from voting. Without even counting the votes Beedie declared that the contract had been accepted.

The spirit of the workers is strong and militant. They plan to resist any attempt to break the picket line such as has been tried in the Transformer Corporation of America strike here, where the workers struck for the same reasons as at Air King. Beedie sent 20 scabs from New Jersey through the picket line there on Monday, in taxis with police protection.

Speed Appeal Drive!

A terrific drop in the amount collected for the twice-a-week fund in the last week endangers the whole drive. Only $74.95 was collected, the smallest amount collected in any week since the drive began.

We know that there may be some reasons for this drop but that does not help matters any. The two-a-week **Appeal** cannot come out even though the reasons for the failure of the comrades may be good and sufficient ones.

Less than four weeks are left for the completion of the drive. From now until the close of the drive every branch and every comrade must place the two-a-week fund as point No. 1 on the agenda of every meeting. In the time that is left we must collect the balance of the fund.

SCOREBOARD

Branch	Pledged	Paid	%
Upstate New York	**$ 50.00**	**$ 50.00**	**100**
Akron	**10.00**	**10.00**	**100**
Rockville	**5.00**	**5.00**	**100**
Texas	**5.00**	**5.00**	**100**
St. Paul	200.00	160.00	80
Chicago	100.00	80.00	80
Lynn	50.00	37.00	74
Minneapolis	300.00	200.00	67
Boston	177.00	119.50	66
Flint	105.00	55.00	50
Detroit	75.00	36.35	48
New York City	950.00	417.00	44
East Chicago	25.00	10.00	40
Baltimore	25.00	10.00	40
Los Angeles	100.00	31.00	31
Newark	100.00	30.00	30
Buffalo	5.00	1.00	20
New Haven	55.00	7.00	13
Philadelphia	25.00	3.00	12
National Office	550.00	41.00	7
Maritime Workers	780.00	50.00	6
San Francisco	100.00	0.00	0
Toledo	40.00	0.00	0
Omaha	25.00	0.00	0
Seattle	15.00	0.00	0
Indianapolis	10.00	0.00	0
Oakland	10.00	0.00	0
Portland	10.00	0.00	0
Lorain	5.00	0.00	0
Pittsburgh		1.00	
Kansas		2.20	
TOTAL	**$8897.00**	**$1361.05**	**34.9**

SELLING THE APPEAL

We have been soft-pedalling the need for **Appeal** sales and subs. This was because of the current National Office drive for a Twice-Weekly Fund, and also because of our intense desire to see the **Fourth International** sub drive go over with a bang, as it is doing.

But we can no longer soft-pedal. The **Appeal** is badly in need of funds, and bundle payments and sub orders have reached an alarming low. A partial list of delinquents is appended at the end of the column, that all who read may hasten to redeem themselves.

* * *

We give you first, however, the complete list of all subs sent in during May. They total only 80 for the entire month, a record which the **Fourth International** bettered **weekly** during its subscription drive:

Minneapolis	14
New York	10
Los Angeles	9
Chicago	6
St. Paul	5
Detroit	4
Cleveland	3
Boston	3

Two each for the states of North Dakota, Iowa, Ohio and California. And one each, for Omaha, Connecticut, Oakland, Fresno, Illinois, N.Y. State, Texas, San Francisco, Montana, Milwaukee, Tampa, New Castle, Maryland, Newark, Memphis, Arizona, Kansas and Quakertown.

* * *

We have mailed to every branch a complete list of expired subscriptions in its vicinity. Now, with all the experience comrades having recently gained in the technique of securing subs for the F.I., we look forward confidently to weekly totals as good or better than the ones attained on the F.I.

As a starter, every working comrade should consider it a duty to subscribe himself; and every comrade, employed or unemployed, should take it upon himself to bring in at least one outside subscription. If branches conduct this drive on a competitive basis, the **Appeal** will be glad to offer a bound volume of the **Appeal** as an award to comrades who lead their branches by obtaining six or more subs. To the outstanding **branch**—or branches—totalling at least 25 subs, the **Appeal** will award the complete 1938, and both 1939 bound volumes. This offer terminates July 6th (a minimum of one sub a week, comrades!), so get busy now!

* * *

Balance due—June 1, 1940:

Los Angeles	$11.81
San Francisco	59.24
San Diego	5.88
Streator	3.30
Chicago	21.25
Boston	30.75
Lynn	5.55
Flint	54.15
Minneapolis	12.00
St. Paul	18.00
Omaha	3.90
Patterson	5.90
Newark	16.70
Rochester	6.84
Akron	38.05
Cleveland	34.05
Toledo	39.40
Youngstown	80.83
Portland	4.10
Philadelphia	37.40
Reading	7.03
Allentown	5.39
Houston	1.98

Let's get going!

U.S. Bosses Seek Law To Blacklist Filipino Labor Leaders

U. S. Big Business spokesmen introduced in the Phillipine Legislative Assembly on April 18 a bill calling for the registration of labor leaders. The bill provides that "only those who are qualified to assume the responsibilities of leadership of workers would be permitted to register as labor leaders."

The opinion was expressed by the bill's sponsors that with its enactment, "labor leadership in the Phillipines would become an instrument for peace, that there would be less occasion for violence and sabotage in the settlement of industrial and agricultural disputes, that laborers would finally learn to present their demands and grievances in a peaceful and orderly manner."

The bill would make it unlawful for any person not registered as a labor leader by the Department of Labor to function in any way as an officer of a union or in any other way represent any group of workers.

Applicants are required to be citizens of either the Phillipines or the U.S. of good moral character, not convicted of any criminal offence involving moral turpitude and able to read and write either English or Spanish or a local dialect. The Department of Labor at its discretion, may reject applicants for registration—a perfect mechanism for blacklisting militant trade unionists.

