

See Your Friends for the  
Twice-a-Week Appeal

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FIVE (5) CENTS

# ROOSEVELT IS STRAINING EVERY EFFORT TO STAMPEDE AMERICA INTO THE WAR

## FDR's War Drive Makes Twice-Weekly Even More Urgent!

by ALBERT GOLDMAN  
(Assistant National Secretary)

When one contemplates the tremendous tasks facing our party at the present moment, not even the publication of the Appeal twice a week is sufficient.

When Hitler decided to invade Holland and Belgium, and thus furnished the American ruling class with a better pretext for entering the conflict, he also made the twice a week Appeal an imperative necessity.

The masses from now on will be under tremendous pressure exerted by the rulers of this country in order to make them change their attitude to the war.

They are now against participation in the imperialist conflict. But their hatred and fear of fascism is great indeed and understandable. The task of Roosevelt and of all varieties of liberals and social-democrats is made a thousand times easier because they can play upon this fear of the masses of Hitler and everything that he represents.

Who will explain to the masses the only correct method of fighting fascism? The duty devolves on us.

And to do that we must strengthen our forces. To do that we must surely increase the power of our press.

The first step is to double the propaganda power of our main propaganda instrument, the Socialist Appeal.

Our members and our sympathizers have this primary task—to assure the publication of the Appeal twice a week by their financial support.

## SCOREBOARD

Minneapolis, with a payment of \$200.00 on its pledge, showed the percentage of fulfillment of the whole drive up to 24%, a gain of 8% since last week. Minneapolis also, thereby moved up into second place, having paid 67% of its pledge.

New Haven sent in \$5.00 on its pledge. So did the maritime workers. Flint also sent in another \$5.00.

All in all, it was a good week only by virtue of the fact that Minneapolis came across. It is imperative that the other branches summon all their energies to begin making real payments. The time for the two-a-week Appeal is not far off—July 1. We must get the money!

Branch	Pledged	Paid	%
Upstate New York	\$ 50.00	\$ 50.00	100
Minneapolis	300.00	200.00	67
Lynn	50.00	29.00	58
Chicago	100.00	50.00	50
Flint	105.00	55.00	50
Boston	170.00	70.00	41
St. Paul	200.00	88.00	41
East Chicago	25.00	10.00	40
New York City	950.00	327.00	34
Detroit	75.00	11.35	15
New Haven	55.00	5.00	9
National Office	550.00	41.00	7
Maritime Workers	780.00	5.00	6
San Francisco	100.00	0.00	0
Newark	100.00	0.00	0
Los Angeles	100.00	0.00	0
Toledo	40.00	0.00	0
Philadelphia	25.00	0.00	0
Omaha	25.00	0.00	0
Indianapolis	10.00	0.00	0
Seattle	15.00	0.00	0
Portland	10.00	0.00	0
Oakland	10.00	0.00	0
Akron	10.00	0.00	0
Buffalo	5.00	0.00	0
Total	\$3860.00	946.35	24.0

## Behind the Lines

The Slave-Masters Scramble for Control of Dutch East Indies

by GEORGE STERN

Nothing is more ominous than the round-robin of "assurances" exchanged among and between the U.S., Japan, France, and Britain about maintaining the status quo of the Netherlands East Indies, richest prize of the southern Pacific.

In terms of modern imperialist politics, this means that each of those nations has served notice that it intends to sit in on the feast. Cordell Hull's latest warning to the Japanese was virtually an open threat of war.

The Japanese have professed "satisfaction" with the Dutch government's pledge that it would not seek or accept foreign "protection" for the Indies, but

the act of French and British troops in landing at Curacao and Aruba in the Dutch West Indies has brought the Japanese to the alert. And what's more, the Dutch government has already fled to London and is likely to be an addition shortly to the list of governments without countries. This will leave the issue of the Indies wide open.

The Japanese have already begun the process of inching toward action to secure possession. They have demanded not only the maintenance of the political status quo, but also of the economic, i.e., if Holland should divert to itself or to the Allies any of the rubber and (Continued on Page 2)

## Dragging In Whole Hemisphere; Orders Fleet Kept Off Hawaii To Openly Threaten Japan

The first week of the war in the Low Countries has also been a week of *Blitzkrieg* in the United States. Roosevelt has thrust all caution aside in a series of lightning moves to mobilize the forces for war. It took him only five days to line up the governments of the Western Hemisphere for an official protest against Germany—a crucial step in making the record for committing the two continents to war. Even before the Germans had marched Roosevelt had ordered the navy not to return to its California bases but to stand by off Hawaii—a decision universally interpreted as preparation for a dash into the western Pacific against Japan. The U. S. Navy already functions, as Hugh Johnson bluntly put it, as if it were an integral unit directed by the Allied Supreme War Council. The airplane factories are working on 24-hour shifts for the Anglo-French bloc, the munitions plants are beginning to follow suit.

And day after day, in speech after speech, one move after another, Roosevelt leads the war-mongers toward their goal.

Spring dried the mud of Flanders and cleared the skies—and the roads filled with motorized armies and the air with bombers. The art of warfare dictated the season for the campaign—six months of good weather ahead assured. On the one hand the Westwall and Maginot lines, on the other Europe's geography, dictated the place—the scene of Napoleon's defeat at Waterloo in 1818, the corridor of the Prussian advance on Paris in 1870 and 1914—the "classic battleground of Europe," it is called in military manuals. The simultaneous extension of the battleground to adjoining Holland was made possible, among other things, by the gigantic intensification of military power since 1918—motorization, mechanization, air force.

It is an incidental detail that the ruling class of Holland and Belgium have declared for the Anglo-French. The only choice that these lesser imperialist powers had was between the contending great powers—the third possibility, neutrality, was denied them by both. The Dutch and Belgian rulers chose the Allies, not at all because Germany had initiated the transformation of their countries into the battleground or because of the affinity of these rulers for "democracy." The possibility of Holland and Belgium choosing to align themselves with Germany was precluded by very material considerations—

namely that the primary sources of the wealth of the Dutch and Belgian bourgeoisie was not in Belgium or Holland but in the Congo and the West and East Indies, out of reach of Germany but quite easily in the grasp of the Anglo-French bloc with the aid of American imperialism.

### They Join the "Democracies" To Keep Their Colonial Slaves

The Belgian Congo, the world's largest producer of radium, cobalt and industrial diamonds and one of the principal sources of copper and tin; the Dutch East Indies, the world's second largest producer of rubber and tin—these substantial considerations—which they got hold of by methods no less brutal than Hitler's and whose population, more numerous than the "mother" countries, are ruled with no less brutality than Hitler employs—dictated the participation of the rulers of the Low Countries on the side of the "democracies."

Similar substantial considerations in the last war dictated the Greek bourgeoisie alignment with France and England, although they had violated Greek neutrality; nor did that violation cause Belgium then to change sides! Who "began," who "first" "violated"—all this plays no part in imperialist war—except as poisonous propaganda to mislead the masses.

After seven months of feeling each other out, then, the great powers have come to grips. The long and pitiless war now really begins to unfold. Less than twenty-two years after they "settled" the first world war, the world's rulers perpetrate the second and even greater holocaust. The eight and a half million men killed in action and the 21 million wounded in the last war, the infinite desolation wrought among the peoples and the infinite riches expended in destruction—all that is to be repeated, but on a still more grandiose scale.

To the great masses who for seven months escaped the direct impact of the war, the first week of the latest stage has brought an inkling of what is now to come. And on both sides. Mothers and children have died from airplane bombs in France—and in Germany. Let us dismiss with the contempt it deserves the spurious indignation of the spokesmen of both sides about "wanton bombing of open towns." They are both guilty. The "democracies" no less than the fascists, as Chatfield

Taylor, chief European delegate of the American Red Cross, is constrained to report from Berlin, Sunday, after viewing the bombed open town of Freiburg. Stopping at nothing to wring riches out of the masses in peace-time, they stop at nothing in war-time. In the midst of all the pious hog-wash of the bourgeois press the retired chief of staff of the U. S. Navy, Rear Admiral Yates Stirling, introduces a refreshingly frank note: "The Allies must be utterly ruthless. . . . Mass air attacks upon Germany proper must be made if Herr Hitler is to be defeated." What he urges, the Anglo-French are attempting.

Perhaps even more heartrending than a picture of mute victims is one of tomorrow's victims frantically and vainly seeking to protect themselves. Mothers in London and Berlin are taking out of the cupboards the almost-forgotten gas masks they got last September and are surrendering their children again to be sent away from the cities. Wherever the armies motor in, on the other side of the road trudge in the opposite direction millions of men, women and children going—where? To safety? Where can that be, in this time of all-enveloping war? Neither in the battlefield or behind the lines. For the war is at everybody's doorstep.

The war is almost at our doorstep, too, and for the same reasons that brought the war to Europe. Not because the United States is menaced by Hitler, or because "our" feelings are outraged by Nazi terrorism or because "civilization" is endangered.

