

STALIN STILL HITLER'S VASSAL, WRITES TROTSKY

(The following statement was issued by Leon Trotsky to the United Press.)

Molotov's latest speech confirms that the Kremlin continues to be a satellite of Berlin and Rome. The Communist leaders in various countries have calmed their parties with promises that tomorrow if not today Moscow will turn towards the "democracies." Molotov's speech belies these promises. Five years of "anti-fascist" Peoples Fronts are definitely unmasked as charlatanism. Moscow's foreign policy is determined by power politics and not by political principles.

Molotov, it is true, tried to cover the present Kremlin policy with anti-imperialist phraseology. But its falseness strikes one's eyes. Molotov unmasked England's wish to retain her colonies. But he kept silent about Germany's and Italy's wish to take them. He spoke about the imperialism of Japan and the United States but he didn't find a word of condemnation for Hitler's banditry and Mussolini's jackal politics. Even more, he underlined for the first time that the German-Soviet pact assured free hands to Hitler. This unilateral and thoroughly sham "fight" against imperialism only reveals that Moscow's politics is not independent but serves the interests of one imperialism against the other.

An increase in population of 23,000,000 doesn't solve the problem of the security of the USSR. The victory of Hitler-Mussolini over Great Britain would immediately place the move towards the east on the order of the day for German imperialism. It would at once become clear that in following the line of least resistance the Kremlin oligarchy only accumulated difficulties and dangers.

Coyoacan, D. F.

August 2, 1940

SUP Head Fights Conscription Bill

SAN FRANCISCO—Faced with new reverses in West Coast maritime unions, the local Stalinists last week jumped off the deep end, launching against Harry Lundeborg a slander campaign of such far-fetched stupidity that it is making them the laughing-stock of the waterfront.

Specifically, the *Voice of the Federation*, organ of the Stalinist-controlled Bridges machine, charged the militant leader of the sailors with backing the Burke-Wadsworth conscription bill!

In the most barefaced double-column libel imaginable, the *Voice* declared that Lundeborg was appointed to a local committee to seek passage of the bill, with Roger Lapham of the shipowners and head of the American-Hawaiian Steamship Co. as the probable committee chairman.

Instantly denied and readily disproved, this charge serves only to spotlight the desperation of the Stalinist waterfront machine. The case provides a matchless example of the depths to which these political bankrupts have been driven.

Tossing to the winds the last vestige of sanity, the *Voice* declared:

"Harry Lundeborg is one of the backers of the Burke-Wadsworth conscription bill, which would draft thousands of maritime workers into the army at wages of \$21 a month.

"Lundeborg was named to a local committee to urge passage of the bill after a secret conference

of retired army men and industrial big-shots in Washington, D. C. two weeks ago."

Contacted at New Orleans, Lundeborg immediately denied the ridiculous charge.

The moronic slander of the *Voice* continued:

"Lundeborg's appointment to the committee was made July 25th from Washington, D. C., where he has been for the past several weeks, ostensibly on union business.

"Also serving on the local committee with Lundeborg will be Major-General Leonard E. Wood and other army and industrial leaders.

"But the discovery that Roger Lapham is being boosted for the chairmanship of the committee was made only after a conversation with Mack Lillenthal, local organizer of the committee. Lillenthal is a Montgomery street broker with offices in the swank Russ building."

The *Voice* quoted Lillenthal's secretary saying: "Mr. Lundeborg is serving on the committee to help pass the Burke-Wadsworth bill."

When the time for retractions comes, the Stalinist hacks will discover a little mistaken identity, with the phone book full of Lundeborgs, or some such hokuspokus.

The fact of the matter remains that these stooges bannerlined a "Lundeborg Sell-Out" which did not and could not exist.

Behind the Lines

A Change in Hitler's Time— Table of Blitzkrieg

by GEORGE STERN

The fact that Hitler has delayed the invasion of England has given rise to widespread speculation over whether the delay does not mean an indefinite postponement. Both the German and Italian press have in the last few weeks given strong indications of a postponement or at least have seemingly tried to encourage that idea. This may simply be their way of trying to disorient the British and create the kind of confusion which has turned out really to be Hitler's "secret weapon."

However this may be, the very fact that the invasion did not, as expected, follow right on the collapse of France, has had a number of important objective results.

First of all, the time factor has become infinitely more important. Had Hitler struck in mid-June, he would have had two and a half months' time before the fogs and bad weather set in over the English Channel. This time has now been cut by more than half. Unless Hitler has reason to think he can do the trick in less than a month or unless he believes his war machine can be indifferent to the coming weather change, the strategic moment for the invasion has seemingly all but passed.

Secondly, it has given the British up to now nine additional weeks to prepare for the blow. In June their army had just come back reeling from Flanders, was without equipment and no doubt totally without organization. These weeks have assuredly not been enough for the British

to close any appreciable part of the gap between their armed strength and Germany's, but they have been enough, possibly, for the British to marshal to best effect such means of defense as they have.

Thirdly, the delay in the invasion has had effects of prime importance in this country. When France collapsed the administration in Washington, like virtually everybody else, wrote Britain off. The plans in mid-June to send planes and destroyers to England were abandoned. The government embarked instead upon a program based wholly on the promise of complete German victory in Europe.

Now the picture has apparently changed. The chorus of those demanding return to the destroyer-plane idea is swelling. Leading newspapers like the *N. Y. Times* and *Herald-Tribune*, and such figures as General Pershing, are insisting with increasing volume that American aid to Britain now is feasible and should be extended at once. The feeling has revived that Britain has a good chance to survive the summer and by that token, perhaps, to survive the war itself by outlasting the Germans.

Should the Nazi invasion of England fail to eventuate this summer the perspective of a long war is automatically restored. In that event, the main theater of operations is certain to shift to the Mediterranean and Africa with an important sideshow going on in the Far East. In all three of those areas no quick decision is possible.

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CONSCRIPTION DEBATE OPENS LABOR'S VOICE STILL UNHEARD

Our Own Kind of Military Training!



Military Training--- Under Union Control

There is today a great wave of popular opposition to the conscription bill now being debated in Congress.

Despite the wishes of the many-millioned opponents, however, it is easy to predict with certainty that they will be defeated, unless the fight against conscription takes an entirely different form than the one given to it by Senators Wheeler and Vandenberg, John L. Lewis and William Green.

Let us ask ourselves: Why do millions of workers and farmers oppose conscription? It is not because they are pacifists. Pacifism has never had a strong hold on any section of the masses; it is too unreal, too cowardly a doctrine. Every worker who has been on strike and on the picket line knows that pacifism won't work.

Nor do the workers and farmers object to handling a gun and learning the fundamentals of military training. This country has millions upon millions of workers and farmers who own their own guns, love to shoot, want to learn more about it.

Nor do these men take fright at the thought that they might have to fight for their lives against other armed men. They know the kind of world we live in today. Many of them have had to risk their lives on the picket line to defend their jobs. These men would be willing not only to learn how to handle a gun, but to use that gun, in defense of their rights.

So, when they oppose conscription, it's because they have no faith that the army they will be conscripted into is going to fight for the interests of the workingmen and women of this country. They're not what you'd call radicals; but they know that Wall Street runs the army and navy, and that Wall Street will be the beneficiary of the coming war and not the people.

Wheeler's counter-proposal to conscription is, therefore, no better to the workers and

farmers than conscription, for either way they'll end up in the army.

The genuine opponents of conscription must, therefore, find a real alternative to propose.

There is one. It is **COMPULSORY MILITARY TRAINING UNDER THE DIRECT CONTROL OF THE TRADE UNIONS.**

Not in the anti-democratic atmosphere of the barracks, but in the workers' atmosphere of his trade union, is the place for a worker to undergo military training.

A worker should learn the military arts under the disciplined but comradely direction of fellow-unionists, and not under the orders of a boss-minded army officer who breathed in hatred of the workers as part of his West Point schooling.

Let the federal government provide the necessary funds, facilities and technical instructors, but let the unions keep firm control of the actual military training program.

Men who have been outstanding in the unions as officers, shop stewards, active militants—these can be trained as officers in Workers' Plattsburgs. There are hundreds of thousands of such men who can be named by the unions.

They, in turn, can act as officers in a union-controlled military training program which can include every physically-able man in the trade unions. In addition, the unions can attract millions of the youth, the unemployed and the unorganized, who would not enlist in the army, but who would willingly undergo military training under the trade unions.

This, then, should be Labor's answer to conscription! It is a positive answer, a bold answer, and a practical program.

It should, it must, become the program of the trade union movement of this country!

CIO and AFL Merely Echo Demagogues Like Wheeler

Proposed Alternative of "Voluntary Enlistment" Is No Better Than Conscription; Workers Want Neither

Debate opens in Congress on the question of conscription. It is a great, historic moment. Amid the tumult and the shouting, the line-ups become clear.

The dominant sections of the ruling class want conscription and, accordingly, the parties of the capitalist class, the Republicans and Democrats, are obediently supporting the Burke-Wadsworth conscription bill. That was already symbolized by the bi-partisan sponsorship of the bill by Burke (Democrat) and Wadsworth (Republican). That is now underlined by the 13-3 vote for the bill by the Senate Military Affairs Committee.