The Negro Question

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

by Robert L. Birchman

"Fifth Column" Bunk Is A Menace to Colored People

Much of the talk about "fifth column" activities will be directed against the black workers. This is evident from the statement of Lieutenant Lawrence A. Oxley, in a speech to the Metropolitan Chicago Conference on Employment Problems of the Negro, that because of their poverty and discontent, Negroes "may easily become the nucleus of 'fifth column' maneuverings in Chicago." An editorial in the Negro paper, the **California Eagle**, May 16, answers the lieutenant and his kind. It says:

"A bill was introduced in the California legislature to outlaw all 'Fifth Column' organizations—Fascist and Communist—which are 'treasonably' working for the destruction of 'American principles.'

"Here we have all the three major developments which presage all war crises: (1) hysterical military expansion; (2) minimizing of domestic problems; (3) accusations of treason.

"They compose a vicious trio which react venomously upon the average citizen. He is propagandized into a war he does not understand, probably in a foreign nation; domestic problems confronting himself and his family are ignored; and his right to protest is denied under the charge of 'treason.'

"Those powers which are opposed to the spreading of social, liberal legislation—the anti-lynch bill, the anti-poll tax bill—are anxious to see the nation involved in foreign war. Manufacturers of munitions are anxious to realize the profits of such a war. And the present political machine is anxious to remain in power and will do it through a foreign war.

"There is not a single American defender of democracy who doesn't have his hands full right here in the U.S.A. We can spare no volunteers to protect Mr. Roosevelt's 'human rights' in Europe or Asia."

It is an encouraging fact that many Negro papers understand that propaganda about the "fifth column" is a drive against the labor movement, for the suppression of all civil rights and will be directed against the colored people as well.

Danger to West Indians

Most endangered will be the thousands of colored people from the West Indies. An item in the **Pittsburgh Courier**, June 1, from Miami, Florida, states:

"Allegedly seeking to halt 'Fifth Column' activities in the city, the Miami city commissioners asked the law department to draft an ordinance ordering the registration and finger-printing of all aliens in Miami." Similiar ordinances have been passed or are under consideration in other neighboring cities. . . .

"Several Negro domestics were stopped recently by American Legionnaires and questioned on their citizenship status. Other legionnaires have been quietly urging the firing of all foreign born workers in local institutions."

Black Man O.K.— For Cannon Fodder

"It appears to us that the American black man is 'worth his weight in gold' when the war drums begin to echo," writes Lucius C. Harper, in his column "Dustin' off the News," in the **Chicago Defender**, June 1. How true this is today in France.

Tens of thousands of African troops have already been mowed down—sacrificed to "democracy." With a total of nearly 500,000 black troops already mobilized and on the battle fields of France, another million are being recruited to be thrown into the path of the giant Nazi war machine. The **Chicago Defender** bitterly captions a picture, portraying a recruiting camp in Africa: "Robust Youth Today—Tomorrow, Europe's Cannon Fodder."

The Negroes in America are today being discriminated against in the armed forces of the nation, but once the war starts, the government will forget the color line and the black man will have the opportunity—by forcible conscription—to sacrifice his life for "democracy."

At home, and behind the lines, of course, the color line will still prevail—and be knocked into every returning black soldier after the war! The black man's "equality" will extend only to his "right" to die for the white Democracy.

Scabbing No Answer to Jim Crow

The attitude of Joseph Jefferson, head of the Negro Labor Relations League of Chicago, toward the recent strike of milk drivers must be condemned. Jefferson urged Negroes to apply to struck dairies for jobs, stating: "I believe in unions, but the Negro is not bound to honor a picket line or cooperate in a strike conducted by a jim-crow union which denies the Negro a chance to work. If the dairies will assure Negroes of permanent jobs, I can see that they get men enough to deliver any amount of milk they want delivered.'

While it is true that the union was late in changing its policy of discrimination—the previous union officials were recently ousted in an election—the actions of the colored drivers at the Lakeview Dairy in refusing to sign up in the union after being invited to do so, can only be most injurious to the interests of the colored drivers.

As we have stated on previous occasions, colored workers cannot combat a policy of discrimination on the part of any union by permitting themselves to be recruited as strike-breakers. By bringing organized pressure against the jim-crow policies of any union, colored workers can and are winning their rightful place in the unions.

War Deal Begins Putting Screws on Labor

Walsh-Healey Act Spiked By Congress

(Continued from Page 1)

"symbol of our national unity," even though thereby, in Justice Stone's words, the law "coerces these children to express a sentiment which they do not entertain and which violates their deepest religious convictions."

It is noteworthy that, in making this ruling, the court overruled the two lower courts which had heard the case. Two children, members of the pacifist religious sect known as Jehovah's Witnesses, who asserted that the salute violated their religious tenets, had been expelled from school by a Pennsylvania school board; they sought an injunction against the school board and secured it from the Federal District Court; the school board appealed to the Third Circuit Court of Appeals which, however, upheld the children's side.

What It Means

In one suggestive sentence the court indicated that it was stepping aside and would waive any judgment on any and all acts undertaken in the name of patriotism by the states and the other Federal branches of the government. It said:

"The wisdom of training children in patriotic impulses by those compulsions which necessarily pervade so much of the educational process is not for our (the court's) independent judgment."

Just generalize on that little sentence—and anything goes!

UAW Leaders Make Futile Plea to FDR

(Continued from Page 1)

the UAW negotiating committee, and their "teachers and inspirers" Murray, Hillman and Lewis, has been demonstrated in the past month to be nothing but a policy of futility, defeatism and retreat. Instead of attempting to convince GM of the militancy and the power of the union and its membership, they proceeded to convince GM of its respectability. With what results? GM slapped them in the face and proceeded to offer a contract it would not have dared propose in 1937.

Now to cap the climax the auto leadership calls upon Roosevelt to intervene! The same Roosevelt who said "A plague on both your houses" when the steel workers asked him to intervene in their fight with Tom Girdler, the same Roosevelt who condoned the Memorial Day massacre in Chicago, the same Roosevelt who calls in Stettinius and Knudsen, U.S. Steel and GM, Morgan and Du-Pont, to head the drive for "national defense."

