

Jobless Union Formed at Seven State CIO Conference Takes Stand Against War Deal

FOR A GENUINE LABOR STAND AGAINST THE WAR-MAKERS

The text of the anti-war resolution adopted by the Pittsburgh conference of the CIO United Project Workers Organizing Committee follows in full:

WHEREAS: the war being waged in Europe may well become another bloody carnage of world destruction and

WHEREAS: detailed plans exist for the emasculation and stifling of all labor organizations during war, embodied in the Army M-Day plans which are to be rushed through Congress immediately upon America's entry into the war;

AND WHEREAS: the workers have been given the lesson from the last world conflict that labor has everything to lose and nothing to gain from war;

AND WHEREAS: if the American workers are to keep out of the international slaughter, they must stand united against any and all wars waged by international profiteers and concentrate their forces upon solving the problems of the employed and unemployed workers in their struggle for economic security;

AND WHEREAS: the Nye Munitions Investigating Committee exposed that the profits of the Merchants of Death, the manufacturers, are the only motives which force us into wars;

THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED: That the United Project Workers of the CIO, meeting in conference in Pittsburgh September 9th and 10th, calls upon John L. Lewis and William Green, and other officials of the CIO and AFL to recognize the deadly seriousness of the threat to organize labor as incorporated in the M-Day plans, and to do all in their power to keep labor united in a genuine stand against war.

(See editorial, page 4 of this issue)

Also Denounces Persecution of Minneapolis WPA Strikers

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control in all areas needed for the preservation of life."

The resolution supporting the Minneapolis WPA strikers stressed the vicious role of Attorney General Murphy's agents and demanded the acquittal of all defendants.

Jack Grittle of Newcastle, Pa., was chairman of the conference and Fred Carrenno of Pittsburgh was secretary. Both are now serving as officers of the Project Workers Organizing Committee. A national committee was elected to carry on the work.

As yet it is impossible to judge whether Lewis will follow the mandate of the conference and set up an International for WPA and unemployed workers. Should he take this step—which would mean a definite break between the CIO and the Stalinist Workers Alliance—it may very well be the basis to rally together all militant WPA and unemployed workers.

IN DEFENSE OF PERSECUTED MINNEAPOLIS WPA STRIKERS

The Pittsburgh conference of the CIO United Project Workers Organizing Committee adopted the following resolution in defense of the Minneapolis WPA strikers:

WHEREAS: The WPA workers of the Federal Workers Section of the General Drivers Union Local 544 of Minneapolis staged a militant and spirited strike in the nationwide strikes and protests against the vicious Woodrum Amendment of the work relief and relief bill which slashed the prevailing WPA wage scale and increased the number of work hours, and

WHEREAS: As a result of this militant action, Federal negotiators did settle the grievances of the Minneapolis WPA workers favorably, and

WHEREAS: Attorney General Murphy sent his agents to Minneapolis, which agents' actions resulted in the prosecution of some 40 or more militant WPA workers, who are now behind prison bars under five to ten thousand dollars bond,

THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED: That this conference go on record condemning the action of these government officials and the press in their strikebreaking role, and

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED: that we express our solidarity with the WPA unionists of Minneapolis by demanding their unconditional acquittal of the trumped up charges framed by reactionary agents, and

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED: that copies of this resolution be sent to the Federal Workers Section, Local 544, to John L. Lewis, William Green, Attorney-General Murphy, Colonel Harrington, and President Roosevelt.

ALL SET FOR BIG DANCE MANEUVERS

It was learned today from the most authoritative sources that a communique is forthcoming conscripting all men and women of dancing age to Irving Plaza this Saturday night when important dance maneuvers will be held.

Meanwhile, many persons rushed preparations to don the anti-war paint in a demonstration that indicated wide support of this Saturday's frolic.

The parade grounds, located at Irving Plaza, 15th Street and Irving Place, have been newly decorated and the anti-martial music will be supplied by the Savoy Bearcats. Heading the list of revue-ers will be Archie Savage, in an Afro-American version of Cuban dances, Dewey Johnson, famous Negro baritone and many others.

Tickets can be purchased at the Labor Bookshop, 116 University Place. The admission is 75 cents and plugged medals will not suffice.