The minority sections of the capitalist class oppose the bill. One section, for whom Lindbergh is speaking, do not so much oppose the bill as utilize this occasion to propose a different foreign policy. Instead of a war against Germany, for control of the world, the Lindbergh group wants to collaborate with Germany in ruling the world. Though a relatively small group today, this one has powerful financial backing; and at a later stage of developments may seek to dictate the foreign policy of the country.

The other opposition group, represented by such figures as Senators Wheeler, Norris and Vandenberg, is a heterogeneous affair. Norris speaks for Mid-west business and the more prosperous farmers—the elements which, though reactionary themselves, are resentful of the Wall Street and Eastern interests who are dictating Washington policy. How "anti-war" Norris is, is shown by his votes for the armament bills and for sending the National Guard into active service. Wheeler of Montana, tool of Anaconda copper, and Vandenberg of Michigan, a vicious anti-labor figure, are playing a demagogic game, exploiting for what it's worth the popular opposition to conscription, and prepared to give way to conscription quickly enough.

Wheeler Agrees To "Compromise"

That is already evident from Wheeler's announcement that he will support Senator Mahoney's proposed "compromise": a bill providing for a gigantic drive for mass enlistments and, after a certain date within a few months, if the enlistment drive has not secured the required number of soldiers, the automatic enactment into law at that time of the conscription system.

The Mahoney bill is not a compromise at all; it is the conscription bill plus a face-saving device for the "opposition". Yet it has already been endorsed by practically all the Senators and Congressmen who have labelled themselves "anti-conscription!"

In reality, therefore, the entire capitalist class and its political agents are all in favor of the principle of conscription.

There is no real debate. There will be some speeches in Congress, but it will be a sham battle.

And where is the labor movement in this? It appears in the picture only as an appendage to the Wheeler-Vandenberg "opposition." For the CIO, John L. Lewis announces himself "in full agreement with Senator Wheeler on this thing." William Green's statement for the AFL wasn't issued until Monday of this week—a little late to be rallying the AFL membership!—and was as milk-and-water as it could be.

The AFL-CIO statements offer nothing more than the Wheeler-Vandenberg position. Neither of these great labor organizations even demanded the right that its own spokesmen appear at the Senate committee hearings on the conscription bill! Presumably Anaconda's Wheeler and Henry Ford's Vandenberg were considered to be the spokesmen of the trade unions!

That reveals the cold truth: Lewis and Green and the other top officials of the AFL and CIO are just going through the motions of registering their opposition to conscription. Their opposition is no more serious than that of Wheeler and Vandenberg.

If the CIO and AFL leadership were serious in their opposition to conscription, they would be proposing a more firm alternative to conscription than "voluntary enlistment." They are saying that mass enlistments will provide the number of men required. If enough pressure can be gotten up to push that many men into the army by enlistment, what's the difference between the two methods of swelling the army by the addition of millions of young workers?

A Real Labor Alternative!

A real working class program would not agree to creating such an army. A program which really considered the interests of the labor movement would seek a working class alternative to conscription by the capitalist state.

There is such an alternative. It has nothing in common with the whining pacifists—who are also calling for enlistment as an alternative to conscription. It is based on a realistic understanding of the fact that, in this epoch of militarism and war the working class must learn all there is to know about military science.

But to master the military arts does not have to be done under control of the capitalist state and its reactionary army officer caste. Military training? Yes. But under control of the trade unions!

That should be the basis of the opposition to the Burke-Wadsworth conscription bill and any other bill the capitalist parties may offer for military training!

STALINISTS CRY "ALIEN" AT CAFETERIA LOCAL 302 MAN

Communist Party "strategy" in the unions hit a new low when the Stalinist faction in the Cafeteria Employees Union, Local 302 (AFL) raised the astounding cry of "alien" against a leading militant, at the general membership meeting July 29.

The meeting was about to elect three delegates to the State Federation of Labor convention, the state conference of culinary locals and the Union Label Trades Congress, all being held at Niagara Falls August 18-21.

Having recently lost to the progressives a by-election for the presidency of the union, a forerunner of certain defeat in the regular elections for all offices in December, the Stalinists had made a desperate attempt to rally all their forces for the election of delegates. Party members and fellow travelers employed on night shifts were instructed to take the day off. Despite all efforts, however, the declining Stalinist forces were in a hopeless minority when the meeting opened.

It was clear that the "United Orange Ticket" was going to fol-

low up its success in electing the new president, William Kinchelec, with the election of its slate of delegates—Larry Phillips, Progressive Group Leader, Jose Garcia of the Spanish Workers Club, and Stanley Mesevich, younger brother of the former president, to whom the Orange Ticket threw its support when President Kinchelec declined to run. The Stalinists had nominated two of their people and, as a third delegate, had "cleverly" named President Kinchelec; but the latter, stating that he would not permit the simultaneous absence of all general officers, withdrew and thus checked the Stalinist stratagem to elect their nominees upon the president's prestige.

Whereupon, as a last resort, Shirley Fields, one of the Stalinist leaders, took the floor—to protest the candidacy of one of the Orange Ticket on the grounds that he was a non-citizen! President Kinchelec ruled her out of order, but she insisted on taking the floor to elaborate upon her reactionary theme. Her second attempt was

put down with brusque finality. Then the vote was taken and the Orange slate swept through. For Kramberg, Stalinist faction leader, who was one of those running, it was the first defeat for any position in the union.

A not-so-strange sidelight on the non-citizen issue is that the object of the Stalinist attack, since breaking with the Stalinists two years ago, has been frequently harassed by immigration authorities.

Profoundly significant of the healthy temper of the union's active membership was its utter disregard of the "alien" issue and its election of the member in question.

AUTO WORKERS! CONVENTION STORY IN NEXT ISSUE

A complete eyewitness report and analysis of the Auto Workers Union convention which has just closed in St. Louis will appear in next week's issue of the SOCIALIST APPEAL.

Don't miss this authoritative article on the most important union in the country!

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.

RUSSIANS FIRST HINTED CHANGE OF C. P. LINE

EDITOR:

I wish to call attention to an oversight in your article in the July 13 APPEAL on the tentative gropings of the Communist International toward a position of "critical" support of Anglo-American imperialism. The first indication of the changing line was not Amter's speech which you cited, but an article in the organ of the Russian Young Communist League, which appeared two days before Amter's speech. The Russian article was summarized by the New York Times (June 15) and printed in full by the Daily Worker which, realizing its importance, gave it a front-page splurge.

It purported to be a letter written by a French soldier from the front. The "letter" signaled the beginning of a switch to national defensism. "We sons of the French people must defend the fatherland," it said. "The difficult struggle must be carried on on two fronts—against those who betrayed the French people and are now planning disgraceful capitulation." It was only after he got this signal from the Kremlin that Amter made his speech claiming that Soviet occupation of the Baltic was "objective aid to France."

Paterson, N. J.

P. S.

Our correspondent is right. It was an oversight on our part not to have noticed that the Moscow dispatch preceded the first hint of a new line in the DAILY WORKER. In general, it may be said that over long periods of time the Stalinist leadership in the United States and elsewhere knows as little about Moscow's intentions as any of us. The Kremlin bureaucracy prefers not to let its lackeys know its tentative plans; and the lackeys dare not ask. Only when the Kremlin has definitely embarked on a new course are the national "sections" notified.

Even then, they are not told everything which the Kremlin proposes to do along the new course. A comical example of this situation was provided during the first week or two after the Stalin-Hitler pact was announced. Browder and the DAILY WORKER were caught unawares. But of course they said it was fine. Then they swore that the pact would contain the "usual clause"; it did not. They said it "brought peace"; two days later came the war. They declared it would not involve a change of line; but within two weeks they were throwing the "Popular Front" line overboard. And so forth.

The Stalinist lackeys are thus in the awkward position of having to guess in advance what their master is up to, in order to be able to make the necessary shift more skillfully when it comes. At the same time they dare not move in advance of their master in the Kremlin. Hence the spectacle of the Stalinist press these days: aware of some new skulduggery being worked up in the Kremlin and therefore anxious to pave the way for a new turn; but at the same time repeating the old line and mixing it up with hints of the new.—EDITORS.

PRO-WAR TREND GROWING; WHAT CAN BE DONE?

EDITOR:

A recent Fortune Magazine poll of American war sentiment concluded that more than two and a half times the number of Americans desire aid to the Allies, as compared with the number last winter. Other figures also show that American sentiment to aid the Allies is rising.

Our enemies, it is plain, are active in whipping up war sentiment—they crystallize opinion, spread propaganda in press, radio, etc., leading the people to think we have a stake in this war.

Albert Goldman's recent article in the APPEAL, on "How the Workers Can Fight Hitlerism", shows that "democratic" countries aren't any better in general than fascist countries. Goldman ends with: "The workers must begin the struggle against their own capitalism." But what concrete steps can we, the masses, take to combat capitalism and establish a Socialist United States for the workers' benefit?

There are many people in the same boat as I am, who agree with the 12 planks the Socialist Workers Party stands for. We aren't active in helping your party, for there is no breakdown into small, concrete units of the work we might do. By the time Goldman's education and organization of the American masses "for the kind of intervention that will really benefit the workers of this country as well as the workers throughout the world" (June 17 article) gets going, the War Lords will have sold the U. S. masses another war. We have a race against great odds. A small poor (in funds) minority group is tackling a well-oiled machine.