It is true that the American people are anti-fascist to the core, that they feel mortal enmity to Hitler and all he stands for, and that is to the credit of the people. Left to themselves, the great masses of America would find ways and means of combatting fascism here and abroad, of aiding the German workers to free themselves from the yoke of Hitler—ways and means very different from the present ones proposed of backing the French and English empires. Instead, however, the genuinely anti-fascist sentiments of the people are being systematically

manipulated to get them to support a war of the United States whose real purpose has nothing whatsoever to do with freeing the peoples of Europe from fascism.

The forces which are driving this country to war are not the ideals of democracy at all. The driving forces are the vast billions of capital which can find no place for profitable investment within the confines of the United States, the balance sheets of finance and trustified industry which dictate, if capitalism is to survive here, that new fields of expansion, new spheres of influence for investment, new markets, new sources of cheap raw materials, be made available for the insatiable jaws of America's Sixty Families. Look at the tottering business index, if you want to understand Roosevelt's speeches.

### "Expand or Die" Is The Law of All Capitalist States!

"Expand or die," Hitler has said. It applies with especial sharpness to Germany which, unified only in 1870, came to the world arena after the richest booty had already been divided, and when it sought in 1914 to force a re-division was defeated and driven back into still narrower confines. But Hitler is merely expressing what is true of all capitalist states: expand or die. Even the richest and most powerful of the capitalist powers must now expand or die—within its present confines the capitalist class of the United States cannot keep its slaves employed or feed them, as twelve million unemployed—at least a fifth of the families of America—attest. That law of capitalism, suitably disguised for the gullible, is what is expressed by the actions of official Washington during the last week.

America's rulers seek to expand primarily in the Far East and in South America. That means collision with all the other imperialist powers, both "friend" and foe. While allied to Britain during the last war, American imperialism dealt blows to British interests both in China and South America which the Bri-

(Continued on Page 4, editorial columns)

## CIO LAUNCHES 'RED' PURGE IN TOLEDO COUNCIL

Osthimer, Stalinist, Is Expelled After Bitter Fight

by DOYLE CLARK

TOLEDO, Ohio, May 10—Kenneth Osthimer was expelled last night from the Toledo CIO council. The motion to expel Osthimer, which also included "all other delegates who say they are Communists," was made at the last meeting of the council, April 25. Last night, after a bitter and futile opposition, the motion passed. This is launched the official red purge which has been brewing for many months and which only needed the pressure of wartime "patriotism" to touch it off.

A fevered wrangle lasted until midnight. Opponents of the motion denounced the action as "red-baiting" and an attack on fundamental union democracy. Militants and progressives of all shades pointed out how time and again similar campaigns and (Continued on Page 3)

## Flint Auto Unions Back 30-Hour Drive

FLINT, Mich., May 12—Local unions of the UAW-CIO representing approximately 30,000 Flint auto workers have rallied behind the militant campaign, inaugurated by Fisher Body Local 581, demanding that the negotiating committee meeting with GM fight for the 30-hour week at 40-hours pay as an immediate demand.

Fisher Body Local 581 on May 4 passed a fighting resolution calling upon officers of the UAW-CIO to take up in earnest the 30-hour week, 40-hour pay demand as the most serious and pressing necessity of the auto workers. The resolution points out that the greatest problem of the industry is unemployment and insecurity and that this problem must be answered with a fight for a shorter work week with no reduction in pay.

Losing no time in joining ranks with the militant Fisher Body Local, the Buick Local 599 Executive Board at a meeting Saturday, May 11, passed the resolution sent to all locals by Local 581. On the same day a general membership meeting of Chevrolet Local 659, after a discussion which proved that the 30-hour week with 40-hours pay was a foremost demand of the rank and file, passed the resolution by unanimous vote. No reports as to the reception given the Fisher Body resolution in other locals than those reported above are as yet available. But with the solid strength of the Flint auto workers already behind the 30-hour week, 40-hour pay demand, it is expected that in all areas UAW locals will give their support to the fight for this basic demand.

GM Negotiations Stalled While the traditionally militant workers of Flint were once more boldly taking the lead in the auto workers long battle against the auto barons, reports from the GM (Continued on Page 3)

## Amalgamated Clothing Workers Union Opens 13th Biennial Convention

The Silver Jubilee convention of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America opened its sessions in New York, Monday, May 13, scheduled to last until May 25.

The convention opened under the shadow of Roosevelt's war drive and the accompanying drive against the unions. A sister union in the needle trades and the CIO—the Fur Workers International—had just had its leadership convicted under the "anti-trust" formula of Thurman Arnold. Suffering the ills of unemployment more deeply than most trades—the industry is sick unto death—the clothing workers have been particularly hard-hit by the government's slashing of WPA.

None of these grim facts, however, broke through the complacent speeches of President Sidney Hillman and the other leaders of the union. Hillman made the opening session of the convention at Madison Square Garden the occasion for calling for a third term for Roosevelt. Roosevelt reciprocated with a telegram to Hillman: "With you I take pride in the constructive achievements of the Amalgamated . . . in contributing

the progressive forces of the nation to bring them about."

But what has happened to WPA, the wiping out of PWA, the virtual extinction of the housing program, the failure to enforce the Wages and Hours law, etc.—all this Hillman said nothing about.

Hillman and others reminisced a great deal about the 25 years of the Amalgamated. But the real tradition of the Amalgamated they perverted and distorted. Hillman, for example, said: "It has been seven years since labor awoke to the realization that it must participate actively in the political affairs of the nation. Again, oldtimers, this was something that we knew twenty-five years ago when we met in Webster Hall."

Hillman omits one little thing (Continued on Page 4)



# WORKERS' FORUM

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

## Dairy, Auto Strikes Succeed in St. Louis

Editor: Eighty drivers, and thirty inside workers pulled a very neat strike on the Quality Dairy Co. They loaded the trucks and wagons but instead of going out on their routes, they parked their vehicles on the surrounding streets.

The strike began at 5:30 today and the workers were all back at work by 12:30 P.M. when a temporary settlement was affected, pending further negotiations. Terms of the temporary settlement were not announced.

The strike had halted deliveries to 30,000 customers served by the workers in St. Louis and St. Louis County. The vehicles had been packed with ice but the ice began to melt and ran down the gutters in rivulets. The union allowed deliveries to hospitals, schools and orphanages.

The strike was called to stop the Company's violations of the contract, which it had been indulging in for years. They did not employ enough inside workers to handle the checking in of the drivers after they had completed their routes. The drivers would have to wait in line for hours before they could check in. The company had consistently refused to pay overtime for this.

Also, today, a stoppage was staged at the St. Louis Spring Co. For months the bosses were giving the negotiations committee the go-around. Today the boys in the plant got "Spring fever" and went out into the yard to play ball. The boss called the union office. So the union negotiations committee went in again, and this time the boss was all business. He granted more pay, and a week's vacation with pay. The boys are going back to work tomorrow. These workers are in the Auto Workers' Local 282 CIO.

The organizing committee of the Auto Workers, has been attempting to organize Lincoln Engineering Co. for six months, calling on the workers at their homes, etc. Many obstructive things were in their way. They were able to get a small group into the union. Last night the workers of this company voted to strike. The members paid more dues in one night than they had in all the time they had been in the union. They also signed up eight new members today. Which only proves that workers want action.

The strikers at Ford's are still beating the picket line. They have been on strike since Nov. 1937. These workers are in local 325 of the UAWA. St. Louis, Mo. H. V. Romer May 8

## New York Cab Strike Going Strong 19th Day

Editor: Today is the 19th day of the Taxi drivers' strike against the Paramelee and Terminal Cab Companies. As a member of the Ladies Auxiliary of the union, I appeal to you very strongly to help us out. You can cooperate with us in many ways. I will give you an idea of how in relating to you some of the actions that have occurred and the possible outcome of some of them.

The union is demanding 45% of the intake. Our men were getting 42 1/2%. At the present time, the union is giving each picket \$1 per day.

The companies are spending more than \$10,000 a day each more than the usual cost of operation. Scab drivers are only getting paid 42 1/2% of the intake, no more than we were getting before the strike. This makes it not so tough to discourage them. We are getting much assistance from the unionized cab drivers who are not on strike. They have their way of fixing scabs. Wherever there is a cab-parking space, you will always see a Paramelee cab or a Terminal cab squeezed in between two union cabs. They get very little business that way, we are sure.

We women can play a very important part in fighting the scabs. Some women have a wonderful system worked out. Mrs. X hails a Paramelee cab and asks the driver to take her to such and such a block. He drives her around very carefully. When they arrive at the planned destination, Mrs. X gets out, and in come two or three strikers, and we'll leave the rest to your imagination. Mrs. X had a nice ride for nothing anyhow.