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SWP DRIVE TO GET ON BALLOT PROGRESSES DESPITE TAMMANY

Canvassers Get Good Results on Nominating Petitions for Anti-War Candidates

(Continued on Page 2)

the American Labor Party in the face of increasingly ominous signs that President Roosevelt is maneuvering to embroil the United States in the world war now raging on the battlefields of Europe, underlines the burning need to ensure the appearance of candidates on the ballot who will stand up courageously in public and oppose the war.

"The continued silence of American Labor Party officials concerning their attitude towards plunging this country into the blood-bath is not less than criminal," declared Edward R. Frank, organizer of Local New York of the Socialist Workers Party, today. "It emphasizes again that there is only one 100 percent anti-war, anti-fascist political party in the field—the Socialist Workers Party."

Relation to A. L. P.

"I want to emphasize that the Socialist Workers Party has declared that it will support every candidate of the American Labor Party who stands independently on the slate of the American Labor Party. We give critical support to such candidates because we believe that it will

further the development of independent political action by the part of the American workers.

"It is high time that the American Labor Party officials clarify their platform in relation to the capitalist war which has been raging almost two weeks and which threatens to suck us in within a short time."

"Silence in face of the war danger is tantamount to approval of the imperialist slaughter for profits. The officials of the American Labor Party must speak out and take a stand against this capitalist war."

"The silence of these officials up to now is further proof, if such proof were necessary, that every single opponent of war must throw himself into the struggle to place the Socialist Workers Party candidates on the ballot. If opponents of the war have not yet signed a nominating petition, they should do so immediately. If they have not yet secured blank petitions for circulation among their shopmates they should secure them without waiting another day, either from the nearest branch headquarters of the Socialist Workers Party or from the City Office, 116 University Place, New York City."

Last Call for New York Dance and Entertainment

The Savoy Bearcats, one of the best swing bands in the country will supply the music for the dance and entertainment being held this Saturday under the auspices of the N. Y. District at Irving Plaza.

An elaborate program of entertainment has been arranged and the social committee stakes its reputation that it will even surpass the program presented at the Pioneer Parties.

Everything is set for what will undoubtedly be the outstanding social affair of the season (and perhaps the last before America is drawn into the war). All comrades and friends are urged to get their tickets immediately and be sure to be present. Get a group of your friends together and bring them along. Tickets may be obtained at the S.W.P. offices at 116 University Place.

F.D.R. CALLS WAR SESSION

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bigger army and navy. Their support of the arms embargo—which by itself is in any case helpless to block the swing toward the war—is largely a device to quiet their own consciences.

They will make a certain amount of trouble for Roosevelt in the Special Session, but under the heat which will be turned on by the administration and by the munitions manufacturers hungry for war profits, their position will fold up. Roosevelt's measures will go sailing through.

It is very probable that Roosevelt will jam other war moves besides repeal of the arms embargo through the Special Session. New armament appropriations, "anti-sedition" bills, and even a "national registration" in preparation for the draft are by no means excluded.

It cannot be too strongly emphasized that Roosevelt's aim is to get this nation into the war as fast as he can overcome the resistance of the people. It is reported that inner circles in Washington are passing around the slogan: "War by Christ-mas!"

Join the Socialist Workers Party

What Your Dollar Can Do

A dollar puts a Socialist Appeal salesman on an important street corner for one day.
Five dollars permits free distribution of two hundred Socialist Appeals.
Ten dollars puts a full-time field organizer to work for one week in the anti-war campaign.

Anti-War Campaign Committee
Socialist Workers Party
116 University Place, N.Y.C.

Dear Friends:

I enclose . . . as a contribution to the anti-war work of the Socialist Workers Party.

Name
Address

Independence of the Ukraine and Sectarian Muddleheads

By Leon Trotsky

In one of the tiny, sectarian publications which appear in America and which thrive upon the crumbs from the table of the Fourth International, and repay with blackest ingratitude, I chanced across an article devoted to the Ukrainian problem. What confusion! The author, a sectarian is, of course, opposed to the slogan of independent Soviet Ukraine. He is for the world revolution and for socialism—"root and branch". He accuses us of ignoring the interests of the U.S.S.R. and of retreating from the concept of the permanent revolution. He indicates us as centrists. The critic is very severe, almost implacable. Unfortunately, he understands nothing at all (the name of this tiny publication, "The Marxist" rings rather ironically). But his incapacity to understand assumes such finished, almost classical forms as can enable us better and more fully to clarify the question.

