

## SOCIALIST APPEAL

Vol. IV, No. 24 Saturday, June 15, 1940

Published Weekly by the  
SOCIALIST APPEAL PUBLISHING ASS'N.  
at 116 University Place, New York, N. Y.  
Telephone: ALgonquin 4-8547Editorial Board:  
FELIX MORROW ALBERT GOLDMANGeneral Manager:  
GEORGE CLARKESubscriptions: \$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:

1. A JOB AND A DECENT LIVING FOR EVERY WORKER.
2. OPEN THE IDLE FACTORIES — OPERATE THEM UNDER WORKERS' CONTROL.
3. A TWENTY-BILLION DOLLAR FEDERAL PUBLIC WORKS AND HOUSING PROGRAM.
4. THIRTY-THIRTY—\$30-WEEKLY MINIMUM WAGE—30-HOUR WEEKLY MAXIMUM FOR ALL WORKERS ON ALL JOBS.
5. \$30 WEEKLY OLD-AGE AND DISABILITY PENSION.
6. EXPROPRIATE THE SIXTY FAMILIES.
7. ALL WAR FUNDS TO THE UNEMPLOYED.
8. A PEOPLE'S REFERENDUM ON ANY AND ALL WARS.
9. NO SECRET DIPLOMACY.
10. AN INDEPENDENT LABOR PARTY.
11. WORKERS' DEFENSE GUARDS AGAINST VIGILANTE AND FASCIST ATTACKS.
12. FULL SOCIAL, POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC EQUALITY FOR THE NEGRO PEOPLE.

## Knudsen-Stettinius

The auto workers want to see Hitler stopped, but they don't think it can be done by putting Knudsen, anti-labor head of General Motors, in charge of "national defense" production.

The steel and railroad workers want Hitler stopped, but when they see their worst bosses, Stettinius and Budd, at the helm of "national defense," they smell a rat.

Why does the Navy insist, and Congress agree, to begin building the new battleships by scuttling the Walsh-Healey and the Wage and Hour laws? Why were the Kearny shipyard workers driven back to work on the bosses' terms—the boss being Stettinius' U.S. Steel—and their strike denounced as "treason"?

Never were bosses' voices so powerful as they are today in Washington. At their bidding the House has adopted a series of amendments which would turn the Wagner Labor Act into a weapon against the trade unions.

At the bosses' bidding the "national defense" tax bill puts the burden of the new armament on the backs of the workers. Every unmarried worker earning more than \$15.40 a week will now have to pay an income tax!

At the bosses' bidding the "aliens"—the non-citizens, most of them workers and good union men, many of whom cannot become citizens because of one legal provision or another—are turned over to the FBI's "G-men," and are hounded and bulldozed by all kinds of laws directed against them.

The Department of Justice's "anti-trust" union-busting campaign extends to one city after another.

The Federal Trade Commission has joined in, hounding the militant Mid-west drivers' unions from a new angle—attacking their union contracts which limit the tricks which bosses use to chisel down the wage-scale.

What's going on in Washington? Why are the bosses having everything their own way?

The answer is simple. The Roosevelt government today wants the maximum possible cooperation from the bosses, in order to build in the shortest possible time the gigantic war machine which Congress has already authorized.

The government needs the cooperation of the bosses because they are bosses—they are the legal owners, masters of the factories and mines and railroads. Any friction between the bosses and the administration, no matter how slight, means an obstacle to the building of the war machine.

And so the bosses come to Washington with the exultant feeling that they are running the show completely now. And every Congressional committee is loaded to the brim with the bills which these bosses are noisily demanding—and which they are getting.

Very different from the reception the bosses are getting is that which labor leaders are exper-

encing in Washington these days. The CIO's protest against the scuttling of the Walsh-Healey and the Wage and Hour laws in the naval construction bill was contemptuously ignored. Likewise the CIO's objections to the disemboweling of the Wagner Labor Act. The shipyard workers' officials are cooling their heels in government anterooms and getting nowhere. Roosevelt shows his teeth and commands that "Labor will not strike" during this period, although he and everybody else knows perfectly well that, deprived of the strike weapon, the unions are impotent.