A. G.
Bronx, New York.

It is all too true that the war mongers have tremendous resources at their disposal and that their propaganda instruments are far more powerful than anything that our revolutionary party can mobilize. But as powerful as the ruling class seems to be it is not at all unbeatable. What appears to be impossible now can easily occur within a comparatively short time. Remember that the Russian Czar looked very powerful several years, or even several months, before the revolution showed how weak the Czarist regime actually was.

There is no royal road to the socialist revolution. An individual who is anxious to solve the problems of the working class and agrees with our program is obligated to join our party and help us educate the working masses. There is no other method. To work within the trade unions and wherever there are workers, for the purpose of educating them to a realization of the true solution of their problems, and of getting them to struggle on all fronts is the only thing that can be effective at the present moment. In this period of reaction, it is difficult. The difficulties, however, do not scare any revolutionist.—EDITOR.

BOY SUICIDES CRIST TO HEARST'S MILL

EDITOR:

Last August, Southern California learned of the suicide by hanging of a 14-year-old Mexican boy, Benjamin Moreno, inmate of Whittier State School for Boys.

Last Tuesday Edward Leiva 16, hanged himself with a bed sheet rope which he coiled through the ventilator screen in the ceiling of his cell.

Had this not been an election year, the tragic deaths of these two Mexican boys might have gone quite unnoticed. But Billie (the Rat) Hearst, on the alert for ammunition for smear campaigns against his political rivals in Sacramento, saw great possibilities in the boys' deaths.

The workers of Los Angeles know Hearst too well not to see through his fake humanitarianism. They also realize that 54 years of Republican administrations in California, which were supported by Hearst, did not create better conditions at Whittier and such places than has the present Democratic administration.

The real lesson of this tragedy is to smash any illusion about the Democratic administration and its predecessors. The workers must place the blame for this where it belongs, on the decaying capitalist system which, by giving rise to racial discrimination, first forced the two Mexican boys into a life of "crime," and then allowed politicians to so run its "institutions" that the inmates prefer to kill themselves.

Los Angeles, Calif.
CARL BECKER

Jersey Okie Says Conditions Here Are As Bad As in the South

EDITOR:

According to the newspaper, at the recent Congressional hearings in New York on the conditions of agricultural labor in the North, mayors, governors and businessmen united in saying that there was no problem in northern agricultural areas.

Well, I am one of the tens of thousands of agricultural workers who work on the truck farms of New Jersey, Pennsylvania and Delaware who were not invited to testify. If I had been invited to testify I could tell a few things that would contradict the other testimony.

Thousands of workers come up from the South every Summer to

work in the fields. Many others, including myself, live in the big cities of the North. When Summer comes the relief authorities cut down on our relief to make sure that we will go to work on the farms.

I work on a farm that employs 1200 men, women, and children, near the town where I live. When I went to ask for work a few weeks ago, the foreman asked me how many was in my family that could work. I told him and then he asked if I didn't have another child. Though we are bad off, I don't want my youngest daughter, age eleven, to go into the fields. The foreman insisted that he was short-handed and if the

others in the family wanted work we would have to include the young girl.

So we were hired, and every morning at 5:30 a truck is sent to the neighborhood for us and about 25 others to bring us to the fields. Twelve or fourteen hours later we are brought home more dead than alive after having toiled bent over under the hot sun. Though the owner is a good Christian and goes to church every Sunday, he sees nothing wrong in having us work all day Sunday.

We are paid at the magnificent rate of 17-20 cents an hour (minimum wage laws as well as most other labor legislation do not apply to agriculture). Accidents and occupational diseases are more prevalent than in most factories but we lack the protection of workmen's compensation laws.

S., N. J.
A FIELD HAND

New Jersey in the 1940 Elections

II.

"THE GRAND OLD PARTY"

Unlike the dull Democratic primaries where only Hague candidates have a chance, Republican primaries are heated affairs which in recent years have shown the existence and nature of two important wings.

The "Clean Government group" took over the party in 1937 after denouncing the "Regular Republican" practice of collaborating with the Hague machine (and worse yet—sharing the spoils with it). The primaries last May showed they still had control when their candidate, Hendrickson, decisively defeated Hoffman for the nomination for Governor.

The primaries not only showed who was boss, but how little the groups differ in program. In control of the Legislature for several years, the party is responsible for what it has done and failed to do. But it was only about the spoils they argued, and about personal accusations, and about the charge that Hague secretly supported Hoffman, and not about —

THE G.O.P. RECORD ON RELIEF. Highlights of the Republican relief administration are:

Lower state appropriations each year since 1936; a steady increase in the municipalities' share in state relief costs which, because most municipalities are bankrupt, means a penny-pinching policy; and still lower standards for the jobs; investigating committees set up to convince the public that the less spent on relief and the more spent "to ferret out the chiselers", the better for everyone, including "the unfortunate people who really need relief"; instructions to municipalities to deny relief to strikers; orders that local administrators cease "recognizing" and dealing with union committees seeking relief for their members; the residence law denying relief to people in the state less than five years, which has resulted in many deportations, especially of colored workers back to the South.

In Congress U. S. Senator Barbour gave the party line on WPA by supporting the Roosevelt-Woodrum bill which cut wages, lengthened hours and abolished the union rate of pay, and by consistently voting for the lowest figure proposed every time WPA funds were being appropriated.

THE G.O.P. RECORD ON LABOR LEGISLATION. The number of progressive labor bills passed by the Republican Legislature is easily added up: there wasn't one. True, a state Wagner act, a state wage-hour law, anti-injunction bills, and acts regulating and taxing homework were introduced by Republican "friends of labor". But that was only so that some Republicans could have the basis for asking labor support for the party ticket. The fact is that none of them was passed—and for this the Republican party as a whole deserves the responsibility.

THE G.O.P. RECORD ON NEGRO LEGISLATION. What's good for labor is good for the colored people. That is, before elections, there are long speeches against Jim Crow. At elections one or two Negroes are put on the ticket to get out the colored vote. After elections a Negro legislator is permitted to introduce a few bills against discrimination. A few

thousand dollars are appropriated to investigate discrimination. Thus "the record is made" and they have something "to point to with pride". Then they bury the bill in committee, they stifle the investigating committee, they give a couple of colored men jobs as janitors, and let it go at that.

Another recent dispute shows that the inner G.O.P. arguments are not over policy:

During the primary fight the Regulars asked for support from the unemployed because the proposal to deprive relief clients of their right to vote had come from Colonel Glover, relief investigating committee director, and Essex Senator Zink, both leading Clean Government men.

Clean Government won the primaries—and the Regulars issued a statement promising them full support in the general elections! (Forgotten now is their explanation about what a vote for the Clean Government ticket means.)

After the primaries, Mudd, a Regular leader, announced his faction's proposal for the jobs: refuse relief to all able-bodied men who would not enlist in the Army.

In the uproar over this, Clean Government pretended great horror. But when they reorganized the state relief body shortly afterward, replacing Mudd as director with one of their own men, they appointed Mudd assistant director—at the same salary he had before!

Recently Barbour has attacked Cromwell as a war-monger, and by two resolutions he has introduced in Congress has sought to build himself up as "an advocate of peace". What do these resolutions say?

SJ Res. 286 amends the National Guard mobilization bill to permit exemption for dependency and other reasons similar to those in the proposed conscription bill. In other words, Barbour doesn't "quite" go along, he introduces a few miserable changes and seeks the anti-conscription vote without himself coming out against the conscription bill.

SJ Res. 287 limits to one year the period under which civil liberties and wage-hour restrictions may be suspended by the President under declaration of national emergency. Barbour is not against a dictatorship at home while soldiers die abroad "for democracy", but he wants it for only a year at a time. He is not against the M-Day laws, which permit the President to increase hours and cut wages, thus wiping out overnight the hard-fought gains of labor—but he is for them only a year at a time!

Behind this small change stuff, Barbour is as much for the war as Cromwell. He calls himself a "big Navy isolationist", that is, he thinks the Western Hemisphere is enough territory for Wall Street to get fat on at present. And so he has voted for every war appropriation and anti-labor bill passed this year. Once he has voted for the arms, how can he vote against conscription to provide men to use the arms? Once he has helped establish the war-size Army and Navy and the M-Day dictatorship, how can he tell the dictator how long to hold power? Obviously, Barbour's peace pose is a phoney bid for stray votes.

(A third article on the New Jersey elections will appear next week.)

6-Hour Day Would Boost Steel Employment One-Third

By FARRELL DOBBS

The stubborn fact remains that 30,000 steel workers have already lost out in the industry and the jobs of thousands more are immediately threatened. Technological change is wreaking havoc among the steel workers. Decisive action by the Steel Workers Organizing Committee is demanded to find a solution.

Last April Phillip Murray, SWOC Chairman, outlined his program before the Monopoly Committee of Congress. He proposed that provisions be made through collective bargaining between the union and the corpora-

tions for six month's advance notice to workers who are to be displaced through technological change. During this period they would receive vocational training for other jobs. He further proposed that job compensation be paid where the new job, if found, is at a reduced rate of pay. A dismissal wage was advocated where a displaced worker is not reabsorbed in another job.