The situation at the present time seems to be very hopeful. The morale of the strikers is very high. The government is losing too much money for its satisfaction, the company is losing plenty, the union is gaining support all around, and the scabs are getting hungry on their low wages, besides, they don't like this idea of the union men picketing their homes, and they don't know what to do about it. New York City Mrs. R. A. May 13

## Where was War-Monger while Workers Starved?

Editor: The new play in New York city about the invasion of the so-called democracies is written by Robert Sherwood and has the name of "There Shall Be No Night."

The playwright is very indignant at the horrible plight of the world at the present time and is all wrought up. Did it ever occur to him that the workers have been just as wrought up about their working conditions and wages as he is now about the war?

This is very late in the day to come crashing in the picture full of indignation. Where has Mr. Sherwood been during the last ten years of deprivation and misery in America? Since we heard nothing from him then, it is of little concern now that he should be so furious about a foreign affair. Chicago, Ill. Ed. Berliner

Advertisement!  
FOR SALE—SET OF N. I. from Vol. I, No. 1 to entry into S. P. A. Zostak, c/o Socialist Appeal.

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## 14 JAILED IN N.Y. FOLLOWING RELIEF DEMAND

### Demonstrate Before LaGuardia Relief Bureau

Sixteen locals of the Unemployed and Project Unions carried on an all-day city-wide picket line at New York City's Relief Bureau on May 9. Police countered by arresting 14 of the demonstrators.

This demonstration was called to protest the introduction of the Stamp Plan; the new procedure of the Relief Administration, which is a greater intensification of red tape in the Bureau; and to protest the vicious attacks of the Roosevelt and LaGuardia Administration against the already low living standards of the Unemployed.

All the locals had worked diligently for weeks in preparation for this city-wide demonstration. Street and indoor meetings in the neighborhood, local demonstrations in and outside the Relief Bureaus, leaflet distributions publicizing the action, also house to house and trade union contacting, and 15-20,000 leaflets, prepared for the May 9th action.

This demonstration marks a new stage in the building of a militant unemployed union in New York.

The demonstration's slogans and leaflets exposed the Roosevelt regime for its slashing of relief while appropriating billions for the War machine. Some of the anti-war slogans at the demonstration were:

**All War Funds to the Unemployed!**

**Relief Starts at Home Not Abroad!**

**We cannot wear battleships and our children cannot eat guns!**

**Democracy begins in the Relief Bureaus. Down with Red Tape!**

**Frankie Duty Speaks**

The Harlem demonstration was led jointly by John O'Brien, organizer of the Harlem Unemployed League, and the Afro-American League, an independent militant Negro Unemployed Union led by the well-known Negro leader, Frankie Duty.

The highlight of the day came when Frankie Duty spoke. During her speech she exposed the miserable conditions existing in Harlem and stressed the need for a militant unemployed organization to fight for the needy of Harlem.

On the lower East Side there was a joint picket line of Local 22 and Local 1 at the East Side Relief Bureau. Local 1 is the Italian-speaking local that was led out of the Workers Alliance by Coroni, leader of the local. The two locals demonstrated in the Bureau and refused to leave unless cases were satisfactorily settled. Police arrested ten unemployed workers here.

In the Bronx, Local 5 and 7 demonstrated jointly at D.O. 48 at 178th St. and Webster Ave.

To dramatize and expose the miserable condition of the Bronx unemployed, a horse and wagon was toured through the neighborhood with a sign on it saying, **I LIVE BETTER THAN PEOPLE ON RELIEF!**

Late in the afternoon, when the pregnant Mrs. Miller of Local 7 demanded to know when she would get her relief, one of the husky bureau guards shoved and attempted to intimidate her. Several of the Union members intervened in an attempt to defend her. The police arrested the pregnant woman and those who defended her, not the guard who attacked her.

The three arrested besides Mrs. Miller were Harry Franklin, organizer of Local 7; Sam Winters and Harold Meyers.

**Meeting Protests Arrests**  
The American Labor Aid laid out the necessary bail, which was \$15 for each, and the four were released in the custody of the lawyer. Locals 5 and 7, jointly with the American Labor Aid, held a mass protest meeting against brutality in the Relief Bureaus and the arrest of the 4 unemployed. The meeting was held Wednesday night at the Local 5 Headquarters at 1581 Washington Ave., Bronx. The Local 7 Headquarters is situated at 1780 Washington Ave.

The complete numbers of the old Militant, first organ of the Trotskyists in this country; from Nov. 15, 1928 to July, 1930; bound, in perfect condition. For sale—\$20. P. B., c/o Socialist Appeal.

## Sailors' Victory Exposes Phoney Bridges 'Peace' Plan

### He Continues Seeking Boss Collaboration in Maritime Unions

**SAN FRANCISCO, May 11**—Victory of the Sailors Union of the Pacific in winning from the shipowners a flat \$10 wage increase to all ratings and a 10 cents an hour increase on overtime pay thoroughly exposed the Stalinites' phony "peace plan" put forward in waterfront unions here by the Bridges machine.

Nevertheless, Bridges is continuing to push the campaign for his program of collaboration with the bosses. Today's issue of the Voice of the Federation reported that at a mass meeting held at the Civic Auditorium here May 3, 8,000 members of Bridges' longshoremen's union "roared approval" of the program.

**Few Longshoremen Present**  
Of the 8000 members reported present at the mass meeting, however, many were warehousemen, scalers, bargemen and other allied crafts. Such a "mass meeting" was called by the Stalinites to avoid carrying the issues directly to the longshore locals, where the gains made by other maritime workers carry real weight.

A resolution was introduced from Local 1-6 Warehousemen, the Voice reported, pointing out the "necessity of furthering our organizational efforts to include those workers in the rural areas where as yet organization has not been effected in order to strengthen and maintain the conditions which we have been able to establish here and in the metropolitan areas." This is just a dodge to avoid the real fight on the waterfront.

Calling for approval of a 15-cent increase in per capita tax, this resolution evidently was one of the main reasons for the meeting.

Harry Bridges, "reported at length on the problems confronted by the Maritime workers and the possibilities of encountering difficulties with the shipowners for a long-term agreement," the Voice said.

The Voice failed to go into details of the difficulties Bridges anticipates in getting the shipowners to sign up on terms which Frank P. Foisie, president of the Waterfront Employers Association, recently declared the employers themselves have been advocating for the past nine months!

**Suspicion Grows**  
Maritime workers are becoming increasingly suspicious of Bridges' five-year peace plan. The Marine Cooks and Stewards, among those who first endorsed the plan, today are left with only a temporary agreement and are working from day-to-day under provisions of the old contract. The extension contract which they signed last

## Behind

(Continued from Page 1)  
tin that now goes from the Indies to Japan—a likely prospect—the Japanese will regard the status quo as infringed and would take their familiar measures of "self-defense."

The job of manufacturing pretexts for eventual action is already also well underway. On Sunday, May 12, the Japanese consul in Batavia "protested strongly" to the Dutch government against "increasing anti-Japanese agitation among the Dutch inhabitants." Further, and more significant, Domei (Japanese) News Agency began circulating reports on May 14 that a movement of the natives against the Dutch rulers had been launched in the Indies.

We know that the Japanese are primarily interested in creating a situation which would facilitate their intervention and the utmost vigilance must be maintained with respect to rumors of this kind.

But it is nevertheless precisely with such a nationalist movement that the colonial slaves of the East Indies sought to win their freedom after the last war. Strikes and partial insurrections of the plantation workers throughout the 3,000-mile archipelago developed between 1919 and 1925 into a war of considerable magnitude. The "peaceful" and "democratic" Dutch laid aside their knouts, and with rifle, machine gun and bombing plane, crushed the revolt amid great slaughter.

## Breitman is S.W.P. Standard-Bearer in New Jersey Elections

**NEWARK, N. J.**—The District Committee of the Socialist Workers Party of New Jersey announced this week the selection of George Breitman as its candidate for U.S. Senator in the November 5th elections, and the collection over an 11-day period of almost 1200 signatures to petitions to place Breitman on the ballot (800 signatures are required).

Breitman will run for office on a fighting anti-war program which will contrast strangely with the program of the war-mongering millionaire Minister to Canada, James H. R. Cromwell, the candidate of the isolationist, relief-cutting, navy-building program of the G. O. P. incumbent, Warren Barbour.

Plans laid for the campaign this year indicate that for the first time the Party is in a position to strike out into the fertile central and south Jersey working class cities to present our program, instead of being limited to just the northern part of the state.

A statement of the District Committee pointed out that the speedy, last-minute response to the call of the Party for signatures to the petitions indicated on the one hand the growing interest of the workers in the Party program, and on the other, the increased efficiency of Party activity.

fall required them to give a 60-day notice before the question of a wage increase could even be discussed with shipowners.

Failing to win endorsement of such key unions in the Maritime industry as firemen and sailors, as well as important sections of the longshoremen, the Stalinites have been forced to use the names of less strategic organizations to give the impression that their program has the support of Maritime unions.