The AFL and CIO top officials grab at a straw to solve this dangerous situation. They propose that representatives of organized labor sit on the National Defense Council and on all other boards and bodies connected with the "defense" program.

Will that solve anything? Not a bit. Sidney Hillman is already sitting in the National Defense Council, cheek by jowl with Knudsen, Stettinius, Budd & Co. The result? The destruction of labor's gains, the deafness to labor's demands, continues just the same. With this difference—that some workers still have delusions that labor "representatives" like Hillman in the government agencies may still get something for the workers. Those who have such delusions will be cruelly disappointed in the coming months.

For even if John L. Lewis and Phil Murray and William Green and Matthew Woll and scores of others sat in the government agencies, even if labor officials were an actual majority in such agencies, the destruction of labor's gains would continue. Because whoever sat in the swivel chairs in Washington would still have to cater to the arrogant requirements laid down by the masters of industry, the bosses, the capitalist class.

Everything that Labor will retain of its previous gains, every advance that Labor will make in the coming period, will have to be secured by a head-on collision with the bosses—and with Washington. The cry will go up, and it will be plausible, that the strikes are interfering with the "defense" program. Labor will have to learn how to hear that cry and to ignore it—if Labor wants to stand its ground.

Isn't there a way of stopping Hitler and still not giving way to the bosses? There certainly is.

In the first place, the "defense" program will not stop what Hitler represents—fascism, military dictatorship, the destruction of the labor movement, anti-Semitism—because these evils grow out of capitalism today. The rat-like desperation of the American bosses, after eleven years of economic crisis, can give rise to fascism just as the rat-like desperation of the German and Italian bosses led them to turn to fascism. Whatever capitalist powers are victorious in the war, fascism may be their last resort at the end of an exhausting war.

There's only one way in which Labor can prevail—against fascism, as well as against the bosses and their National Defense Council. That is for Labor to become master in the house of society!

What do we need the bosses for? American Labor is not a bunch of ignorant peasants who have to be taught how to run machines. American Labor, is in reality, running American industry right now!

And it can run the government, too. What is the government, anyway? Nothing but the executive committee of the capitalist class as a whole. When Labor takes over industry, the government it establishes will be the executive committee of the working class as a whole.

That's the only way to fight Hitler and Hitlerism, including the American varieties.

## Stalinist Fakery

The Communist party says it fights for the rights of the foreign-born.

BUT the Stalinist leaders of the National Maritime Union are looking the other way while the House Committee on Merchant Marine is arranging for passage of a bill barring all non-citizens from ship's crews.

Verbal objections in the *Daily Worker* addressed to the world in general don't take any guts. But it takes plenty of guts to wade into the shipowners and their Congressional stooges and fight them off, as the Sailors Union of the Pacific and the Seafarers International Union are doing.

Verbal opposition to the "defense" program in general is easy. But to stigmatize the shameful role of John L. Lewis and the CIO Executive Board in endorsing the "defense" program and in endorsing Hillman's sitting in the Defense Council—that takes revolutionary courage, and the *Daily Worker* and the Stalinist leadership are neither courageous nor revolutionary. That's why they look the other way while John L. Lewis leads the CIO into the war machine.

The Stalinists fight against war? Don't make us laugh.

Trotsky Letter Exposes Stalin Role  
In Recent Assassination Attempt

The Mexican press published on June 1 a letter, written by Leon Trotsky to the attorney general of Mexico, the chief of the federal police, and the foreign minister. The letter constituted Trotsky's answer to attempts by influential forces to direct away from the Stalinists the investigation of the May 24 attempt to assassinate Trotsky.