In the name of "national defense" the CIO shipyard workers striking at the Federal Shipbuilding and Drydock Company, have been sold down the river by their top union officials and forced to return to work on the company's terms. Their president stated that this sell-out was necessary "to avoid charges of obstructing the national defense program." In the future anybody guilty of asking a nickel increase while the corporations are squeezing out millions of dollars of war profits will be called a "fifth columnist" and charged with obstructing the program of national defense.

Up to the Workers

It is up to the GM workers, the most militant group of men of the most militant union in this country, to cut through all this red tape, phoney statesmanship, and sugar-coated union busting program. It is up to them to take the lead again in pushing the automobile workers in this country towards their goal of economic security. This can be done by the same tactics and the same policy that won the great GM strike of 1937. No reliance on phony politicians, no reliance on false friends of labor, no reliance on chicken-hearted, cowardly top union officials. Reliance only on the union itself, and its strength and the militancy of its membership.

It was a militantly fought strike in 1937 that finally convinced the auto barons that the auto union was here to stay. It may be necessary to conduct another militant strike in 1940 to convince the same auto barons that the auto union is determined to survive and to go forward.

Behind the Lines

"Daily News" Heralds Coming Shift in U.S. Policy Toward Japan

by GEORGE STERN

A government cannot shift one of its key policies as fast as a newspaper can. But when important newspapers make such shifts it can be taken as an almost certain indication of the way the wind is blowing.

For ten years the bluntest partisan of an aggressive anti-Japanese policy by the U.S. has been the New York **Daily News**, largest-circulating paper in the country. Especially since 1937 the paper has been demanding an embargo against Japan and a long-range blockade backed up by the navy. Its famous slogan "Two ships for one" closed every Monday morning editorial warning the government that Japan and the Pacific, not Germany and Europe were the main concerns of Yankee imperialism.

Last Monday morning the News came out suddenly for a policy of "appeasement" with respect to Japan to checkmate the creation of a Berlin-Tokio axis directed against the U.S. after a German victory in Europe.

The News quotes the Chicago **Tribune**, paper owned by the influential Republican leader Col. Knox, as urging a policy designed to convert Japan from a potential enemy into a friend by letting it have its way in China and, if need be, in the Dutch East Indies.

"The United States may be able to help China more effectively by being polite to Japan than by persistently hurling threats and moral reproaches at Japan," the News said with characteristic cynicism. "If we keep on reproving Japan for what it is trying to do to China and keep on threatening a breakoff of trade with Japan, we may drive Japan into the German-Italian camp. That would make Japan more dangerous to us than it now is. If Hitler should win the war, and especially if he should grab the British Navy . . . we might easily find ourselves menaced with urgent trouble in the Atlantic and the Pacific at the same time. We can avert this by making friends with Japan . . ."

In effect, as the **News** went on to explain the next day, the U. S. has to try to be as Machiavellian as Germany and to avoid the "stumblebum diplomacy" displayed by Britain in the period preceding the outbreak of war. **"Diplomacy is preparation for war,"** the **News** said, and the idea is to proceed along that line without continuing a policy that can no longer be backed up with arms.

As the News said, it is a question of being "realistic." It is plain that the most serious observers in Washington have calculations on an Allied defeat in Europe. In their column on June 4, Pearson and Allen wrote that "a careful study of confidential war bulletins received by the Army and Navy gives no grounds for . . . optimism. In the bluntest language, it will take a military miracle to prevent overwhelming German victory, including occupation of London. And miracles in modern warfare occur on the side with the most tanks and plans."

Once this fact is accepted as the axis of American war policy, a total shift in strategy is to be expected. Organization of hemisphere defense means that the U.S. will embark on a lengthy and vast rearmament program, will descend with a heavy hand on all of Latin America, will probably seize or "take over" all foreign-owned bases and base sites — Greenland, Bermuda, the Dutch, French, and British West Indies—and will probably extract "grants" of base rights from Brazil and other Central and South American countries.

An unavoidable corollary of this policy is abandonment of Asia to Japan. This is what the News foreshadows. In the diplomatic preparation for war, we can now expect a wide tack in American policy toward Japan. And Japan, we may be sure, will not be long in taking full advantage of it.

GPU Assassins Still At Large in Mexico

The GPU gunmen who tried to murder Leon and Nathalia Trotsky on May 24 in Coyoacan, Mexico, are still at large.

To judge from press reports here, the Mexican police have been led off on a series of dodges which got them nowhere near the real perpetrators of the crime.

A few days after the attempted assassination, police descended upon the home of Diego Rivera, the Mexican painter, and arrested his chauffeur and seized a station wagon. The latter, it was darkly hinted, played some role in the attack on Trotsky's home.

Police Moves Absurd

This notion was so patently absurd that the police had to drop it after a few days. Rivera, once a political friend of Trotsky's and now an opponent, was not himself arrested. In a press interview, Trotsky characterized the suspicion against the painter as fantastic and stupid.

Later last week, police arrested two of Trotsky's secretaries and two other men who had come to the Trotsky household after the attack to offer friendly help. But this bit of shadow boxing also had to be stopped after a day. The two secretaries, in whom Trotsky publicly declared his complete confidence, were released. The fate of the other two was not reported.

In letters to police authorities, Trotsky openly charged that the GPU was responsible for the attack on his life. He branded as patently ridiculous the attempt of the Stalinists to make the charge that Trotsky himself had actually staged the machine-gunning of his own bedroom.

Just what, he asked, could Trotsky expect to gain from staging an attempt on his own life? What Stalin had to gain, on the other hand, was plain enough.

Hart Feared Dead

Sheldon Hart, young American secretary to Trotsky who was kidnapped by the would-be assassins, was gone without a trace. Trotsky told pressmen he had no reason not to have full confidence in young Hart whose life, he feared, was forfeit.

Trotsky was quoted as declaring that the men who tried to murder him were being sheltered by protectors in high places. He cited the role played by Lombardo Toledano, head of the CTM (Mexican Trade Union Confederation), in playing the role of public spokesman for the GPU in Mexico. He also did not exclude the possibility that the Gestapo, working with the GPU, had a hand in the attack.

Three Stalinist Alibis!