Among these latter have been such outfits as the Northwest Alaska Cannery Workers, Plywood and Veneer Workers Union 9-102, and even the Ladies Auxiliary of Textile Workers, 128.

The main argument put forward on the waterfront for the "peace plan," that the organizational struggle must be carried inland to meet the shipowners where their real interests lie, has produced to date no really aggressive organizational measures but only a stumping tour by Bridges in support of the Patterson delegation to the Democratic national convention.

## Must Oust Stalinites

Only by working for such a program can the Negro members of the Marine Cooks and Stewards hope to gain support for their struggle against Jim Crow in the union.

Not only will such a program rally support of the most advanced and militant members of the Cooks and Stewards; it will gain the support of the Sailors and Firemen and broad sections of the Longshoremen who already have raised the cry for reconstitution of the Maritime Federation. If successfully carried out, this program would result in the ousting of the Stalinitist leadership of the Cooks and the creation of an aggressive union capable of representing the real interests of its members.

## "FOURTH INTERNATIONAL" SUBS REACH RECORD HIGH

Results in the Fourth International subscription drive again hit a record-breaking high, as the second week of the drive brought in an additional 82 subscriptions. The two-week total now stands at 181 paid subscriptions for the new 32-page monthly magazine of the Socialist Workers Party.

With two weeks to go to obtain the number necessary to gain second-class mailing rights, the outlook is bright for a successful wind-up to the national campaign. Here is the record, by cities, of the past week's subs:

New York City.....18  
Los Angeles.....12

## Jim Crow Issue in Marine Cooks is Evaded

**SAN FRANCISCO, May 11**—Faced with a major Jim Crow issue in the Marine Cooks and Stewards Association of the Pacific, the union's Stalinitist leadership at a meeting here Thursday backed away from the problem, stifling discussion of a resolution introduced by Negro members of the union.

The colored worker's resolution demanded that the negotiating committee force the Matson Navigation Co. to recognize the right of the union to ship any qualified member to jobs in any of the firm's four big luxury liners, the Monterey, Mariposa, Lurline and Matsoma.

They found themselves without a chance to speak on the motion. The union's Stalinitist leaders in any such situation are tied hand and foot by their weak-kneed policy toward the shipowners. And the Negro workers are faced with a Jim Crow battle in which, outnumbered, they cannot win without assistance.

## Militant Program Needed

Such a policy in the union can be overcome by the Negro members only by showing themselves the strongest, most militant of the unionists. By working consistently for a progressive program in the union which would include equal rights for all members, they can rally support of the most advanced and militant workers.

Such a program in the Marine Cooks and Stewards would include these main points:

1. Aggressive policy against the shipowners for a 8-hour day in a spread of 12 hours, and a flat increase in wages for all ratings commensurate with increases won by the Sailors and Firemen. This precludes any talk about 5-year "peace plans."
2. Uniform expiration dates for agreements of all marine crafts, especially the seagoing crafts.
3. Joint negotiating committee representing unlicensed seagoing personnel. This committee would handle negotiations for Cooks, Sailors and firemen.
4. "What is the right of one member is the right of all members alike." This is a vital issue in the internal conduct of any union. Such pressure from employers as has been applied in the past few years by the Matson Line cannot be tolerated by any union worthy of the name.
5. Reconstitution of the Maritime Federation of the Pacific along its original lines. This would include the seven basic unions and would exclude "front" organizations having no connection with Maritime work.

## Must Oust Stalinites

Only by working for such a program can the Negro members of the Marine Cooks and Stewards hope to gain support for their struggle against Jim Crow in the union.

Not only will such a program rally support of the most advanced and militant members of the Cooks and Stewards; it will gain the support of the Sailors and Firemen and broad sections of the Longshoremen who already have raised the cry for reconstitution of the Maritime Federation. If successfully carried out, this program would result in the ousting of the Stalinitist leadership of the Cooks and the creation of an aggressive union capable of representing the real interests of its members.

## "FOURTH INTERNATIONAL" SUBS REACH RECORD HIGH

Results in the Fourth International subscription drive again hit a record-breaking high, as the second week of the drive brought in an additional 82 subscriptions. The two-week total now stands at 181 paid subscriptions for the new 32-page monthly magazine of the Socialist Workers Party.

With two weeks to go to obtain the number necessary to gain second-class mailing rights, the outlook is bright for a successful wind-up to the national campaign. Here is the record, by cities, of the past week's subs:

New York City.....18  
Los Angeles.....12

## Radio Workers Local Joins CIO In Body

Local B-1010, International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, gave a final and unequivocal answer to the traitorous conduct of their International Representative, William Beedie, by joining the CIO in a body on May 6. Support of Beedie by the IBEW International office left the local no alternative.

Beedie's recent conduct in suspending the local's leadership in order to make a deal with the bosses was the last straw.

The dispute between Beedie and the membership of the local started about a year ago when he was defeated for the post of Business Agent by Emil Katz, and Frank Sullivan was elected President. He retained his appointed post of International Representative however, and has since used it in every way to discredit and harass the progressive leadership of Katz and Sullivan.

In the Transformer Corporation of America strike last fall—the strike issue was a 10c per hour increase and the membership responded 100%—Beedie sent the employers a copy of the reactionary constitution of the IBEW which showed them the way to fight the strike. The constitution provided that all strikes must have the approval of the International office. This he conveniently refused to give to the membership and he labeled it an outlaw strike.

This scab trick forced the workers back to work, but in spite of the treachery of Beedie, the local leadership of Katz and Sullivan were able to gain a 2 cent an hour increase.

**Beedie Helped Bosses**

The most recent trouble has been over the signing of new contracts between the union and the radio set manufacturers of New York City. On March 4 the local asked Beedie to submit any of his proposals to the union before he took them to the bosses, but he refused and worked hand in glove with the bosses.

The March 7 conference showed the bosses in a mood to smash the union. In an already bad contract they proposed to put a new clause allowing a 60 day apprentice period at 10 cents an hour under the union scale. Since there are plenty of experienced workers in the union and the work season only lasts two to three months in small shops, this proposal amounted to a 25% pay cut for most of the membership. Beedie favored this clause and was willing to sign a contract on this basis to run for a period of three years. The contract called for a shop chairman and strict seniority but another clause said that if this interfered with production then the boss need pay no attention to it.

The union membership rejected this contract and demanded a 20c per hour increase in wages. Beedie gave his answer to the membership by suspending Katz and Sullivan from membership and office in the local. He called them to a conference in the Hotel Pennsylvania and while they were out of the office he raided it and took the funds and records.

In the meantime Beedie got together with the bosses and on April 29, signed a contract in the name of the union which contains, beside the reactionary clauses before mentioned, another clause which binds the union to perpetual arbitration.

## Vote Almost Unanimous

The membership gave their answer to these tactics. They met on May 6 with almost a 100% attendance and listened to Katz, Sullivan, and representatives of the CIO's United Electrical, Radio & Machine Workers Union. The vote on CIO affiliation found over 800 for the proposal with 2 against and 3 walking out of the meeting.

The new CIO local will be called Local 430 and will have the

## IBEW FIGHTING 'ANTI-TRUST' PERSECUTION

### Union Conducts Broad Educational Drive Against Arnold

In the forefront of the unions which do not intend to take lying down Thurman Arnold's "anti-trust" persecutions is powerful, militant Local 3, of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, AFL, New York.

Conducting at present a widespread educational campaign to acquaint the labor public with the facts about the government's anti-labor drive, this local union of more than 6,000 men plan a ceaseless struggle against government persecution.

Eleven of its officers have been indicted, as has the union itself. Vast fines have been imposed, long prison terms dealt out for alleged criminal activity—although no traces of corruption exist, and no such charge was even leveled!

**Pamphlet Now Available**  
An excellent pamphlet, by H. H. Broach, union educational director, has been issued in a first press run of 10,000 copies, presenting labor's case against these vicious persecutions.

Throughout the city the union is holding meetings, and sending speakers to meetings, to educate workers on the facts of the struggle.

At a recent union meeting of Local 3 at Manhattan Center, the 6,000 members present voted to take upon themselves a tax of 10 cents for every hour worked, to raise a fund large enough to carry the fight forward on every possible front. The members even volunteered to pay more if necessary.

A national conference in New York, the latter part of May, was decided upon, to draw IBEW local unions throughout the country into the fight against Thurman Arnold's union-busting crusade.

**March on Washington**  
A fighting resolution was passed unanimously, and with rising acclamation by the 6,000 men, to march upon Washington in a motorized Protest Army, the moment their officers give the word.

The entire union is geared for action, setting an example which all unions—whether under indictment or not—must follow if labor is to ward off this potential death blow.

## Way Is Pointed

The national union conference and the march on Washington are the way Local 3 of the IBEW has pointed—and they are the right way—to carry on the militant union fight. It is now the work of all unions willing and anxious to fight, to join in action with Local 3, particularly for the March on Washington.

