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

LET THE PEOPLE **VOTE ON WAR**

Vol. III, No. 94

NEW YORK, SATURDAY, DECEMBER 23, 1939

FIVE (5) CENTS

POWERS IN UNDECLARED AGAINST WAR U.S.S.R.

Another Squeezed Lemon For Stalin

The League of Nations has now proceeded to carry out the task for which it was originally created—to organize the international struggle against the workers and colonial peoples and against the Soviet Union.

Many people have wondered more than once, during the last ten years: why do the French and British empires continue to maintain this dessicated corpse of a League, which all the imperialists flout?

The answer is now at hand. The League serves its original ing a tight-rope in the unions purpose: war against the Soviet Union.

It is able to serve this purpose very effectively, thanks to PEAL two months ago on the Stalin. Workers all over the world were beginning to underof the CIO purge. In the last two stand that the League was truly what Lenin called it: "a league weeks several prominent Stalinof imperialist bandits." But five years ago Stalin took the ist performers have fallen off the Soviet Union into the League. He and his hirelings explained tight rope and into the net of the to the workers that the League had ceased to be a league of bandits, had transformed itself into an agency of peace. Stalin Brophy. A few days ago Brophy helped recapture for the League of Nations the trust and faith CIO United Retail and Wholeof millions of workers.

The League of Nations turns out to be another one of denounced the Soviet Union and Stalin's "squeezed lemons"—a phrase made notorious twelve Nazi Germany in the same years ago, when Stalin boasted he would use Chiang Kai-shek sentative of John L. Lewis, he until he had served his purpose and would then throw him said: away like a squeezed lemon. Instead Chiang Kai-shek used Stalin's support to massacre the Chinese revolution, then cast

So, too, the League of Nations. What it would not do, after months and even years of haggling, for Ethiopia, Spain, China, Austria, Czechoslovakia, the League in a single day did Stalinists caucus engineers in the for Finland. In a single day the "peace" machinery of the top circles of the C. I. O. The League was organized into war machinery against the Soviet organizers with incompetent and Union. What is Stalin's explanation? His organ, Pravda, bureaucratic Stalinist agents was blandly announces: "The League of Nations has been turned one of his special assignments. from an instrument of peace into an instrument of war."

Stalin lies in order not to take the responsibility for his against the revolt of the rank "squeezed lemon." From the day it was formed until today the and file was another little duty League was and is what Lenin called it: a league of imperialist who engineered the appointment bandits. War against the Soviet Union was from the first of Harry Bridges as west coast and is now its fondest dream. Its war against Germany be- CIO regional director which recomes more and more a business of hammering Germany sulted in driving out the proguntil Hitler, or his successor, joins the anti-Soviet front. It is the labor movement there wide able to take this road thanks to Stalin's help; for five years open and plunging it into the Stalin was the tool of the League, scattering and confusing the

Brophy's defection is a major workers of the world who are the only force really capable of blow for the Stalinists. For the defending the Soviet Union against the capitalist world.

One more terrible proof that Stalin is dragging the Soviet ening of the Kremlin bureaucra-Union to destruction! One more—perhaps the last—warning cy and the strengthening of the WPA, was here this week for a J. G. Byam, president of the doctors and lawyers who have Union to destruction! One more—pernaps the last—warning cy and one strengthening of the to the international working class to get rid of this monstrous despot who knows how to organize only defeats of the work—despot who knows how to organize only defeats of the work—despot who knows how to organize only defeats of the work—despot who knows how to organize only defeats of the work—indicates, will be no less faithful colonel talked glibly about every like the strengthening of the work—was here this week to a business to get rid of this monstrous bureaucracy. Brophy, as his jingo statement indicates, will be no less faithful colonel talked glibly about every like the strengthening of the work—who knows how to organize only defeats of the work—and the strengthening of the work—who was here this week to a bureaucracy. WPA, was here this week to a bureaucracy. WPA Minnesota National Bank, vice president of the first organization of the president of the colonel talked glibly about every like the strengthening of the work—and the strengthening of the ing class. Either the workers will overthrow Stalin and in the service of Lewis than he topic under the sun except the nish Fund; B. F. Andreen, anti- lief for Finland. regenerate the Soviet Union in the spirit which once moved it. was in the service of the Stalin-ONE topic that the workers of the spirit of the Bolshevik Revolution of 1917—or the Soviet inists. Union will go down under the blows of the imperialists.

The Soviet Union must be saved! It can become again of the South Bend CIO Industrial others-162 in all were indicted what it was in Lenin's time: drill ground of the world revo- Union Council. A resolution was lution! In spite of Stalin's depredations, the economic con- cal 5, United Automobile Workers quests of the October Revolution still remain, living proof of America, and unanimously that the workers can oust the capitalists and transform private 6, denouncing Stalin's invasion property into state property, the necessary economic system of Finland, urging that the Com- to do with that. That is fully in for the road to socialism. That nationalized propertyis the munist Party be removed from Soviet Union. That is what we must defend against the the ballot in state, county and Justice." It certainly is—that's capitalist world and against Stalin.

Behind the Lines

By GEORGE STERN

from the pulpits and the press, masters decree we shall do. on the screen and over the air waves. But it takes Christmas to place all this sham in its proper setting of sharply chiselled con-

preachers' men bleat about peace and goodwill. But the gossamer web of their phrases fails to cover the partief edge. You can't deal with nation against Stalin's criminal methods in Finland, the resolution concludes, however, with a denunciation of the Soviet Union way with war and want unless you put an end to the capitalist press: "the idenuncy c battlefields. It fails to cover the order of things. shaking frames of the cold and starving millions.

Every day of every year men, women, and children are nailed to the cross of war and greed and privation. And on this under the pathetic figure of one such cruorder of things, that this is part ocaust of war.

to another 364 days of dying, kind of world.

ality of things bloody war and mass revulsion and disgust with sion of Congress. Of the 750,000 mass starvation, dressing it up with thisel, rouging the lips of a death's head Von con't doe! All the preachers and all the death's head. You can't deal with

newspapers, politicians, preach who now rule Germany . . . a ers, writers, radio commentators, policy of unlimited aggression tooth and nail against providing their dripping phrases about finally the resolution reaches the ployed here-are busy these days cified man the preachers try to sweep the working men and wo- Committee: outlaw the Com- Enemy No. 1 of organized labor. tell us again that this is all in the men of this country into the hol- manist party.

of the divinely-ordained beauty . But if we are to take the idea militants and progressives in the ed a "Finland Day". Mayor and mystery of life, that after of peace on earth seriously, we've trade unions. Its methods and Leach, whose police are this very the cup of pain shall come the got to work with might and main policies fed the most reactionsocthing draft of salvation in a to prevent them from doing so, ary barrage. But we warn the world better than man can build. and we'll do this by thrusting progressives not to hop from the And with that we're supposed them from the seats of power Stalinist frying pan into the reto pull in our belts and go back and setting out to build a new actionary fire.

STALINIST HOLD SLIPPING IN CIO UNIONS

Brophy Joins Witch Hunt; South Bend **Demands Ouster**

By GEORGE CLARKE

The Stalinists have been walksince the Hitler-Stalin pact. We said that in the SOCIALIST AP-

First is the case of John sale Employees in Detroit and

of a Nazi Germany on the march and we condemn a Soviet Union turned imperi-

Brophy's Record

Brophy was one of the leading The defense of Communist party dictatorships in the CIO unions

progressive rank and file, how-

South Bend Sours on C. P. presented by the Studebaker Lo- nationwide WPA strike last July. Federal elections and prohibiting any "known member of the communistic party from holding office in any St. Joseph county CIO local or any CIO affiliate which may exist in said county." The chickens are coming home

inception of the CIO. The Stude-

Stalinism waged a war against

(Continued on Page 3)



WPA Strikers' Enemies Lead Finland Day' In Minneapolis

Harrington Evasive in Answers To Queries on Frameup Trial

MINNEAPOLIS, Dec. 17-Col. been appointed Minnesota chair-F. C. Harrington, head of the man of the Finnish Relief Fund; nish Fund—these and all sorts of Minneapolis are interested in:

the conviction of 33 WPA work-The second defection is that ers and the pending trials of the -for the "crime" of joining the

> When reporters queried him for an opinion on the mass prosecutions, Harrington said: "We don't consider we have anything the hands of the Department of where Harrington and his chief, Roosevelt, put it.

Harrington got off a lot of hypocritical statements about what the War Deal has done for the unemployed. But he to roost—with a vengeance. also let slip a few interesting South Bend was a stronghold facts. He admitted that the 18-All year long we are fed pap killing, straving-whichever our of the Stalinists almost since the months layoff clause, one of the The capitalist system that still baker local was considered their the WPA strike, would be "serirules the world offers in the re-WPA, the colonel admitted.

Anti-Laborites "Help" Finland

The Minneapolis Citizens Alliance gang-the union-busters tionary capitalist press: "the ide- who pressed for the prosecutionological brothers of the maniac of the WPA strikers and who are The same people, the same Hitler and his crew of gangsters at this very moment fighting who fill the Christmas air with and imperialistic methods." And relief to the army of the unempeace on earth are preparing to reactionary conclusion of the Dies providing relief-for Finland! Governor Stassen, has proclaimweek being used as strikebreakers against the Puffer-Hubbard furniture strikers; J. D. Holtzerman, merchant, Republican leader, friend of the Nazis, who has

Mrs. John Dalrymple, fashionible anti-laborite; Charles Bolles Rogers of the Van Dusen Harprogram committee for the Fin-

labor former department com-

mander of the American Legion;

Trotsky Statement On Dies Backing Down

Mr. Dies' declaration December 12 on the reasons for his dropping the plan to have Trotsky come to the United States is absolutely false. Dies claims that he "failed to receive assurances from Mexico that Trotsky would be permitted to return to Mexico." Nobody is obliged to furnish such assurances to Mr. Dies, who is neither the President of the United States, nor the Secretary of State, nor a consular official. The United States consul in Mexico was given full assurances in written form by the Secretaria de Gobernacion of Mexico that I may freely go to the United States and return to this country. Dies' attempt to unload the responsibility for his change of mind upon the Mexican government is completely disloyal.