The letter follows in part:

It is first of all necessary to affirm that the attempted assassination could only be instigated by the Kremlin; by Stalin through the agency of the GPU abroad. During the last few years, Stalin has shot hundreds of real or supposed friends of mine. He actually exterminated my entire family, except me, my wife and one of my grandchildren. Through his agents abroad he assassinated one of the old leaders of the GPU, Ignace Reiss, who had publicly declared himself a partisan of mine. This fact has been established by the French police and the Swiss judiciary. The same GPU agents who killed Reiss trailed my son in Paris. On the night of November 7, 1936, GPU agents broke into the Scientific Institute of Paris and stole part of my archives. Two of my secretaries, Erwin Wolff and Rudolf Klement, were assassinated by the GPU; the first in Spain, the second in Paris. All the theatrical Moscow trials during 1936-1937 had as their aim to get me into the hands of the GPU.

In saying this I do not exclude the possibility of the participation of Hitler's Gestapo in the assassination attempt. Up to a certain point the GPU and the Gestapo are connected with each other; it is possible and probable that in special cases the same agents are at the disposal of both. Authoritative representatives of the German government have publicly indicated that they consider me a dangerous enemy. It is completely possible that these two police forces cooperated in the attempt against me.

## HOW THE GPU IS ORGANIZED ABROAD

The general scheme of the GPU organization abroad is the following: in the Central Committee of each section of the Comintern there is placed a responsible director of the GPU for that country. His status is known only to the secretary of the party and one or two trustworthy members. The other members of the C.C. have but a slight inkling of the special status of this member.

As a member of the C.C. the country's GPU representative has the possibility of approaching with full legality all members of the party, study their characters, entrust them with commissions, and little by little draw them into the work of espionage and terrorism, appealing to their sense of party loyalty as much as to bribery.

This whole mechanism was discovered in France and Switzerland in connection with the murder of Reiss and the later moves against my dead son and other

persons. As for the United States, Krivitsky established that the sister of Browder, general secretary of the party, became a GPU agent through her brother's recommendation. This example proves the rule rather than an exception.

Agents of the GPU upon coming to a foreign country for a specific task always work through the local head of the GPU, the above mentioned member of the C.C. of the C.P.; without this they could not orient themselves in the local situation and select the indispensable executors of their mission. The emissary from abroad and the local resident and their trustworthy aides work out the general plan of their undertaking, study the list of possible collaborators and draw them into the conspiracy step by step.

I do not have any information concerning the real role played by sergeant Casas and the five police under him who were on guard outside my house. I know only that they are arrested. One cannot be sure that they were not in the conspiracy; the GPU has means as no other institution in the world of convincing, coercion and bribery. They could have systematically insinuated to the police that I am an enemy of the Mexican people; promised them a career; and finally they could have offered a high price for their services. But foreign agents could not approach the Mexican police; local agents were necessary.

## STALINIST AGENTS PREPARED PUBLIC OPINION

The GPU is particularly concerned with the problem of preparing public opinion for a terrorist act, especially when a person well-known nationally and internationally is the victim. This part of the job is always assigned to the Stalinist press, Stalinist speakers and the so-called "friends of the Soviet Union." The judicial investigation, it seems to me, from this point of view cannot fail to examine the work of the newspapers, "El Popular," "La Voz de Mexico," and some collaborators of "El Nacional." I am not referring to criticism of me, to the political criticism of my convictions, for such criticism, even though most severe, is the most elementary democratic right of everybody. But "La Voz de Mexico" and "El Popular" have never occupied themselves with such criticism.

I recall that many times they have accused me of connections with all the reactionary circles in Mexico as well as abroad; in one speech Toledano declared that I am preparing a general strike against the Cardenas government;

in "El Machete" and afterward in "La Voz de Mexico" they accuse me, every Sunday, of preparing a revolution together with General Cedillo and many other real or supposed counter-revolutionaries; they pictured me in secret sessions with a certain Dr. Ati; in collaboration with the German fascists in Mexico, etc. etc. In recent times "Futuro," "El Popular," as well as "La Voz de Mexico," systematically repeat that I am in secret contact with the reactionary U.S. congressman Dies and that I gave him certain information against Mexico. All these accusations, it is easy to see, make no sense, for they ascribe to me acts which are not only contrary to my convictions and my life's work, but also against my immediate interests, since I would have to lose all reason to commit disloyal acts against the Mexican government which has accorded me such generous hospitality.