Let the enemies of labor see that the union strength displayed in May Day parades throughout the country is fighting strength—that labor can and will mobilize to settle this vital issue.


same officers, Katz and Sullivan. They plan to obtain new contracts and then in a joint drive with Local 1206, the radio parts workers, to get the last remaining scab shop in the city, Emerson Radio Co.

After the organization of Emerson the both locals then plan to unite into one industrial local. Then all radio and radio parts workers in the city will be organized into one union.

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**The Negro Question**

Robert L. Birchman

**West Indian Negroes' Jobs in Canal Zone Defended by Minneapolis Labor**

MINNEAPOLIS, Minn.—The attempt of William Green to gain labor's endorsement for his move to bar West Indians from jobs as skilled workers in the Panama Canal zone received a set-back when the Minneapolis Central Labor Union voted to disregard any distinction as to race and citizenship of workers in the Panama zone, and simply approved that efforts be made to assure that every worker received union wages, hours and conditions.

William Green is asking all AFL bodies to support a congressional amendment to appropriation bills for the Canal Zone, which amendments would eliminate 12,000 West Indian Negroes from skilled occupations. Mr. Green doesn't mind the Negroes working at unskilled jobs.

**Questions Use of Term "Negro"**

I question very much the correctness of your column-heading—"The Negro Question."

The word Negro is a legitimate one and found in the dictionary (so is the word "slave"). And the Greenwich Villager, the successful singer, etc., may be very proud of it. Even while they lick the boots of the white bourgeoisie, they trade on their "solidarity" with their race. And the "race" men often take a strong and almost masochistic delight in speaking of the "Negro."

YET—they all know that a great portion of the colored working class resent the word second only to the word "nigger." Not from any inferiority complex, as the "race" newspapers continually suggest, but rather because of their genuine militancy and their still inarticulate class-consciousness.

Colored people would rather be called such. They are not seeking to escape their color, (they are not Greenwich Villagers), but to escape its accompanying indignities. And to call them "colored people" as they wish, instead of "Negroes" is not catering to prejudice, etc., but just the opposite, and is in fact, getting off the high horse of a kind of condescension.

It is only when you are already familiar with a colored man that you speak about the "Negro." Don't forget that when we take the Appeal to our colored brothers on the WPA, in the factories, or in their homes, we show them page 3 first—and your column. And their eyes fall on "The Negro Question." It make me feel like a social worker or something.

The title sounds like something meant to appeal to white people alone, just as the phrase "servant problem" is loved most by the masters.

Let's remember we are talking to people—as well as about them. We are talking to perhaps the most revolutionary group in the United States. It is not a "question" what to "do" with them—or even entirely a question of what they are to do. They have no "question." They have no choice but to struggle. They are already angry. They merely lack the "piston box" to hold and put to work the steam of their wrath. They lack the socialist revolution. They lack—so far—the leadership. And believe me, it will be a great leadership, great in more than just theory, that can guide the unleashed fury of the colored race.

So please put me down for one, who would rather hear about the "Revolt of the Black Man" or the "Colored Peoples Struggle" or any other such thing rather than the "Negro Question." Titles in a mass paper are rather important.

Buffalo, New York V. C.

[Lets hear from other readers if they feel the way V. C. does about this.]

**THE RUSSELL FIGHT— A STUDY ON LIBERALS**

By WALTER O'ROURKE

The appointment of Bertrand Russell, English mathematician and philosopher, to the faculty of the City College of New York has been in the headlines of the bourgeois press for many weeks. Russell wrote books in which he expressed opinions of sex relations that did not please the bourgeois moralists. Because of his ideas about free love, the family and religion, there arose a storm of protest from religious and other reactionary sections of New York society.

Bishop Manning himself sent a protest to the school board which appointed Russell. As a result a law suit was started by Mrs. Jean Kay, a Brooklyn taxpayer; she contested the legality of the appointment on the grounds that Russell was not a citizen of the United States and that he would have an immoral influence on the children of New York attending City College. Judge McGeehan made a decision cancelling the appointment because "The contention of the petitioner (Mrs. Kay) that Mr. Russell has taught in his books immoral and salacious doctrines is amply sustained by the books conceded to be the writings of Bertrand Russell."

There is no doubt but that this decision is a blow at academic freedom and that it must be opposed by all interested in maintaining what democratic rights we still possess.

**THE LIBERALS CAN'T LEAD THAT FIGHT**

But the liberals who protest so vehemently against this reactionary example of capitalist democracy really present a sorry picture. Bertrand Russell, their standard bearer in the fight for freedom, is the sorriest of the lot—not even having the courage to issue a fighting statement. He preferred to leave all of this to the Civil Liberties Union and took his whipping docilely in the hope that the bone would be tossed back to him if he submitted quietly.

Professor Speer of N.Y.U. is "astounded," Dr. Boas of Columbia, "deeply shocked"—the Committee for Cultural Freedom petitions Mayor LaGuardia to urge the appeal of the McGeehan decision; sixty Northwestern University faculty members pledge the sum of five dollars apiece to fight this "serious menace to academic freedom." (We might ask of the Committee for Cultural Freedom if they were at all disturbed by LaGuardia's attempt to destroy the Transport Workers Union a few weeks ago.)

But the past year has seen other "shocking" events. The Russell case is just one more incident, and a minor one at that, in the organized campaign to prepare the country for war. The attempts to force the unemployed into the army and navy, the WPA prosecutions in Minneapolis, the framings of the Teamster Union officials

**Toledo CIO Council Launches Red Purge**

(Continued from Page 1)

purges had resulted in the complete emasculation of labor unions. On the other side of the fence the most vicious and reactionary attacks were made against all who opposed the American Legion type of "Americanism." One delegate introduced a resolution which would have required every delegate to sign a pledge stating that he was neither a Communist or a Nazi.

The official vote of expulsion was taken shortly before adjournment with the vote standing 52 for, 37 against. Five CIO locals have already concurred in the action of the central body.

**His Own Medicine**

Ironically enough, Osthimer is a delegate representing a white collar workers union (Local 29, U.O.P.W.U.) from which, a little over a year ago several Trotskyites were expelled "for being anti-Roosevelt," at the instigation of Osthimer and other Stalinists in the union. Now the official party line has swerved and poor Osthimer is behind the eight ball.

This was thrown in his face last night by Joseph Ditzel, president of the Chevrolet local. Osthimer stated, during his defense speech, that during the Chevrolet strike he had visited the home of Ditzel "nearly every night." Ditzel—who was opposed to the expulsion—said not only Osthimer, "but a lot of Communists came to my house during the strike, after they had been run off the picket line, begging me to let them march." The Stalinists, Ditzel continued, said they wanted to be able to claim some credit for winning the strike. "I said I am for freedom of speech, I'm for it for everyone, even Communists. The Communists want it only for themselves, not for anyone else, especially not for the Trotskyites."

But the purge of the Stalinists is just the beginning. All too soon every real labor militant, every progressive, every war-opponent and every revolutionary worker will feel the Iron Heel of the war lords. The real worker-fighters will be crushed side by side with the spurious Stalinists. And without these real elements, the core and soul of the working classes, the American labor movement will be a huge, sprawling, grotesque thing, devoid of all democracy and all militancy.

**Workers of America! Stand against the purge of radicals and militants in the labor movement! Stand against the weak-kneed leaders who capitulate so cravenly before the pressure of the war-mongers! Stand against every opponent of full and complete democracy in the union! Stand for the mighty force of organized labor which constitutes your only weapon for defeating those who would despoil and exploit you in peacetime and send you to your deaths in time of war!**

The decisive blows in defense of academic freedom as well as liberty and progress in general will have to be dealt by the workers. The uninspiring figure of a Russell, afraid to open his mouth, can never be the leader in the fight for academic freedom. This worthy and important struggle as part of the struggle for all democratic rights can and will be led by a militant, revolutionary working class which by dauntlessly throwing its force against those of its class enemy can inspire and gain the support of all the oppressed strata of society.

**Flint Auto Unions Back 30-Hour Plan**

(Continued from Page 1)

negotiations indicate that little progress has been made.

General Motors has shown little or no inclination to make any concessions whatever to the UAW-CIO. President Knudsen, according to reports, has emphatically stated that he will grant no wage increases, that he will not recognize the shop steward system, and has generally behaved as though he felt that the corporation was in a position to tell the union to go to hell.

Sidney Hillman and Phillip Murray, CIO moguls, have taken over the union's end of the negotiations; from all reports they are purely on the defensive and Murray is beginning to spread the opinion that the union will have to give up demands for the shop stewards system.