I was invited on October 12 by the Committee to appear before it at Austin, Texas, on November 12. I immediately requested two collaborators from the United States to help me locate the necessary documents, quotations, dates, to translate them into English, and so on, because I considered the role and duty of a witness in a case of such importance as very

On November 2, the representative of the Committee, J. B. Matthews, informed my attorney, Mr. Goldman, that the hearings had been postponed to December between the tenth and fifteenth, but assured him at the same time that my appearance was assured "one hundred percent." Mr. Goldman, in full agreement with me, explained to Mr. Matthews, the Chief Investigator of the Committee, that my political aims of course had nothing in common with the reactionary political aims of Mr. Dies, that the only thing I could promise was to speak the truth. I am afraid that this was the reason why Mr. Dies dropped his plan. If I wished to give this a severe but authoritative characterization, I would call it a "sordid

Mr. Dies says that he may send an investigator to Mexico to "take Trotsky's statement." But I never invited his representative to Mexico, irrespective as to whether or not he presented me with an assurance that he would be permitted to return to the United States. I agreed only to make a public deposition before a Committee of the House of Representatives with the full possibility of elucidating all obscure questions through cross-examination. If Mr. Dies wishes my opinions in written form only, he can read my books.

L. TROTSKY

December 12, 1939 Coyoacan, D.F.

League, Allied Council, U.S. **Backing Finland**

Undeclared War to Be Fought by Lending Money, Arms, Planes to the Finns

of Nations against the Soviet Union, the Allied Supreme War Council, in a three-hour session Tuesday, decided-in the words of the Associated Press-"to give all moral and material aid possible to Finland without weakening its own war with Germany."

except that, as with so many of the wars in the last two dec-

The day before the Allied move, the United States left the stage of propaganda and "relief" and went on to direct war moves against the Soviet Union, with the announcement by Charles Edison, Acting Secretary of the U.S. Navy, that more than forty of the latest and speediest fighting planes; built for the navy, were being released immediately to Finland.

HITLERISM IN A DEMOCRACY (Union News Service) TORONTO, Dec. 9-C. H. Mil-

the "Defense of Canada" regulations, which were adopted when Canada declared war. Millard is charged with making statements "prejudicial to re- of manufacturers by Secrecruiting" during the CIO Mine, tary of State Cordell Hull. Mill & Smelter Workers Union

organizing campaign in Timmins, Ontario's gold mining center.

ed or likely to prejudice the re- Finland, when the esty's Forces.'

SEEK AID FOR FINNS, NONE FOR RELIEFERS

Toledo Has Special Day for "Poor Little Finland"

TOLEDO, Ohio, Dec. 17-According to Governor Bricker, the Toledo-Cleveland relief crisis has been satisfactorily solved. The relief situation "is now in good cracies" coming to Finland's aid shape," he told reporters in New York on the 15th.

Two days later the Toledo Times carried a story which completely refuted the governor. 'Ninety-five families are facing mmediate eviction from their the contrary grows more acute the anti-Soviet moves.

schools have been closed for a aided by Stalin's cynical and obperiod of six weeks. To "solve" viously false alibis for the invathis problem, the Toledo Real sion, the imperialists have moved Estate Board has proposed to against the Soviet Union with a cut away from the schools all brazen boldness which scarcely the "frills"—by which they mean would have seemed possible a the kindergartens, health service, month ago. art, music, subject supervision, 'This move of the imperialists sick leaves for school employees, was however, projected long beinstruction in home economies fore they found a pretext. At one and industrial arts, etc.

situation, Mayor Roy C. Start, perialists would attempt to forcwith the sanction of both the ibly smash the Soviet Union's city council and the "substantial monopoly of foreign trade and business elements", has issued a open to capitalist exploitation high-pressured plea for funds this area, closed to the capitalist

Swiftly putting teeth into last week's action of the League

The decision means virtually war against the Soviet Union ades, it is not officially declared.

That these planes were but the first shipment of arms HOW THEY FIGHT

with others to follow was indicated when Edison pointed out that because neither the Soviet Union nor Finland has declared war, the Neutrality ard, Canadian secretary of the Act provisions do not apply CIO, was arrested here Dec. 6 and therefore Finland can charges based on Section 39B of purchase arms here on credit." A "moral embargo" on the

shipment of arms to the Soviet Union has been "requested"

Sending Troops Planned The undeclared war was al-

Section 39B declares that: "No ready indicated last week, after person shall by word of mouth the League of Nations expelled spread reports or make state- the Soviet Union and urged its ments, false or otherwise, intend- members to come to the aid of cruiting, training, discipline or Press reported from Geneva rington grain firm, heading the administration of any of His Maj- that "in high diplomatic quarters here it was suggested that foreign troops now idling in the allied armies may become fighting volunteers for the Finns. The idea of an International Brigade for Finland...began to leak out of the League corridor conversations...Military experts said that the French were eager to find a wide open battleground and that the Baltic states and Western Russia might be viewed in Paris and London as the longest but easiest way around Germany's Siegfried Line."

> Even before the League action, the authoritative New York Times editorially declared:

> "Events are now moving with great speed. and setting in motion forces which, before they are spent, may radically change the whole nature of the war in Europe.'

Among the "indignant demoare Mussolini's Italy—not content with "student demonstrations" for Finland, it has sent already fifty bombers-Franco's Spain and Fascist Portugal.

The unexpected difficulties which the Red Army is experihomes because of nonpayment of encing in its invasion of Finland. rent." These are only the first ascribed by military experts to victims, more are to come. For the disorganization of the Red to the horrors of no relief have Army by the loss of its leading been added no payment of rent personnel as a result of Stalin's for relief clients. No, the relief purges, have enormously encoursituation is not solved, but on aged the swift development of

> With "poor little Finland" as "lack of funds" the a pretext, and immeasurably

stage or another of this war, it In the face of this atrocious has been clear for years, the imfor . . . "poor little Finland"! world by the Russian Revolution.

In the Labor Unions

By B. J. WIDICK

is watching with considerable anxiety the fate of the union movements in England and France in the present war.

The facts of the situation in France have trickled into England and also America, and the story of the strangulation of the French labor movement is shocking. English unionists are wondering if the same tragic lot is in store for them. American unionists are confronted by similar thoughts.

Shop Stewards

tary machine recently ordered retainer, Stalin. the abolition of the shop steward My letter contained the affirmsystem, among other drastic de- ation that Lenin and the whole crees. This is like cutting the Bolshevik party without a single heart out of a body and expect- exception considered it imposing it to function.

been recognized as the real life, in one as backward as Russia; the heart, and the backbone of a and that only at the end of 1924 good union. In France, the crea- did Stalin make an about-face of tion and extension of the shop 180 degrees thereby branding his steward systems was one of the viewpoint of yesterday as "counmajor victories of the famous ter-revolutionary Trotskyism." 1936 sit-down strike.

on the job comes primarily cracy had succeeded by that through the shop stewards. They time in erecting their own 'sonegotiate and settle the day to cialism," that is, in firmly assurday grievances that constantly ing their power and well-being irritate the workers.

gotten. ishing the shop steward system: broke with the tradition of Bolbreak the backbone of the unions shevism on the question of the ers. and prevent the workers from international nature of socialist having committees capable of revolution. functioning in times of social un-

Daladier remembers too well the embryo Soviets in 1936. It is Mr. Hamilton takes the follow- in the sphere of philosophy and strength of one country alone

War Taxes

"contributed" to this fund.

lation of grievances, the French single country. workers are building up a terri- By the "victory of socialism" fic resentment that will turn into Lenin means here, as is clear a gigantic explosion. Not since from the quotation, the conquest have the French ruling classes the nationalization of the means

distributed behind the front the hands of the proletariat begin on a national basis but that Lenin's theory of the proletarian

England Too?

The rank and file workers in England are worrying about the probability that the Chamberlain government, with the approval of the labor fakers, will further curtail the rights of the union movement under the guise of war emergency measures.

of a pact between the government and the labor bureaucrats tions would transform human sowhich brings the application of ciety throughout the whole plan-compulsory overtime and wage et. The quotation contains no cuts, coupled with longer working hours? Are concentration other meaning. camps for militant workers, and that on the question of the conforced labor under military control the next step in England?

A story appeared last week that indicates how the English ed by the Bolsheviks in 1917. workers are feeling. Union bu- During the five years in which reaucrats agreed with an industrial concern not to press for the the Soviet nation he expressed solution of certain grievances himself innumerable times in and a wage dispute. However, the speeches and articles about the rank and file through the shop conditions for realizing a socialcommittee organized a strike ist society. In my History of the that was averted only with the Russian Revolution, Vol. III, pp. HOW STALIN TRIED TO greatest difficulty. The shop 378-418, I gave dozens of Lenin's CHANGE LENIN'S THOUGHT stewards are still sore about the sellout. Orders from the union 1917-1923. Permit me to quote a bureaucrats are being disregard- few of them here:

How many more of these REAL POSITION events occurred which do not esinherent in the war production schedules.

COUPLE desires furnished room in Bronx with comrades. Write sity Place, N.Y.C.

On Lenin's Program Trotsky

Editor, The New York Times New York City, N. Y. Dear Sir:

Times is replete with unproved ers of other countries." insinuations." A very serious accusation. You will permit me, I and her agents bring into misapprehension an important section whole world. This case is exinterest to every intelligent pertendencies; and because Mr. Hamilton-through ignorance or carelessness—seized a wire highly charged with disagreeable sur-

Daladier and the French mili- prises for him as well as for his sible to build a socialist society The shop steward system has in one country, all the more so The political reason for Stalin's

Protection for the rank and file turn was that the Soviet bureau-

A SINGLE QUOTATION

AND THAT ONE DISTORTED there was no break whatsoever. victory of socialism is possible, first in a few or even in a single capitalist country. The victorious How much social dynamite is proletariat of that country, havpacked in the French industrial ing expropriated the capitalists system is indicated by two other and organized its own socialist decrees of the Daladier govern- production, would confront the ment. All industrial workers have rest of the capitalist world, atof their wages to a war chest, classes of other countries. . .'

nothing more than the element- tive investigation, especially for Stalin concluded this explana-Under the pressure of the ris- ary idea that the socailist revolu- American public opinion could tion with the words: "Such, in ng costs of living on the one tion cannot surge up at the same not have been made. Here are the broad outline, are the characterhand and the cut in wages on the time in all the countries of the other hand, combined with long- world but must inevitably begin this particulra point: er hours, speed-up, and accumu- "first" in a few or even in a

the days of Louis Fourteenth of power by the proletariat and been sitting on such a powder of production but not at all the and wrenches the quotation from Can and must! And this diametconstruction of an isolated so-Is it a wonder that the French cialist society. On the contrary, discussion: (2) that Trotsky and of Lenin's position ends with the Foreign Legion and other picked Lenin directly states that the colonial troops are "judiciously" conquest of power would place in that the socialist revolution can line, are the characteristics of means for the development of it will be completed internation- revolution." Thus during the revolution on an international ally. . . scale. The whole argument of Mr. Hamilton like that of his Moscow teachers is based upon the identification of the victory of the socialist revolution with the construction of the socialist society. It is a grotesque sophism! More than once we called the October revolution a great "victory of so-Do they also face the signing beginning of a new historic epoch which over a period of genera-