I need not recall that through the press I have called upon my accusers repeatedly to bring their case before an impartial commission, appointed by the government or the (government) Party of the Mexican Revolution, in order to publicly examine the accusations made against me. Toledano and the C.P. chiefs have always been careful enough not to accept my proposition.

With this I do not wish to say that Toledano and the C.P. chiefs took direct part in preparing the attempt against me. The GPU has a strict division of labor. Known persons are assigned the task of propagating the slanders against me. Lesser known but more serious agents are assigned the task of assassination. Nevertheless Mr. Toledano is no youngster. He knows perfectly well the methods of the GPU, particularly the systematic persecution to which the members of my families, my friends and I have been and are exposed throughout the world. It is no secret to Toledano that the GPU is out to annihilate me physically. I am therefore within my rights in saying that, in occupying himself systematically with the poisonous campaign against me, Mr. Toledano took part in the moral preparation of the terrorist act. Consequently Toledano as a witness should be of immense interest to the investigation.

It cannot be doubted in the least that the former and present chiefs of the C.P. know who is the local director of the GPU. Permit me also to assume that David Alfaro Siqueiros, who took part in the civil war in Spain as an active Stalinist, may also know who are the most important and active GPU members, Spanish, Mexican, and of other nationalities who are arriving at different times in Mexico, especially via Paris. The questioning of the previous and the present general secretary of the C.P. and also of Siqueiros, would help very much to throw light on the instigators of the assassination attempt and together with them discover their accomplices.

Auto Parleys Near Break As  
G.M. Invokes War Issue

(Continued from Page 1)

the phony statesmanship of Lewis, Hillman and Murray and their young pupils, Thomas, Reuther, etc.

Why shouldn't GM feel cocky? Every passing day reveals anew how the CIO top leadership is preparing to capitulate to the war machine and to meekly turn over the labor movement to the tender mercies of Stettinius and Knudsen.

A "Substitute" for Militancy  
The "United Auto Worker," official paper of the union, instead of explaining to the auto workers the critical situation that the union now faces, instead of mobilizing the membership for a life and death struggle to preserve the union and its gains, points with great pride to—the victory achieved when Hillman was appointed by Roosevelt to sit on the seven-man Defense Board!

"This proves again," an editorial in the paper boasts, "that the CIO is always on the job in looking after the interests of the workers. No matter what the emergency, no matter how tough the assignment, the CIO tackles it and comes through with the right solution."

And this brazen "sell-out" of the auto workers is written by a "Socialist" editor, Ed Levinson, Norman Thomas' pupil, who puts

in his two cents to sell the auto workers down the river to the anti-labor dictatorship of the war machine!

## Union President or Senator?

R. J. Thomas, International President of the UAW and also delegate to the National Convention of the Democratic Party, is so busy pulling strings trying to get elected to the U.S. Senate on the Democratic ticket, that he has no time to keep up with the current events affecting the lives and welfare of the auto workers he presumes to represent. Roosevelt and his henchmen in Congress are every day passing innumerable laws attacking the labor movement, the unions, the unemployed. Thomas is too busy to notice it, to fight it. Besides, it might hurt his chances with the Democratic party.

So, instead, he blandly informs the auto workers that "President Roosevelt's pledge in his fireside talk of May 26 that there would be no attacks on labor legislation has clarified the air somewhat and driven the deliberate provokers of hysteria into silence."

What Roosevelt DOES is of no interest to Thomas. He said some nice things in a nice fireside chat, and as far as Thomas is concerned, that is good enough!

Is it any wonder that the cynical, tough executives of GM have

only contempt for the leadership of the UAW and feel free to ignore the demands of the auto workers?

## Union In Danger

The present policy of Thomas, Reuther, Addes and their cowardly allies of the Communist party only tires out the auto workers and makes them feel that it is impossible to fight and impossible to move forward.