"This practical plan is not offered as the final solution. . . . Murray told the Monopoly Committee. . . . Congressional regulation of the introduction of large technological changes is necessary." These regulations, he suggested, should make it compulsory for the corporations to pay a dismissal wage. The federal government would be required to provide for a vocational training program. Measures would be instituted to have industry immediately absorb the displaced workers.

Six month's advance notice and a dismissal wage would be a distinct improvement over the present situation. The steel worker today finds himself dismissed or short notice with little or no funds at his disposal. He is soon broke and becomes dependent upon a governmental relief allowance if and when he can get it.

MURRAY'S PROGRAM OFFERS NO SOLUTION

The dismissal wage would, however, not be a retirement fund. The corporation would fight to make it a very small sum. When it had been used up the unemployed steel worker would be right where he is now when discharged—broke and fighting to get relief.

Vocational training for other jobs would have little meaning. The trend is towards a reduction in available jobs. Technological change curtails the number of existing jobs far more than it creates any new jobs. The chances for employment outside the steel industry are equally slim. The latest CIO report on unemployment estimates that there are almost 11 million workers now looking for jobs. A few of the displaced steel workers would find employment under this arrangement, but it is no solution for the many.

The sliding scale of wages and hours is the fundamental approach to the problem of unemployment. The maximum hours of work should be reduced immediately to a point where jobs would be made available for all steel workers presently unemployed. Thereafter, the hours of work should again be reduced to compensate for any further curtailment of jobs because of new technological changes. The hourly rate of pay should be automatically increased whenever the hours of work are reduced so that the workers will suffer no loss in their total wages. The union should fight also for additional pay increases in order to raise the workers' standard of living.

Murray timidly touches this point, in his statement to the Monopoly Committee that the

maximum work week in the basic mass producing industries should be reduced to the level of approximately 30 hours a week at the prevailing earnings or more. However, Murray has resisted all proposals to fight for this objective.

The slogan of the 6 hour day at 8 hour's pay has been repeatedly discussed in the SWOC. If put into effect it would be a long stride towards a solution of the problem of unemployment in this industry. Almost one-third more jobs would be added.

There was a great deal of sentiment for this program among the delegates at the Chicago convention of the SWOC. The union administration side-stepped the issue by declaring it "impractical at the present time." They proposed instead a national unemployment conference of leaders of government, industry, labor and farm groups. In other words—no action.

It is not hard to understand how officialdom was able, at the SWOC convention, to veto any action. There were about 200 SWOC organizers present. All but a handful of them were there as delegates. Nearly a third of those participating in the convention were, therefore, hired hands of the administration. Experienced parliamentarians can easily maneuver as they choose with such a powerful bloc.

Nevertheless, the administration's victory over the union militants was a hollow one. The problem of existing unemployment and the certainty of additional loss of jobs in the steel industry remains very real. The fight for the 6 hour day at 8 hour's pay is still the first step toward a fundamental solution. The union officialdom has repeatedly told the workers that the industry must be more completely organized before there can be an effective struggle against the bosses. Such talk is idle. Something much more substantial is needed to convince the unorganized steel workers.

THE ONLY WAY TO WIN THE UNORGANIZED

The SWOC lost the 1937 strike in Little Steel by placing its reliance in treacherous employer-loyal politicians. Since then, the leadership has retreated constantly before the pressure of the steel bosses. The workers have been prevented from making a direct struggle against the corporations through trade union action. Instead, the leaders continue to rely upon the political "friends" and the "impartial" governmental boards.

Apathy and lack of confidence among the workers is only a natural result of this policy. They must be shown a fighting union. They must see that the SWOC means business; that it will energetically and intelligently apply its own strength in the fight with the corporations.

The launching of a serious fight for the 6 hour day at 8 hour's pay will win over the great majority of the steel workers to the support of the SWOC. Such support will in turn assure victory in the struggle.

From Union Defense Guards To Military Training

By CARL O'SHEA

Big Business, its professional army officers and its propagandists have for years inculcated the masses with the idea that it is far beyond a worker's ability to grasp the fine points of the military arts. Oh yes, the working man will do quite well as cannon fodder to be regimented to lay down his life in defense of the bankers and industrialists. But for large numbers of workers to be trained to command troops and ships and planes, to learn the uses of all offensive and defensive weapons, to understand military tactics and strategy—oh no! That must be left to the reactionary military caste, to West Point and Annapolis, to the businessmen and playboys and lawyers who receive special training by the government at Plattsburg and similar camps.

This arrangement, whereby Big Business and its flunkies are able to order the workers around during war, tell them how, when and where they must fight, and what to fight for, has worked out wonderfully for Big Business. But it has worked out tragically for the working class. And if the workers' unions are to survive the Second World War and to defeat fascism, either the native or foreign brand, organized labor must demand a decisive change in the direction of military training.

Away with the Plattsburg camps for the bosses. What we want and need are special government-financed training camps for workers UNDER CONTROL AND DIRECTION OF ORGANIZED LABOR, where instruction in all the military arts from the most competent military instructors obtainable is available.

Is this program practical?

If a union can organize its own Defense Guard against fascist attacks—and some unions have already demonstrated the ease with which

Union Defense Guards can be established—then a union can certainly go one step further and organize military instruction for all its members.

When one well-known union set about to organize a Union Defense Guard, it found a superabundance of talent and material within the union ranks, of the sort that is found in practically every union in this nation. Within this union were scores of military veterans—ex-machine gunners, ex-cavalry officers, sergeants, a signal corps officer, a former German army officer who had fled the fascist terror. There were former tank men, pilots, even men owning planes.

With such a nucleus, this union found it feasible to organize and train hundreds of staunch unionists, to set up an Intelligence Department, etc. The members of the Defense Guard were more than willing to devote one, two and three nights a week to training which they knew was in their own benefit, under officers whom they could control and trust.

Confronted with the certain prospect of universal military training within a very short period, any sensible worker will much prefer such training under the direction of his union, rather than under the direction of the army and the Plattsburg-trained employers.

First of all, it is essential that the union membership must understand the need of acquiring military knowledge, not in the bosses' way, not for the defense of the interests of American imperialism, but in the union way, for the defense of the workers' homes and lives and jobs against enemies at home and abroad.

Once this need is grasped, the rest follows. Organized labor must demand of the government that it place at the disposal of the unions nothing less than the finest military equipment and instruction available. The government must pro-

vide training camps for the unions where union members can undergo military instruction, the government to stand the expense and the employers to continue paying the trainees their regular wages while they receive such training.

Organized labor must demand access to all forms of arms which the government must place at the disposal of the union—machine guns, field and coast artillery, cavalry and tank and anti-tank equipment, naval vessels, the materials of chemical warfare, equipment for engineers and signal corps, not to speak of armories and drill grounds.

With the new simplified manual of arms now in use, and the greatly simplified method of handling troops in formation, any diligent union could quickly train its members in these elements of military work. Until the equipment from the government is forthcoming, the union could train in much the same sort of way American troops were trained in 1917 and 1918, with dummy equipment.

In that period, often there would be just a few rifles, machine guns and larger pieces of ordinance available for several thousand men. These pieces were taken down and assembled before the trainees, their uses and operations explained. The men were taken in groups and taught how to handle the arms.

It is within the scope of thousands of local unions to make an investment in such arms.

For years the Ordnance Department of the U.S. Army has sold huge quantities of condemned and obsolete equipment to groups of American Legionnaires and other private organizations. There is not the slightest reason why the trade unions should not be able to acquire this military equipment at the same low cost.

If the comparatively weak Reserve Officers

Association can make such demands upon the War Department (upon terms, to be sure, that prevent the masses from having any voice or control in military training), certainly organized labor can demand that the War Department make available to the unions such equipment, material, supplies and instructors as are required for training purposes.

Even if maximum aid is not obtained from the War Department, the union movement can still make tremendous strides in organizing the military training of its members.

In such a nation of game hunters as the United States, there is no obstacle at all in obtaining the simpler forms of arms. It is the rare worker who does not own at least one gun.

Within the union movement in every city there are today scores of unionists with pilot licenses, some of whom own their own planes. The nucleus of an air corps could easily be formed from such trained union members.

Once the program were under way, actual military maneuvers could be practiced, involving scouting, communications and signal work, aerial photography, map work, coordination of the various units, in short, all the staff work that confronts an army command under wartime conditions. Union movements in adjacent cities might cooperate in the conduct of such maneuvers. Various units within the union could begin to specialize in the study of certain branches of military art.

Organized labor in the United States must learn the lessons that have brought such a tragic fate to the workers of Europe. Not the Burke-Wadsworth bill, not the blind alley of pacifism, but MILITARY TRAINING UNDER TRADE UNION CONTROL. Here is a program worthy of the best in the labor movement.

David Lasser Didn't Know It Was Loaded

With his big blue eyes slightly misty and a tear or two rolling down every once and so often on his typewriter, little David Lasser is telling his sad story (at so much per article) in the New York Post and other newspapers.

He was only an innocent boy away from home and he didn't see the man with the black moustache putting that powder in the beer.