**Militants Propose Strategy**

Negotiations have begun at the beginning of the slack season in the industry when the company can afford a struggle with the union much better than during the fall upswing. This fact is recognized by the militant membership of the union, as was shown at a meeting of the GM sub-council of the UAW-CIO in Detroit last week, where a motion was passed requesting that negotiations be postponed until the production pick-up, and at that time to begin a real fight not only for the shop steward system, wage increases, abolition of the D. list, seniority, etc., but also for the 30-hour week at 40 hours pay.

**Company Provokes Men**

The GM Corporation, well aware of its temporary advantage, has been provoking dozens of minor incidents in the plants. These provocations, speed-ups, the taking away of rest periods and the like, have been met with rank and file action in plant after plant. These widely separated actions have been thrown up during negotiations by the corporation as proof of the irresponsibility of the union.

While these provocations continue, the union leadership thus far has found no answer except to advise the membership to use caution, to be respectable and to trust in the top committee. No comprehensive or serious solution to the corporation's offensive, to the membership's problems of insecurity of employment and technological displacement, has been heard from Hillman or Murray or the GM Bargaining Committee.

The fight for the 30-hour week with the 40-hour pay is only beginning. It is yet to be seen what the effect will be of an avalanche of demands from local unions everywhere that the leadership seriously take up this slogan.

Any attempt to pass off a poor agreement on the membership, which many believe that Reuther, Thomas and Co. may attempt to do, will very probably meet a stern rebuff.

**Drivers Union's Story of Fight Now in Pamphlet**

Our readers will be glad to know that they can now obtain all information and background material on the fink suit against the Minneapolis General Drivers Union Local 544, in a pamphlet published by the Northwest Organizer—"Behind the 544 Suit."

The fink suit against this militant Drivers Union began in 1938 and has aroused national interest in the labor movement. The flagrant, open attempt to blacken the name of the Driver's Union, the methods used by the bosses to break this union which has been and continues to be the backbone of the Minneapolis movement, are clearly shown in the pamphlet.

The history of the union itself, since its rebirth in 1933-34, the organizational and economic gains to the workers of the city in that period, the workings of the gigantic bookkeeping system used by Local 544, are all written into the pamphlet in detail.

The preface, written by Miles Dunne, editor of the Northwest Organizer and secretary-treasurer of the Teamsters Joint Council, parent body of Local 544, is a splendid analysis of the rise of the national labor movement since 1933. Miles Dunne shows clearly the connection between the rising working class, the gains forced out of the employing class, and the present frantic drive against organized labor by the boss class and the government.

One of the major issues raised by the finks' attorneys in the trial was the disbursement of funds by the union. Charges that the treasury of the union was a "huge iron safe from which the officials dipped at will," have been fully rebutted by one chapter, written by the union bookkeeper herself, outlining in detail the process of keeping books for the union. Even people who knew some of the intricacies of that system were amazed at the painstaking details when they read this section. Every three months, in addition to the regular audit by the auditor from the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, the union hires a public certified accountant firm to go over the books. C. Ward Clarke, who is the accountant regularly assigned by his firm to audit 544's books, stated before the Central Labor Union that "544's books are the best set of books I have ever seen."

The history of the union's fight against opening its books to the enemies of labor is ably traced. From the very beginning, Local 544 has insisted that it will open its books to any bona-fide labor committee, and that the books and financial reports are open to any member of the union, at any time. But the five "members" of the union who brought the suit have unsavory records. They are and have been avowed organizers for the "Associated Independent Unions, Local 1," a child of the boss organization which is now known as the Associated Industries. They have tried repeatedly to draw members away from Local 544 into their fink-dual organization. Even while they held membership within Local 544 they repeatedly broke the rules and had to be disciplined. One of them even boasted that "a bunch of business men are financing the suit against the union."

Miles Dunne ends his preface very fittingly with the following words—and they set the tone of the entire booklet.

"Labor has no champion but Labor. No one can defend labor but labor. The interests of a labor union in a hamlet and in a metropolis are precisely and exactly the same. . . . Labor must fight for its rights with understanding, with clarity, with honesty. . . . But labor must fight."

We heartily recommend that they send immediately and get this very worthwhile pamphlet.

They can obtain copies of "Behind the 544 Suit" by sending 5c to the Northwest Organizer, 257 Plymouth Ave. N., Minneapolis. The sale of the pamphlet has exceeded all expectations and it is well to get your order in early.

**The Struggle for a Proletarian Party**

By JAMES P. CANNON  
National Secretary, S.W.P.

(This is the fifth of a series of articles by Comrade Cannon, to acquaint our readers with the party's estimate of the dispute which arose in the party, was debated in a seven-months' discussion, and was settled by a decisive majority at the Third National Convention, April 5-9.)

**The Case of Burnham**

In the manner of all unreconstructed petty-bourgeois, for whom personal considerations, and especially personal grievances, real or imaginary, weigh heavier than the problems of the party and the class, our oppositionists industriously circulate the accusation that we have been "persecuting" Burnham. It is told around that Cannon especially, who is the "embodiment" of all things evil in the party, cannot tolerate any smart people in the leadership and wanted to "drive Burnham out of the party." There is no doubt that this cry gained some sympathy from the humanitarians in the party and netted some votes for the opposition. Others, unappreciated aspirants for leadership, saw in the "persecuted" Burnham a symbol of their own heartbreaking tragedy. All the insulted and injured rallied to his defense with instinctive solidarity.

Nevertheless, this grievance is entirely imaginary. Burnham never encountered any personal hostility from the proletarian wing of the party. On the contrary, as the record amply demonstrates, he has always been handled with silk gloves and given all kinds of liberties that were denied to others. His qualities and abilities were appreciated in the highest degree and every step that he made in our direction, that is, toward Bolshevism and complete integration into the party, was welcomed and encouraged. Far from trying to "drive Burnham out," extraordinary efforts were made to draw him more completely into the party life. At the same time, the more experienced and discerning comrades understood very well that he was standing in an untenable position; that sooner or later he would have to make up his mind to come all the way with us or go back to the bourgeois world. The unavoidable decision, when it finally came, was of his own making.

In looking through my personal files the other day I ran across a letter from Comrade Dunne, addressed to me in California, November 21st, 1936. This letter is convincing evidence of good will toward Burnham. Vincent wrote: "I have received from Comrade Burnham quite a long letter of very good criticism about The Organizer and the election campaign. I think that Jim does

honor and the decisive influence went to the leaders who had professional occupations outside the party and who, for the most part, lived typical petty-bourgeois lives which were far removed from the lives of the workers they were presumably "leading."

When we organized the Communist Party in this country in 1919, under the inspiration of the Russian revolution, we put a stop to all this nonsense. We had the opinion that leadership of the revolutionary movement was a serious matter, a profession in itself, and the highest and most honorable of all professions. We deemed it unworthy of the dignity of a revolutionary leader to waste his time on some piddling occupation in the bourgeois world and wrong for the party to permit it. We decreed that no one could be a member of the Central Committee of the party unless he was a full time professional party worker, or willing to become such at the call of the party. I think we had the right idea in 1919. It is all the more right at the present hour of the historic clock when the organization of the proletarian party on the highest possible basis of efficiency is the supreme problem of the revolution.

By and large there is no excuse for any exception to this rule unless the party itself, for reasons of its own, finds it advisable to have a prominent leader in this or that position outside the party to serve party ends. Naturally there are and have been and will be cases where the personal responsibilities of the individual cannot be provided for by the party, and he may have to seek an external occupation for economic reasons. That is the case right now with a great many party comrades who ought by right to be devoting their entire time to the party. But such situations have to be regarded as temporary expedients, to be cut short when the financial resources of the party improve.

It is only natural that a man of the outstanding talents and equipment of Burnham should play a leading role in the party. This was universally recognized. At the same time, it seems to me, it placed upon Burnham the obligation to put himself completely at the service of the party and make party work his profession. In the early days of our acquaintance with him I took it for granted that he had this end in view. Far from barring this road to him, I personally made numerous attempts to open it. I first broached the question to him in the summer of 1935. Even then he was highly critical of the administrative inefficiency of the Trotskyists; he even propounded the theory that this was an inherent weakness of Trotskyism. He was inclined to the opinion that our "regime"—which was then "embodied" by Shachtman and Cannon—was so pre-occupied with political ideas and with the conviction that they would prevail in spite of everything, that the organizational and administrative machinery for realizing the ideas was not given sufficient attention. (That was before Burnham discovered that Cannon has no political ideas and no interest in them.)

I proposed to him at that time, in the most friendly spirit, that he help us remedy the undoubted weakness. I proposed concretely that he make an end of the two-for-a-nickel business of instructing college students who have no intention of connecting themselves with the labor movement, and devote his energies and

talents entirely to the party. After "thinking it over" for a day or so he rejected the proposal. The reason he gave was somewhat astounding: He said he was not fully convinced of the wisdom of devoting his life entirely to a cause which might not be victorious in his lifetime! Naturally, I could not give him any guarantees. . . .