Here in New York, the Stalinist press has already produced three separate and mutually contradictory versions of the attempt on Trotsky's life.

The day after it occurred, the **Daily Worker** said Trotsky had tried to stage his own assassination, for mysterious purposes known only to the Stalinist editors.

When that didn't go down, they tried the idea that Mexican reactionaries and agents of American imperialism had pulled off the attack to help provoke American intervention in Mexico.

The final and crowning theory, advanced by the Stalinist **Freiheit**, was that Diego Rivera had tried to kill Trotsky because the 61-year old Bolshevik exile came between the painter and his wife!

But none of these faltering lies and contradictions can blot out the name of Stalin's GPU writ large across this almost-successful crime.

ST. PAUL LABOR WARNS AGAINST GOVERNMENT ACTS

(Continued from Page 1)

already developed" a move "under the guise of a national emergency," to nullify labor's gains, notably the Walsh-Healey Act and the Wage and Hour Act.

The central body's resolution pointed out that "it has been the experience of Labor that Labor-hating industrialists have always taken advantage of any national emergency to seek the destruction of the trade union movement through restrictive emergency laws and Presidential proclaimations."

In a second resolution the Trades & Labor Assembly concurred with a resolution recently passed by the New York Electrical Workers' Union, Local 3, denouncing the government's "anti-trust" persecutions of the trade unions as calculated to destroy the trade union movement here as it was destroyed "in the dictator nations of Europe." Washington, it said, **"is rapidly becoming a government by indictments and decrees."**

The Machine Means Different Things---Depends Who Owns It!

By ANTOINETTE KONIKOW

Mrs. Smith, my neighbor who always lived in the country, moved to town when her husband got work in a nearby factory. She likes to chat with me when we meet on the stairs, and expresses her delight with the modern improvements in her new home.

"What a relief to have a gas stove," she told me. "I remember how I used to slave carrying up coal and sifting ashes." Then she spoke about the sewing machine bought on the installment plan and how simply and quickly dresses for Mollie and Louise could be made. If only Charlie keeps his job, she plans to get a vacuum cleaner and her eyes shone at the joyous prospect, as she told me about it.

"Yes, this housekeeping machinery is certainly a help," I remarked.

"Help!" Mrs. Smith said, "why, it is a blessing. Caring for my five kids kept me constantly on my feet and my back always ached. Now I find time to rest and may even go to one of those meetings you always talk about."

BUT MACHINERY SEEMS A CURSE, TOO

A few days later, Mrs. Smith stopped again for a neighborly chat. Her face was not as radiant as the previous time. "Charlie told me last night that they have a new machine in his factory. It is a new fangled one that can do the work of five men, or rather any man can now do in one hour what used to take five hours."

I looked at her troubled face. "Why that ought to be fine for your husband. He will not have to work long hours. He will be home much earlier or will earn so much more."

Mrs. Smith did not appreciate my joke. "Why are you kidding me? You know what it means and I'm worried to death. Charlie explained it to me. Unless they expand the business, and that appears unlikely, four out of five men will lose their jobs and Charlie may be one of them."

I invited Mrs. Smith into my apartment and we continued our conversation. "We spoke only a few days ago of the blessings of machines you have at home. You, yourself, pointed out that they save you time and labor. Why should the new machine in the factory not do likewise for your husband?"

Mrs. Smith answered quickly, "The machines in my home are my own." "Just so," I agreed, "the machines in your home are yours and they are a blessing, but the machines in the shop belong to the boss and instead of a blessing they may mean your husband's unemployment. But while they seem a curse to the worker, they bring more profit to the boss. To him they are a blessing.

SOCIALISM WILL MAKE MACHINES A BLESSING TO EVERYBODY

In other words, the machine—a product of human ingenuity and progress—is a blessing to the one who owns it. If the machinery in the shop belonged to the workers, they would get more leisure and rest whenever a new, improved machine is introduced. That is exactly what we Socialists try to explain to the workers.

"A big machine in the factory cannot belong to one worker as your small sewing machine belongs to you. But it can belong to all the workers, or to a workers' state. Then every modern improvement in machinery instead of striking terror in the heart of a worker would be welcomed because it would ease their labor just as your little machines do at home."

Mrs. Smith was quite amazed. The comparison of machines in the factory and at home had evidently never occurred to her. Then she sadly shook her head. "It sounds right, but machinery belongs to the bosses and they would never permit workers to use it that way."

"Well," was my answer, "the workers in Russia succeeded in getting all the factories and mines and transportation in their hands. True it did not work out as it should have because workers of other countries did not follow their example. Also in Russia the workers were unable to stop a bureaucracy from grabbing power away from them. But the revolution in Russia proved it can be done and the experience of the workers there will teach the workers of the whole world how to avoid the mistakes made in Russia."

The machines have taught the workers a great deal. Because of large machines thousands of workers gather in one factory, they learn to organize into trade unions to protect their rights against the greedy capitalist. But while trade unionism is the first step to help the worker, it cannot solve the unemployed problem and many other problems, such as crises and war. Only ownership of the machines by the Workers' State will assure for the worker security of work and leisure. To achieve that task is the work of the Socialist Workers Party.

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"Youth Are Not Interested in Politics," . . .

by HARRY FRANKEL

In a recent forum, one political spokesman for the capitalist class emphasized the fact that the youth do not seem to be attracted to "politics." By "politics" he meant the grime and filth of the American two party system. The months and years to come will prove that this speaker understands very little of either the youth or politics. His mistake is that he tries to limit the choice of the youth to his own dirty pig pen. But no such limitation is possible. The deepening of the world crisis will attract the youth more and more to the **politics of the working class.**

For eleven years the youth of America has served as the pitiful and patient whipping boy for American capitalism. The worst sweat work, the most uncertain jobs, the odds and ends, the scraps and leavings from the meager table of the rest of the working class went to the youngsters.

The figures on this topic are always startling. Six or seven million young people without steady employment of any sort. Millions of sons and daughters of painfully impoverished working class families. Every year more than 500,000 new recruits for a growing army of hopelessness pour from the schools and tenements. Hundreds of thousands who bum their way from town to town. It is as though this whole generation were suddenly cut off by some huge blank wall from every possibility of productive labor for itself and for society.