Anyway, little David swears he hadn't the faintest idea what was happening. He looked out on the doorstep and there was a wee little lamb called the Communist Party. It looked so forlorn. So he gently picked it up and took it into the Workers Alliance, back in 1936. And do you know what? He's discovered—that after only four years, but he's quick that way—that the wee little lamb wasn't a lamb at all. It was a viper, and it stung little David in such an embarrassing place!

...Now it all becomes clear to him, says little David. Things that he passed by before now fit in place just like a jig-saw puzzle.

"Looking back over the last few years," writes the disillusioned little David in the New York Post of August 7, "it seems to me that the Communist leaders always treated the Alliance as a vehicle for propaganda rather than as a mass movement of the unemployed and that, though they insisted on and obtained control, they furnished little organizational support.

"I had wanted to resign in January (from the national presidency) but delayed action because of promises that things would be different and that sincere efforts would be made to develop a leadership representative of the unemployed as a whole. The promises proved empty."

And now that little David has seen the light, he wants to make it up to the unemployed for all the time he missed out. He wants to build "a new unemployed movement which will be 100 per cent American and free of isms."

Some Gaps In Lasser's Story

Little David's story would be very touching; if it were true.

Lasser is one of those intellectuals who, when the depression made it impossible to find a place in the capitalist world, found his way quickly enough onto a payroll in the labor movement. In connection with her foray into the unemployed movement, Mary Fox of the (Norman Thomas) League for Industrial Democracy put him on salary to do unemployed work. It was Mary who saw to it that he became head of the Socialist Party-controlled Workers Alliance; a drab mediocrity, he would have been elbowed aside by any number of bona-fide workers, except for Mary's control of the purse-strings.

Then the Stalinists began their "thrust toward the Peoples Front", and hastened to get rid of the Unemployed Councils. They took Lasser up on a mountain top and showed him the glittering world he could have for a small price. Lasser was more than willing.

Lasser Changes Paymasters

By the time the formal unification of the unemployed movement took place in Washington early in 1936, Lasser was hand-in-glove with the Stalinists. The Socialist Party's delegates had no voice in any of the decisions; Lasser didn't trouble to consult them. And the Socialist Party leadership prevented their delegates from taking any steps to stop Lasser. Unity of the S. P. delegation was preserved by letting Lasser do as he pleased.

Already at that convention Lasser showed that he understood exactly what was required of him. He fronted for the Stalinists in the main task preoccupying them: to prevent the hated Trotskyists from securing their rightful place in the united unemployed organization. The National Unemployed League, Trotskyist led, was the third organization in the fusion; it was far more a real organization than the S. P.'s Workers Alliance. It had excellent leaders of proven ability who were ready to go to work in the united organization. Lasser went the limit on behalf of his Stalinist bosses in edging out the Trotskyists.

The Stalinists were much better paymasters than Mary Fox had ever been. They let Lasser stand in the spotlight, and he loved it. He threw overboard—and it didn't make a splash—such "socialism" as he had picked up in the S. P. He became a Peoples Fronter and therefore a New Dealer, whooping it up for Roosevelt along the lines dictated by the Daily Worker. He became personal friends with many of the New Dealers around the White House. It was all very pleasant, and to pay for it by obeying Herbert Benjamin's orders to the letter was no burden at all.

Came the Stalin-Hitler pact, and everything changed. The going got tough. The Stalinists broke with the New Deal. Friends of yesterday began to cut David on the street. Invitations to the right houses dropped off. David began to yell. Herbert Benjamin soothed him: this is only a temporary situation, the line will change, we'll be friends of the democracies once again, and the sun will shine again. David waited a few months, but the sun didn't come through the clouds.

So, just as he dropped Mary Fox for a new paymaster, now he dropped Herbert Benjamin for a better paymaster. He climbed on the bandwagon of the "democracies". Now he is carrying out one of the assignments for the "democracies"—expose of the Communist Party. To make it plausible he opens his blue eyes like an innocent little doll.

But some thousands of workers, who were sold down the river by the Stalinist-Lasser gang, will understand what has happened. This is no case of a worker turning away from the corrupt Communist Party out of loyalty to the working class. This is just a case of a rat leaving a sinking ship.

Batista, Aided By His Stalinist Lackeys Gets Himself "Elected" Cuba's President

HAVANA, Cuba, July 30 (by mail)—In many years there have not been elections more scandalous, more fraudulent and violent than those of July 14 for president, vice-president, senators, representatives, governors and mayors.

The elections of January, 1936, when Miguel M. Gomez was elected president, and the Congressional elections of March, 1938, were purely masquerades of the dictator Batista, which the public did not participate in because the opposition parties had decided on a boycott. On the other hand, in the July 14 elections, as in those of last November for the Constituent Assembly, the public came out en masse to the polls.

The difference between the two candidates—Batista for the government parties and Ramon Grau San Martin for the opposition parties—so far as imperialist politics goes, is not very deep, for if Batista is the tool of finance capital, Grau is not more than a reformist democrat, severely respectful of the status quo.

COMPOSITION OF THE BATISTA BLOC

Batista the dictator launched his presidential candidacy as the "champion of democracy," the poetic title conferred on him by his Stalinist lackeys; and the coalition of parties, more accurately political gangs, that supported his candidacy, adopted the pompous name of "Democratic Socialist Coalition." One must examine the composition of this coalition in order to understand its true significance.

It is composed, first of all, of the Liberal Party, the old party of the dictator Machado and headed by the same accomplices of his dictatorship who had to flee from Cuba in August, 1933.

The Democratic Party of ex-president Menocal was in the opposition until the elections for the Constituent Assembly, when it joined Batista because he offered Menocal the vice-presidency and a large number of senatorships. It represents the interests of the sugar industry and the landlords; it is a new form of the old Conservative Party. One of its chief leaders, Elicio Arguelles, has been personal representative of Franco in Cuba and organizer of the "Spanish Falange" in Havana.

The other parties in the Batista bloc—National Union, United National Democratic, Popular Cuban and National Revolutionary—represent nothing more than their leaders, simple lackeys in Batista's service.

As for the Communist Party, its collaboration with Batista began during the "Popular Front" period, and although since then has come its turn to attacking the "democratic" imperialists, its Cuban politics has not changed.

The program of this "Democratic Socialist Coalition" is the usual stuff of those of bourgeois parties everywhere: "democracy", "social justice", "distribution of land", etc.

Appeasement Likely Until U. S. War Machine Is Ready

The call for "cooperation" between the United States and Nazi Germany sounded by Charles Lindbergh, is the culmination of a series of rapidly accumulating under-cover signs that a small but growing and powerful section of American finance capitalism is tending in the direction of "armed appeasement" of Nazi Germany.

The call by Lindbergh, comes upon the heels of a sensational revelation by the New York Herald Tribune, that the residence of Gerhardt Westrick, Hitler's commercial emissary to American capitalists, was being converted into a "busy roadhouse" by a constant stream of American capitalists. The Tribune reports that the Nazi emissary is residing at the beautiful Scarsdale estate of Harold A. Callan and that among the frequent visitors is Thorwald Rieber. Callan is attorney for the National City Bank, second largest bank in America, Rieber is chairman of the Texas Company, a satellite in the vast oil empire of the Rockefellers. The Rockefellers are also among the largest stockholders in the National City Bank.

The National City Bank is not just another big bank. Its importance lies in the fact that it has more than 66 branches all over the globe; no American bank has even more than five branches. By virtue of the fact that its business is so deeply intertwined with the export and import trade of the entire country, it exercises a wide influence in every section of the U. S. State department. It is often the direct factor in the adoption of foreign policies.

The National City Bank is also important for another reason: It is controlled by the very biggest of America's Sixty Families; its biggest stockholders are A. P. Giannini, J. P. Morgan and Co., and the Rockefellers. When, on one of those rare occasions, the National City, permits its spokesmen to make a statement, the statement is sure to reflect the opinion of some of America's biggest multi-millionaires.

June 18th was one of those rare occasions. Joseph H. Durrell, head of the bank's overseas division and its senior vice-president, gave an exclusive interview to the N. Y. World Telegram, which was discreetly relegated to the financial page.

FOR BUSINESS AS USUAL IN EUROPE

During the course of the interview, Mr. Durrell is reported to have said:

"No matter who runs Europe the need for American banking service will continue to exist there, and National City's overseas division will be there supplying that service... (our) business will go on whatever the regime."

The same attitude is indicated in such powerful organs of high finance as the Wall Street Journal and the Commercial and Financial Chronicle. On the day that

The Cuban Revolutionary Party is without doubt the largest party in Cuba, for the main section of the workers and peasants support it. Despite the workers' element, however, it is a very heterogeneous party. Its leadership is typically petty-bourgeois and demagogic. Its "program" is a mixture of pseudo-anti-imperialist reforms, with a chauvinistic nationalism concretized in its "Cuba for the Cubans" slogan. Its popularity is due to the fact that the people identify the gains made in the revolutionary period with Grau San Martin's government after Machado's fall.

Gomez's party represents no more than his personal political influence. The A.B.C. has been the party of most definite fascist tendency in Cuba, but in the last years has made a turn toward democracy. In reality it has always represented the interests of the reactionary petty bourgeoisie and of the Spanish business men in commerce.