Is it moreover not astonishing struction of socialism in a single country Mr. Hamilton is incap-And are the shop committees in able of finding anything aside England going to be suppressed? from a falsely interpreted quotation of 1915? Power was conquerpronouncements during the years

ed. Another strike is threatened. INSTANCES OF LENIN'S

cape the censorship? Undoubted- er the February revolution, Lenin power of the bourgeoisie and the ly many. The seeds of unrest are
Swiss workers: "The Russian proletariat in one country alone proletariat cannot with its own does not, per se, mean the comforces victoriously achieve the plete victory of socialism. The socialist revolution. But it can chief task, the organization of socare of S. Stanley, 116 Univer- the European and American so- the final victory of socialism be cialist proletariat, will enter the gained, in one country alone, and

On April 23 (1918) he said at On November 25, The New "Our backwardness has pushed York Times published a letter us forward, and we shall perish signed by John Stuart Hamilton if we cannot hold out until we which begins with the words: meet a mighty support on the "Leon Trotsky's letter in The part of the insurrectionary work-

"For us it is easy to begin a to unmask in passing some of the west it is harder to begin a thick veil of secrecy and official (Pravda, November 21, 1939). the methods by which Moscow revolution but it will be easier to verbiage of the Stalinist Russian continue."

of public opinion throughout the October revolution, Lenin con- with glowing reports of successes firmed this: "We always staked in every field, paeans to Stalintremely favorable because the our plan upon an international with the war news pushed to the theoretic and political question revolution and this was uncon-background. The official tone is party purge which was in part ed on that very charge. It can touched upon in my letter has ditionally right. . . We always that of "calm assurance", "opbeen, in and of itself, of great emphasized the fact that in one timism" and "invincibility". country it is impossible to acson regardless of his ideological complish such a work as a socialist revolution.'

> At the tenth Congress of the a minority of workers in industry riculture are suffering from directed if not at the opponents on condition of its timely support the indisciplined and backward somolskaya Pravda, the official

but because they are the short-

THE DEWEY COMMISSION DECISION ON THIS

York Times. As a matter of fact, the collective farm . . . are rooted Army in the execution of Stalin's for the workers committees that the evolution of the ruling party whole historical conception. For as well as of the administration and Bukharinites. And the Kom-Daladier seeks to kill two birds taken of the question as to how that Prosecutor Vyshinsky intro- evils among themselves, if they inites and Gamarnikites." with one stone in his order abol- and why Stalin and company duced the 1915 quotation in his seek seriously to study the reaindictment against me and oth-

This necessarily made it the without the joint efforts of the the Commission of Dd. John Dew- most advanced countries? No, ey in its investigation of the Mos- this is out of the question. The John Dewey and his collaborators shows that the proletarian this eventuality that he tries to ing quotation from Lenin's ar- politics, that is precisely the case can overthrow the bourgeoisie of ticle written in 1915: ". . . The with me, but there is scarcely one that country. But for the final reasonable man in the world who victory of socialism, for the orwould dare to deny the outstand- ganization of socialist production, ing intellectual honesty of John the strength of one country (es-Dewey, without mentioning his pecially a peasant country, such capacity to analyze textual mat- as Russia) does not suffice. For ters. His collaborators: Professor this, the united strength of the Edward Alsworth Ross, John proletarians in several of the Chamberlain, Suzanne LaFol- most advanced countries is needto "contribute" fifteen per cent tract to itself the oppressed lette, and the others are people ed. . . ("Leninism," by Joseph and 40 per cent of all overtime is and so on. These lines express qualifications. A more authorita- Publishers, 1928. pp. 52-53.) findings of the Commission on istics of Lenin's theory

proletarian revolution." "Lenin's article (1915) . can be taken to mean that social- changed this explanation to read ism can be definitively establish- as follows: "Having consolidated ed in a single country only if one its power, and taking the lead of leaves out the crucial phrase 'at the peasantry, the proletariat of the beginning' (or 'first' in the the victorious country can and quotation cited by Mr. Hamilton) | must build a socialist society." its context in the matter under rically contradictory explanation Lenin are in essential agreement same words: "Such, in broad out-

And further: "A careful study cribed to Lenin two diametrically of the relevant historical mate-opposed conceptions on the most rial has convinced this Commission that Lenin's actual view on tion. Yagoda, the chief of the this subject was that while the G.P.U. was commissioned to socialist revolution could triumph initially in a single country, it could not be ultimately successful without the aid of successful socialist revolutions elsewhere.

We are not in the least concerned with the correctness of Lenin's view. What does concern us is (1) that the Prosecutor falsified Lenin's position; and (2) that Trotsky, far from opposing Lenin on the question of 'socialism in one country' was in essential agreement with him. Obviously, if Trotsky had not held this position he would have op-(My emphasis-L.T.) (Not Guil-Harper & Brothers; New York. 1938. pp. 343, 348.)

peated the long-ago unmasked of humanity there is not a single falsification of Prosecutor Vy-

tive for Soviet painting, sculp-The initiative for the falsifica- ture, theater, films, and so on. tion belongs however not to Vy-Unfortunately one can be certain shinsky but to Stalin. In April in advance that my opponents 1924 in a pamphlet entitled "The will not accept my challenge. Foundations of Leninism" Stalin When departing for Russia aft- wrote: "The overthrow of the . . improve the situation in cialist production, still lies ahead. which its chief, its reliable ally, Can this task be performed, can

Existence of Opposition In U.S.S.R Revealed by Soviet Newspapers

It is becoming more and more | sons for the lag of this or anoth- | name in this instance is of spepress, which now arrives weeks On the third anniversary of the late. The newspapers are filled

Interspersed with these ritual-

istic reports, however, are ex-

tremely cautious comments Russian Party, March 1921, Len-situation. Hints are forthcoming and an enormous majority of pet- many grave weaknesses. Who is of Stalin's latest policy? ty land-owners. In such a coun- to blame? No longer do we hear tations not because they are the gans. We cite only the latest in-ranks of the party and especially most striking—far from that— stance at hand of this new ap- the youth are to be found many

Mr. Hamilton refers to the fact shoulders of the collective farm- (existence of the) army are in-'familiar' to me and that conse- and of the collectives seek in ev- cautious comment nevertheless quently I am hiding it consciously ery way to shield themselves. Yet makes it quite clear that there is from the readers of The New the real reasons for the lag of disapproval of the use of the Red

By the end of the same year he

Mr. Hamilton tried to accuse

tion but of the systematic falsi-

Kremlin ruling clique. A codified

collection of such a series of fal-

sifications, The History of the

Communist Party of the U.S.S.

book more dishonest than this

'History" which serves now not

only as the basis of political

propaganda but also as the direc-

YPSL XMAS SOCIAL-916 9th

Ave., at 59th St. Meet you under the mistletoe at the great-

est affair yet. Dancing, refresh-

ments, entertainment. Admis-

sion, 25 cents. Auspices, New York Division YPSL.

December 6, 1939

Coyoacan, D.F.

L. TROTSKY

point of view.

thope, to prove that it is false and it," he said in May (1918). "In difficult to penetrate behind the er collective in their territory." cial significance. Gamarnik was we reach an ever greater number the executive committee, etc., set

EXISTENCE OF DISSIDENTS REVEALED BY PRESS

Stalin-Hitler pact. Very frequent within the Red Army itself! reference has been made in the press to those who adopt an "ovwhich supply a key to the real ism" and a "onesided view on the tember there has been a consist-

proach. In discussing lags in col- "scholastics and muddleheads lective farms, Pravda has the who seize on the letter of Marxism and hold the view that such "Everything is unloaded on the things as communism and the

The inclusion of Gamarnik's September 22, 1939).

head of the Political Department of the Red Army, purged together with the other Marshals of the Red Army. The "fate of the Ga-This drive against the local marnikites" is of particular party leaders is undoubtedly meaning to the Red Army ranks closely connected with the recent where thousands have been purgblow against opposition to the only be a warning to dissidents

Industry still suffers from rsimplified approach to Marx- acute labor shortage. Since Sepmethods of struggle against Fas- ent campaign in favor of lengthin explained: "In Russia we have of the fact that industry and ag- cism." At whom are these words ing the working day. Supplementing it, has been a campaign taken the paper into the work- manic campaign etc., are a case to draw in women into industry ers' neighborhoods. I can't offer in point. The last several issues The clearest indication of actu- and to remove "outdated" re- any excuses; we just failed to have been decidedly improved, try the social revolution could that it is the fault of "wreckers" al opposition to Stalin's moves is trictions for the employment of to be found in the pages of Kompatible final success only . . . etc. Nor does the blame fall on to be found in the pages of Kompatible final success only . . . etc. Nor does the blame fall on to be found in the pages of Kompatible final success only . . . etc. Nor does the blame fall on the pages of Kompatible final success only . . . etc. Nor does the blame fall on the pages of Kompatible final success only . . . etc. Nor does the blame fall on the pages of Kompatible final success only . . . etc. Nor does the blame fall on the pages of Kompatible final success only . . . etc. Nor does the blame fall on the pages of Kompatible final success only . . . etc. Nor does the blame fall on the pages of Kompatible final success only . . . etc. Nor does the blame fall on the pages of Kompatible final success only . . . etc. Nor does the blame fall on the pages of Kompatible final success only . . . etc. Nor does the blame fall on the pages of Kompatible final success only . . . etc. Nor does the blame fall on the pages of Kompatible final success only . . . etc. Nor does the blame fall on the pages of Kompatible final success only . . . etc. Nor does the blame fall on the pages of Kompatible final success only . . . etc. Nor does the blame fall on the pages of Kompatible final success only . . . etc. Nor does the blame fall on the pages of Kompatible final success only . . . etc. Nor does the blame fall on the pages of Kompatible final success only . . . etc. Nor does the blame fall on the pages of Kompatible final success only . . . etc. Nor does the blame fall on the pages of Kompatible final success only . . . etc. Nor does the blame fall on the pages of Kompatible final success only . . . etc. Nor does the blame fall on the pages of Kompatible final success only . . . etc. Nor does the blame fall on the pages of Kompatible final success only . . . etc. Nor does the blame fall on the Out of the 37,000 unemployed in anti-Coughlin campaign we sold ing by them. It's up to us now. by a social revolution in one or elements. Not at all. Local and gan of the Soviet Young Commutate the city of Lvov (recently sovietthe City of Lvov (recently sovietthe Appeal on the downtown Comrades, it can be done, let's y a social revolution in one or elements. Not at all book are nist League. In issue No. 213 of everal advanced countries. ." regional directing bodies are nist League. In issue No. 213 of ized) some eight thousand were streets. At the expiration of the do it. I limit myself to these few quo- blamed, especially the party or- this paper it is stated that in the removed to the Don Basin to campaign we relapsed back into work in the mines. (Pravda, No- our old lethargy. Whenever the Toledo, Ohio vember 21).

and the administration.