The new world war comes as a fitting climax to this. The youth are to be torn to bits by some high explosive shell that they never even got a chance to manufacture. In huge quantities, America's most precious natural resource will soon be shipped off and floated across the water like logs to a sawmill. Capitalism can no longer make a profit out of our work, but it can make one out of our death.

Even now there are still those fond parents who delude themselves with the hope that in a broken trigger finger or in cultivated flat feet lies the hope for their son's safety. The lame and the crippled are those accounted the most fortunate today. But what are the prospects for those who are able to avoid the battlefield for a while and raise themselves on the bodies of the war dead to a job in America's factories? Here again, the youth of this country can see their fate clearly pictured in the European nations.

What Happened to Youth in England

When the war broke out, weekly hours leaped to 60 and over for boys and girls in English industry. Since that time, hours have been stabilized at 57 per week for children under 16 and 18 years of age, according to the recent report of the British Home Office as related in the **Manchester Guardian.** Night work for girls, not so long ago the most insidious enemy of British womanhood according to budding young orators for the Liberal Party, has been restored. This is going on in the land of the most advanced and deeply rooted social legislation in the capitalist world. The Factories Act has not been repealed. Its vital provisions are simply set aside by permits from the Home Office.

In the years when youthful British capitalism was piling up the surplus of wealth which gave it world domination, the most brutal exploitation of child and youthful labor was the rule. Stories of children driven half naked with cuffs and blows to the factories only to fall asleep at the loom were often uncovered by investigating commissions. Now, in its last years, English imperialist rule props itself up on the same supports. The only difference is that the Liberal Party orators say nothing today, while the Labor Party orators have entered the government and direct their rebukes to unpatriotic children!

This is the future that America's youth are offered by the bosses. When a world slaughter at last makes jobs available, they will be jobs at low wages and long hours—for some of us. For the vast majority of us the draft machine is already prepared to push us between the grinding millstones of the Western Front.

Do the forum lecturers and the bosses' apologists really believe that the youth will go through all this without going into "politics"? We know better. We know that the day is not far away when the young unemployed and young workers will find their way to the politics that will sweep from the earth the system which has caused them so much suffering. They will find the leadership for this task not in the "politics" of the two boss parties, but in the party of working class revolution—the Socialist Workers Party.

TWO GOOD WAR STORIES

J. Walden, member of the United Auto Workers Union, recalls two good war stories, which are now going the rounds of the labor press:

During the war the coal miners in Wales went on strike for more pay. After several weeks Lloyd George was sent to settle the strike because of his experience in fooling workers. He made a long speech about their patriotic duty to work long hours for short wages. When the miners remained grimly silent, he shouted: "How would you like to mine coal for the Kaiser?"

A little Welsh miner stood up and asked: "How much does the Kaiser pay for mining coal?"

Next day the strike was settled.

* * *

In Scotland a foreman was trying to scare a worker into going to war by telling him a German would come over and take his home and job:

The worker said: "If any German wants to pay rent on the shack I live in and work like a mule for you on this cheap job, he don't have to fight me, all he has to do is tell me."

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Fight with the Socialist Workers Party for:

1. A JOB AND A DECENT LIVING FOR EVERY WORKER.
2. OPEN THE IDLE FACTORIES — OPERATE THEM UNDER WORKERS' CONTROL.
3. A TWENTY-BILLION DOLLAR FEDERAL PUBLIC WORKS AND HOUSING PROGRAM.
4. THIRTY-THIRTY—$30-WEEKLY MINIMUM WAGE—30-HOUR WEEKLY MAXIMUM FOR ALL WORKERS ON ALL JOBS.
5. $30 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.

Enslaving Latin America

General George C. Marshall, Army Chief of Staff, has made very clear to us why Roosevelt wants authority from Congress to call the National Guard to active service at any time. Within the next month or two, the general said Tuesday, it is likely that American troops will be sent to other parts of this hemisphere to destroy "fifth columnists."

Elliott Roosevelt, the president's son, in a speech last Friday, May 31, at Athens, Texas, explained what "fifth columnists" are in Latin America. It boiled down to the fact that the leaders of the Mexican government have been scorning close cooperation with the United States.

"The time has come," he concluded, "for the people of Texas to educate the citizens of other States that we take adequate measures to make sure that Mexico shall remain a friendly nation and that she does not pay mere lip service to that friendship."

In a word, any Latin American nation which doesn't do what it is told by the United States is a "fifth columnist." And it had better do what it is told within the month's deadline laid down by General Marshall.

All previous moves by Yankee imperialism to subjugate its weaker neighbors pale into insignificance beside the present drive. All the resources of the hemisphere—and its manpower—are to be dragooned into the service of Washington. Any resistance will be labelled "fifth column."

All this, of course, in the name of the "war for democracy"!

Jehovah's Witnesses

The United States Supreme Court, in all its august majesty, has decided that the children of families belonging to a Christian religious sect, Jehovah's Witnesses, cannot go to public school. For this sect has as one of its tenets that no human should worship—that's what a salute is—a man-made thing, such as a flag. And the security of the country demands that the flag be saluted by all school-children.

In half a dozen cities of Texas and other places, adherents of this sect have been victims of Legionnaire mob violence in these days of war hysteria. For these Christians hold to the amazing doctrine that thou shalt not kill.

The action of court and mob against these pathetic believers is but a faint harbinger of the forces which government and bosses will attempt to let loose against the labor movement when, inevitably, the needs and rights of the workers come into conflict with the all-devouring needs of the war machine.

Stalinist Duplicity

As long as Stalin's alliance with Hitler continues, the pro-Ally Roosevelt government will continue to persecute the Communist party. Protesting against the blows aimed at them, the Stalinist leaders seek to secure support by asserting that they are the anti-war party and are being persecuted for that reason. And since genuine militants in the trade unions, and even religious pacifists, are being persecuted by the government, the claim of the Stalinsts has a surface plausibility—until one examines their unprincipled role in the trade unions.