Programmatically the Opposition Bloc presents nothing worthy of mention: the same demagogic promises as its opponents. Nevertheless the triumph of this Bloc would have signified a rise in the level of the struggle of the masses, bringing the government into conflict with them and obliging it to grant new concessions. It would have served to liquidate the myth of Grau San Martin when he would have to prove with deeds his real political position.

BATISTA'S STRONG-ARM METHODS DESCRIBED

From the results of the Constituent Assembly elections last

November, Batista understood that he could now win only by strong-arm methods. Last November he was defeated by a slight margin—and that with nothing like the popular interest that the present elections had. Consequently his preparatory campaign of violence, compulsion and fraud commenced months before the July elections.

Although Batista ostensibly retired from the army, he continued to be its real chief. The army continues to be "the armed party" that above all obey its chief. In the countryside, the little villages, the sugar centers, days before the election the soldiers, with threats, took away from the workers and peasants the personal identification cards issued to each voter, without which it was impossible for them to vote. Election day the same soldiers prevented a large part of oppositionists from voting. In some places they forced oppositionist members of the polling boards to sign the election lists in blank and then to leave the polling places. In addition Batista used a great number of forged election-identification cards for his agents to vote many times.

The Opposition Bloc expected these things, but in place of adopting an attitude of resistance, the only thing they did was to ask guarantees of Col. Pedraza, nominal chief of the army, showering him with flattering entreaties—Pedraza, assassin of hundreds of workers, students and revolutionaries! The orders of the Superior Electoral Tribunal, asking the chief of the army to take into

custody various officials accused of compulsion, did not receive the least respect.

In the face of this crude masquerade, Grau San Martin and his associates have behaved cowardly and miserably. They have done practically nothing. On the other hand, among the people is to be noted a deep discontent, and we can predict that Batista will not govern "a happy and contented people", in the words of Blas Roca, Stalinist leader.

ROLE OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY

In this tragedy of the Cuban people, the Stalinist party has a prominent role as Batista's agent within the working class. With the financial aid of Batista, of the big magnates of the manufacturing industries, and the many thousands of pesos drawn from the Cuban people during the Spanish civil war, the Stalinists have paid the costs of the most elaborate and extraordinary propaganda in order to deceive the people. Airplanes, radio broadcasts, periodicals, pamphlets, leaflets, etc.—all the media of modern propaganda have been used by the Stalinists to convince the people that Batista is the champion of democracy.

Despite all these services, they have not been treated very well by Batista. When he made his pact with Menocal, the latter successfully demanded that no senatorships be given to the Stalinists, who wanted at least one for their leader, Professor Marinello. Then the Stalinists decided to run Marinello as their mayoralty candidate in Havana City, against Menocal's son and ex-president Gomez, the respective candidates of the government and opposition tickets. Menocal won by fraud, employing it also against the Stalinists.

In spite of all the violence, even the opposition parties increased their vote in relation to that obtained in November. But the Communist Party lost 25% of the votes it had gotten in November. This is a symptom that indicates the beginning of its decline. In Havana Province the Stalinists supported for governor Guas Inclan, intimate adviser of Machado, who won the election. And in Santiago de Cuba they supported for mayor Justo Salas, a known Machado pistolero (gangster), who had to flee from Cuba in 1933. There are typical examples of the disastrous gambles of Stalinist politics.

Notwithstanding the fact that, in spite of their loyalty to Batista, they themselves were defrauded of votes in many places, the Stalinists' paper, Hoy, proclaims every day that "never has there been in Cuba elections more honorable than those of July 14."

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Profit Demand Holds Up Arms Program

Our so-called "liberal" press has apparently placed a taboo on an attempt to explain and understand what happened in France.

The revelation of widespread corruption and sabotage and treason in high places in that country is passed off as something peculiarly French and, as such, not fit for close examination or, God forbid, for comparison with the situation here in the United States.

Except, of course, for the stories that the French workers were so greedily intent on their fight for a better standard of living that the morale of the country was undermined. This is the kind of bunk that is being passed off as an "explanation" of the unprecedentedly swift collapse of France as a continental power.

We have been getting some of the same kind of talk about conditions here. When workers struck at the Kearny (New Jersey) shipyards some weeks ago demanding wage increases corresponding in some small measure to the new super-profits of the ship-builders, they were howled down as traitors, saboteurs and fifth-columnists. Roosevelt has openly declared that workers shall not be allowed to strike in their own behalf in industries working for the rearmament program.

For our part, we have never ceased to hammer away at the fact that for the bosses this business of war and patriotism is business measured solely and exclusively in dollars and cents. All the rest about "national unity" and "defense of the homeland" is so much eyewash. It took years after the last war for the public finally to learn how the country had been taken for a whale of a ride by Morgan, Dupont, and Co.

French Events Repeated Here
Now, with the rearmament drive only just beginning and billions already voted out of the people's pockets by Congress, we are getting a glimmer of the tremendous push and pull going on among the industrialists and financiers for slices of this gigantic melon, for good places at the sumptuous table set at the expense of the people.

In an unusually bold article in the New York Post on August 6, Edward P. Flynn, noted newspaper reporter, declared flatly that: "Strike of capital is blocking the national defense program". Flynn went into some of the recent testimony before Congressional committees which did not get much notice in the press. He also took a look at the actual performance as compared to some of the recent talk emitting from various rearmament bodies in Washington. He concluded: "The market in patriotism is extremely active, and the sale price is shooting up every day."

According to the Flynn article, the big patriotic industrialists are taking as their text these days the famous 1917 statement of Pierre du Pont, who then wrote: "we cannot assent to allowing our own patriotism to interfere with our duties as trustees (of stockholders)."

"Washington" reported Flynn, "is crowded with lobbyists and high pressure salesmen and top executives of corporations trying to find out what they can do for their country, at what price, and at what profit."

The rearmament orders all require considerable plant expansion. Our patriotic capitalists want the people's money planked down now in single big chunks to cover the entire cost of that expansion and to leave them free afterward to dispose as they wish of the new facilities thus presented to them on silver platters.

Holding out for this, the big companies, like U. S. Steel, are deliberately sabotaging on army and navy orders or else refuse to accept contracts. "The steel companies (writes Flynn) refuse to contract to deliver armor plate. The aviation companies refuse to contract to deliver planes." Flynn goes on to give instances, cited by official navy spokesmen before a House subcommittee, where money appropriated to pay for some of these orders was poured into the coffers of the contracting companies as pure, unadulterated gravy in order to hasten production.

In one case, Admiral W. R. Furlong told a Senate group he had to pay \$1,700,000—the full cost of new tools—to the Bethlehem Steel Co. because that company had quit negotiations with the Treasury for armor plate orders. "Two companies which refused to do business on armor plate under the terms of the Vinson-Trammell Act limiting their profits to 8 percent," adds Flynn, "were U. S. Steel and Midvale."

These are just glimpses of the real picture behind the present preparations for war. The result is going to be a swift drive toward totalitarianism, especially as the war period draws steadily closer. The individual capitalist is going to be put in time with the goose step for the great good of the capitalist class as a whole. Under that set-up the biggest of the capitalists in a tight, small group, will reap greater super-profits than ever while the workers and the people generally will be hammered down to lower and lower living levels.

This is what we're in for unless the workers take it all over. Then there will really be something for every man and woman to defend and there will be the possibility of doing without the inner corruption which accompanies capitalism as inevitably as does war itself.

Delete simile, "Strong as the Rock of Gibraltar": The arrival in England of approximately 1000 women and children from Gibraltar and Malta was announced by a London AP dispatch.

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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-\$80-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.

Who Is Responsible?

The United Auto Workers Union resolution adopted by an overwhelming majority a resolution condemning "the brutal dictatorships of Germany, Italy, Russia and Japan." For the inclusion of Russia in this list the real responsibility rests upon the Stalinist bureaucracy in the Soviet Union.

It is the Kremlin dictator and his fellow bureaucrats both within and without the Soviet Union who have created a situation where the average worker not trained in Marxist thinking can see no difference between Hitler Germany and the Soviet Union.

Naturally we do not in the least forget the abominable role played by the leaders of the Convention, who together with other "democrats" are quite willing to play around with the Stalinists so long as the "democratic" capitalists are on friendly terms with Stalin, but turn against the Soviet Union when Stalin stops playing ball with the "democracies". We can rest assured that these trade union leaders will always be in the camp of the ruling clique of "democratic" capitalism.

We heard no squawk coming from these leaders when Stalin was murdering all the old revolutionists. At that particular time Stalin was still in the good graces of the ruling cliques in the democratic imperialist countries.

Nevertheless, it must be recognized that to the average rank and file delegate it appears that the Soviet Union and Germany and Italy are all in the same class. The propaganda of the Stalinists can hardly fool them into believing that there is democracy in the Soviet Union. All the lies emanating from Stalinist sources cannot conceal the fact that there is not the slightest democracy in the Soviets, in the trade unions or in the ruling "party" in the Soviet Union.

The trade union leader who wants the support of the Stalinists can conveniently forget the existence of huge concentration camps where tens of thousands of the most militant workers in the Soviet Union are tortured by Stalin's GPU, but he can bring that to the attention of the rank and file whenever he thinks it will serve his purposes.