This policy is only paving the way for accepting a "sell-out" agreement at the next stage of the game. This policy will only disintegrate and eventually destroy the splendid union that the auto workers have built.

## Briggs Shows the Way

The Briggs workers, representing over 20,000 men in the four Detroit plants, have shown the way this week, when they repudiated the poor agreement negotiated by their leaders with the Briggs Corporation and instructed their committee to go back and tell the company they had to do better. It is up to the GM locals to display that same spirit of confidence and militancy—tell the GM Corporation that they cannot manufacture cars until they settle up with the men and their union, the United Automobile Workers of America.

## Workers Must Intervene In War -- But How?

By ALBERT GOLDMAN

The American workers have a sacred obligation to intervene in the imperialist war now raging in Europe.

Does that sound like Roosevelt and all of his fellow war-mongers in and out of the labor movement? There is a difference of course in the use of the word 'imperialist,' a term which Roosevelt and his supporters do not use.

The question is: HOW to intervene. The idea that the American workers are not at all interested in the imperialist war is absurd. It is true that they should not be interested in it the same way as those who are responsible for the war. But to say that the American workers or the workers of any other country should not be interested in a war that is destroying millions of human beings and untold wealth created by the working masses is complete nonsense.

To make a serious attempt to stop the war is the duty of the American workers, if for no other reason than that, if they do not stop the war, they will inevitably be dragged into it.

But again the question must be asked: HOW to intervene?

Certainly not the kind of intervention that Roosevelt proposes. He wants to intervene because a victory of Germany threatens the imperialist interests of the American ruling class. He is afraid that a victorious fascist Germany will be a successful competitor of American capitalism on the world market and especially in Latin America.

The American workers must do their utmost to prevent that kind of intervention. For such an intervention can mean nothing except a lower standard of living, destruction of all liberties, untold sacrifice and slaughter—all to preserve and protect the interests of the American capitalist class.

The intervention of the American workers must be of an altogether different form and for an altogether different purpose. They must intervene by destroying in this country the social system which brought on the war in Europe and which will sooner or later involve us in the same kind of a war.

How will the destruction of the capitalist system in this country constitute intervention in the war in Europe? The answer is: should the American workers take over power and establish a socialist United States it would be impossible for the imperialists of the European countries to keep their workers in subjection and to keep them slaughtering one another.

The European workers would be electrified by a victory of the American workers; they would in short order turn their guns against those who sent them to the slaughter. The capitalist rulers of the European countries, including Hitler and Mussolini could not last very long after the capitalists of the United States would fall from power.

There are many who are crying: keep America out of the war. They consist of demagogues and sincere but blind pacifists who do not see that it is impossible to keep this country out of war so long as it is ruled by the capitalist class.

The advanced workers will also fight to keep America out of the war, that is, to keep imperialist America from intervening in an imperialist war. The longer this country stays out of the war, the more time will the advanced workers have to educate and organize the American masses for the kind of intervention that will really benefit the workers of this country as well as the workers throughout the world.

To fight for and establish a Socialist United States is the only effective and worthwhile intervention on the part of the American people.

DIALECTICS CATCHES UP WITH  
BURNHAM AND SHACHTMAN

(The announcement that James Burnham, leader of the petty-bourgeois opposition that split from the Socialist Workers Party in April, had retired from the movement because he had come to the conclusion that socialism was not the next stage of society, provoked the following comment from Leon Trotsky, which we excerpt from a letter.)

"Burnham doesn't recognize dialectics but dialectics does not permit him to escape from its net. He is caught as a fly in a web. The blow he gave to Shachtman is irreparable. What a lesson on principled and unprincipled blocs! And poor Abern. Four years ago he found the protector for his family clique in the person of Holy Father Muste and his altar boy Spector; now he repeated the same experiment with the secularized Catholic, Burnham and his attorney, Shachtman. . . . In the good old times we waited, often for years and decades for a verification of a prognosis. Now the tempo of events is so feverish that the verification comes unexpectedly the next day. Poor Shachtman!"