After my return from California in the summer of 1937, when we were proceeding to form our party again after our expulsion from the S.P., I again raised with Burnham the question of his taking the post of National Secretary. Again I received a negative reply. In the pre-convention discussion which preceded our foundation convention in Chicago a little more than two years ago, Burnham began to develop his revisionist theory on the Russian question. In addition he began to raise the "organization question" in a manner that suggested a difference with us that was something far more profound than disagreement over this or that detail of our current work. In reality, his criticisms were directed not so much at the party regime as at the organization conceptions and traditions of Bolshevism.

He began to express a great deal of concern over "democracy" after the revolution, somewhat in the manner of those democrats who identify Stalinism with Bolshevism. We were greatly disturbed by these manifestations. They seemed to indicate quite clearly that Burnham was moving not toward us, but in an opposite direction. Comrade Shachtman and I, who were working very closely together at that time, had jointly elaborated the organizational resolution against the resolution of Burnham. He and I had several personal conversations about these alarming symptoms of Burnham's defection from the line of our movement. We had followed a deliberate course of minimizing personal friction. This was not so easy in view of the haughty and provocative attitude of Burnham, but we did succeed in keeping personal antagonisms down to a minimum. In one conversation which we had with Burnham during this period, he made it quite clear that his apprehensions were directed at our orthodox Bolshevism on the organization question, or at any rate at our interpretation of it. He expressed the opinion that we, as leaders of a future Soviet, would be too ruthless in our suppression of opposition.

However, he was by no means sure of himself on these points. He was obviously going through a difficult period of skepticism and internal conflict which was undoubtedly aggravated, if not inspired, by a hopeless contradiction between his personal life and his position as a party leader. However, it appeared to us that his Souvarinist views about Bolshevism and Stalinism were not by any means fully formed. His revisionist views on the Russian question had not yet led to counter-revolutionary conclusions with regard to defensism or defeatism. We hoped that he would survive his personal crisis and find his way to Bolshevism. To facilitate that, as I said before, we did everything to maintain friendly personal relations, without making any concessions whatever in principle, either on the Russian question or the organization question.

(Continued Next Week)



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Party for:**

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

Hitler and Mussolini to disappear—but it would only be the individuals. What they represent—the starkly reactionary regimes of desperate capitalist states when they can no longer afford the overhead costs of democracy—would be spawned throughout the war-exhausted world in the wake of a "democratic" victory.

Hitler has no better weapon in his arsenal today than the spectacle of the trade union officialdom, the French "Socialist" and the British Labor parties, and the German Social-Democrats in emigration, supporting the war against Germany. The Nazi propagandists are thereby enabled to constantly din into the ears of the German workers: "Don't you see that the international solidarity of the working class is a sham? Your leaders deserted you and have become agents in the pay of Britain. The British and French workers' organizations are backing the war to dismember Germany. Remember what they did to us at Versailles! Internationalism is a lie." That is a powerful argument, which cannot but have its effect even on the thirteen million German workers who voted socialist and communist in the last election in 1932.

There are few more disgusting spectacles in the world than those groups of former trade union bureaucrats and stipendiaries of the German Social Democracy who, until Hitler came, were lackeys of German imperialism and who now propose to return to their sinecures behind "democratic" bayonets. They have become paid hirelings of Anglo-French imperialism. Among them, incidentally, are not a few ex-Stalinists, such as Willi Muenzenberg, who makes no bones about where he gets the money to run his "German Freedom" radio station in Paris. They are worth the money that Paris and London spend on them insofar as they manage to convince sections of the French and British workers that they are "authentic" representatives of the German workers and thus justify the war against Germany.

But they are not worth a penny of their hire, so far as concerns their effectiveness in causing German workers to revolt against Hitler. The very idea is laughable, that these venal hirelings can foment revolution in Germany. Consider: the Russian workers were strongly opposed to continuation of the war in July, 1917, and were giving ear to the Bolsheviks who were calling them to revolt against the war. Yet the Bolsheviks were nearly destroyed by the slander, made out of whole cloth, that they were hirelings of Germany, preaching against the war as an aid to Germany. Before the Bolsheviks could win a hearing again among the workers, they had to painstakingly prove their absolute innocence of any connections with Germany. Apply this example to the pro-Ally German "socialists"! What was a flimsy slander in the case of Lenin and Trotsky is an obvious and demonstrable truth in the case of these gentlemen. No decent German worker will listen to them.

We are not isolationists. We have nothing but contempt for that poorest of ideologies which declares that "what is going on in Europe is none of our business." What is happening in Europe is very much our business.

It is from this point of view that we say: if you want to help the German workers overthrow Hitler, then show them that the workers in the "democracies" are not ganging up with the bosses to dismember Germany. The German working class has a long and heroic tradition of struggle against German capitalism. Its trade unions, workers' schools and proletarian parties were a model for the workers of other countries. In 1918 it made a great socialist revolution that false leaders derided. It was not their fault that Hitler triumphed. On the contrary, the German working class stood ready to die in the struggle against fascism.

Hitler triumphed only thanks to the corrupt bureaucracy of the Stalinists and the Social-Democracy. Under Stalin's orders the Stalinist leaders fled Germany without striking a blow. The corrupt Social-Democratic leaders tried to make their peace with Hitler; they voted endorsement of Hitler's foreign policy! Then he contemptuously dispersed them.

The leaders who so betrayed them will never again get hold of the leadership of the reviving German working class. The German workers will trust only themselves, only their own class strength and the revolutionary leadership which will express that class strength. And then they will write such a chapter in working class history as will wipe out every item of their degradation under Hitler!

That is the future of the German working class! We can speed its coming by extending our hand to them in class solidarity—against Hitler and against Roosevelt! Workers of all lands, unite! You have nothing to lose but your chains! You have a world to gain!

**In the World of Labor**

By Paul G. Stevens

**Belgian Section for Unconditional Defense of USSR**

In a previous column we quoted at length from a resolution adopted by the Revolutionary Socialist Party (P.S.R.), Belgian section of the Fourth International, on the question of the Soviet Union and the war. Herewith we wish to supplement this information with excerpts from an official letter dated April 2nd, which has been received here.

"Needless to tell you, we are disturbed by the split which has occurred among you. Nevertheless, if the differences are so deep as to paralyze your action, this split will no doubt reinforce your party as a whole. We have known similar situations in Belgium in our dealings with Vereeken and Co.

"We have received the Lebrun bulletin on the defense of the USSR. . . . I believe that Lebrun is departing from Marxism because he tends to base our policies on military conjunctures and subjective elements. . . . The party as a whole will be against his views. . . . At the beginning of the Finnish war we deviated in the same sense, but we have rapidly corrected ourselves and finally adopted your position, as you have seen from the resolution recently sent you. We remain partisans of unconditional defense. . . ."

**Will Stalinist Intrigues Lead Mexico to Bar Spanish Refugees?**

A New York Times dispatch from Mexico City, dated May 6, carries the following news:

"Political agitation against the admission of further contingents of Spanish refugees has caused the Ministry of Government, in view of the approaching Presidential election, to issue an order that no more shall be admitted for the present.

"It is understood that 2,000 Spaniards, ready to sail from France for Mexico, have been obliged to return to concentration camps."

It has been recognized for some time that in their shady maneuvers in Mexican national politics, the Stalinists are planning to concentrate Spanish Civil War veterans under their influence, for possible action in connection with the current election campaign. Apparently the above dispatch recounts the reaction in Mexico to such a move.

By their pernicious and underhanded intervention in Mexican politics, the Stalinists are thus endangering the very lives of thousands of distraught working class militants who had at last hoped to find refuge. Every friend of these militants must be aroused to expose and combat this reprehensible exploitation of their plight by the dastardly Kremlin clique.

Nevertheless, working class organizations and friends of the Spanish class war veterans cannot confine themselves merely to a condemnation of Stalinism in this affair. Letters, telegrams, resolutions, must be sent at once to the Mexican government urging that—while the need for protection against shady Kremlin intrigues is understandable—the crimes of Stalinism must not be visited upon the heads of the worthy Spanish refugees, innocent of any connection with this gang. In France, forced labor or enrollment in the

Foreign Legion are the only alternatives for the heroic fighters against Franco. They must not be left at the mercy of French imperialism. The Mexican government must be urged to give every consideration to them and to distinguish between genuine anti-fascist militants and GPU agents in considering visas.

**Labor's Ranks in Motion as War Enters New Phase**

Confirming the report given in these columns recently by our British comrade, the New York Times of May 6 carries a cable from London which gives the following precise information:

1. The city council of Cardiff in Wales took the lead in denying the use of parks and other open spaces to "Communists." Laborite members voted against this ban as a denial of the right of free speech.

2. At the annual congress of the National Union of Distributive and Allied Workers at Blackpool, that union—while officially expressing concern against Stalinist propaganda—voted by a majority of 4,000 votes, to declare the "present war an imperialist war, waged in the interest of the capitalist class, and called on the whole trade union and labor movements to cease helping the government and use all their energy to end the hostilities."