Our critic takes as his point of departure the following position: "If the workers in Soviet Ukraine overthrow Stalinism and reestablish a genuine workers state, shall they separate from the rest of the Soviet Union? No." And so forth and so on. "If the workers overthrow Stalinism" . . . then we shall be able to see more clearly what to do. But Stalinism must first be overthrown. And in order to achieve this, one must shut one's eyes to the growth of separatist tendencies in the Ukraine, but rather give them a correct political expression.

FAT FORMULAS DON'T SOLVE CONCRETE TASKS

"Not turning our backs on the Soviet Union," continues the author, "but its regeneration and reestablishment as a mighty citadel of world revolution—that is the road of Marxism." The actual trend of the development of the masses, in this instance, of the nationally oppressed masses, is replaced by our sage with speculations as to the best possible roads of development. With this method, but with far greater logic, one might say, "Not defending a degenerated Soviet Union is our task, but the victorious world revolution which will transform the whole world into a World Soviet Union," etc. Such aphorisms come cheap.

The critic repeats several times my statement to the effect that the fate of independent Ukraine is indissolubly

JUDAS GOAT

"In the grim tragedy that has come upon us there is one ray of hope. Humanity is not dead. The peoples of two great nations risk their own annihilation to help a smaller neighbor. Greater nobility hath no man than that he lay down his life for his unknown brother. . . . A new, a higher morality has taken possession of the democracies."—Ludwig Lore, in his daily column, "Behind the Cables," (N. Y. Post, Sept. 4, 1939.)

bound up with the world proletarian revolution. From this general perspective, ABC for a Marxist, he contrives, however, to make a recipe of temporizing passivity and national nihilism. The triumph of the proletarian revolution on a world scale is the end-product of multiple movements, campaigns and battles and not at all a ready-made precondition for solving all questions automatically. Only a direct and bold posing of the Ukrainian question in the given concrete circumstances will facilitate the rallying of petty bourgeois and peasant masses around the proletariat, just as in Russia in 1917.

True enough, our author might object that in Russia prior to October it was the bourgeois revolution that unfolded, whereas today we have the socialist revolution already behind us. A demand which might have been progressive in 1917 is nowadays reactionary. Such reasoning, wholly in the spirit of bureaucrats and sectarians, is false from beginning to end.

DEMOCRATIC TASKS TIED TO SOCIALIST AIMS

The right of national self-determination is, of course, a democratic and not a socialist principle. But genuinely democratic principles are supported and realized in our era only by the revolutionary proletariat; it is for this very reason that they interlace with socialist tasks. The resolute struggle of the Bolshevik party for the right of self-determination of oppressed nationalities in Russia facilitated in the extreme the conquest of power by the proletariat. It was as if the proletarian revolution had sucked in the democratic problems, above all, the agrarian and national problems, giving to the Russian revolution a combined character. The proletariat was already undertaking socialist tasks but it could not immediately raise to this level the peasantry and the oppressed nations (themselves predominantly peasant) who were absorbed with solving their democratic tasks.

Hence flowed the historically inescapable compromises in the agrarian as well as the national sphere. Despite the economic advantages of large scale agriculture, the Soviet government was compelled to divide up large estates. Only several years later was the government able to pass to collective farming and then it immediately leaped too far ahead and found itself compelled, a few years later, to make concessions to the peasants in the shape of private land-holdings which in many places tend to devour the collective farms. The next stages of this contradictory process have not yet been resolved.

HAS STALIN CONVINCED THE UKRAINIANS?

The need for compromise, or rather for a number of compromises similarly arises in the field of the national question, whose paths are no more rectilinear than the paths of the agrarian revolution. The federated structure of the Soviet Republic represents a compromise between the centralist require-

ments of planned economy and the de-centralist requirements of the development of nations oppressed in the past. Having constructed a workers state on the compromise principle of a federation, the Bolshevik party wrote into the constitution the right of nations to complete separation, indicating thereby that the party did not at all consider the national question as solved once and for all.