Miliukov's paper, Poslednya long ago passed the bounds of I am acquainted not only with in nothing else but the inept lead-foreign policy, that is, the inva-Novesty, (published in Paris) our attendance was regular, our the letter are unjust. I do not bein addition to that vital lune internal Marxist discussion. It is this quotation but with Lenin's ership of the labor force both on sion of Poland! This is attacked carried an interesting interview system in France was the basis not possible to understand either work in general and with his the part of the regional leaders as the viewpoint of Trotskyites with a recent "arrival" from for the workers committees that virtually took power in 1936—a of the U.S.S.R. or the character the agents of the Kremlin, Lenin of the collective itself. . . Leaders somoiskaya Pravda warns the and Zhdanov did not expect the living weakness was the inabilvirtually took power in 1900—a of the present Soviet power's for- is reduced to a falsified quotation of no small number of other re- dissidents to bear in mind the outbreak of war and refused to eign policy if clear account is not from 1911. The thing went so far gions can easily lay bare these fate of the "Trotskyites, Bukhar- believe the war news when first reported. (Poslednya Novosty,

This necessarily made it the object of a special research by proletarians in several of the Harrison Steel Workers AND THAT ONE DISTORTED ey in its investigation of the MosIn order to demonstrate that cow trials. One can disagree with history of the Russian Revolution Show Inspiring Solidarity

Harrison plant of Crucible Steel.

Several weeks ago, the company hired an extra force of in all Crucible Steel plants.

Join Protest Walkout spite of the fact that the CIO this winter." has fallen down miserably in organizing the fight for adequate relief standards for the unemployed, joined the older men in a protest walkout against company attempts to institute the stagger system. The new men solidarized themselves with the determination of the men not to work Saturday and Sunday without time and a half for overtime. The stagger syste mrequres these men to work these days for

straight time. elapse of half a year Stalin as-When the management met the grievance committee, on Dec. 1, the company offered a "comfundamental question of revolupromise" to the union, which included a provision to fire the new men at once. Thus the company prove the correctness of the new hoped to precipitate a split in the ranks of the men involved.

Men Stick Togther me of the concealment of one The electric furnace men held quotation from Lenin,-we have a meeting that afternoon to vote just seen with what success. I on the "compromise" proposals. accuse the Comintern school not Since most of the new men had of the concealment of one quotanot yet received a pay check and were financially unable to joinfication of ideas, facts, quotations in the interests of the The stagger system resuires these

HARRISON, N. J.-The New ner which served notice to the the inspiring act of solidarity unanimously to work a four day the electric furnace men in the work. This was an act of solidarfor years.

Speech of Leon Trotsky

recorded on two discs; made for the New York meeting celebrating the tenth anniversary of the founding of the Fourth International in this

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posed instead of vigorously supporting the October Revolution." (My amphasis L.T.) (Not Guiller) (Not Guiller) S.R. and abroad in tens of milty. Report of Dewey Commission, Harper & Brothers; New York. self to prove before any impartial commission that in the library

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Comrade Editor:

best bearer of that message and ceive a wider and wider circula- this work. tion among the working classes. Every comrade worth his salt will agree with me on this.

What has caused this retreat? I would lay the blame primarily the work. However, the National upon the branches and not the Office is not entirely blameless. National Office. Let me cite the As the letter from comrade Cur-During the time I have been in been very suitable for popular the branch (approximately a consumption. The headlines deyear) we have most certainly not voted to Shachtman's council-

Appeal bill began to assume The situation in the coal in- alarming proportions we threw a WORKERS READ APPEAL dustry has not improved. The party or social and managed to -IF THEY'RE REACHED leading article in Pravda for No- send in a few dollars. Then, with Editor: rember 12 places the responsibil-sighs of relief at the narrowness In a recent issue of the Appeal, that Lenin's quotation of 1915 is ers, but the leaders of the region compatible." The involved and production on the regional heads our comfortable inertia. In most of Appeal sales. While his letter respects we had a first-rate contains some concrete suggestbranch. We conducted classes, ions of value, it appears to me discussion groups and the like, that many of the statements in morale good, and we had an ex- lieve it to be true as Curtiss says cellent proletarian composition. that a worker will not read our But our definite and most para- paper twice. ity to activize the comrades in trade union meetings with the this one all-important respect: Appeal consistently for the last taking our paper into the homes three months selling from 15 to

> of concerted effort and determin- ers week after week. ation, we succeeded in breaking Perhaps if Curtiss would check tofore everybody had claimed ex- of workers consistently. emption on one pretext or an-

rade will be on hand.

all proves that the Appeal can be has been in any former period.

I want to urge every branch The return of the Appeal to in the country that has difficulty once-weekly publication can only in solving this problem to try signify for us an unfortunate and our tactics. (1) Exempt only inopportune retreat. At this time, those who have very valid exon the very eve of a world war, cuses: (2) let the leading comit is absolutely imperative that rades (this is most important!), of workers with our message and the pace and show by example our progam. The Appeal, as the what can and must be done; (3) impress upon every member the program, should, nay must, re- vital necessity of carrying on

I stated above, the primary reason for our retreat lies in the failure of the branches, by and large, to carry on their share of case of Toledo (with which I am tis testified, the Appeal in the most familiar) as an example. not--too-distant past has not

DOYLE CLARK

I have covered some local 25 papers at each meeting and About three weeks ago, by dint repeating sales to the same work-

out of the rut. How did we do it? on the local situation which he I'll tell you. First by establishing discusses, he may find that indefinitely who was and who was sufficient effort has been made to not exempted from the job. Here- sell our paper to the same group

Capable and nationally known other. Clearly, all were not en- leaders of our party often travel titled to exemption. After the hundreds of miles for the oppor-Jersey trade union movement company as to what will occur in members who had legitimate real tunity of speaking to no greater will remember for years to come the future, the older men voted sons for exemption were deter- number of workers than a capamined we found that we had a ble and devoted comrade can inthat has recently occurred among week and keep the new men at few who could go out and sell. terview while selling the Appeal The next step was a motion that at union meetings. There is too ity which will be remembered we mobilize on the following Sun- much of a tendency to relegate day morning at ten sharp. On the the sale of the Appeal to just With steel operations up to 94 motion leading branch comrades anybody, instead of seeing in it electric furnace men whom they percent of capacity, the SWOC spoke of the absolute necessity an opportunity for capable comof high intellectual and moral Stalin. New York: International intended to use as scabs if a has chosen an opportune time to of such action. Motion passed rades to contact workers. The walkout materialized. Strike votes act on a national contract with unanimously. Next Sunday at ten problem of improving our paper are now being taken by the Steel Crucible Steel, as an opening gun sharp five comrades showed up. is an important one but in addi-Workers Organizing Committee in a drive for blanket organiza- They disposed of the papers on tion, we must realize that our pation of big and little steel. As hand in a little less than twenty per, not any more than any of one rank and filer put it, "We minutes with enough money col- our comrades, can succeed in con-The newly hired workers, in ain't depending on Santa Claus lected to more than defray the tacting workers unless they con cost of the papers. Last Sunday sistently go to those workers at we had seven comrades on the their places of meeting and do job. Next Sunday we feel confi- not expect the workers to come dent that every available com- to the party office for their pa-

> The ice has been broken, dis- I take the liberty to speak in tribution turns out to be very this manner because I know from simple and doesn't take over an personal experience that the Sohour or so, and the comrades ac- cialist Appeal is today better retually get a kick out of it! Which ceived by workers than our press Oakland, Calif.

WORKERS' FORUM

takes this opportunity to inform Memphis. his friends and well-wishers that efforts are being continued unremittingly for his release with prospects that are distinctly encouraging. Those who desire to express

their good-will toward Fred E. Beal and the spirit of the Christmas season by a gift or a letter may send same to him at the Caledonia Prison Farms, Halifax, and West. North Carolina. Fred likes candy, cake, genuine Jewish pumpernickel, books, magazines, a pair of earphones for a radio, winter wear, etc.

and the work entailed in the fu- chased out of town, and many of ture necessitate an appeal for the people who are for them (esfunds. We can conceive of no pecially the CIO) have had very more worthwhile cause in the in- little or no union experience and terests of American labor toward are all waiting for someone else which a Christmas contribution to tell them how to do it. can be made than to the Beal Defense Fund. May we urge readers to send their donations to our office, Room 610, 19 West 44th Street, New York, N. Y.

> HUGO POLLOCK, Secy. Non-Partisan Committee For the Defense of Fred E. Beal.

Editor:

I never see any letters from Southern workers in the Forum, ion town. but I know you must have some readers in the South because I have met some in this town. If you have them here, you must have them in other places in the Memphis, Tenn

The Non-Partisan Committee places much tougher for workers for the Defense of Fred E. Beal and progressives than Crump's

I suppose people in other parts of the country think that workers here like to be slaves and do not care to build any unions, but that is not so. We, no more than workers in the East and West, want to be slaves, but circumstances over which we have no control have made this a tougher spot to unionize than the East

There are lots of people in this town trying to organize progressive unions, but it isn't easy to build healthy unions in a town, where your leaders are either The efforts exerted thus far killed, jailed, or badly beaten and

Several likely looking movements started in this town recently, but they are all suffering from New Dealitis.

As soon as enough people here discover that the NLRB is not a Board whose sole purpose is to help the workers organize, but is just an organ created for the purpose of preventing strikes, even this town can become a good un-

Let's hear from a few Southern workers occasionally.

Just call me Memphis

Negro Question By J. R. JOHNSON

Ethiopia 1935, Finland 1939. What is being done for "brave little Finland," and what was not done for Ethiopia, is causing some bitter reflections among Negroes. P. L. Prattis, Pittsburg Courier columnist, expresses a widespread sentiment in the issue of December 16th:

"England is reported sending airplanes and other equipment to Finland. Did she send any to Ethiopia? . . . The United States is eager to play a hand. Recall our ambassador from Russia, our indignant leadership demands. All right. Recall the ambassador. Let us do anything we can to show our disapproval of Russia. But what did we do about the Ethiopians? Did anybody demand that we recall our ambassador to Italy? Did anybody become concerned enough to urge that we try to help Ethiopia? Indeed not!" This is his conclusion. And he began:

"However hopeful dark people may try to be, things are happening every day to show us just how hopeless is our cause and plight. Nobody cares a great deal about us. That doesn't mean just in the United States nor does it mean dark people in the United States alone. It means that in the entire world in which we live the folk with dark skin aren't considered. Maybe this obvious, but sometimes things happen that make you feel it all the more keenly. If you are looking out over the world, incidents, tragic incidents, occur which get you down."