Any workers' organization which is genuinely anti-war, genuinely fighting for the workers against the bosses and their government, would—as a minimum—oppose the "defense" program and its anti-labor consequences and oppose the collaboration of labor leaders on the defense boards. Yet here is the text of a telegram sent on May 19 to Roosevelt by the Stalinist leadership of the National Maritime Union:

"The National Maritime Union wants to make clear that its members and leaders are loyal Americans and as such are opposed to involvement in European wars.

"**We reaffirm our support of our government in building the national defense** so that the American people will be assured of adequate protection of our American democracy and American institutions.

"**Our union, its leaders and members, support this program, but in order to insure its fulfillment labor must, because of its importance, be represented on all boards and commissions dealing with completion of this defense program.** All protective labor and social legislation must be guaranteed."

This rotten, class-collaborationist telegram was printed in the **Daily Worker**, May 21, without a word of comment. Naturally, since it was probably written, not by fat-head Joe Curran who signed it, but by one of his chiefs at Stalinist headquarters.

Another example: read the Stalinist press on the SWOC convention. Lewis' lieutenant, Murray, rammed down the delegates' throats the most reactionary pro-war resolution yet presented to any CIO union. But there wasn't a peep from the "anti-war" Stalinists.

Another example: John L. Lewis' speech at the Amalgamated Clothing Workers convention. That was the occasion when Lewis hastily dropped all his previous anti-Roosevelt and anti-war talk, and spoke as what he is—a labor lieutenant of the capitalist class. Among the fouler things he said was:

"It is publicly known that labor is fully in accord with the necessity for national defense. . . .

"If the country wants the cooperation of labor to do the work of preparing for war, and in the event of war to do the necessary dying in the war, what is wrong with a little cooperation on policies?

"Even imperial England had to come to it, and surely democratic America can give labor adequate representation."

What imperial England came to, in sugar-coating its ruthless dictatorship with a few "Labor" stooges, the Stalinists knew very well. But this was John L. Lewis talking, the Stalinists are crawling on their bellies before him, and so you will find not a word of criticism of Lewis' speech in the Stalinist press.

Another example: the strike of the shipyard workers in Kearny, New Jersey. They were driven back to work empty-handed by the CIO leadership, in the name of the "defense" program. Among the skates who signed the statement to the press, sending them back for patriotic reasons, was the Stalinist, Leonard Goldsmith, Jersey CIO secretary. And not a word of criticism in the Stalinist press.

Another example: the futile appeal of the United Auto Workers leadership to Roosevelt, to intervene to prevent a strike, in the name of patriotism. Thereby the UAW leadership put the GM workers in the same trap as the shipyard workers were pushed into. But not a word of criticism from the Stalinists, for they are hand in glove with the UAW officials in this capitulatory move.

The Communist party an anti-war party? The Communist party defending the workers against the anti-labor consequences of the "defense" program? The record tells the opposite story.

The Apex Case

We are sorry, but we can't share the optimism of the CIO leadership about the meaning of the U.S. Supreme Court's decision in the Apex case on May 27.

The court held that the actions of Local 1 of the American Federation of Hosiery Workers in this particular instance—a sit-down strike against the Apex Company—were not in violation of the Sherman "anti-trust" Act. The court decided that no substantial evidence had been presented that the union restricted commercial competition in carrying out the strike.

BUT the court majority of six joined with the minority of three in sharp affirmation of the applicability of the Sherman Act to labor unions—and that is the real point at issue. This very Apex decision may be the basis of far-reaching judgments against unions in forthcoming cases.

Even in this particular instance the union involved will in all probability be struck serious blows by the courts. For the Supreme Court decision declared the union's actions entitled the company to damages under the state laws and as much as urged the company to file suit for damages in the state courts. Whereupon the company attorney announced he would immediately file suit for damages in the Pennsylvania courts.

In the light of these facts, it is a little hard to understand why Lee Pressman, CIO general counsel, called the decision "a notable victory." Even more difficult to understand is the fantastic assertion by Isadore Katz, the Hosiery Workers lawyer, that "This decision means that the threat of the Sherman Act against labor unions in strike cases has been removed."

The decision does nothing of the kind. Louis Stark, labor editor of the New York **Times**, was quite right when he summed it up as: "In line with its policy of 32 years the court ruled that the words of the anti-trust act 'do embrace to some extent and in some circumstances labor unions and their activities'." That's what the judges said, and that's what they intend to do. Empty boasting doesn't help labor; what is more, it may lull labor into illusory security, leaving the unions defenseless when the courts crack down.

N. Y. Cops and the Christian Front

By SAM MARCY

Taking the stand in defense of his fascist activities, John Cassidy, New York leader of the "Christian Front," has admitted in Federal Court that he had more than 500 police in his organization in the single borough of *Brooklyn alone.*

This must have come as a severe shock to workers and anti-fascists in New York. Many of them must have recalled that Mayor La Guardia had ordered an investigation into the police department with regard to membership in the "Christian Front" and that the investigation supposedly revealed that only about 400 police in the *entire city* had at "one time belonged" but now about 27 were still in its ranks. The mayor has done nothing about these fascist cops.

The mayor's reaction to Cassidy's revelation was confined to a statement that: "We must not be misled by subversive organizations or any other actions seeking to divide our people. Those creating hatred among the races and religions are not loyal to this country." Such fine moralizing will not drive the fascists back one inch! The thousands of workers who voted for La Guardia on the Labor Party ticket expected something more than mere sermons!

This attitude on the part of La Guardia is in sharp contrast to the one he takes whenever organized labor goes on strike. He showed it in his fight against the effort of the Transport Workers Union to preserve their rights when the city assumed operation of the subways.

WHY SO MANY COPS JOINED THE FASCISTS

Asked by the prosecution why such a huge number of police had joined his organization Cassidy replied that they joined because they were fearful of their jobs and for economic security and because "communists were trying to smear them."