The author of the critical article argues that the party leaders hoped "to convince the masses to stay within the framework of the Federated Soviet Republic." This is correct, if the word "convince" is taken not in the sense of logical arguments but in the sense of passing through the experience of economic, political and cultural collaboration. Abstract agitation in favor of centralism does not of itself carry great weight. As has already been said, the federation was a necessary departure from centralism. It must also be added that the very composition of the federation is by no means given beforehand once and for all. Depending on objective conditions, a federation may develop toward greater centralism or, on the contrary, toward greater independence of its national component parts. Politically it is not at all a question of whether it is advantageous "in general" for various nationalities to live together within the framework of a single state, but rather it is a question of whether or no a particular nationality has, on the basis of her own experience, found it advantageous to adhere to a given state.

In other words: Which of the two tendencies in the given circumstances gains the ascendancy in a compromise regime of a federation—the centrifugal or the centripetal? Or to put it even more concretely: Have Stalin and his Ukrainian satraps succeeded in convincing the Ukrainian masses of the superiority of Moscow's centralism over Ukrainian independence or have they failed? This question is of decisive importance. Yet our author does not even suspect its existence.

DO THE UKRAINIANS DESIRE SEPARATION?

Do the broad masses of the Ukrainian people wish to separate from the U.S.S.R.? It might at first sight appear difficult to answer this question,

REPUBLICAN "ISOLATIONISM"

"I'm in favor of the Neutrality Act except that I favor repealing the embargo on arms, ammunition and implements of war. It seems to me that there is nothing unneutral about supplying arms to any nation which can buy them, just as we have throughout our country's history."—Senator Robert A. Taft, leading candidate for the Republican 1940 nomination, as quoted in N. Y. Times, Sept. 5, 1939.

inasmuch as the Ukrainian people like all other peoples of the U.S.S.R., are deprived of any opportunity for expressing their will. But the very genesis of the totalitarian regime and its ever more brutal intensification, especially in the Ukraine, are proof that the real will of the Ukrainian masses is irreconcilably hostile to the Soviet bureaucracy. There is no lack of evidence that one of the primary sources of this hostility is the suppression of Ukrainian independence. The nationalist tendencies in the Ukraine erupted violently in 1917-1919. The Borotba party expressed these tendencies in the left wing. The most important indication of the success of the Leninist policy in the Ukraine was the fusion of the Ukrainian Bolshevik party with the organization of the Borotbists.

In the course of the next decade, however, an actual break occurred with the Borotba group, whose leaders were subjected to persecution. The old Bolshevik, Skrypnyk, a pure-blooded Stalinist, was driven to suicide in 1933 for his allegedly excessive patronage of nationalist tendencies. The actual "organizer" of this suicide was the Stalinist emissary Postyshev, who thereupon remained in the Ukraine as the representative of the centralist policy. Presently, however, Postyshev himself fell in disgrace. These facts are profoundly symptomatic, for they reveal how much force there is behind the pressure of the nationalist opposition on the bureaucracy. Nowhere did the purges and repressions assume such a savage and mass character as they did in the Ukraine.

SIGNIFICANT ATTITUDES OF UKRAINIANS ABROAD

Of enormous political importance is the sharp turn away from the Soviet Union of Ukrainian democratic elements outside the Soviet Union. When the Ukrainian problem became aggravated early this year, communist voices were not heard at all, but instead the voice of the Ukrainian clericals and national-socialists was loud enough. This means that the proletarian vanguard has let the Ukrainian national movement slip out of its hands and that this movement has progressed far on the road of separatism. Lastly, very indicative also are the moods among the Ukrainian emigres in the North American continent. In Canada, for instance, where the Ukrainians compose the bulk of the Communist party, there began in 1933, as I am informed by a prominent participant in the movement, a marked exodus of Ukrainian workers and farmers from communism, falling either into passivity or nationalism of various hues. In their totality, these symptoms and facts incontestably testify to the growing strength of separatist tendencies among the Ukrainian masses.

This is the basic fact underlying the whole problem. It shows that despite the giant step forward taken by the October revolution in the domain of national relations, the isolated

proletarian revolution in a backward country proved incapable of solving the national question, especially the Ukrainian question which is, in its very essence, international in character. The Thermidorian reaction, crowned by the Bonapartist bureaucracy, has thrown the toiling masses far back in the national sphere as well. The great mass of the Ukrainian people are dissatisfied with their national fate and wish to change it drastically. It is this fact that the revolutionary politician must, in contrast to the bureaucrat and the sectarian, take as his point of departure.