Can the Stalinist leaders with all their fantastic lying conceal from the workers the fact that there is now a close tie-up between Stalin and Hitler? Can they conceal from the workers the despicable role Stalin has played in permitting the most vicious enemy of the working masses to gain control of all of Europe?

It would indeed be a miracle if the average worker would fall for the Stalinist propaganda under such circumstances, where every worker can see that Stalin has been of the greatest help to Hitler.

Only the most advanced workers trained in Marxist thinking can see that the Soviet Union is something different from the Stalinist regime, just as a trade union is something different from its corrupt and bureaucratic leadership. It is not easy for the advanced worker to convince the average worker that there is a difference between the political apparatus of the Soviet Union, which is identical with the political system of Hitler, and the economic base which consists of nationalized economy gained by the victorious October Revolution.

Stalin's despotism makes it difficult for us to distinguish the Soviet Union from the fascist capitalist countries but the fundamental distinction does exist and we shall do our utmost to educate the workers so that they can see that distinction.

How often have we proclaimed that the greatest enemy of the Soviet Union is the Stalinist bureaucracy, which by its acts destroys the confidence of the workers in the Soviet Union as a workers' state. When a powerful and progressive union like the United Automobile Workers can

place the Soviet Union in the same category as Germany and Italy and Japan it should be clear to everybody that the greatest enemy of the Soviet Union is the Stalinist bureaucracy.

The lesson is the same that we have been teaching for years. To defend the Soviet Union it is necessary to destroy the Stalinist bureaucracy.

Poor Aren't Paytriots

There are 72 million poor people in this country, but it's un-American to be poor. Most of these people have been on relief at one time or another during these last eleven years of economic crisis, and if they also happened to be non-citizens, the fact that they have been on relief bars them from citizenship. This is the opinion of Supreme Court Justice Nathan O. Lapham of New York State who, on July 22 at Rochester, denied citizenship to six applicants who were on relief. That, said the judge, showed they were not "attached to the principles of the Constitution." This is only the latest of an increasing number of such incidents.

We think the judges who came to the conclusion that poverty-stricken people don't make good patriots are quite right in their own way. Those who have no stake in this vile economic system may very likely turn against it. Those who have only their chains to lose may soon seek to win a new world of socialism.

But the judges, if they want to complete their job, cannot stop with preventing aliens from becoming citizens. They must go on to disfranchise all naturalized and native citizens on relief. But that's only the beginning. The sharecroppers and agricultural workers of the South and California, for instance, have less to live on than many relief clients in some of the Northern cities. Off with their citizenship! And of course WPA workers (who must now be citizens) live on about the same scale as many workers in private industry. Some point therefore should be fixed—say, \$15 a week—and anyone earning below that should be stripped of his citizenship. Moreover, a man earning \$20 a week who has a wife and two children dependent on him is obviously worse off than a single man earning \$14 a week; so some table should be worked out whereby a man earning a certain amount should be dropped from the citizenship rolls if he has more than a certain number of dependents.

Of course, to be really logical, the judges would have to turn into non-citizens about 72 million poor people. That would have its dangers. It would make so plain the distinction between masters and slaves!

On second thought, therefore, we think the judges will reconsider and let those aliens on relief become citizens. What does it matter, after all, if they are allowed to vote once in four years for a president of the United States? If it makes them feel they really decide who is president, it's very useful to the capitalists to let the masses vote.

GPU-Made News

El Popular, the Mexico City daily which the Stalinists control through Lombardo Toledano (so much so that he was compelled to delete from its masthead the statement it formerly carried that it was the organ of the Mexican Confederation of Labor), prints in its July 27 issue an article entitled: "Rapprochement Between the United States and the USSR."

This is big news, indeed. Under a Washington date-line it reports: "It is considered that the American government is disposed to get together with the USSR, for various reasons: for counter-acting the Japanese policy in the Orient, for the decisive influence that the USSR could have in the European war, and for the commercial needs of the United States, now that European markets are closed to it."

There is, of course, no sign of such a trend in Washington. Is this story another Stalin "feeler" toward the United States? Mexico is being used for a number of such moves. After joining the Stalinists last August in the hasty switch from "collective security" to pro-Hitler "neutrality", Toledano has recently been permitted to make a pro-Ally speech, without one word of criticism from his Stalinist allies. Is the stage being set for a new Stalin turn?

That turn is not here by a long way; Molotov's speech showed that, with its fawning toward Hitler. In his statement on Molotov's speech which we print in this issue, Trotsky suggests another function of these "feelers" toward the democracies: to soothe the Stalinist agents in the democracies who got along so well with the capitalists in the "Peoples Front" period and who are now smarting under the blows they are receiving as allies of Hitler. By these "feelers" hope is held out to them that they will shortly be able to live in peace again with their "own" capitalists.

This function of the Stalinist "feelers" does not, of course, rule out the likelihood, indeed a certainty, that Stalin will be desperately seeking rapprochement with the United States when Hitler settles with Britain and turns eastward again. None of Stalin's recent gains solve his problem. For he is the problem, he and his bureaucracy: they have so weakened the Soviet Union that the possibility of any attack hangs like a nightmare over the Kremlin. Externally, the chief defense of the Soviet Union, the support of the world working class, has been shattered by Stalin's crimes; internally, the initiative of the Soviet peoples has been destroyed by the totalitarian regime.

Trotsky Nails Talk Of Almazan "Plot"

Editor, Herald Tribune
New York City, N. Y.
Sir:

In the July 25 issue of the Herald Tribune an article was published, telephoned from Mexico City by Mr. Jack O'Brine, quoting declarations made by a certain Cesar Ortiz, "Foreign editor of Mexico's leading labor newspaper, 'Popular,'" to sixty American educators visiting Mexico, of a "conspiracy" between me and General Juan Andreu Almazan to establish a "fascist regime south of the Rio Grande" and later in the United States in the event that I were admitted to that country. Mr. Cesar Ortiz, according to the report in the Herald Tribune, added that the Mexican authorities are investigating this "conspiracy" allegedly organized with the financial help of Hitler and Mussolini; that is, the German and Italian allies of Stalin.

Your readers no doubt are intelligent enough to discern the source of this dirty, arrogant, and stupid falsification. The source is specified by three letters: GPU.

As for Mr. Cesar Ortiz, I do not know anything about him. But I can admit that he really exists and directs what is called the "foreign" policy of "El Popular". On July 2, before the Mexican courts, I reaffirmed that this paper is a semi-official organ of the GPU; that in all questions of interest to Stalin it supports the politics of the GPU; that it invariably defends the crimes of the GPU and propagates all the falsifications and slanders which the GPU spreads against the enemies of Stalin; that if—after a long period of defending Hitler—"El Popular" today defends "democracy" it does so under direct orders from the GPU and in the interest of some temporary need of Stalin.

In view of the fact that the perpetrators of the assault against me, and particularly the murderers of Robert Sheldon Harte, (Trotsky's secretary) are agents of the GPU and members of the Comintern; that the editors of "El Popular" were moral accomplices in the preparation of the May 24 assault and in the attempts to cover up the crime; that these facts are being placed before the court by me with all the necessary exactitude; and in view of the fact that the friends of the GPU and the inspirers of "El Popular" happen to be deeply compromised, the secret police of Stalin, its agents and friends including evidently Cesar Ortiz whom I do not know, are making desperate attempts to block the judicial investigation and to terrorize me in order to prevent further revelations concerning the criminal activity of the GPU on the American continent. All these attempts are in vain, I will carry my work through to the end.

In order to give my denial of the assertions reported in the Herald Tribune all the necessary completeness I add:

(a) I have never had either direct or indirect connections with the internal politics of Mexico, in particular the recent election campaign.

(b) I do not have the honor of knowing General Juan Andreu Almazan. I have never had either direct or indirect relations with him in particular nor with any of the outstanding figures in general in any of the political camps of Mexico.

(c) I do not have and could not have any motive to create any difficulties for the government of the only country which granted me its hospitality.

(d) The assertions reported by your correspondent represent not an isolated fact but part of a campaign which has been uninterruptedly and systematically conducted against me under the direction and with the financial assistance of the GPU.

(e) I reserve the right to sue Mr. Cesar Ortiz for the malicious slanders he has made against me in the interests of the GPU.

LEON TROTSKY

July 27, 1940
Coyoacan, D. F.

ORTIZ RETREATS; DENIES HE WAS QUOTED CORRECTLY

MEXICO CITY, July 29—Today's "El Popular", Stalinist-controlled organ, publishes a letter by Cesar Ortiz in which he denies responsibility for the remarks attributed to him by the New York Herald Tribune, accusing Trotsky of plotting with Almazan. Trotsky having confronted Ortiz with the Herald Tribune article here, where Ortiz' charge could not stand for a moment, Ortiz had to retreat.

It is his "opinion", says Ortiz, that "the members of the Fourth International in Mexico are linked to the Almazanist and reactionary elements, and are conducting a work of disruption and confusion among the workers and peasants of the country. In the talk that I gave before the group, 'Seminary in Mexico,' I limited myself to giving this interpretation and to indicating the provocative character—for the revolutionary regime of President Cardenas—that the Trotsky 'case' has had.

"I am not responsible for the sensationalist forms which the Herald Tribune may have wished to give this simple and known reference."