No Time For Tears!

Mr. Prattis's tears do not deserve even the loan of a dirty handkerchief. Negroes have shed many tears in the past, with good cause, but if in 1939 they are going to shed new tears whenever they have new proof of the treachery of what Mr. Prattis calls "England" and "the United States," then they had better all trek to the Grand Canyon and sit in a row on both sides. There they can appoint Prattis tearmaster and cry to their hearts' content without the risk of causing floods.

What infinite stupidity is this! Who expects England to be friendly to an African state? England is the greatest oppressor of Negroes that history has known. Today England is chief jailer over sixty million blacks in Africa. Of the twenty billion British dollars invested overseas, five billion are invested in Africa. That is the

only interest England has in Africa. Come nearer home. Let Prattis dry his tearfilled eyes and look about him. Doesn't he read his own article, his own paper? Has he read the history of the Negro people in Ameica? Presumably, before he started to cry so much he used to. Did Abe Lincoln love Negroes or hate slave owners? Prattis knows. And yet he comes weeping and wailing because the United States government didn't help Ethiopia and now helps "poor little Finland."

Aesop Knew the Answer

Let Mr. Prattis buy a copy of Aesop's fables. There are many copies for children, with large print, which he will be able to read despite his present infirmity. On page 1 he will decipher the following fable: "Once upon a time there were lots of lambs and a few tigers. Every day each tiger would eat a lamb, and sometimes the tigers would fight with each other as to who should have a fat, juicy lamb. One day one of the tigers ate a little black lamb. Whereupon another little black lamb (his name was Prattis) called all the other black lambs together and, • his eyes streaming with tears, said, 'Isn't it a tiger to eat up this poor black lamb. It is because he is black. Boo-hoo.' "

England and France, by which we mean British imperialism and Franch imperialism, stood by and watched Italian imperialism rape Ethiopia. Why? Simply because it is the nature of imperialism to gorge its appetites on all colonial countries. What they were quarreling about was not whether the little black lamb should be eaten, but who should get the choice parts.

In 1936 a great revolution of the workers and peasants burst in Spain. Germany and Italy pounced on Spain, to help Franco and gain concessions for themselves. And what did the other imperialist tigers do? Chamberlain, the British Tory, declared for non-intervention. So did Blum, the French labor leader. Roosevelt, the New Dealer, clapped an embargo on arms to Spain. Stalin, the bureaucrat and murderer of Bolshevism and Bolsheviks, sold some arms to Spain—but on the condition that the workers and peasants would not abolish landlords and capitalists. You have only to look at a map to see how dangerous it was for British and French imperialism to have German and Italian imperialism dominant in Spain. But the "democratic" imperialists were prepared to allow even that, rather than give arms to the workers and peasants, who might conquer Franco and transform "democratic" Spain into socialist Spain.

Not a Color Question

Then Britain and France sold out Czechoslovakia. Suppose someone had said, "It is because the Czechs are white." Wouldn't Prattis have laughed at him as an idiot?

But by this time Germany was becoming too strong. So that these tigers, who didn't lift a finger for "Poor little Ethiopia," or "Poor little Spain," or "Poor little Czechoslovakia," are now weeping almost as much as Prattis over "Poor little Finland." Back of this there is another more fundamental cause. All imperialists (Hitler included) hate Stalin. So when they yell "Poor little Finland," what they mean is "Down with Russia." But one way or the other, it is all a matter of imperialist power.

And any Negro who seeks to defend Finland against Russia, along with Roosevelt, Hoover, Mussolini, and the rest, is making himself the ignorant tool of imperialism. That is the truth. And all the tears of Mr. Prattis will not wash out a word of it. The moment you begin to look at world politics from the point of view of black against white, you end up either in the imperialist camp of loot and slaughter or the Prattis camp of tears and despair.

There is a third camp. Turn your back on imperialist politics. Follow the road to the socialist revolution. A long road? A hard road? Yes. But is there any other road? The workers and peasants in Czechoslovakia, in Spain, in Ethiopia, looked for help to the imperialists. And where are they today?

Indian Left Wing Flays Ghandi

By SHERMAN STANLEY The struggle of India's 375,-Nationalist Congress.

is doing its utmost to prevent disobedience, Gandhi is pushing stances! for further negotiation with the British authorities.

dissipating the revolutionary en- now going on.

ish imperialists.

No Support To Britain! The Congress Socialist Party, 00,000 people for their freedom India's leading radical party, in a location of the top rom British tyranny is centered statement criticizing the Gandhi leaders of the Communist Party today in the struggle between the leadership for attempting to bar- fraction of Local 22 of the Intercontending wings of the Indian gain with the British on the issue national Ladies Garment Work-ment that the "new line" of the The conservative right wing, cannot conceive of any gesture from the Communist Party were: True. But was the old line, the neaded by Mahatma Gandhi, in- or concession on the part of the Ben Gerjoy, Sol Lipniak, Hyman rotten popular front that made

This viewpoint genuinely rep- and Abe Fell and Isidore Gross any action. Utilizing the false resents the sentiments of all In- adjustors.

statement blasting Gandhi and armed people—when they held a tells the story. his supporters from stem to demonstration protesting against stern. It is one of the bitterest rising food prices produced by denunciations of the Gandhi lead- the drainage of India's food supership ever to be made. In his plies for British war needs. Prav- says nothing thout the Stalin- famous Stalinist charge is true. statement Bose accused Gandhi da, publication of the Soviet Rus- Hitler pact, nor about Stalin's The C. P. charged they had "deof sabotaging the desire of the sian government, reports "mass invasion of Finland, nor about serted to the camp of the Love-Indian people to struggle and of arrests" of Congress radicals are their stand on the pro-ally reso-

run far higher.

Stalinist Hold Slipping in CIO

(Continued from Page 1) A third blow for the Stalinof the war, has declared: "We ers Union in New York. Expelled Stalinists "is most injurious." dulged in much radical talk and British Government that could Grossman, Meyer Kravetz—all the unions an adjunct of the War

grounds that the country is not dian radical workers. No support The official C. P. statement on to "make them (the business prepared for a campaign of civil to the British under any circum- the expulsion accuses the ex- agents) more welcome to the pelled of "wavering in the face dressmakers"? Meanwhile, the struggle of the of the war danger." The statemasses continues. In the city of ment of the expelled counters Subhas Chandra Bose, former Jubbulpore, 100 natives were with an accusation that the Stapresident of the Congress, killed and wounded by British po- linists demanded they put their spokesman for the left-wing Na- lice-who were exercising their party interests over the interests step in the right direction. But tionalists, has lately issued a democratic right to murder un- of the union. Neither statement that was an easy step at a time

End of the "United Front" lution of the American Labor Figures released by the British Party. But their opposition to the baiting stooges of the bosses and Of still greater significance authorities dealing with strikes Stalinists is a direct result of the Dies Committee against the was Bose's statement that the for the first six months of this these events. Up until the Stalin- best interests of the working Congress left wing would not go year reveal the growing activi- Hitler pact and the new turn of class." Only an Egyptian contoralong with the Ghandhists unless ties of India's working class. the Communist party the expelled tionist could possibly get into all hey immediately adopted a pro- There were 109 strikes, involving business agents, following the those camps at the same timegram for action. Bose stated that 100,000 workers. A total of Stalinist line, were in a united and even he would have his difthe left wing would go forward 1,580,000 working days were front administration with the ficulties. on its own, regardless of Gandhi's spent in these strikes. Textile and Lovestoneite manager of the lo-

lline" they were instructed to break with Zimmerman and go into opposition. They balked Hence the expulsion.

Zimmerman says in a statethreats for a while, but has again staged a treacherous retreat and supporting the imperialist war." business agents; Morris Rosenberg, executive board member any less injurious? Or is the mere fact of unity with the Zimmerman administration sufficient

Which Way Now? By breaking with the Stalin-

ists, the business agents took a when Stalinism is as popular as a crateful of skunks. The question is: where do they stand today? The statement of the expelled Obviously, their denial of the instoneites, Trotskyites, and Social Democrats, the pro-war, Red-

Having denounced the Stalinattempted sabotage. He likewise jute workers accounted for 40% cal, Charles S. Zimmerman. They ists, the expelled business agents accused Gandhi—and correctly so of the strikes and 62% of the were preparing a united front owe the class conscious workers of more violently opposing the workers involved. The figures for slate again with Zimmerman pri- an answer on their position toder the conditions of the "new I. L. G. W. administration. Have these questions.

vember broke all records, soaring to 125 in terms of the Federal Reserve Board's official index. In the boom year of 1929 the index was 119. BUT labor - saving machinery, other technological advances and, last but not least,

Prosperity Is

Know It Yet?

this country last month.

Here! Don't You

Prosperity came back to

Industrial production in No-

new methods of speed-up which squeeze the most out of a workingman in the shortest possible time, make it possible for the bosses to produce more today than in 1929 with fewer and fewer workers. In addition, the sons and daughters of the workingmen insist on being born and growing up.

So, the new peak of production means-

At least ten million eating their hearts out for non-existent jobs-

Less relief than ever since

Hunger and outright starvation in every part of the coun-

But what are you kicking about? Prosperity is here-

you broken with the Stalinis war camp to join the camp of the Allies and Roosevelt? Or have you joined the Third Camp of struggle against imperialist war?

The progressive workers will udge all those who break from

Congress radicals than the Brit- the last six months of 1939 will or to the Stalin-Hitler pact. Un- wards the social patriots of the Stalinism by their answer to

Loire and the other is one of the most important members of the Bourse de Travail of Saint-

The mutinies had one important result: it was over a year before the French high command dared to send its troops into another major offensive. The mutineers failed to make either peace or a revolution, but the uprising s an inspiring episode in the long history of mass rebellion. And the hundreds of thousands of poilus who faced court martial and execution to make their protest known, could say, with the anonymous mutineer who told his comrades: "If they shoot me, at least I shall know why I am dy-

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were told to wait at a point

In This Corner

by MAX SHACHTMAN

The Diplomatic **Double-Cross**

Although the second World War has been on for more than three months, it would be a mistake to suppose that the present division of the two camps and their supporters is so fixed that the line will not be crossed in either direction for the duration of the fighting. Quite the contrary. One of the reasons why large-scale hostilities have been so slow in developing between the two camps is that each of them is rather reluctant to engage the other decisively before having exhausted all possibilities of further alignment and realignment. Both sides are making desperate attempts to cajole or coerce into alliance those countries which have not yet definitely committed their sympathies and those which have committed them but not very firmly.