It is, however, a notorious fact that the New York cops are among the highest paid in America that they are provided with pensions, vacations, and all sorts of extra services. La Guardia's economy axe which has cut so deeply into the living standards of poor civil servants, has left entirely intact the police department.

Why, then, did so many police really join the fascist "Christian Front?" The answer has been given in preceding articles in the **Socialist Appeal.** It is worth repeating in brief.

During the so-called era of prosperity, graft and corruption flourished in the city. It fed a constantly growing network of racketeers, gangsters and all sorts of underworld elements. But with the coming of the crisis it had to be eliminated as a measure of economy. The La Guardia administration made it its task to 'cleanse" the city. Everyone knew of the inseparable connection between the underworld and the police department; but to "cleanse" the latter publicly would discredit in the eyes of the masses the "forces of law and order."

Hence a different method was used—the method of attrition, quiet dismissals, resignation and retirement. The police force became very jittery with every new expose of the criminal underworld. A wave of suicides in the force totalled more than 100. With such a mood prevailing among the police, some one was bound to take up their defense. The Coughlin-Curran-Cassidy fascists had their connections with the cops. They knew their sentiments, and fears. They took up the cudgels for them. But they could not defend their case on the merits. Hence the insidious campaign of a "Jewish plot," "persecuting Catholic policemen," etc.

CHRISTIAN FRONT IS NOT ON TRIAL

A great many workers are under the impression that the trial of the 14 "Frontists" in Brooklyn Federal Court is a prosecution of the Christian Front as an organization. No greater illusion could be had on that score. The Christian Front is not under indictment and is not on trial. The crime with which the defendants are charged is not that of being fascists, or purveyors of anti-Semitism, or of organizers of assaults upon workers and their organization. As a matter of fact, hostility to the working class, its mass organizations, its press, and the spreading of the most virulent anti-labor propaganda, under the mask of "defending the United States against the Red" is the primary defense upon which the fascist defendants rely—and is conceded to be a virtue by the prosecution as well as the defense!

There is not the slightest reason to believe that the capitalist government cracked down on these 14 fascists because it wanted to fight fascism. The trial was staged not as a part of a struggle against fascism, but as part of a unified scheme carried out jointly by the FBI and the "anti-trust" Division of the Justice Department, as a supplement to their moves against the trade unions. The trial was conceived to give the appearance that the government was fighting both against the "left **and** the right."

But even this small sacrifice seems to be too much for the capitalist government. As the course of the whole trial nears its conclusion it becomes evident that the whole case is being converted into a farce.

The so-called conspiracy to "overthrow the government" is being shifted entirely on the shoulders of one man, Bishop, a relatively insignificant figure, who is being made the scape-goat while the real leader of the "Christian Front," Cassidy, is made extremely inconspicuous.

All of the jurors who are to try these defendants are residents of Brooklyn, where the Christian Front has the greatest number of members and is considerably aided by the Catholic hierarchy of the Brooklyn Diocese, whose organ, the "Tablet," has peen consistently taking the side of the defendants. The defense consists of very able and experienced Catholic attorneys, one of whom has been decorated by the Pope. Harold McKennedy, the prosecutor, is also a Catholic. The Catholic Hierarchy of New York has to date failed to express itself on the trials.

In all probability, some of the defendants will be acquitted, light sentences imposed on the others, while the scape-goat Bishop bears the brunt of attack. And the Christian Front will go right on.

The lesson of the Christian Front Trial is that only the working class, led by a militant revolutionary party, can successfully fight fascism.

Join the Socialist Workers Party

Subscribe to the "Fourth International"

In the World of Labor

By Paul G. Stevens

Gestapo Seizes Our Comrades In the Occupied Countries

Our German comrades have been hard-hit by the advance of the Nazi war machine. Norway, Belgium, Holland—these were centers from which our comrades were able to operate. They owed little thanks for that to the governments of these "democracies," which made life miserable for the German refugees and, above all, for the revolutionary refugees. Almost invariably our comrades had to operate in these countries under illegal conditions, concealing their identity.

When the Nazis came in, the Gestapo demonstrated its dread efficiency. Its stool pigeons appear to have had prepared lists of anti-Nazi Germans. In addition, however, they seem to have seized every German they could find. Let us hope that our comrades were seized primarily in the general dragnet and the Gestapo doesn't know just whom they have. Because of this hoped-for possibility it is necessary to conceal the names and number of comrades who were in those countries. All comrades and friends please take note.

French Trotskyists Sent to Prison by the "Democratic" Government

The French press reports that nine Trotskyists who were arrested on the 13th of February, were brought before the 2nd military tribunal presided over by Colonel Jammes on May 7th.

The following sentences were passed, for "activities of a nature to hinder national defense":

Charles MARGNE, post office employee, 5 years prison, 5,000 fr. fine; Pierre BOUSSEL, post office employee, 3 years prison, 1,000 fr. fine; Bruno NARDINO, student, 3 years prison, 2,000 fr. fine; Marie COSTE, post office employee, 3 years prison, 2,000 fr. fine; Mineille FOIRIER, teacher of physical culture, 2 years prison, 1,000 fr. fine; Suzanne SIMKHOVITCH, stenographer, 5 years prison, with reprieve; Jerzy MILNY-NARZ, tailor, 3 years prison, 100 fr. fine, with reprieve; Andre CORSET, student, 3 years prison, 200 fr. fine; Maurice GUIGNET, turner, 3 years prison with reprieve, 1,000 fr. fine.

Repressions, American apologists for the Allies have said, are being directed only against Russia's agents. This latest report, coupled with recent prosecutions of leaders of the PSOP—Socialist Party of Workers and Peasants—show what a fraud these apologies are. French "democracy" ferociously persecutes all militant workers.

Canada Outlaws "Communism"; Our Comrades Fight On

A Canadian comrade has sent some clippings showing the lengths to which the war-time dictatorship in Canada has already gone. Dated from Ottawa, May 15th, one article states:

"Communism came beyond the pale of the law throughout Canada today. . . .

"Under the broad powers of the Wartime Defense of Canada regulations, Mr. Justice E. R. E. Chevrier of the Ontario Supreme Court declared formally that the Communist Party of Canada is an illegal organization. . . .