HAVANA PARLEY FAILED TO MEET HEMISPHERE ECONOMIC PROBLEM

By SAM MARCY

Now that the Havana Conference is over, all sections of the American bourgeoisie are busily engaged in drawing a balance sheet of its results and accomplishments.

All sections of the bourgeoisie are in accord that the menace of Nazi economic penetration, real as well as feigned, must be vigorously combated by force if necessary.

All are agreed that henceforth the Caribbean sea must become a strictly American lake, that the long string of islands stretching from the Bahamas off the coast of Florida, to Trinidad off Venezuela, must pass into the hands of Yankee imperialism, by payment it needs must—in the form of a mark-off for French and British defaulted war debts!

And if there is still any room for further exploitation of Latin American markets, the United States should extend its beneficent hand—with money in the form of loans, supported by good and sufficient collateral security!

And if Latin America can absorb American manufactured products, shut out from the European markets by the Imperialist War, then by all means, the Roosevelt government should help create the facilities necessary for the marketing of these finished products. And above all, the solid "democratic" bonds, which are common to all Americans such as Batista, Vargas, Senator Reynolds and Martin Dies, must be strengthened.

THEY RUN UP AGAINST SOME HARD FACTS

Upon all of these things, all sections of the American bourgeoisie are in perfect accord. But all of this unanimity cannot hide the most burning contradictions within world imperialist economy, cannot hide the fact that Latin America is primarily an agrarian and raw material "supplement" to industrial Europe and partially to the United States, that Europe and Latin America are component elements of a blind anarchical system of economy each of which produces at its own risk the products needed by the other, but never being in a position to adapt itself to the demands of the other.

The fact that both Latin America and the United States both suffer from the same capitalist disease of overproduction, in the sphere of cotton, wheat, corn, cereals, oil and others, while Europe

is on the verge of starvation for lack of these products, illustrates once again the law of the growing disproportion between the main branches of capitalist economy, between industry and agriculture.

Latin America must be in a position to export its agricultural products to countries which need them (Europe). The United States can only absorb them to a very small extent, and what is more, it is afflicted with the same malady as is Latin America: it has huge surpluses of agricultural products, which it can only dispose of in Europe or Asia.

WHY THE FARMERS AREN'T PLEASED

Agricultural capitalists in the United States, or to be more specific, the Middle Western agrarian interests, are in sharp competition with Latin America in the sale of the same products.

What then, is this talk by Roosevelt of empowering the United States Import and Export Bank to loan Latin America \$500,000,000 to help them sell their agricultural products? Isn't it enough, cry the Western farmers, that we have to meet such sharp competition from Latin America without Washington helping them to undersell us, with a subsidy paid by American taxpayers?

But it is not in answer to your interests, that I make this proposal, Roosevelt would answer if he were truthful. It is in the interest of powerful industrialists and financiers who have invested billions of dollars in Latin American railroads, telephone companies, public utilities, oil refineries and merchant vessels, that Roosevelt makes this proposal.

These billions of dollars will bring no premiums to the coupon clippers in Wall Street, unless Latin America can export its products. Thus if Brazil does not export its cotton, it does not use the American-owned railroads in Brazil, uses less electric power, less telephones, less merchant vessels. As a matter of fact, and not merely as an illustration, American investments in Latin American industry have brought constantly diminishing returns, as a result of the catastrophic drop in Latin America's export trade.

Thus the Roosevelt government prefers to help the finance capitalists who have investments in Latin America rather than the agrarian interests of the Middle-

Western states. He must do so, since the finance capitalists are also the real rulers of the United States.

STRUGGLE BETWEEN FARMERS AND FINANCE PICTURED

The struggle between the finance capitalists and the agrarian interests of the middle West was graphically and dramatically illustrated in the Senate Banking Committee during the consideration of the Wagner Bill providing for an increase in lending powers of another \$500,000,000 in order to cover loans to Latin America.

Federal Loan Administrator Jesse Jones, representing the finance capitalists, was explaining the purposes of the bill and came to the part wherein he stated that the United States would help Latin America export more wool and hides, even into the United States. He was immediately cut short by Senator Fraizer, of North Dakota, who said, "We produce wool and hides here—we could produce all we need."

Senator Clark, from Idaho, immediately joined, since Idaho is also an agricultural state. So did other Senators from the middle Western states join in the protest, but of no avail, since it is the bankers and industrialists who run the country and not the middle-Western farmers.

Perhaps it might not be far afield to point out here that the sharp curtailment of the home market for agrarian products, and the ever-growing dependency of the American agricultural states upon exports to Europe and Asia, has reflected itself politically in demands for "isolation" as America's foreign policy—meaning by that term non-involvement in war, since war curtails export markets—and for the development of peaceful trade policies with all countries and against high tariffs. That explains the strong, "isolationist" tendencies in the middle West, and the use it is put to by such demagogues as Senator Wheeler and others.

Latin America and the Middle West can only be liberated when the proletariat of the Western Hemisphere takes the means of production into its hands, ousts the capitalists and establishes a socialist system of production, based on use and not profit. That is the only way to solve the imperialist contradictions which are torturing all of toiling humanity.

AGAINST CAPITALIST MILITARY TRAINING CONSCRIPTION BILLS

By ALBERT GOLDMAN

Are we for or against the Burke-Wadsworth conscription bill? One thousand percent against it.

Not because of any particular clauses contained in it; not because it is a measure introduced in time of peace and thus violates American tradition. But because it is a measure introduced by a capitalist government for the purpose of defending the imperialist interests of American capitalism.

If our party had a representative in Congress he would vote against any conscription bill introduced by any representative of the capitalist class because it could have as its purpose only the defense of the interests of the capitalist class.

We are bitterly opposed to the capitalist class and to its government and we are opposed to any measure introduced for the defense of that class and that government.

* * *

But we are for military training. We want workers to be trained in the use of arms. We have nothing in common with the pacifists. Our opposition to conscription is not based on the fantastic idea that somehow or other military training is bad for the character of an individual and bad for some kind of an abstract democracy.

We want to see every worker skilled in the use of weapons so that he can help defend the interests of his class.

If any pacifist speaks before a gathering of workers and tries to convince them that they should oppose military training, the revolutionary worker should ask him: "What do you want us to do? Do you want us to be drafted during a war (as we shall inevitably be regardless of your pacifist mouthings) and be sent into the trenches without military training? Do you want us to stand up against the trained thugs of the capitalist class not knowing how to use modern weapons?"

Anyone with half an eye can see that we are now living in a period of war and militarism and the intelligent worker realizes that the working class can meet its enemies only if it is prepared in a military sense.

And it is because we understand the enormous necessity of military training for the workers that we stress that point.

Determined to make every worker see the necessity of military training our emphasis will be on that aspect of the question. Every worker should know that our opposition to the conscription bill is not motivated by pacifist considerations. Every worker should know that we want the workers to be trained in military technique.

We Were Wrong On R. O. T. C.

In my opinion we made a serious mistake in the past on the question of our opposition to the Reserve Officers Training Corps at the colleges. The student youth who then were the majority of the youth in our party had all the pacifist characteristics connected with the left wing of the social-democrats. Our agitation against the R.O.T.C. was largely pacifist in character.

This section of the student youth did not see then, as they do not see even now, the necessity of emphasizing the need for military training for every worker and every student who wants to participate in the revolutionary movement.

But then the question arises as to how to get military training for the workers? As a revolutionary party opposed to military conscription by the capitalist state, but at the same time in favor of military training for the workers, we are obliged to propose a measure which would place the training of the workers under their own control.

Trade Unions Must Take Charge

What better means than to have organized labor take charge of training the workers in military science? It would be an easy matter for the trade unions to organize camps of their own where the workers would be trained under officers over whom they had complete control.

And so long as there is a capitalist state able to draft workers for war, why should not that state furnish the funds to defray the expenses of workers' training camps?

Will the capitalist government grant such a demand? That is immaterial and it depends upon how strong a movement is created around such a demand.

Will the workers rally around such a demand? We do not know definitely until we try. Certainly such a demand will appear reasonable and necessary to every advanced worker. And above all it is bound to instill into the minds of many workers the necessity of military training for themselves and their class.

If Conscription is Adopted

Assuming that Congress passes some kind of a conscription bill, should advanced workers refuse to be conscripted?

Absolutely not. They should take their place amongst those conscripted just as they take their place among the workers who are exploited in the factories.

To be a conscientious objector is to read oneself out of the revolutionary movement. There is no place in that movement for people who cannot see the necessity of living with the masses whether in the factory or in the barracks.

No revolutionary worker should try to avoid conscription on the theory that he does not want to serve in a capitalist army.

And after having been drafted into the army the revolutionary worker is under an obligation to act in such a way as to gain the confidence of his fellow soldiers. It would be contrary to the interests of the revolutionary movement if he were to be marked and constantly punished for individual insubordination.

We are not in the army to show off our independent spirit. We are there because unfortunately the masses have not yet been won over to our ideas and while we are there we must try our best to make them believe in our ideas.

To be a skillful soldier and to fight for the interests of his fellow soldiers is the best method to achieve the position of leadership which every revolutionary worker should have in order best to serve the interests of the working classes.