More plainly, at no time in modern history has the dirty diplomatic game of duplicity, of double and triple cross, been played so feverishly as today. At no time has trust of the peoples been so cynically abused, their ideals and aspirations so cunningly subverted, their lives so cold-bloodedly used as pawns, as at the present.

Take the single case of Stalin's invasion of The Italian fascists, for example, worked up

a veritable passion over the war, organized semiofficial pro-Finnish demonstrations, and even sent or promised to send a few airplanes to the Finns. Why? Because of their devotion to the sacred cause of national independence and the sovereign integrity of small nations? The sad ghosts of Ethiopia and Albania would laugh out of court anyone stupid or cynical enough to ascribe such lofty motives to Mussolini.

Despite his uneasy alliance with Hitler, Mussolini knows that the Nazis and, for that matter, Stalin, have a yellow eye on the Danubian and Balkan countries. His "gesture" to Finland is Mussolini's way of telling Moscow and Berlin: "Keep your dirty pig's snout out of my cabbage patch" (as Stalin would say). "Or else, please see to it that I get another patch, else I may yield to the ardent advance of my Anglo-French suitor." At the same time, he is saying quite unsubtly to countries like Rumania, Yugoslavia, Greece and Turkey: "Resist the Germans; resist the Russians; you will find in me a real ally and protector. The help I merely promise to Finland will be very substantial in your case."

Much the same practical objective is pursued by England and France. To be sure, one of the aims-by no means without importance- of the democratic demagogues is to exploit Stalin's criminal invasion for the purpose of discrediting the name of communism in the eyes of the masses, who are rightly outraged by the latest abomination of the Kremlin gangsters. The demagogues of course know that Stalin and his acts have as little in common with communism, with revolutionary Marxism, as Hitler has with socialism, but this does not prevent them from making the most out of the situation for their own reactionary ends.

While England and France are just as little concerned with the right of self-determination as Italy (see India, Indo-China, etc.!), they are interested in blackmailing or blackjacking the Hitler-Stalin alliance into two parts. For a series of reasons that need not be dwelled upon here, they did not succeed in getting Hitler to play the role of "super-Wrangel", of spearhead of the imperialist intervention into the Soviet Unionat least not at this stage. If they could isolate Hitler and make him their tool without the expense and risk of a world war, so much the better. Hence the alternate wooing and threatening of Hitler's Moscow partner. An example of the wooing was what was tantamount to the British whitewash of Stalin's invasion of Poland. much to the discomfiture and anger of the ludicrous remnants of the Polish "government" in France. An example of the threatening is the way England and France have "rallied" to Finland. While practically nothing is excluded from possibility in these hectic and changeful times, it is most unlikely at the present stage that the "democracies" will launch a war against

The British promise of material aid to Finland, like the farcical expulsion of Russia from the League of Nations, has primarily different aims for the moment. The countries of Southeastern Europe are teetering uncertainly between the German and the Anglo-French camps. The miserable, reactionary bourgeoisie of these countries is saying to itself: If England and France do as little for us as they did for Poland or are doing for Finland, then we might as well go over as servants of Hitler before he crushes us completely and dismisses us even as servants. The 'democratic" gestures of aid to the Finnish bourgeoisie are calculated to reassure the Balkan vassals of London and Paris, to encourage greater resistance to Hitler's encroachments.

At the same time, Stalin is being warned: Don't go much further; don't tighten your alliance with Hitler. We are still capable of making it hot for you, if not today then tomorrow, unless you break with Berlin and join us, as we proposed last August.

The warning is not entirely purposeless. But Stalin will part with Hitler only when Hitler has ceased to be a menace to him. And Hitler will cease to be a menace only if the "democracies" reduce his military capacities by a series of successful battles.

Like Chamberlain, Roosevelt is not only warning Stalin to break with Hitler, but at least as important as that, he is warning him not to make an alliance with Japan for the subjugation of China, which would temporarily protect Stalin's eastern flank and turn over most of China to the Japanese—to the exclusion of American imperialism. At the same time, Ambassador Drew tells Tokyo that Washington will not tolerate an alliance with Moscow at the expense of "China" (read: of U.S. imperialist interests in China).

As always in such cases, Finland is a mere pawn of all the imperialist bandits, and its cause a pious fraud on their lips. Not only its socialist interests but its democratic right to independence are defended in reality only by us revolutionary internationalists.

(Concluded from last week) We have seen that the immeliate cause of the mutinies which paralyzed the French Army in he spring of 1917 was the disastrous failure of the Nivelle offensive. To gain a few miles in Champagne, 100,000 French soldiers died and 150,000 were wounded. As World War standards went, this was "not so bad". But General Nivelle had raised high hopes in the army with his promises of a complete oreak-through and the end of the

glaringly revealed than usual. time keeping from running over nfantrymen, who would try to get in their way. "Won't you just

Morale had been going down in the army since 1914. That year The mutinies took

to the killing pens?"

it was on their leaves that the from civilians." troops became "infected" with by the wartime government. Cut- of the committee." ting off leaves thus merely aggravated the unrest in the army.

RUSSIAN REVOLUTION INSPIRES MUTINIES

Another serious miscalculation to the February revolution in Russia. When the Czar was overthrown and a respectable bourgeois democratic government set up, the Allied propagandists joyfully hailed the event. Czarism had always embarassed them, and now they could welcome "the new Russian democracy" into the idealistic fraternity making war against "Kaiserism". The author- a swift move. The crowd shout-

 $\equiv 2.$ "... At Least I Know Why I Am Dying!"

The 1917 Mutinies in the French Army

by "Spartacus" \equiv

var. This time the incompetence but encouraged the spreading of trice, not a single customer of the General Staff was more the news of the Russian revolution in the trenches. It was a great mistake. The poilus cut The army was thoroughly fed through all the idealistic bunk to up with the slaughter by 1917, the real heart of the matter: one utterly war-weary. Truck drivers of the warring governments had on the Verdun road had a hard been overthrown, a loophole for peace had been opened.

Trotsky writes of a Russian reak a leg for me, old chap?" soldier who, when he heard the hey would plead. Troop trains Czar had abdicated, began to began arriving at the front with pack up to go home. Questioned VIVE LA PAIX!" and "TO THE by his officer, he replied: "The SLAUGHTER-HOUSE!" chalked Czar sent me to war, and what on their sides. Corday, in Paris is the use of freedom if I still Front, tells about a company of have to rot in the trenches?" oung recruits marching through Neither Miliukov nor Clemenceau a French village "baa-ing like (nor, doubtless, the officer) un- in their claim that we must sheep". Astonished, the villagers derstood the soldier's logic. The asked why the strange noises. poilus, cooped up in their filthy 'What do you expect?" was the trenches, badly fed, shivering in answer. "Aren't they taking us the cruellest winter of the warthey understood just what their Russian brother meant.

1917 there were 21,174 officially and strikes on the home front. ing the morale of the troops." | Another: "They will settle you as trol. they settled Jaures. . ." The en-The War Ministry took "severe couragement came from soldiers measures". Leaves were cancelled at the front. The threats come SEVERE REPRESSIONS

pacifist and revolutionary ideas. The government finally decided

strikes rolled over Paris. Corday many such instances:

"May 26: The strikes. . . . Great excitement at the Labor Bureau. Endless processions of laughing women. . . . A crowd of strikers compelled the cafes and restaurants in the Place de la Republique to shut. It was ities, therefore, not only allowed ed: 'Off with the aprons!' In a

was left on the terrace. A deputation went in. The staff at once went on strike. The news was announced by a strike leader standing on a table. He was cheered. The shutters were rolled down with a loud noise. The whole operation took only five minutes for each cafe. "Meanwhile the women strik-

ers lolled on the deserted terraces with an attitude of laughing independence. It made one think of the French Revolution, with the populace overrunning the royal palaces. . . The newspapers are unanimous suspect foreign influence in the strikes. They all demand a firm attitude.'

neers to establish contact with condemned to death. the workers and revolutionaries "I had to reprieve these men," there were 509 desertions; in against a background of unrest mutinies merely an episodic re- Minister, "because their execurecorded. On February 28, a All through the first half of 1917 litical revolution. During the pe- eral strike in the great city of month and a half before the of- the agitation for sending French riod of the mutinies, every rail- Saint-Etienne against which the Tensive began, General Nivelle delegates to the Socialist peace road station and road leading out Government would have been dewrote that more illegal tracts conference at Stockholm went on. of Paris was closely guarded, and fenseless for lack of police. One had been seized among the troops Corday records in his journal: no less than 1280 civilians were of the condemned is a member of n the fifteen days just past than "Lunch with Jean Longuet, So-arrested at Paris stations as the Teachers Federation of the in the last three months of 1916. cialist. . . . He showed me letters "suspects" and "agitators". News I feel that severe measures must he has received: 'Go to Stock- of the mutinies, likewise, was be taken to prevent pacifist agi- holm. . . If you succeed, your kept out of the Paris press until tation from seriously undermin- name will be immortal,' ran one they had been gotten under con-

CONCESSIONS—AND

General Petain, who replaced Nivelle as comander-in-chief. Mail from home was held up. But against allowing a French dele-granted many of the immediate these measures made the situa- gation to go to Stockholm. In his demands: omore leaves, better tion worse. One of the reasons memoirs, Poincare tells why: "I rations, more pay for the solthe troops finally mutinied was asked General Petain: 'If there diers' families at home. He made simply in order to get back home is an international Socialist Con- a personal tour of the entire again and see their families. For gress in Stockholm, and if the front, assuring the troops that no years now letters from home had French meet with the Germans more offensives would be requirold of increasing misery and pri- there to discuss peace terms, ed — for the present, at least. vation. Governmental allowances would you be able to hold your These concessions he combined to soldiers' families were nig- army in hand? Could you prevail with some severe repressions, "to gardly, as was the soldiers' pay. upon it to continue fighting?' Pe- make an example". He demanded The mutinies were "strikes" tain answered very bluntly, 'No'. and got from President Poincare against not only useless slaughter This monosyllable, uttered in a a special order allowing the arout also against subhuman living strong voice, produced a pro- my courts martial to condemn standards forced on the masses found impression on the members and execute men without granting an appeal to the civil author-

That spring there was also, for The official number of executhe first time since the war, a tions was small, only twentygreat May Day demonstration in three. But there is reason to be-Paris. A "Committee for the re- lieve Petain found other and even newal of international relations" more terrible means. Wintringheld a mass meeting attended by ham tells this story, taken from by the authorities was in respect ten thousand people. A wave of Barbusse, who insists it is one of

"Several battalions had mutinied, near Soissons, had taken and then had been surrounded and disarmed. Two hundred and fifty were chosen at random, taken in trucks round and round about until they did not know where they were, and then marched under escort to a quiet part of the front. They

beyond the front-line trenches -they did not know that they were in no man's land. The escort was withdrawn, and the French artillery began to hammer to pulp into the earth these two hundred and fifty men. Steel and high explosive and the hailing shrapnel came first, German machine guns woke as their sentries reported a raid, then French machine guns, rifles, even bayonets finished the tragedy. . ."