"The regulation provides that once an organization has in such manner been declared illegal, not only are all persons continuing as members or officers deemed guilty of an offense against the regulations, but anybody advocating or defending the acts, principles and policies of such an organization is also guilty.

"The ban on Communism followed conviction and imprisonment of three Ottawa men on indictments charging publication and circulation of anti-war pamphlets tending to prejudice the safety of the state and efficient prosecution of the war."

The Socialist Workers League of Canada, section of the Fourth International, was unable to get a printer to publish its paper from the very first day of the war, and has been functioning on an illegal basis since then. But, despite all obstacles, they fight on.

Uruguay Adherents of 4th International Support Stand of SWP

A letter sent to the Emergency Conference of the Fourth International from Uruguay states:

". . . On the fundamental questions of the present historic crisis and the character of the Soviet Union we are in agreement with the theses of the Fourth International.

"Since the foundation of our group this has been our adopted position.

"Consequently **we are for the unconditional defense of the U.S.S.R.** Our position is not the result of a mechanical acceptance of the thesis but the product of our convictions after a study of the thesis and everything written since on the subject by Comrade L. D. Trotsky, and by others who oppose this view. . . ."

Black Colonials Call On British Masses to Revolt

The following manifesto was issued by the International African Service Bureau, the West African Youth League, the Colonial Seamen's Association and the Kikuyu Central Association (East Africa) to the British workers on May Day:

Amid the tragedies of war when the Imperialist classes of the Great Powers are initiating the common peoples—white, black, brown and yellow—in hatred against one another, we send on behalf of the toiling masses of the Colonial Empire fraternal greetings of International Solidarity to the British Workers.

We Africans and peoples of African descent, the victims of Imperialist exploitation and oppression denounce the belligerents in both camps.

We have not forgotten the shameful betrayal of Abyssinia—a conquest carried out with the connivance of so-called democratic France and Britain. Neither are we deceived by the hypocritical declarations of statesmen about "defense of small nations and international law."

We publicly proclaim that this war, like the last, is not being fought for the emancipation of Labor from the yoke of Capital, but for Imperialist aims—colonies, markets and sources of raw materials—iron ore, oil, rubber, etc.

Our profoundest sympathies go out to the victims of Nazi aggression, but what Hitler is doing today to civilized white peoples on the Continent of Europe is precisely what British and French and other Imperialists have been doing to the colonial races of Africa and Asia for centuries.

Europe is today paying the price for the injustices committed in the past to the so-called backward races of the world. It is time therefore, that white workers realize that as long as they permit their rulers to enslave others, they themselves cannot be free.

The workers of Britain will continue to be dragged into wars until such time as they, in unity with the colonial peoples, liquidate the evil system of Imperialism (democratic and fascist alike) and replace it by the Co-operative Socialist Commonwealth, from which war will be banished, and the good things of life produced for the common benefit of all—white, black, brown, yellow.

GEORGE PADMORE, General Secretary, International African Service Bureau.

JOMO KENYATTA, General Secretary, Kikuyu Central Association (East Africa).

CHRIS JONES, Colonial Seamen's Association.

WAL. DANIELS, West African Youth League.

Burnham Quits: Joins 'Intellectuals in Retreat'

"Labor Action," organ of the petty-bourgeois opposition which split in April from our party, regretfully notes this week that its leader James Burnham has severed all relations with his group and retired to private life. Having lost all confidence in the struggle against capitalism and the war, he sees, not socialism, but a new system of exploitation, "managerial society," as the next probable stage of society.

Thus ends Burnham's panicky flight from Marxism. In a document published by his group in April—just a few weeks ago!—this leader of the petty-bourgeois opposition characterized our views as "the politics of desperation." His own political orbit in the past nine months has resembled the desperate leap of a suicide from the top of a skyscraper. From a contestant to the political leadership of the Fourth International, he has become the victim of utter prostration.

Should Burnham plan to devote himself to the study of philosophy in retirement, he will find an excellent example of dialectical development in his own evolution into his opposite.

Burnham counterposed himself to us as an apostle of ideal morality. "I judge a political struggle morally as well as politically," he wrote in "Science and Style." By either standard or both, Burnham now stands condemned as a betrayer and exposed as a poseur and falsifier.

At every stage of his struggle against the Fourth International, Burnham pretended to be what he was not and falsely accused his opponents of his own crimes. While he glibly accused Trotsky of hiding his true views and refusing to discuss the main issues in dispute, Burnham himself deliberately withheld his real views on the Russian and all other questions, preferring to take cover behind Shachtman's less fully developed formulations. Such was his devotion to truth!

Burnham claimed just the other day to be one of "the best soldiers in the army of the third camp." He pretended to lead his followers, especially, the misguided youth, forward to the fight against war and for Socialism, while he had lost faith in that fight and was actually preparing to quit it. Finally, he waited until he had tried to inflict the maximum damage upon our party, until he had consummated a split in its ranks and launched his own organization, before apprising anyone of his intention to desert.

In our opinion, there are no more appropriate terms for such contemptible behavior than duplicity, betrayal, cowardly surrender. What scurvy tricks this arch-moralist played upon all those who reposed confidence in him!

One of Burnham's assertions at least still holds true. His brand of morality, his politics, his course, is not ours.

As is their custom in these matters, Burnham's co-leaders of "the third camp" treat his conduct as a purely individual aberration. Burnham's ideas, they now admit, only rehash the old reactionary arguments of other "intellectuals in retreat." But his co-leaders shared and still hold to Burnham's principal differences with the methods and program of the Fourth International. Burnham was their real head, the author of their theories and their documents. His newest theories and his latest action only draw the final conclusions from their opposition to Marxist ideas and their break with Bolshevism.

Burnham's desertion is a warning sign of the disintegration of the petty-bourgeois opposition he headed. To those of his former followers who remain confident of the workers' capacity to realize socialism under the leadership of Bolshevism, we say: Answer Burnham's renegacy by returning to the ideas and banner of the Fourth International.