3. The same union, according to the Times dispatch, "mustered its fullest strength on a resolution ending the electoral truce with the Chamberlain government, which was carried against the will of the union leadership."

It looks as if the British working class has already surpassed the first stage—that of mere apathy—and entered on its second lap of anti-war struggle, that of militant protest. From publications of the Fourth International in England which have recently arrived here it appears that the third stage—that of organized action against the treacherous social-patriotic labor leadership—is not too far off. Next week we intend to go into greater length in dealing with British developments.

**Cuban Section Declares Against Petty-Bourgeois Opposition**

We have received the following brief resolutions from the Bolshevik-Leninist Party (Cuban Section of the Fourth International), dated May 1, 1940.

"1. Resolved: that we maintain the programmatic slogan of unconditional defense of the Soviet Union, considering that the development of events does not require any re-evaluation of that slogan.

"2. In the opinion of the Cuban section, the conduct of the opposition in appropriating press organs of the SWP is to be condemned as disloyal. But we leave for proper time, in the course of the next discussion, other points relating to the opposition in the SWP upon which the section will likewise express its opinion."

Havana, Cuba  
(signed) Provisional Executive Committee  
General Secretary

Herewith is an interesting excerpt from a letter which we have received from a member of the I.K.D. (German Section of the Fourth International):

"Recently I received a rather lengthy report from my home in the Rhineland. According to this report feeling in all layers of the population is extremely depressing. The war of nerves seems to get on the nerves of the Germans themselves more and more. Here's an extraordinarily interesting symptom: the churches, Protestant as well as Catholic, have such overflow crowds every Sunday that many are turned away, whereas the official Nazi meetings and affairs are attended rather sparsely.

"Through a woman comrade in S., who has just got through serving three years' imprisonment, we have once again established connections with a number of our comrades in the prisons, above all in X. and Y. Our friends remain as before firmly with us and have even won new friends in the prisons."

**Clothing Workers Open 13th Biennial Convention**

(Continued from Page 1)

—that in those days the Amalgamated supported the militant Socialist Party of those days and condemned as company-unionism in politics the support of the Democratic party!

The real tradition of the Amalgamated is a tradition of class struggle both in the industry and in politics. A fighting, militant program built the union, when the New York clothing workers, socialist in their outlook, split from the class-collaborationist United Garment Workers in 1914. In the ensuing seven years they built the Amalgamated into a great, powerful union—on the picket line.

But then, in 1921, the bureaucratization of the union began. Hillman pushed the picket line into the background and brought forward the "round-table conference" with the bosses. Built in a split against the "business unionism" of the United, the Amalgamated too became a business union.

**Result of Hillman Policy**

The result? Last fall after the war broke out, and prices rose, the Amalgamated served notice on the industry that it was necessary to adjust wages. But nothing happened. Amid his empty boasting Hillman made a hurried remark in his opening speech, that "conditions did not make it possible to make further demands upon employers in the industry. . . ." What conditions? Why not? Hillman did not say and could not say, because the failure of the Amalgamated leadership to fight for better conditions for the membership is indefensible.

**Auto Workers' Example**

Among Hillman's functions these days is negotiating with General Motors, he and Vice President Murray of the CIO having taken over the job of settling for the Auto Workers Union. But the auto workers aren't taking any old settlement. Like the clothing workers, they suffer from unem-

ployment. And they want some security. That is why they are raising their voices, calling upon the negotiators to fight for the 30 hour week at 40 hours pay as an immediate demand for inclusion in the next agreement with General Motors.

Militant clothing workers should watch how the auto workers handle Hillman. These Flint and Detroit workers, even though new to unionism, are showing Hillman a thing or two.

**Russian Bulletin Out**

March-April issue of the Bulletin of the Russian Opposition just off the press! "After the Finnish Experience"—Leon Trotsky reviews the Soviet-Finnish War and analyzes the "rotten" peace concluded by Stalin. "The World Situation"—answers to questions submitted to L. D. Trotsky by an American newspaper man. Also discussion articles on the "Russian question."

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**Stalin Finally Has His Innings With Voroshilov**

Almost simultaneously with the unleashing of the Nazi offensive against the Low Countries, Stalin struck his long postponed and long contemplated blow at Voroshilov. Moscow was stunned by the removal of the latter from the important post he held since 1925, and his replacement by an obscure underling, Timoshenko.

Voroshilov's fate was sealed some time ago. Leon Sedov, shortly before he was murdered by the GPU, forecasted the removal, in February 1938 in an article, "Voroshilov Is Next," written for the Bulletin of the Russian Opposition. After a penetrating analysis of the Red Army purge, Sedov summed up his conclusions as follows:

"Voroshilov's 'liquidation' is being carefully and methodically prepared by Stalin. It is naturally impossible to fix the date definitively. Stalin doesn't himself know the date just now. Unforeseen circumstances may hasten or postpone the liquidation." But, added Sedov, for Voroshilov there is no escape. Events have borne out this prediction.

Just what is the significance of Stalin's latest purge of the Red Army? For it is precisely that—a purge. Overshadowing the liquidation of Voroshilov is the liquidation of thousands upon thousands of political commissars and their underlings who functioned in the military soviets in recent years and throughout the Polish and Finnish invasions. All of them have been swept out at a single stroke. A few have been "promoted" like Voroshilov, that is kicked upstairs temporarily, while the overwhelming majority have unquestionably been demoted, arrested, exiled or shot.

Stalin originally introduced the military soviets solely for political considerations. As Sedov pointed out, through these soviets Stalin strengthened his control over the army tops and to a certain extent decentralized the powerful military apparatus, thus weakening the position of Voroshilov as the head of this apparatus. These military soviets were indispensable for the original Red Army purge. The fact that by the introduction of the military soviets and the purge he was decapitating the army, and undermining its power as the military arm of the workers' state, did not even enter into Stalin's calculations. The maintenance of his regime comes ahead of all other considerations.

Alarmed as Stalin is at the increasing war threat to the USSR, it can be stated with certainty that his latest move does not at all flow from a desire to restore the striking power of the Soviet military forces. The official explanations which try to represent the latest purge in precisely this light serve only as a convenient cover. Today, as in the past, Stalin is motivated solely by the maintenance of his rule.

His apparatus of repression, of which the army is one of the vital cogs, has been undergoing a process of disintegration. This was revealed, incidentally, by the Finnish experience. Stalin is trying to bolster it up by "preventive" measures. Now his blows are directed against the members of his innermost circle. Is Molotov next? The actual order of elimination does not really matter. Not a single one of Stalin's henchmen can escape Voroshilov's fate, as the convulsions of the doomed regime become more and more violent.

To tighten his weakening grip on the beheaded army, Stalin has been forced to do something he did not dare before. Among other things, he restored the rank of general. It may appear to be a slight thing that this rank of "general"—the most hated "title" among the masses, a term most closely connected with the memory of the Czars regime—has finally been revived. But it is in reality a very significant symptom. Stalin is staking everything on the new officer caste which now acquires an enormous specific weight, and a degree of power and independence never before attained by the Soviet officer corps, and this—under war-time conditions. But Stalin's newly-created marshalls and generals will not save him.

Attorney-General Robert H. Jackson declares that Department of Justice officers "must be the first to obey the law". Which would sure cut down their territory considerably.

An INS dispatch from Cali, Columbia, states that two unidentified Americans were killed when a party of geologists were attacked by natives. The geologists were travelling through the Barco region searching for likely oil land. Maybe the natives had heard what happens when oil is found on their land.

"In the interest of dignity," Walter E. Alessandrini, secretary of the citizens' committee on arrangements at the coming Republican national convention, announces that the sale of hot dogs will be barred in the convention hall. They will abide no rival to their own brand of baloney.

Otis C. Hulet, founder and president of the Burlington, Wisconsin, Liars Club, Inc., reporting on this year's crop of whoopers, stated that "we had to make sure that no diplomat's speeches had been substituted for a contestant's lie."

Says E. K. Higdon in the Christian Century: "Three hundred and twenty-five million illiterates in India constitute one of the most difficult problems in social reconstruction known to the present day. Indebtedness, poverty, ill health, low physical vitality, superstition and fear all come trooping at the heels of illiteracy." Before the British came to India, bringing "civilization," India had as high a literacy rate as Britain.

A. V. Shotwell, Omaha attorney, keyed the Sarp county, Nebraska, Republican convention on the theme: "the real issue in this campaign is Americanism." A Democrat heard him and invited Shotwell to address the Democratic convention. Shotwell obliged. The difference between the two old parties could be put in the eye of a needle—and it would rattle.

**The War and the American Workers**

Why Roosevelt's War Machine Is Dragging Us Into the War

- The Mass Slaughter in Holland and Belgium.
- A New Stage in the War.
- What will be the Role of Stalin and the Soviet Union.

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