LABOR UNIONS SAVED LIVES OF MUTINEERS

workers' organizations were able to exert on the rare occasions when they established contact with the troops, is dramatically shown in the case of two non-It was the failure of the muti- commissioned officers who wer

behind the lines that made the explained Paul Painleve, War volt and not the prelude to a po- tion would have provoked a gen-

SOCIALIST APPEAL

Vol. III. No. 94

Saturday, December 23, 1939

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

Editors:

FELIX MORROW

MAX SHACHTMAN

General Manager: GEORGE CLARKE Assistant Manager: SHERMAN STANLEY

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

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

FIGHT WITH THE SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY FOR:

- A job and a decent living for every worker.
 Open the idle factories—operate them under
- workers' control.
- A Twenty-Billion dollar Federal public works and housing program.
- Thirty-thirty—\$30-weekly minimum wage—30-hour weekly maximum for all workers on all jobs.
 Thirty dollar weekly old-age and disability
- 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.

Kuusinen's "People's GovernmentofFinland"

The Stalinist press has had very little to say about Kuusinen's "People's Government of Finland," since it was "established." We should like to hear a little more about it and about the backbone of this government, the Finnish Communist party. How strong a section of the working-class and peasantry backs it? What is its membership—if only in round numbers? Just what are the claims of the Kuusinen "government" to sovereignty?

We ask these questions because a painstaking study of the records of the Comintern fail to provide us with the answers. More accurately, our study provides us with evidence on the basis of which one can come to only one conclusion: the Communist party of Finland has been practically non-existent for years in any shape or form and, consequently, Kuusinen's "government" has no constituency to represent. We propose to prove this fact to the satisfaction of any Communist party member or sympathizer who is seriously trying to understand the present events.

From 1918 to 1933

The Communist party had been illegal in Finland for some years before the present events, but that is scarcely the explanation for its impotence. The capacity of the Finnish revolutionists to function under conditions of illegality and terrorism has been established time and time again since the end of the civil war of 1918. A hundred thousand Finnish workers and peasants were struck down by Mannerheim's White Guards aided by German troops—well over 30,-000 executed and dead of hunger and sickness in the concentration camps, the others tortured and then imprisoned for long terms. Despite this frightful blood-letting, the Socialist Workers Party was organized by 1920, was joined by the vast majority of the organized workers and at once assumed control over the trade unions. After its affiliation to the Comintern, twenty of its leading members were accused of high treason, condemned to long prison terms, and the party press banned. Nevertheless in the elections of 1921 the party received 128,000 or 14 per cent of all the votes cast.

In 1923 some 140 more leading party members were arrested, in 1924 some 189 more; more than 400 years of imprisonment were meted out to them. In the elections of 1924 a · make-shift workers and peasants party was set up to participate in place of the official Comintern party which had been forcibly dissolved; it received 11.6 per cent of all the votes. In 1925, again, there were mass persecutions, and again illegalization of the party; it was represented in elections by a "Socialist Workers and Peasants" party which in 1927 and 1929 received 12 and 14.5 per cent of all the votes. Again in 1930 the Communist party was proscribed, its property seized and 269 of its members accused of high treason and convicted. This was the time of the peak of the Fascist Lappo movement. The illegal Communist movement withstood the Finnish fascist storm, however, and retained its mass character up to 1933.

Thus, during fifteen heroic years of struggle, from 1918-to 1933, the best sections of the Finnish workers and peasants remained adherents of the Comintern. Neither the blood-letting of

the civil war nor the ensuing waves of persecution and illegality shook them from their loyalty. That loyalty was at last shaken, not by the Finnish bourgeoisie, but by Stalin. When he ordered the German Communist party to go down into the dust without striking a blow against Hitler, the Finnish workers lost their faith in the Comintern. And the Moscow trials gave the Finnish Communist party its knockout blow. Stalin's "socialism" as experienced by the Finns of Soviet Karelia, just across the border, grew more and more abhorrent—until today the point has been reached where Mannerheim can, without any difficulty, mobilize the Finnish proletar-

The Official Record

As a matter of fact, the Stalinist movement has made little pretense, during the last two years, of possessing a Communist movement in Finland. Here is what is revealed by an examination of the files of the Comintern weekly, World News and Views (formerly the International Press Correspondence). During the entire year of 1938—in 52 issues—Finland appears only twice in its elaborate index—two minor articles neither of which even mentions the Finnish Communist party. It is ironical to note that one of those articles approvingly quotes a Helsingfors workers' mass meeting resolution for defense of the independence of Finland, and goes on to comment:

"The organized working class of Helsingfors is emphatically in favor of defending the independence of the country. But it demands that the army shall be purged of those elements who want to drag Finland in the wake of the Nazis' war policy."

The other article complains that Holsti has been forced to resign as Foreign Minister because of his hostility to Nazi pressure!

As with these two articles, so in the general report on "May Day in the Various Countries" for that year, there is no mention of the existence of a Finnish Communist party.

During 1939 the Comintern weekly again mentions Finland only twice. The first time to report that "The toiling population of the country has taken up with enthusiasm the slogan issued by Tanner" against fascism (Jan. 7)—the same Tanner whom the Stalinists now claim represents no section of the toiling population. In Manuilsky's report to the Eighteenth Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (March, 1939), there is a lengthy and verbose section on "The situation in the Communist Parties." In boastful language it mentions many parties, including many which have no real existence; but among those mentioned the Finnish Communist party does not appear! Likewise in the general report on May Day for the year, there is no mention of the Finnish party. The "Premier" of the "People's Government," O. Kuusinen, contributes (March 18, 1939) a lengthy article on "Twenty Years of the Communist International." It mentions many things and many parties—but not the Finnish party. Reports appear of the congresses of the various Scandinavian parties, at which fraternal deleates appear from the parties in the neighboring countries—but never a representative of the Fin-

The second reference to Finland in the year 1939 appears in the Comintern weekly of July 15, an article entitled "The Finnish People for Democracy." It reports the results of the July 1 elections: "The results of the Finnish parliamentary elections on July 1 prove that the people of Finland are for freedom and democracy and against fascism." It records 500,000 votes for the social democrats, an increase of nearly 50,000 over 1936. It records no votes for the Finnish Communist party, not merely because that party was illegal; the party itself was illegal, as we have pointed out, in almost every election, yet up to 1930 managed to express itself in the elections; it records no electoral activity for the Finnish Communist party because that party had, in the intervening years, completely lost its following.

In that July 15 article, the Finnish Communist party is mentioned—the first and last mention of it in the Comintern weekly during a period of two years! It is mentioned in a curious context: the ban on it should be lifted, antifascist prisoners should be released, etc.

"These measures would be best calculated to mobilize the people for the defense of Finland's independence and frustrate the big Finnish bourgeois plans of the Lappo fascists for drawing Finland into the fascist war of conquest."

The final collapse of the Finnish Communist party to the point where it is mentioned once in the last two years in the Comintern weekly—that is a clear index to the stature of the party which "established" a "People's Government" for Finland.

There is no better gauge of the enormously reactionary role of the Stalinist bureaucracy than the post-war history of the Finnish working class. A proletariat with a long and glorious past—it was in the vanguard in the Revolution of 1905—and which quickly recovered from the civil war of 1918, which tenaciously resisted capitalist terror and illegality and showed its strength even by the bourgeois index of electoral results, was finally driven into the arms of the Finnish bourgeoisie by Stalin.

-By Dwight Macdonald

SPARKS IN THE NEWS

Understatement Dept.

"Experiments in how best to entertain soldiers back of the Maginot Line have shown that movie shows come first, cards second and games like dominoes third in popularity. Few men show any disposition to read books, possibly because there is always too much interruption."—news report in a recent N. Y. Times.

Death, Inc.

In previous columns, I have noted how the former sharp distinction between war and peace has become blurred in our age, until by now war has been absorbed into the normal, everyday routine of life under capitalism.

This seems to hold true of both the borugeoisie and the workers in this war. As to the former, the British Government announced a few weeks after the outbreak of the war that it would pay compensation for all damages to civilian life, limb and property "due to action by or against the King's enemies". In announcing this policy, Sir John Simon, Chancellor of the Exchequer, explained: "The risk is one which affects us all and a particular person or a particular property which is struck is a casual victim of the general peril which the State is engaged in doing its best to resist." Thus war is officially recognized as one of the normal hazards of doing business under capitalism, and the shopkeeper whose windows are shattered by German bombs can collect from the State for them just as if the damage had been done by His Majesty's police officers in the discharge of their duty.

The British business man can also insure himself—with private firms—against the hazards of peace. "Armistice insurance" is now one of the regular forms of insurance in London. For a premium of ten pounds on every hundred pounds worth of business, a business man can fully insure himself against all losses which might result if the war ends in the next two months. For every additional month after that, he must pay ten pounds more.

For the workers as well, this war has taken on something of the character of normal peacetime activity. In the last war, workers began functioning as soldiers only when they put on their uniforms. This time in uniform they still retain the character of workers engaged in some vast industrial undertaking. Thus one recent news item from the Maginot Line read: "So great are the distances that the troops actually ride to work on bicycles. We passed details of them

pedalling up from their living quarters to gun positions. ." The phrase, "ride to work," is significant.

Another report describes the new field uniform of the British Army: "The Highlanders whom General Gort visited were in their picturesque uniforms. The day was one of the last occasions on which these and other Scottish troops will appear in the field in their traditional uniforms. The change is being rapidly made from the peacetime uniform to 'battle dress'—a most unromantic but eminently practical costume for combat, consisting of a one-piece khaki overall with a zipper fastener down the front and snaps at the trouser bottoms to keep out the mud."

Kilts and tantans give way to zippered khaki overalls. The soldier has become a mass production worker who wears overalls and rides to work on his bicycle. If the war drags on this way much longer, whole industrial towns may spring up behind the lines, inhabited by families of soldiers. The infantry "worker" will kiss his wife goodbye in the morning and tramp, or cycle, off to "work", a rifle on one shoulder and a well-filled lunch box and thermos of hot coffee under the arm. The thoroughly tamed trade union bureaucracies in France and England will then raise some inspiring new slogans: TIME AND A HALF FOR OVERTIME IN THE TRENCHES! NO OFFENSIVES ON SATURDAY AFTER-NOONS AND SUNDAYS!