SECTARIAN ARGUMENTS LIKE THOSE OF STALINISTS

If our critic were capable of thinking politically, he would have without much difficulty surmised the arguments of the Stalinists against the slogan of independent Ukraine: "It negates the position of the defense of the Soviet Union"; "disrupts the unity of the revolutionary masses"; "serves not the interests of revolution but those of imperialism." In other words, the Stalinists would repeat all the three arguments of our author. They will unflinchingly do so on the morrow.

The Kremlin bureaucracy tells the Soviet woman: Inasmuch as there is socialism in our country, you must be happy and you must give up abortions (or suffer the penalty). To the Ukrainian they say: Inasmuch as the socialist revolution has solved the national question, it is your duty to be happy in the USSR and to renounce all thought of separation (or face the firing squad).

What does a revolutionist say to the woman? "You will decide yourself whether you want a child: I will defend your right to abortion against the Kremlin police." To the Ukrainian people he says, "Of importance to me is your attitude toward your national destiny and not the 'socialistic' sophistries of the Kremlin police; I will support your struggle for independence with all my might!"

The sectarian, as so often happens, finds himself siding with the police, covering up the status quo, that is police violence, by sterile speculation on the superiority of the socialist unification of nations as against their remaining divided. Assuredly, the separation of the Ukrainian is a liability as compared with a voluntary and equalitarian socialist federation; but it will be an unquestionable asset as compared with the bureaucratic strangulation of the Ukrainian people. In order to draw together more closely and honestly, it is sometimes necessary first to separate. Lenin often used to cite the fact that the relations between the Norwegian and Swedish workers improved and became closer after the disruption of the compulsory unification of Sweden and Norway.

INDEPENDENCE FOR UKRAINE IS REVOLUTIONARY SLOGAN

We must proceed from facts and not ideal norms. The Ther-

midorian reaction in the USSR, the defeat of a number of revolutions, the victories of Fascism—which is carving the map of Europe in its own fashion—must be paid for in genuine currency in all spheres, including that of the Ukrainian question. Were we to ignore the new situation created as a result of defeats, were we to pretend that nothing extraordinary has occurred, and were we to counterpose to unpleasant facts familiar abstractions, then we could very well surrender to reaction the remaining chances for vengeance in the more or less immediate future.

Our author interprets the slogan of independent Ukraine as follows: "First the Soviet Ukraine must be freed from the rest of the Soviet Union, then we will have the proletarian revolution and unification of the rest of Ukraine." But how can there be a separation without first a revolution? The author is caught in a vicious circle, and the slogan of independent Ukraine together with Trotsky's "faulty logic" is hopelessly discredited. In point of fact this peculiar logic—"first" and "then"—is only a striking example of scholastic thinking.

Our hapless critic has no inkling of the fact that historical processes may occur "first" and "then" but run parallel to each other, exert influence upon each other, speed or retard each other; and that the task of revolutionary politics consists precisely in speeding up the mutual action and reaction of progressive processes. The barb of the slogan of independent Ukraine is aimed directly against the Moscow bureaucracy and enables the proletarian vanguard to rally the peasant masses. On the other hand, the same slogan opens up for the proletarian party the opportunity of playing a leading role in the national Ukrainian movement in Poland, Rumania and Hungary. Both of these political processes will drive the revolutionary movement forward and increase the specific weight of the proletarian vanguard.

(To Be Concluded Next Issue)

OUT OF THE HORSE'S MOUTH

That J. P. Morgan & Co. have been appointed financial agents for Great Britain again, as in 1914, was revealed by the "Importers Guide," confidential information service, in its latest issue.

"Please take notice," it says, "that J. P. Morgan & Co. have again been appointed financial agents for Great Britain and will probably also be appointed for the French government to act in a similar capacity as during the previous war, which is indicative that steps have already been taken to make possible purchases of all commodities in this country by the democratic nations."

The "Importers Guide" took for granted that Roosevelt will succeed in wiping out the embargo against arms shipments to Europe.