Anthology of War Poetry, No. 1

Bernarr MacFadden, publisher of pulp magaazines, last year offered a \$1,000 prize for an official song for the U. S. Army Air Corps—hitherto songless. I reproduce below the first verse of the winning ditty, officially approved by Major General Henry H. Arnold, chief of the Army Air Corps:

Off we go into the wild blue yonder, Climbing high into the sun; Here they come zooming to meet our thunder.

At 'em boys, Give 'er the gun!

Down we dive spouting our flame from under

Off with one helluva* roar! We live in fame

Or go down in flame
BOY! Nothing'll stop the Army Air
Corps!

*NOTE (by publisher of song): For radio, substitute "ter-ri-ble".

In the World of Labor

Australian Labor Bucks Comrade

Conscription for War in Europe
Resistance to the dragooning of youth for im-

perialist slaughter goes on in one form or another in all the belligerent countries. It is only rarely, however, that censorship allows a glimmer of the true situation to break through to see the light of day.

In Australia, for instance, our comrades of the Communist League (Fourth International) carried on a vanguard struggle against the so-called National Register, long before the war started. They explained patiently that the registration of all man-power by the government was merely a prelude to conscription. All the opposition parties, including the Labor Party and the Stalinists, supported the government then, and ridiculed the idea that Australia was preparing to conscript youth for war overseas.

When the war broke out, the Menzies Government finally proclaimed its intention to put conscription into force. However, the Sydney Sun, pro-Government organ, explained on October 23: "They (the conscripts) will not bleed for Imperial ambitions or capitalistic advantage. They will simply learn how, if an enemy attacks their own country, Australia, to put up a good fight against him, instead of being pitched, untrained, into massacre."

Now we learn that this last shred of deception has been dispensed with and that an Australian Imperial Force is to be raised and "would proceed overseas early in 1940." This was the announcement made by Prime Minister Robert G. Menzies in the Australian House on November 29.

After going along for months in support of the government measures on the ground of their purely defensive character, the Labor leaders find themselves hard put to go the whole hog when the naked imperialist content of the war preparations is revealed.

The New York Times of November 30 reports: "A motion by the leader of the Labor Party, John Curtin, that Parliament go on record as opposing the dispatch of an Australian Imperial Force to fight in Europe was defeated today in the House of Representatives. The government defeated the Curtin motion by only 33 to 28."

The strong vote for the Curtin motion is indicative of the tremendous unrest which serves as pressure from the ranks upon the Labor leaders. The laboring masses have boycotted the National Register from the first. The voluntary recruitment system initiated by the government at the outset of the war was a flop.

Whether the Labor skates in Parliament and in official control of the unions will be able to stem the tide, whether the government will be able to make use of the pro-Hitlerite treachery of the Stalinists to derail the workers, is still a matter of conjecture. In their bi-weekly paper, the Militant, our Australian comrades wind up their exposure of conscription in the following words:

"Menzies' conscription can be defeated. The workers are willing to follow a militant lead, as was shown by the National Register boycott. It is necessary that their opposition be mobilized and expressed by the medium of mass meetings, demonstrations and above all, by the enunciation of a clear-cut anti-capitalist policy." (The Militant, November 11, 1939).

That the Australian Fourth Internationalists are doing their bit toward mobilizing the workers in this direction is evidenced clearly by their paper and by the successful mass meetings in Sydney and Melbourne, which they carry on incessantly despite the war regime.

Comrade Franz Meyer Imprisoned in Antwerp

At the beginning of September, our comrade Franz Meyer, member of the International Communists of Germany (I.K.D.) was arrested in Antwerp, Belgium.

Comrade Meyer was charged with furnishing anti-war cartoons to the weekly paper of our Belgian Revolutionary Socialist Party, La Lutte Ouvriere, under the name of Holz.

Here is an example of the "justice" meted out by the so-called "Socialist" Minister of Foreign Affairs, Paul Spaak, to a man whose alleged crime is that he puts his art in the service of the struggle against war. Is Belgian "democracy" really in such a poor state of health that it has to resort to the use of police measures against cartoonists and caricaturists? Is Spaak's conception of the "democratic right of asylum" one in which a refugee artist from Hitler's Germany is to be subjected to the same type of persecution as in Nazi Germany?

Meyer has been imprisoned since September. What is the accusation filed against him? Why is he being held incommunicado? What intentions does the Spaak government have with respect to this refugee revolutionist? Is this rebel artist to be deported and turned over to Hitler's hangmen?

Every class conscious worker, every upright writer and artist has the right to demand an answer from the Belgian "democracy" on the case of Franz Meyer.

Swedish Section of "International Front Against War" at head of Reaction

Stalin's invasion of Finland has called forth a tremendous reaction in Scandinavia. Sympathy with the attacked Finns reaches deep into the workers circles. The reactionaries are utilizing the situation for an attack on civil liberties. In Sweden the Communist paper Ny Dag has been banned and the government has ordered the press distribution bureau, which has a monopoly over the sale of papers on the streets and at the kiosks, to stop the distribution of the paper. Instead of protesting against this unheard-of coup of the government, the representative in parliament of the Swedish Socialist Party, Flyg, has become the advocate of even stronger measures. In a speech at the Riksdag session of December 2, he declared that it was "absurd" to grant Swedish democratic rights to the "agents of a foreign power" and demanded more appropriate measures on the part of the government. This adaptation of Flyg to the moods of reaction is not only cowardly but stupid. For, it is clear that the attacks of Swedish reaction against freedom of the press will not be halted at the doors of the Stalinists. Already, the weekly of Ture Nemann, "Tross allt," (In Spite of Everything), has been confiscated because its criticism of the Hitler regime is "too sharp." Nermann has been hauled into court for that. Flyg is simply digging his own grave.

Flyg's party is a member of the "International Front against War," the successor of the London bureau. What attitude do Lovestone, Brockway and Pivert take towards the actions of their Swedish confrere?

heir by James Burnham

Government

The 1940 Legislative Program of the CIO

The CIO's Legislative Program for 1940, which was made public this week, deserves careful study. However inadequate we may think it, however much we may disagree with part or all of it, its contrast to the Platform of American Industry (the manifesto of the National Association of Manufacturers that I discussed last week) is immediately apparent and in all respects favorable to the CIO. The CIO document says something, and what it says is relevant to the concrete realities of present-day life. The N.A.M. said nothing; its platform is a meaningless jumble of abstract rhetoric. There is little doubt that the CIO deliberately intends to have its program appear in the public eye as the direct challenger of that of the

The C.I.O. States the Problems

John L. Lewis has many times proved himself a sensitive reflector of the moods of the workers in this country. This, indeed, is the source of his great strength and superiority as a labor leader. (That he ruthlessly exploits and perverts these moods for reactionary ends is another matter.) He is the shrewdest of opportunists, riding on the crest of proletarian mass sentiment. It was in this way that he took triumphant leeadership of the industrial union movement, leaving behind in his wake the case-hardened old fogies.

The new CIO Legislative Program gives witness once again to Lewis' sensitivity. In clear and open fashion, the Program states, and states correctly, the really major problems facing the American working class. Every worker will find himself in agreement on the statement of problems. There is no twaddle about "Hull's trade treaties" or "balanced budgets" or "municipal corruption," with which the boss press is now filled in an effort to confuse the people, but: the war, jobs, and democratic rights.

"The Congress of Industrial Organizations urges for the serious consideration by the Federal Congress a legislative program based upon certain fundamental objectives: (1) The United States must keep out of involvement in the foreign wars; (2) The attention of this country and the energies of our Government, industrial and labor leaders of this country, must be directed toward the immediate solving of the problem of unemployment; (3) The democratic rights and institutions of this country must be preserved and maintained; and (4) There must be continued assurance and protection of the rights of labor to organize and bargain collectively as the cornerstone for the preservation and extension of any economic and social program."

These points are elaborated in the body of the program. In addition there are sections on the Wagner Act, the Fair Labor Standards Act, Social Security, Health, Housing and Taxation. So far as they go, no exception can be taken to what is advocated in these sections. The demands, it is true, do not in any case go far enough if we judge them in terms of the needs of the masses, but their direction is undoubtedly right. As a matter of fact, they are more adequate and enlightened than I remember in any comparable CIO or AFL document in recent years.

In passing, it is worth observing that the old CIO policy of calling for "no amendment" to the Wagner Act, as the means of fighting against reactionary attempts at amendment, has been changed to a counterattack. The CIO now demands amendments of its own directed toward strengthening the Act in labor's interests by providing criminal penalties for employers' offenses against the Act, prohibition of government contracts to firms violating the Act, and prohibition of the splitting up of industrial unions.

What Is Left Out

From what I have said so far, it might seem that I ought to urge support and acceptance of the Program as a suitable platform for the Socialist Workers Party. Indeed, I do believe that most of its specific proposals ought to be supported by the S.W.P. and by all workers.

But a Program has a history; and must be judged by what it omits as well as by what it says. If we examine this CIO Program from a more extended point of view, we must add new conclusions.

The Program, for example, says nothing about whom labor must fight against in order to achieve its objectives; nor how to carry on the fight for them; nor—also most important—what the record of Lewis has been in the past fights for similar objectives.

The Program advocates a minimum of 3,000,000 jobs in public works plus public jobs for all youth who are out of work and out of school. In the past also Lewis has been for jobs; but he persuaded the workers to fight for them by putting all faith in Roosevelt, who was the man who cut the jobs.

The Program advocates keeping out of war. In the past, too, Lewis has spoken against getting into the war; but he has been and remains a part of the Roosevelt machine which is itself the chief warmaking apparatus.

The Program demands democratic rights for labor. But in the past Lewis has got the workers to support the candidates of the Republican and Democratic parties, who, once in office, are the ones who amash those rights.

The Program advocates decent housing, medical service, social security. But it says not one word against the rotted system of private property and private profits which, so long as it continues, guarantees that the workers will never have decent housing or medical service or social security.

This is the record and this is why the Program, from the point of view of Lewis and his fellow-bureaucrats, is a fake, designed not to organize the workers for a real struggle toward the objectives of peace, jobs and freedom, but to head off such a struggle and to keep them tied to things as they are.

This does not mean that the Program should be just forgotten (as Lewis will forget it when the time for voting comes). It means that if its progressive aims are to be realized, the workers, and especially the CIO members, should take the struggle for those aims out of the hands of Lewis, and fight in closed, militant and independent class ranks.